THAAP JOURNAL 2013

LIFE IN SMALL TOWNS

ThaaP

Editor
PERVAIZ VANDAL

THAAP JOURNAL 2013

Life in
Small Towns

Contents

Introduction

Pervaiz Vandal

The phenomenon of large scale human settlements has, on the one hand, brought about rapid capital accumulation leading to spectacular developments in commerce, industry, travel, and communication, yet on the other it has generated a level of inequity among its residents never seen before. This is particularly compounded in the cities of Asia as the global enterprises have further exacerbated the situation. Towns and cities of Pakistan, as in the rest of the subcontinent, exhibit, exhibit contrasts of poverty and opulence that simply shock.

> '…no account of time; no arts; no letters; no society; and which is worst of all, continual fear and danger of violent death; and the life of man, solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short'.[1]

Thomas Hobbes (*1588-1679*) writing in 1651, might well have been describing the current state of life of the poor, the majority, in the small towns of Pakistan. With each passing day, as the economy lurches from one crisis to another, the quality of life is further eroded.

A human settlement, village, town or a city, is worthwhile only if it ensures a decent quality of life for its residents. A town is not only brick and mortar, but it is a method of living and working together that humans have developed in their continuing struggle for survival. A town is not just a collection of buildings linked with a network of infrastructure of energy, transport, and communications, it is also a people living in a spatial configuration, with its production of arts, crafts and entertainment along with goods and services and their consumption, and consequent generation of waste, its disposal and lack thereof, producing an overall culture of urbanism. The basic role of a settlement is to facilitate the growth of human society toward the next stage of human evolution, and a realization of human values based on freedom and equity. The study of agglomerations is not the concern of only architects and town planners but of all active members of the society. A town is an integrated living organism and has to be studied with a multi-disciplinary and comprehensive approach.

---

1 Hobbes, Thomas. *Leviathan*, 1651

The Dravidian culture of the Indus Valley Civilization reflected in the settlements at Mehrgarh, Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro, had a system of governance that ensured a fairly high standard of life for its residents. The absence of any instruments of violence, no evidence of any systematic warfare, or any large scale monuments celebrating war, kings or any coercive social structure points to a society living in peace. They provided the conditions and the intellectual ambience for human creativity to come into play and provide solutions to scarcity of resources. The remarkable inventiveness in their crafts, the standards of quality of weights and measures and the products maintained over long distances speaks of effective governance. The quality of infrastructure illustrates that the dictates of hygiene were widely understood. In general, towns in history, in addition to the question of physical survival, developed art, music, dance, poetry, and drama, for humans to enjoy and develop the finer aspects of life. Architecture, parks, and open public spaces helped to rejuvenate the human spirit. With the changed socio-economic framework, operating within a whirlpool of politics, the present day human settlements of the Punjab have jettisoned the human values in a mad rush toward profit and individual survival.

In the Punjab a town is a link in the chain that connects the rural agriculture based pre-industrial settlement with the industrializing larger cities such as Lahore, Faisalabad and Multan. The urban dynamic in Punjab is a result of processes that accelerated with the onset of efforts, during the colonial period, to increase production through irrigation and to modernize transport to serve the world market, creating new towns and even cities as intermediate centers. The management was taken away from the residents and a bureaucracy with a colonial mind-set has been put in control. Local government system have been changed all so often over the last 50 years that none has taken hold. In Pakistan, today, small towns get neglected as the major effort of the state is towards the more glamorous large cities. The present state of the economy and the international obligations such as the debts, preclude any equitable development based on the needs of the people. It is difficult to believe, but the fact is that the residents of towns have very little say in how the town is managed and run. As a result there is no sense of ownership of the town or pride in the quality of life and facilities that the city may offer. The centers of power continue to be the officials with an anti-people bias who are transferred so often (they are in a perpetual struggle to get near to the power centers for furtherance

of their careers) that there is little long term vision or care given to the town. Transient bureaucracy cannot provide the sustained leadership that a town needs. It has to come from the people who are the ultimate stakeholders.

The process of urbanization is irreversible and cannot be wished away. People are congregating in larger and larger numbers in search of opportunity and in the city and towns the living conditions for the poor are becoming intolerable. However the agglomeration of humans, from small town to the large metropolis, is an opportunity to think of the future and find solutions to some of the issues at hand. The process is cumulative, perpetual and developmental. In evolutionary terms, the cities are a survival tool with the following four attributes which promote its progressive development:

1. Idea Generation

Where do ideas come from? They follow from the ability to observe, think, understand and conceptualize situations requiring new ideas. They represent that essential difference between animals and humans viz the processes of the mind. The fundamental facility that humans acquired in the evolutionary process which has resulted in their great saga of survival is Idea Generation. It is this quality that keeps them a step ahead of the ever-increasing possibility of extinction through over-exploitation of resources, pollution of the basic needs of air and water, and destruction of climate in which we operate. There are a number of ways in which societies ensure a continuous supply of ideas to face the problems of tomorrow. Education, of course, is number one; however it is quite different from the education that our present system imparts. The present educational system, colonial in origin, is designed to produce un-thinking workers. Even the glorified schools of management produce operatives for the 'multi-nationals' and not those who understand and can serve the masses in the country. An education that only strives to get marks or grades to move into the higher level and to ultimately secure jobs, which at its height means administrative service in the government or the local tool of some multi-national, is self-defeating. Starting from the primary school our system alienates the educated. From school uniform to language of instruction it sets apart the educated from the

great masses of supposedly illiterate people. Education ceases to be knowledge, wisdom and culture devoted to the development of society and becomes an alien, rude and coercive system. Ideas devoted to society's progress can only come from people immersed in the society, working with live curiosity and unconstrained thinking. Idea generation can only flower in a climate of freedom of thought, expression, assembly and protest. Without a society that provides the above freedoms, idea generation will not proceed and the society will be an apt target for foreign exploitation and rule by people pretending to be experts in their problems; like the consultants, who visit for a short term and give solutions for the long term.

2 Culture Enrichment

A city brings together a variety of people from within the region and even outside. Ethnic, racial, and religious variety is something to be celebrated and brought together. A city that is divided, and thus not at peace with itself, is in trouble. A tolerant culture sets the stage for cultural enrichment that the cities provide for the better lifestyle of all. Debates on law, governance, ideology, social contract, multiply and sometimes become intense, as the society moves from simpler existence to more complex situations. Economic systems, living styles, trade and production also generate discussion among members of the society who can then vote upon and legislate. In our context it is difficult to see all the citizens participating because, at present, we have excluded the majority from the forums of discussion and debate for reasons of poverty, lack of education and any other to ensure the elite's supremacy. This will have to change for the future well-being of the city.

3 Space modulation – the Physical City

As the work of the artisan, perhaps the first building block of the city, became more complex, work and home space got separated leading to factories where humans toiled and offices where they worked in addition to spaces where they lived, relaxed and recuperated ready for the next day's work. Increasing numbers meant greater complexities of transport, water supply, garbage disposal and sewerage systems leading to special disciplines and bodies of knowledge developed to cope with them. Town Planning,

City Management, Urban Design, Transport Engineering, Public Health Engineering and a host of other important contributions were developed in the Western cities and used in the cities of the Third World. Colonial mind-set, as exposed by Edward Said, however refused to see the particularity of the sub-continental urban phenomenon.

The early speeches of both Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Nehru visualize Pakistan and India as 'modern' States. In the context of the middle of 20th Century, modernization meant Industrialization which meant Westernization. No wonder then, that, when new cities were planned both the countries looked to the West for Planners. As a result solutions developed in the West were applied here but not always with the best results. Political slogans reflect the same thinking: almost every new ruler promises to make Lahore the Paris of the East. Mega projects are launched just because they mirror something similar in the West. 'Park and Ride' being a prime example. In Lahore we have the spectacle of roads that are being continually widened, and over-passes and under-passes built with only the automobile in mind; in parallel and perhaps because of it the number of poor increases exponentially. They are being evicted and continuously moved around to make way for the grandiose projects which only benefit the city mafia making fortunes out of the urban speculation in property.

4 Resource Generation

The fourth attribute of Cities is that they have become huge engines of production growing at an ever-increasing pace. From being a burden on the hinterland, cities are leading the country in terms of production. The economy of Karachi alone is larger some of the provinces. In the knowledge economy of the 21st Century the production potential of the cities is going to increase manifold. A major portion of the population is young below the age of 20; if this tremendous resource can be harnessed and developed all the other attributes of idea generation, cultural enrichment, a rational environment will bring closer the promise of a better future. However this requires a major change in the objectives, motivation and understanding of the rulers.

Continued exploitation of land under the neo-liberal umbrella of growth will break up our society into factions and fighting groups. Housing societies with vacant plots eat away the scarce land resource and do not ameliorate the housing shortages – especially of the poor. High rise building with glass fronts are horribly wasteful in energy and are underused. High costs of the infrastructure preclude any uniform improvements over the whole spectrum of towns and cities. Few glamorous initiatives while politically beneficial in the short run do not contribute to the welfare of the whole society. The compartmentalized thinking of the rulers, planners, and economists has created huge pockets of the 'have-nots' which are being by-passed in this piecemeal approach.

For some years now educationists and research scientists have shown the limits of over-specialization and the harm it can do to the integrated human fabric. Holistic thinking, interdependence, fighting the evils of globalization while welcoming its positive aspects, characterizes the thinkers of today. When a city is filthy, as most of our cities are, when a large number of its citizens live without the basic amenities of life, when we tolerate this because we console ourselves with reasons of lack of resources, when we see the ultimate degradation of humans as outcasts, treated as animals, when we see little children begging in cold nights, as we see them aplenty in Lahore, how can we remain untouched; that is not what the city came into being for. That is not something to be tolerated.

Great fortunes are being made through political control of the infrastructure development and the resultant speculation in land prices which concomitantly further pushes large numbers below the poverty line. Policies regarding undue profits made through such process must be drastically changed and this avenue whereby a small minority manipulates land usage and prices to the detriment of the majority has to be drastically changed.

From Dubai to *Mofussilabad*: Small Towns and Architectural Spectacle in South Asia

Jawaid Haider, PhD and Madhuri Desai, PhD

Introduction

This paper is an exploration of small-town urbanization through the lens of "alternate modernities" (Gaonkar 2001). The concept is based on the idea that modernity is essentially contingent and takes multiple forms and modalities in various locales. Drawing on selected examples across Northern India and Pakistan, this paper will explore the rapid urbanization of *"Mofussilabad"*. An Arabic word that entered South Asian usage via Persian, the term *mofussil*, was particularly used during colonial times to refer to a place away from a city. It came to imply regions of South Asia that lay outside the three colonial port cities of Bombay, Calcutta and Madras. This usage also marks a period in South Asia's urban history when resources, growth and power shifted away from older Mughal and Post-Mughal centers to these colonial port cities. In current usage, the term refers to those parts of a country that lie outside an urban center, including its immediate or extended periphery that may include suburbs or small towns. Although inherently value-neutral, the word does carry certain negative undertones, especially when used by large city dwellers who might disparage such settlements in terms equivalent to "*the boonies*" or "*the sticks*" in English usage.

Dubai has become a popular global model of modernity to be emulated in many parts of the world. It is indeed surprising to see in many South Asian cities, small-scale copies of spectacular mega-urban structures found in Dubai. "Dubaization" has been described as a process whereby cities in the Middle East and elsewhere lose their original identity and character (Elsheshtawy 2004). Characterized by branded images and icons, the architectural design of Dubai is difficult to sustain even in some of the affluent countries in the Middle East (Alraouf 2011).

In his study of civic institutions and public sites in Dhaka, Bangladesh, Hoek (2012: 29) argues that South Asia is experiencing the delineation of a new urban morphology that has blurred the difference between the metropolis and its suburbs or *mofussilabads*. This trend has been

particularly dominant since the 1980s and manifests changes in lifestyles where people from different walks of life - such as workers and students - engage in various activities. This change has come at a price in the form of social tensions and anxieties. It has also created a culture of consumption with its own small-scale urban spectacles.

This paper is based on research and observation of urbanization trends in small towns across Northern India and Pakistan that we will interpret through theoretical frameworks based on literature on global urbanism and postcolonial approaches to understanding South Asian history and culture. The exponentially growing world of shopping malls, fast food diners, parking lots, backyards, multiplex theaters and amusement parks represents a relatively new phenomenon in larger South Asian cities such as Mumbai, Delhi or Karachi. One oft-publicized instance of this trend on a larger scale is the satellite city of Gurgaon, near Delhi; it has grown within the span of a couple of decades from rural farmland at the edge of historic Mehrauli to a maze of glass-encased office buildings, numerous shopping malls wrapped in spectacular shells that compete as much with each other as with models elsewhere. The city is also the site of several completed and planned, gated residential projects in multi-storeyed towers set within park-like environs. This much-celebrated vision of a public-private partnership, an example of neoliberal urbanism (Hackworth 2007), is based on sporadic and largely inadequate infrastructure development and is sustained through the services of informal workers who are housed in temporary shacks that abut these new symbols of economic boom. Yet the spectacle of Gurgaon continues to thrive.

Small-scale versions of this scenario can be found elsewhere in *mofussilabads* across South Asia. The glistening mall or glitzy cinemaplex, with shiny advertisements and excessive glass walls, is becoming a pervasive sight throughout the subcontinent. Although modest in scale compared to similar developments in metropolitan centers, these interventions nevertheless bring a global flavor to rapidly urbanizing centers. Alongside historic town centers that are often the subject of sporadic

and largely theoretical exercises in urban preservation, globalization manifests itself through shopping nodes and housing complexes geared towards an elite that is enjoying unprecedented levels of income, aspirations and expectations. Towns such as Kanpur, Moradabad and Allahabad (India), once located firmly within

the mofussil landscape, are now incorporated within visions of a global urbanism. Cities or towns in Pakistan, such as Gujranwala or Faisalabad, manifest a similar growth pattern. Many Pakistani small towns today, such as Chiniot, Uch, Kasur, Jamshoro and Thatta, to name a few, are in the midst of a comparable rapid process of urbanization and aspire to benefit from the seemingly irresistible tide of globalization.

Cinematic Urbanization: Bollywood City

Whether through actual or virtual travel, Mumbai, Karachi, Dubai, Singapore and Shanghai are increasingly part of a globalized South Asian urban consciousness. These global centers are models for what is essentially a piecemeal globalization in small towns across Northern India and Pakistan, changing the face of *Mofussilabad*. The prevalence of these nodes of consumption and entertainment form the basis of our inquiry into the specific nature of South Asian urbanization and indeed, South Asian modernity.

If global urban centers were created as sites of spectacle (Davis 2006: 53-4) with a focus on shopping and entertainment, their "outlandish urbanism" (Elsheshtawy 2010:251) is also transported and consumed across South Asia as much through travel as through forms of armchair tourism (Urry 1995). Bollywood cinema and various forms of television entertainment bring Dubai, Kuala Lumpur and Melbourne to the small town resident. Notably, such films find as much favor with a South Asian diaspora as with audiences in South Asia. Many contemporary Bollywood films such as *Kal Ho Na Ho* (2003), *Dostana* (2008), and more recently *Ek Main Aur Ekk Tu* (2012), feature affluent characters and also use international locales — specifically, the backdrop of globalized architecture — to flesh out and glamorize plot lines and song and dance sequences.

Commodification of Spectacle

The idea of spectacle has become synonymous with iconic architecture and is enormously influential in contemporary architectural discourse. The term "spectacle" has been vigorously debated in architecture during the past few decades. In the 1960s, Guy Debord introduced the notion of *situationist* architecture. Debord's theory is that the experience of the city should not be based on a preconceived strategy, but on the spontaneous response to the attractions it offers, or by discouraging counter-attractions of the metropolis (Wollen 2001). Spectacle, as understood by Debord, is based on an inversion or distortion of "real experience" which takes the modern subject as a starting point, and is not totally consistent with Mike Davis's (2006: 53-4) concept of spectacle based on the idea that "modernity is essentially contingent".

Debord (1995) also contended that the spectacle is not a collection of images, but a set of complex social relations between people negotiated by images. Dubai has taken the architectural spectacle to a new and different level because its underlying strategy is to ensure for itself a global position as an important world city. Given the resources at its disposal, Dubai has become an attractive model to emulate not only in the Middle East but also throughout the world, including South Asia.

The vital difference and contradiction that involves the process of Dubaization is the creation of spectacle in cultures with rich history and heritage. As Elsheshtawy (2010:275) argues, "Dubai has become, for better or for worse, a model for cities throughout the Arab world. But places like Dubai lend themselves to this kind of *tabula rasa* development — and thus are quite successful for (almost) everyone." Of course, whether Dubai is genuinely successful for (almost) everyone is questionable, given the social status and living conditions of immigrant workers from different parts of the Third World — including a sizable population from South Asian countries.

Alternative Modernities

Gaonkar (2001) has postulated the concept of "alternative modernities" centered on the belief that modernity is no longer confined to the West, as it has become a ubiquitous worldwide cultural phenomenon in many forms and manifestations. While social media today drives cultural modernity, capital, migration and local context, the influence

of the West on global modernity in varying degrees remains significant. It is precisely in understanding this complex global milieu that the concept of urban spectacle should be contextualized in South Asia. The contemporary perception of modernity has expanded significantly and it is no longer merely an aspect of technology transfer, whether in South Asia or elsewhere. Every culture or society carves out its own way of playing with modernity (Appadurai and Breckenbridge 1995).

The past few decades in South Asia, particularly in India and Pakistan, have witnessed the exacerbation of inequalities in society due to the indiscriminate use of modern architecture and urbanism. The search for alternative modernities is a positive development, as it offers an opportunity to create new local identities in a globalizing cultural climate (Menon 2010:3). One of the major influences of Dubaization in the region, including South Asia, and even countries like Turkey, is the creation of glitzy shopping malls. With their pulsating neon light facades and loud, almost ear-shattering music inside, these places have come to represent the global culture of consumption. These privatized realms are regarded as symbols of modernity and often misunderstood as public domains (Temelkuran 2012). Just like the West, public spaces in South Asia are consistently eroded and streets become off limits due to pollution, safety and security issues. Instead these flashy malls can erroneously pose as substitutes for public space.

Urban Spectacle and its Inadequacies

The economic function of small towns has changed substantially in the past few decades — from servicing urban centers or cities to becoming more closely connected to the economies of the larger metropolitan areas. Improved transportation and networking connectivity have transformed small towns. There is, however, a difference between small towns in India and Pakistan. Despite progress in some major small towns or cities in Pakistan — such as Faisalabad, Gujranwala and Sialkot — the past 25 years have seen only social and economic stagnation (Altaf 2008). On the other hand, small towns in India are generally said to be prospering, as their economy is becoming tied to the national economy, even though the country is not without its share of significant problems. Sprawl and forced displacement of the poor in large cities continue to create immense hardships for low-income populations.

In Pakistan, small towns have historically been neglected as the large cities claim the lion's share of resources. Since the 1970s, Pakistanis of low- and middle-income groups, many from small towns, have immigrated to the Middle East and their regular remittances to their families and relatives have become a significant portion of the local economy. This resultant economy in conjunction with globalization is often blamed for a consistent decline in agricultural production. Some Pakistanis have returned home after a long absence and have established or financed modest businesses in small towns. These developments have gradually resulted in substantial cultural changes, as these people have brought back with them ideas about consumption and urbanism that have begun to transform small towns in noticeable ways (Hasan and Raza 2011:53).

In South Asian postcolonial discourse, the relationship between the metropolis and the *mofussil* areas has concentrated on the differences between the two realms of the urban and the rural. Currently, however, there is a shift in this view, particularly in the context of South Asia, where the idea of the "villager in the city" has exerted influence and has played a role, on an *a priori* basis, of new town development (Glover 2012). As in the 1940s and 1950s, albeit in a newer or changed context, this approach is consistent with the portrayal of modernity and small town life in Bollywood films today.

A Cinematic Paradox?

Paradoxically, a number of contemporary Indian filmmakers have rediscovered the charm as well as angst of living in small towns. Shyam Benegal's two films of the last four years, *Well Done Abba* and *Welcome to Sajjanpur,* locate this paradox at the center of their narratives. Obviously, not many films achieve Shyam Benegal's profound understanding, creativity and sophistication of South Asian culture. When globalized environments are reproduced (albeit on a smaller scale) in the small town, they may not merge with a cinematic experience to create a "spatial continuum" as Sahbaag Ali, the director of the film *Bunty aur Babli* (2005) seems to suggest. Seduced by a global consumer culture, albeit in a diluted form, the lead protagonists of the film abandon the more traditional expectations of their respective families in pursuit of fame, riches, and consumer goods obtained by burgling a small-town mall. We suggest that it is in the fissures between the globalized (including cinematic) image and the localized environment that one can perceive the nuances of this urbanism.

Films in South Asia on small towns and villages are not an entirely new occurrence. The creators of classic Bollywood movies, including Mehboob Khan in *Mother India*, Nitin Bose in *Ganga Jumna*, and Raj Kapoor in *Teesri Qasam*, celebrated life in small towns. These films portrayed simple, innocent, peaceful, secular and rather nostalgic lifestyles.

During its heyday, the Pakistani cinema also produced films that revolved around small towns or rural areas. Films like *Aag Ka Darya, Lakhon Mein Aik*, and *Chakori* are examples that used rural settings or small towns as a backdrop. Contemporary films, however, represent a significant departure from this idyllic trend of the past. Small towns in today's films manifest the complexity of urban living with crime, exploitation, religious contradictions and generational conflicts as representations of a rapidly changing and globalized world (Lahiri 2012). Anurag Kashyap's *Gangs of Wasseypur*, released in May 2012, revolves around family vengeance, violence, crime, power struggles and politics with crude unembellished language. Nevertheless, many of these contemporary films are also consciously designed to create a romantic appeal for globalization, as they tend to represent broader socio-cultural issues by diminishing certain crucial aspects of reality in South Asia. The commercial context within which these films are marketed is as connected to this new globalized economy as are other films created with more escapist storylines and glamorous locales.

Conclusion: "The Home and the World"

Drawing on the ideas of the postcolonial historian Partha Chatterjee (1993), can one understand this change as a manifestation of a material "outside" that can be global, even as an essential spiritual "inside" remains cohesive and sustainable? Although Chatterjee's research draws upon the colonial experience of nineteenth-century Bengal, some of the conceptualizations of "the world of experience", including spatial experience are similar. Does this "division" still work for early twenty-first-century South Asia? If an increasingly affluent population is interested in consumption, does this imply an acceptance of a Westernized model within all aspects of society? In other words, what are the limits of globalized urbanism? However, as Chatterjee points out, the spectre of Westernization is not new to South Asia; societies in the subcontinent have successfully resisted transformation, even as they have internalized certain aspects of "progress".

William Glover points out that Chatterjee's concept of a pristine "inside" might after all be a space of desire rather than a reality. His belief that colonial urbanism was not imposed, and resulted from the co-operation between the locals and the colonizer, is debatable. Through his study of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Lahore, Glover suggests that the notional "inside", the domestic spaces of homes, changed through the colonial experience also. Yet, as Chatterjee (1993) has stated most cogently, it is an altered domestic sphere that is again imagined as pristine and unsullied.

The changes taking place as a result of globalization should be critically examined in terms of an inherent cultural structure — are they indeed merely superficial responses to the global material world, retaining a cultural core that remains intact? This opens up broader questions regarding modernity, globalization and culture in South Asia. Mitchell (2000:7) has criticized the idea of modernity as a "vocabulary of alternatives" based on a singular modernity; he asserts that "to disrupt the powerful story of modernity, rather than contribute to its globalization, it is not enough to question simply its location. One also has to question its temporality".

In this context, the essential issue is not whether the colonial era obliterated South Asian intellectual and cultural development but whether this development should be viewed only through a modernistic lens. The confusion about modernity in the age of rampant globalization does not stem from the uncertainty about the position we should take vis-à-vis South Asian modernity, but rather from our conviction to question, and at times even reject, the modernities developed by others.

We suggest, however, that as South Asians continue to be active participants in this process, globalized urban interventions in small towns are an arena where such spatial imaginations are constantly negotiated through local economic, social and political realities.

References

- Alraouf, Ali A. (2006). The Emergence of a New Urban Brand "Dubaization/Dubaification" <http://qu.academia.edu/AliAlraouf/Papers/358453/The_Emergence_of_a_
- New_Urban_Brand_Dubaization_Dubaification> Accessed on October 10, 2012.
- Altaf, Anjum (2008). What is happening in small towns. <http://thesouthasianidea.wordpress.com/2008/10/05/what's-happening-in-small-towns/> Accessed on October 5, 2012.
- Appadurai, Arjun and Breckenbridge, Carol (1995). "*On Public Modernity in India*". In Breckenbridge, Carol (ed.) *Consuming Modernity: Public Culture in a South Asian World*.
- Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Chatterjee, Partha (1993). *The Nation and Its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1993.
- Davis, Mike (2006). Fear and Money in Dubai. <http://newleftreview.org/II/41/mike-davis-fear-and-money-in-dubai> Accessed on October 14, 2012.
- Debord, Guy (1995). *The Society of the Spectacle*. Translated by Donald Nicholson-Smith, New York: Zone Books.
- Elsheshtawy, Yasser (2004). Dubaization. <http://dubaization.com/dubaization> Accessed on October 14, 2012.
- Elsheshtawy, Yasser (2010). *Dubai: Behind an Urban Spectacle*. New York: Routledge
- Gaonkar, Dilip (2001). *Alternative Modernities*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Glover, William (2008). *Making Lahore Modern: Constructing and Imagining a Colonial City*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Glover, William (2012). "The troubled passage from 'village communities' to planned new town developments in mid-twentieth century South Asia". *Urban History*, 39, pp. 108-127.
- Hackworth, Jack (2007). *The Neoliberal City: Governance, Ideology, and Development in American Urbanism*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Hasan, Arif and Raza Mansoor (2011). *Migration and Small Towns in Pakistan.* Oxford University Press.
- Hoek, Lotte (2012). "Mofussil Metropolis: Civil sites, uncivil cinema and provinciality in Dhaka city." *Ethnography*,13:28, pp. 28-42.
- Lahiri, Monojit (2012). Shanghai to Wasseypur: Bollywood's newfound love for small towns. <http://ibnlive.in.com/news/bollywoods-newfound-love-for-the-small-towns/277266-8-66.html> Accessed on October 13, 2012.
- Menon, A.G. Krishna (2010). Introduction: Why Tradition Matters. In Prasad, Deependra's *New Architecture And Urbanism: Development of Indian Traditions*. Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Mitchell, Timothy (ed.) (2000) *Questions of Modernity*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

- Temelkuran, Ece (2012). 'Dubaization' versus... what? <http://english.al-akhbar.com/node/7252> Accessed on October 20, 2012.

- Urry, John (1995). *Consuming Places*. London: Routledge.

- Wollen, Peter (2001). Situationists and Architecture. <http://newleftreview.org/II/8/peter-wollen-situationists-and-architecture> Accessed on October 2, 2012.

Conserving Historic Towns: A Framework for an Integrated Conservation Plan for Orchha, A Small Medieval Settlement in Central India

Priyaleen Singh, PhD

A key feature of urban planning in post-Independence India has been an increasing emphasis on developing 'new' areas instead of the 'old' and on developing 'big' cities instead of 'small' towns. In adopting the 'Master Plan' approach it has more often than not completely overlooked and bypassed the indigenous principles of planning inherent in these historic towns. Planning through master plans has in fact, in the guise of development, either led to the conscious destruction of historic urban fabric or through sheer neglect has reduced many of these small historic settlements to slums defying the basic standards of human living. This legacy of neglect of the traditional can be traced to the colonial period when it was the compulsion of the political ideology that chose to undermine traditional urbanism, with Patrick Geddes, perhaps, being the lone voice of dissent. Post-Independence, however, it was the imperatives of a developing country wanting to appear 'modern' by discarding the 'past' and thinking 'big' that led to this neglect. As a result many historic towns, which through centuries and generations were nurtured and had sustained a quality of life more wholesome than that provided by more contemporary planning, are today considered a burden and a liability to be got rid of, rather than conserved as an asset for the future. Paradoxically, even while lamenting this loss, there is another reality contained in the fact that today a sizable portion of the urban population continues to live in many of these small historic towns. It is also true that, even in their neglect, these historic settlements continue to foster a vibrancy, vitality and energy lacking in most 'new' developments. It is these values and principles of planning that have to be retrieved in order to conserve them and also because they are worth emulating in new developments, providing in the process the rationale for their conservation.

Figure 1

Ritual tank in Puri, Orissa

In the context of historic settlements in India, heritage towns as repositories of knowledge systems contain lessons in planning and

design that are still relevant today. If one were to weigh the principles of traditional planning against contemporary variants, some features stand out. Historic towns were closely linked to and were deeply respectful of nature and there was an intricate weave of natural and cultural ecology in their built form (Fig 1). Their physical form, based essentially on animate rather than inanimate forms of energy, resulted in settlements of human scale, planned for the people and not the automobile. Because of their relatively high densities and compact forms, they encouraged a multiplicity of space usage, ensuring greater economy in the use of time, energy and land. The architecture too, in its dependence on local materials, not only gave them a distinctive identity but was also reflective of a self-sustaining ecological model of design. The settlement pattern was climate responsive in the scale of streets, the building forms, the materials used and even in the use of color. In linking it to the more contemporary issues and ideologies, one could even say that the spaces were gender sensitive (Fig 2). While there were elements indicative of the social hierarchy of pre-industrial living, we can see today that these settlements also harbor the potential to become more egalitarian; that is, they display the ability to constantly reinvent themselves to address the more socialist and democratic concerns of the present day without

Figure 2

Otlas outside houses, Jaisalmer, Rajasthan

compromising on the other basic qualities. Many of these towns are like crucibles, nurturing rich crafts and skills and they continue to provide livelihoods to craftspersons of all trades.

Therefore, in making a case for the conservation of such historic towns today, it needs to be underscored that the value of these settlements and their architecture lies not in their visual imagery but rather in the way that these settlements once performed. Living historic towns continue to embody many of the qualities expressed in terms such as 'sustainable', 'ecofriendly', 'mixed land use', 'low rise high density', 'pedestrianization', 'green design', all concepts that are re-entering the vocabulary of an alternative discourse in architecture and the planning of new towns.

All these concepts have in fact been timeless concepts that have existed for centuries in our historic towns and have ensured their efficient working. Therein lies the hope and future of conservation of our historic towns, a future based not merely on accommodating the symbols of the past in the present but a future shaped in a very definitive manner by the positive qualities this heritage represents.*i* Conservation in such instances acquires additional validity and is redefined as an alternate model of development, capable of sustaining a higher quality of human existence. While accepting changes and transformations in the urban fabric, as also in the lifestyle of people, as inevitable and necessary, conservation must guide these transformations without compromising on the basic values of heritage. In the absence of this perspective on living historic settlements, we will continue to lose our rich urban heritage to the anonymous and settlements lacking in any distinction.

It was with this rationale and understanding of conservation that one approached Orchha, a historic settlement, unique in itself and yet representative of scores of historic towns in terms of the issues pertaining to their conservation. Orchha is a small settlement in Madhya Pradesh with over five thousand inhabitants. It is sited in the most picturesque setting on the banks of the River Betwa, amidst a forest cover that once provided the necessary natural bastion in turbulent medieval times. As a capital of the Bundelas from 1531 to 1783 A.D., Orchha today has some of the best surviving examples of Bundela architecture, a rich natural heritage comprising of the river landscape and forests and a living Bundela culture embodied in the people, their lifestyle, folklore, music and literature (Fig 3, Fig 4).

Figure 3

Bundela style painting on the ceiling of Laxmi Mandir, Orchha

Figure 4

Bundela period gardens and palaces, Orchha

Orchha means different things to different people. To the local inhabitants, Orchha is a place of residence, where having lived for over four hundred years, today surviving on the traditional economy of agriculture is difficult, owing to the degraded natural environment.

Figure 5

Vernacular housing, Orchha

Forests have disappeared and the water regimes, so carefully tended over centuries by the traditional wisdom of water harvesting, have been disrupted. As a result, people are increasingly turning to a new occupation, tourism, to eke out a living in however small a manner. While the urban fabric retains some of its medieval character in its spaces, streets, courtyards, *chowks* and vernacular housing, thus sustaining and promoting a cohesive community structure, it is threatened by change under the pressures of misguided urbanization (Fig 5). It lacks the basic infrastructure related to sanitation and water supply, transforming what could otherwise have been a very humane habitat, into a degraded and unhygienic living environment.

For the residents of the wider region, Orchha is an urban center providing infrastructure such as dispensaries, schools, hostels, many of which are functioning out of historic buildings, thus giving them a new lease of life. For them, visiting Orchha is an auspicious event, because of its association with Hardaul, a folk hero of the seventeenth century, who features in many of the folk tales and ballads of Bundelkhand. To the several thousand pilgrims from all over India, Orchha is the town of temples, Raja Ram Mandir being the most famous. In their faith they throng in lakhs at festival times for a dip in the River Betwa and in the absence of any infrastructure, leave behind an even more degraded environment for the local people to live in.

To the tourists, Indian and foreign, Orchha is the splendor of medieval monuments, some standing, most in ruins. Unlike the pilgrims these tourists view the magnificent temples with another kind of awe and reverence, devoid of religious faith, but worshipful nonetheless, acknowledging the creativity of a people and a culture that found expression through the medium of religion in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. These tourists take back magical memories of a medieval capital. Through their needs and demands on Orchha however, they not only overburden a non-existent infrastructure but also leave behind an alien cultural baggage that is triggering a rapid

pace of change. This is manifested, for example, in the transformation of the very distinctive vernacular architecture built in stone and brick into faceless concrete hotels (Fig 6).

Orchha is all this and much more. In preparing a framework for its conservation, an initiative taken by INTACH (The Indian National Trust for Art and Cultural Heritage), the objectives were manifold.[ii] The challenge was to improve the site for all who live, visit and work in the area;

Figure 6

Vernacular housing transforming into hotels, Orchha

to ensure not only the physical survival of archaeological sites and monuments but also to improve interpretation and understanding of the site as a cultural landscape; to identify economic and cultural benefits that could be derived from the heritage for the local community without harming it in any way; to work with the local community so as to arrive at a long-term, self-sustaining endeavor towards its conservation; and to address the current land management issues as a means of managing heritage. Additionally, the conservation plan had to be seen as a process to effectively manage the site whereby heritage, tourism and the local community could interact positively with the other agencies in the area to create a better living environment.

Conservation as a discipline has to sit on four basic principles. Conservation in both spirit and practice has to be integrated, holistic, sustainable and innovative. The first principle demands that conservation be integrated with development or in another parlance be 'integrated conservation'. The second principle of any conservation action is that it should be holistic in nature wherein disciplines as diverse as environmental planning, traffic planning, disaster management, sociology, economics and anthropology have to be considered integral to conservation. The third principle in any conservation exercise is that of sustainability. Sustainability has here not just environmental connotations but is measured in terms of the ability of the conservation proposals to continue making a positive difference to the lives of the people in a time-frame beyond their immediate implementation. Conservation as a profession is a nascent one and one which has still not found its rightful place in the institutions and the frameworks that continue to work in historic towns and cities. As the fourth principle, in finding solutions to save and safeguard heritage, the path conservation plans take must be an innovative one, as one which

questions the established norms and practices pertaining to the care of our heritage.

A holistic approach was vital for the Orchha Heritage Zone spread over six square kilometers, where the interests and future of the people, the landscape and the monuments were closely intertwined. It had to balance the concerns of built heritage with nature conservation, local community demands and visitor needs. In the process, what became evident was that conservation proposals had to be a part of the larger economic and social planning for the area. For example, while the presence of monuments was giving an impetus to tourism, in the absence of any established thresholds of carrying capacity of the site, it was also leading to unbalanced economic and urban development. Many people were abandoning their traditional sources of livelihood, like agriculture, to turn to tourism, a proposition that seemed very lucrative in the short run. However, one bad year in tourism saw a slump in tourist inflow, adversely affecting the income levels and the quality of life of the people. The conservation plan, in order to promote a more diverse occupation profile, suggested, among other things, improving the agriculture potential of the land through reviving the water regimes, of water harvesting and afforestation. Closely linked with this was the need to prepare a plan with an emphasis on joint forest and water management practices to ensure the conservation of the natural heritage. Other NGOs, like Development Alternatives, who were doing phenomenal work in the area with the local population, such as building check dams, were co-opted to play a larger role in the conservation scene. Similarly, the need to upgrade the pilgrim infrastructure was considered vital, not for the pilgrims alone but for the local population as well. In the absence of any sanitation, sewage after leaching into the soil was polluting the underground water, thus proving a hazard for the large number of local inhabitants dependent on the wells for their water supply.

Another key objective of the conservation plan was to outline a sustainable approach for the future management of the site, one that reduced dependence on externalities. This implied developing a meaningful stakeholder involvement that employed local skills and abilities for the continuing care of heritage. This was handled at several levels. It was evident that the heritage structures that the people could relate to on a daily basis were better conserved. One of the positive aspects of Orchha was that through adaptive reuse of many of its historic structures it had made this possible and had thus ensured their survival. Jhujhar Singh Palace, Keshav Bhavan, Purani *Haveli*, the barracks, all seventeenth

century structures, were functioning as a *tehsil* court, an intermediate school, a primary school and a boys' hostel respectively. To further encourage this trend, while making an inventory of the built heritage of Orchha, the possibility of using several other heritage structures for public usage was explored.

In the very initial phase of the project, a workshop was held with local contractors and masons to sensitize them to the skills and materials necessary for the restoration of monuments. Many of these skills had existed till very recently and were used in vernacular housing. However, they had been marginalized with the modern building industry aggressively promoting new materials. What was noteworthy was that it was the contractors, more than the masons, who needed this education and orientation. Subsequently, in order to further encourage these skills, INTACH undertook the restoration of twelve smaller heritage structures with a team comprising largely of local craftspersons. A register of these craftspersons was maintained with the Nagar Panchayat and the Directorate of Archaeology, Archives and Museums (DAAM) for their employment in any restoration work in the future. It was also proposed to set up a building conservation cell within the Nagar Panchayat to advocate the use of traditional materials and skills in the mainstream building industry, as well as to ensure their easy availability.

The involvement of the community in the protection of heritage, which was currently almost non-existent, was crucial to the success of the plan. It was all the more important given the fact that the maintenance and management of the expanse of heritage was clearly beyond the means of DAAM, with its very limited financial and technical resources. Of the 165 heritage structures within the Heritage Zone of Orchha, the DAAM was actively protecting only a dozen of the grand, monumental and more visible buildings. There was a need to develop mechanisms whereby the task of conservation of heritage could be shared by individuals or groups under the guidance of DAAM. One such proposal, amongst many others, dealt with several historic wells and *baolis* that lay scattered within the agricultural fields. Most of them were in a state of disrepair and disuse with sources of water blocked by debris. An initiative was taken to make an inventory of the wells, to subsequently clean them, with the Nagar Panchayat and DAAM providing initial subsidies for their repair; thereafter their maintenance would be handed over to local farmers, in whose fields they lay, as they had a stake in their conservation. The existing administrative wards that were comprised of about fifty households each also proved to be a very cohesive unit for decision-

making for the care and management of smaller heritage structures like pavilions and *baradaris* that fell within the limits of the ward boundaries. Many of these structures that were not under the purview of DAAM were proposed to be incorporated in *chowks* and open space design as part of the urban design schemes.

Many of the proposals also highlighted the need to adopt innovative approaches to conservation of heritage in spheres where the conventional methods of maintenance of heritage had failed in the past. This list was wide-ranging and diverse and ranged from introducing ecofriendly modes of transport like bicycles and cycle *rickshaws* within the core of the heritage zone for tourists, pedestrianizing of certain zones, to banning of plastic bags and setting up of a paper bag industry using local skills. The conservation plan also called for a rethink of the Archaeological Survey of India (ASI), Regulation of 1992 that restricted and regulated development within 100m and 200m respectively of monuments. Imposing this blanket regulation was proving to be a very impractical solution in the context of a living settlement such as Orchha, and was one of the reasons why it was flouted without compunction. A development plan identifying various precincts with different levels of control, guided by the nature of the heritage within, was prepared in consultation with the Town and Country Planning Organization (TCPO).

The diversity of heritage and an equally diverse range of agencies functioning in Orchha also brought forth the multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary aspect of conservation, where heritage became the concern of not only archaeologists or conservation architects but also of town planners, traffic and transport planners, environmental planners, tourism experts, urban designers, landscape architects, economists, sociologists and anthropologists to name a few.

What emerged from the study of Orchha was that for conservation to be successful, heritage had to be integrated with the lives of the people in a more direct manner, to touch aspects concerned with contemporary living. It had to be relevant in economic, social and ecological terms. In the practice of urban conservation, the two most important participants are the users and the institutions responsible for the urban environment. It thus became imperative to veer 'heritage' on the agenda of each of these institutions and agencies functioning in Orchha for any conservation plan to succeed. This was done through various proposals and policies identified in the Conservation Plan. It was observed that an awareness of the heritage of Orchha was either completely missing within the

institutional framework, or if it did exist, it was in a very myopic manner. Through the Conservation Plan the TCPO expanded their understanding of the urban heritage of Orchha beyond 'monuments' to include the vernacular housing, the urban morphology with all its qualities such as the human scale of streets and open spaces, their multiplicity of usage, the safe and secure environs of cul de sacs and

the *otlas* as an interface between the private and public realms. They recognized that any future development plan for Orchha had to respect and enhance these features because they were sustaining a quality of human existence worth conserving. The Conservation Plan also emphasized to the TCPO the need to frame development guidelines sensitive to these qualities; guidelines that had to be different from the existing 'standards' like front, back and rear setbacks and Floor Area Ratios (FARs) applicable to any 'modern' development (Fig 7). Similarly, the DAAM, who were protecting only the grand and the magnificent, were made to realize the value of the lesser known structures which were contributing as much in retaining the image of the medieval capital as the palaces and larger *havelis*. The Conservation Plan also sought to change the 'museum piece' attitude towards all heritage, currently adopted by the DAAM, which often compelled them to evict all uses and users from historic buildings and construct fences around monuments. The proposals in the Conservation Plan followed the age-old dictum that 'the best way to conserve a historic structure was to put it to a compatible use'. The Tourism Department was prompted to regulate tourism before it grew to proportions where it became self-destructive. The Forest Department was also made to recognize the need to adopt joint forest management practices as a means of managing natural heritage. The Public Works Department (PWD) was sensitized to the importance of the city gateways as heritage so that they cease to treat them as impediments to their road widening schemes (Fig 8). They were made to see the utility of these historic gateways in generating a new traffic proposal where the gateways became regulators of the quantum and modes of traffic permitted through them, thus ensuring a safe and secure environment within the streets in the core of Orchha. The Water Pollution Board was also notified of the fact that the boulders in

Figure 8

Ganesh *Darwaza*, Orchha

the river were a part of the natural heritage as the river and fishing by blasting had to be banned because it was polluting the river as well as damaging the rock outcrops. The State Electricity Board and the Telephone Department also had to be coaxed into re-siting the electrical and telephone cables so as not to deface the monuments or mar their views.

To conclude, conservation in living historic areas has to be about quality of life and until heritage can help add to that, in tangible or intangible terms, it will continue to be neglected. The nature of urban development in India in recent times has resulted in a disconnect with the past which has changed people's perceptions of their heritage. Conservation today has to aim to reconnect with this past by illustrating that it has much to offer to enhance this quality of life. For example, in conserving the vernacular housing, the argument is not that of preserving a relic of the past to make for good photo opportunities for tourists on heritage walks, but because, as a detailed study of the vernacular architecture in Orchha revealed, it was ecofriendly, durable, economical, low maintenance and comfortable to live in.

So can conservation be the call for change which ensures that more equitable development paradigms are introduced to reach out to this vast population living in our historic towns, which today exist as impoverished islands in a burgeoning landscape of 'new' cities. While one is aware that on its own conservation cannot bring about structural changes in society, it can certainly assist other endeavors, political or otherwise, to focus on and intervene in these areas as there still is much of the 'past', existing today as a 'living' present that has to be carried into the future as an asset.

End Notes

[i]*Menon, A. G. K., 'Imagining the Indian City', Theatres of Decolonisation, Conference at Chandigarh, Jan 20-25 1995. Unpublished paper.*

[ii]*Singh, P., 'Orchha, Framework for a Conservation Management Plan', INTACH, Delhi, 2003. Unpublished report.*

Photographs by Author.

Forward Into History: Small Communities, Big Issues and the Lynch Knife River Flint Quarry

Meagan Schoenfelder

Introduction

At first glance, the Lynch Knife River Flint Quarry may seem a strange choice for a paper regarding the life of small towns. Settled amidst rolling prairie grasslands in west-central North Dakota, the quarry is not a 'town' in any traditional sense of the word. Yet, in June 2012, a diverse group of people, including current landowners, citizens of the small town of Dunn Center and members of the Three Affiliated Tribes of the Fort Berthold Indian Reservation, gathered at the site to celebrate the quarry's central role in the region's history and its recent status as a U.S. National Historic Landmark. The quarry has been a focal point of various communities for thousands of years. Long before European contact, it was a resource of great value to many indigenous communities on the Northern Plains. This paper will focus primarily on the Hidatsa earthlodge communities situated on the Knife River after AD 1450. More recently, the current landowners and various constituents of the local community have appreciated the quarry as a site of historic importance. Members of the Three Affiliated Tribes and descendants of the original Hidatsa communities also recognize the Lynch Knife River Flint Quarry as an invaluable cultural resource. The Lynch Knife River Flint Quarry is a pivotal link between present and past communities and as such its ongoing narrative serves as an illustration of many of the issues faced by small populations. These issues include concern over the loss of cultural knowledge and traditions, governmental interference, local issues decided by larger population demands, as well as conflicts between the desire for preservation and economic considerations.

The Hidatsa and the Knife River Villages

Located in central North Dakota at the junction of the Knife and Missouri Rivers, the Knife River villages were home to people for more than five hundred years. These villages were primarily home to the Hidatsa people.[1] The Hidatsa were composed of three individual Siouan-speaking subgroups with mutually intelligible dialects—the Awatixas, the Awaxawi, and the

---

[1] Ahler et al. 1991, 54, 58

Hidatsa-proper.[2] Permanent earthlodge villages occupied during the summer were located on relatively treeless upper river terraces overlooking rich floodplains suitable for agriculture. More transient winter villages consisted of smaller earthlodges in the forested river bottom that provided game and winter fuel supplies.[3] Each of the three Hidatsa subgroups had its own distinct original traditions and maintained its own villages. While there were several Hidatsa villages[4] located along the Knife River, this paper will focus on what are known today as the Knife River Indian Villages, a group of sites preserved by the National Park Services.

The Knife River Indian Villages National Historic Site preserves several permanent earthlodge village sites. The Lower Hidatsa Village (Awatixa Xi'e Village, 32ME10) was settled by 1525 or earlier by the Awatixas and was occupied continuously until the late 18th century; it was home to an estimated 500-600 people.[5] The Awatixas then inhabited Sakakawea Village (Awatixa Village, 32ME11) from the late 18th century until around 1834.[6] The population at Sakakawea Village varied widely over time and contained as many as sixty earthlodges.[7] Taylor Bluff Village (32ME366) is thought to have been occupied by the Awatixas after Sakakawea Village was destroyed; it was only briefly occupied from about 1834 until most of the Knife River villages were abandoned around 1845.[8] Hidatsa Village (also known as Big Hidatsa Village, 32ME12) was settled by the Hidatsa-proper at the beginning of the 17th century and was lived in until sometime around 1845.[9] Hidatsa Village had an estimated population of 820-1200 inhabitants.[10] Amahami Village (32ME8) was settled by the Awaxawi sometime between 1797-1804 and was occupied until about 1834 when it was destroyed in the same Dakota raid as Sakakawea Village.[11] Only a portion of Amahami Village is within the Historic Site boundaries and much of the site has been destroyed; however, up to 33 earthlodge depressions were recorded at the site in the early 20th century.[12]

Village life was subject to complex social organization. Both male and female age-grade societies existed and people would normally pass through several

2   Wood 1980, 4; Ahler et al. 1991, 46; Wood 1993, 11
3   Wood 1974, 5-6; Hanson 1987, 32-34
4   Wood 1980, 3, 26; Ahler et al. 1991, 46; Bowers 1992, 26-27; Schneider 2002, 31
5   Ahler and Weston 1981, 7, 11; Ahler et al. 1991, 53, 89-90; Wood 1993, 18
6   Ahler et al. 1980, 1; Wood 1980, 9-10; Ahler et al. 1991, 92-93; Wood 1993, 11, 19
7   Ahler et al. 1991, 92-93
8   Ahler 1988, 309-311; Ahler et al. 1991, 97
9   Wood 1980, 8; Ahler and Swenson 1985, 1; Ahler et al. 1991, 54, 85-86; Wood 1993, 11
10 Ahler et al. 1991, 85-86
11 Wood 1980, 10; Ahler et al. 1991, 96; Wood 1993, 11-12, 19
12   Ahler et al. 1991, 95

different societies during their lives.[13] These societies fulfilled various social and ceremonial functions, such as maintaining camp safety or performing agricultural rites.[14] Such societies established standards of behavior, provided support for members' needs, and passed on related traditions and knowledge.[15] Memberships in the age-grade societies were not automatic, but were purchased.[16]

People in the villages depended on both bison hunting and intensive gardening. Bison provided food as well as materials for clothing, tools and agricultural equipment — such as hoes made from bison scapulae. Large gardens (3-5 acres in size) supplied food such as squash, beans, sunflowers, and corn (maize).[17] Vegetables were dried on racks and stored in cache pits in or near the houses; surplus produce was traded with nomadic groups and traders.[18]

The Significance of the Lynch KRF** Quarry Site in the Life of the Knife River Villages

"When we think and talk about . . . our villages, we always think . . . it's there that we lived, it's there that we had our ceremonies, it's there that we had our prayers, it's there that we raised our children. And yes, it was, but we also raised and learned and prayed and sung [sic] in places as far away as here—this is our territory as well. So this was all home."[19]

Though nearly 60 miles away from the mouth of the Knife River and its villages, activity within the Lynch KRF Quarry site could well be regarded as an extension of village life; it was also 'home'. This area was well within the territorial ranges of the Hidatsa as they would often travel 100-200 miles away from their villages on the summer buffalo hunt.[20] While not specifically referencing the Lynch KRF Quarry, Bowers notes in his ethnographic studies conducted in the 1930s that the Hidatsa traditionally procured their lithic raw materials from west of the Missouri River.[21] The source area for

---

** For the sake of space, the Lynch Knife River Flint Quarry will be abbreviated as the Lynch KRF Quarry.
13 Ahler et al. 1991, 19
14 Bowers 1992, 209; Hanson 1987, 49-51
15 Bowers 1992, 174, 210; Ahler et al. 19
16 Bowers 1992, 209; Ahler et al. 19; Hanson 1987, 49
17 Ahler et al. 1991, 16-17
18 Ahler et al. 1991, 17
19 Gerard Baker, retired former Assistant Director for American Indian Relations for the National Parks Service and member of the Three Affiliated Tribes, from speech at Lynch KRF Quarry dedication ceremony, June 9, 2012
20 Bowers 1992, 50
21 Bowers 1992, 166

the Knife River Flint (KRF)[*] is located primarily along the upper Knife River and its tributary, Spring Creek, in Dunn County, North Dakota; one of the largest sites within that area is encompassed by the Lynch KRF Quarry.[22]

The Lynch KRF Quarry measures nearly two miles by one mile (3.2 km by 1.6 km) and covers nearly 690 acres (279 hectares).[23] The hundreds of visible pits that dot the surface of the landscape cause the Lynch KRF Quarry to resemble a grassier version of the moon's surface. Archaeological excavations at the site indicate that many more pits than are currently visible are likely to exist.[24] The pits vary in size and have diameters up to five meters and range from less than half a meter to more than two meters in depth.[25]

A major activity at the site would have been quarrying. The quarry pits are testament to the amount of activity that took place. Other evidence includes the presence of large anvil stones, located near the pits, which were used for breaking up large cobbles of KRF into transportable or workable pieces.[26] Modified pieces of KRF in various processing stages are also present. Bison bone implements used for lithic tool manufacturing and finished stone tools have also been found.[27]

Knife River Flint is a distinctive dark brown coffee-colored translucent stone composed of silicified lignite.[28] When held to a light source, thin objects made of the material appear a golden amber color. KRF is subject to patination or chemical weathering and if continually exposed to the elements will become opaque and turn a whitish color.[29] As a lithic material with high quality flaking potential, KRF was widely used for the manufacture of chipped stone tools.[30] These include projectile points, knife blades, scrapers used for processing hides, perforators, drills, as well as other tools for creating implements of antler, bone or wood.[31] It was the most commonly used raw material for chipped stone tools in the area of the Dakotas.[32] This is certainly true of the Knife River Villages as KRF remains the dominant lithic material

---

* For the sake of space, the abbreviation KRF will be used for Knife River Flint throughout this paper.

22   Loendorf et al. 1984, 7,13; Ahler et al. 1991, 61
23   Loendorf et al. 1984, 13; Hiemstra 2008, 5
24   Loendorf et al. 1984, 7; Ahler 1986, 109
25   Loendorf et al. 1984, 7
26   Loendorf et al. 1984, 8
27   Loendorf et al. 1984, 8; Ahler 1986, 93-94, 100
28   Clayton et al. 1970, 282, 289; Ahler 1977, 138; Ahler and Christensen 1983, 1; Clark 1984, 173, 175; Loendorf et al. 1984, 7; Ahler et al. 1991, 61
29   Ahler and Christensen 1983, 197-198
30   Clayton et al. 1970, 282, 287; Wood 1974, 13; Ahler and Christensen 1983, 1; Clark 1984, 173
31   Ahler et al. 1991, 36
32   Wood 1974, 13-14; Loendorf et al. 1984, 4; Ahler et al. 1991, 36; Ahler and Toom 1993, 216

throughout their habitation.[33] Archaeological investigations at Lower Hidatsa Village have indicated huge amounts of KRF debris and artifacts, 'an estimated 140,000 pounds or more than 2,700 pounds per earthlodge'; such quantities attest to the material's importance.[34]

Along with the crops grown by the peoples of the Knife River Villages, KRF was an important element in the Knife River Villages' vital role as middlemen in an extensive and complex prehistoric trade network.[35] Beyond meeting the tool manufacturing needs of people living at Knife River, archaeological evidence shows that KRF was widely distributed. Objects made of KRF are found as far north as Saskatchewan and Manitoba, Canada; as far south as the Texas panhandle; as far west as the Rocky Mountains; and east beyond Ohio.[36] Though there is evidence of temporary encampments near the site, the lack of permanent habitation supports the indications that the site was primarily used for quarrying and preparing the KRF for long-distance travel.[37] The location of the Knife River Villages on a trade route at a major river juncture was well suited for trade-related activities.[38] The quarry site had importance both in local and regional trade. Inter-community interactions would have been linked with much of this economic activity.[39]

It is also likely that the Lynch KRF Quarry had spiritual or religious significance in the life of the people of the Knife River Villages. Some Native American groups believe quarries to be sacred places; certain stone materials may have had spiritual significance.[40] Several Hidatsa accounts recorded by Bowers indicate similar beliefs related to KRF. A narrative by Bears Arm relates how Crow Bull cut off one of his fingers with a piece of 'sharp flint' in an effort to secure a vision.[41] Crows Arm describes an account of a hunting expedition that stopped to offer gifts to the gods at a turtle effigy:

> "Some left knives but in the olden times the flint knife was given, for the flint was a sign of the big birds who go with the turtle and the other gods in the Missouri and the creeks around."[42]

---

33 Lehmer et al. 1978, 234-236; Ahler 1980, 136-139; Ahler and Weston 1981, 120-121; Ahler and Swenson 1985, 201; Ahler 1988, 150, 177
34 Ahler et al. 1991, 91
35 Wood 1974, 10; Ahler et al. 1991, 61-62
36 Clayton et al. 1970, 282; Ahler 1986, 5; Hiemstra 2008, 4, 8-9
37 Ahler 1986, 107-108
38 Ahler et al. 1991, 62
39 Hanson 1987, 39
40 Arnold 1987, 116
41 Bowers 1992, 351
42 Bowers 1992, 370

In his account of how he purchased Big Bird bundle rights, the Hidatsa leader Wolf Chief mentions that a flint knife was used in the ceremony.[43]

Sacred bundles were collections of objects associated with the stories and lives of important beings and cultural heroes. Culturally sanctioned rights to practise crafts or skills related to these materials had to be purchased over long periods of time by the younger generations from their elders. Among the Hidatsa people, the process of working chipped stone was considered a ceremonial activity and the craft was practised in secret.[44]

Since spiritual beliefs and ceremonial practice often do not have obvious material signatures they can be difficult to find in the archaeological record, however, it has been observed that ' . . . *the existence of cairns and prayer circles near the quarry may be linked to these religious concepts'*.[45] Contemporary indigenous narratives of the site support this and help inform archaeological interpretations of the site. As noted by Gerard Baker, retired former Assistant Director for American Indian Relations for the National Parks Service and member of the Three Affiliated Tribes, at the 2012 Lynch KRF Quarry celebration:

> "I would imagine that there would be times when people would come out here, the warriors, the leaders come out here to pray, to try to solve a problem, and coming [sic] back to a place that meant something to them, like these quarries. There will be a time, I imagine, when they came out here and they had ceremonies for the survival of our people."[46]

For the people living at the Knife River Indian Villages, the quarry provided materials that made possible a way of life both internally within the community and externally as a link forming relationships between communities in the region. As a central place, it was an extension of 'home'; a place where life was lived, tasks were accomplished and ceremonies were performed. As Gerard Baker aptly sums up:

> "This was put here by the creator so that . . . we as . . . Hidatsa and Mandan, and later on the Arikara people, could live. And we were rich people--I'm not saying money-wise. I'm saying knowledge. I'm saying ceremonies. I'm saying trade. I'm saying families—we took care of each other. And I got to thinking about . . . all the prayers . . . that were said here and all the songs that were sung here and this being an area that was not under any kind of

---

43 Bowers 1992, 368
44 Bowers 1992, 166
45 Hiemstra 2008, 18
46 From speech at Lynch KRF Quarry Dedication Ceremony, June 9, 2012

conflict that I've ever heard about or read about. This was a sacred area…
It was so sacred that we didn't dare have battles here. When . . . our enemy
tribes would come in here, they would camp and they would trade with
us."[47]

Tough Times: Change and Challenges

". . . we also talk about what we had to go through as Indian people in those
villages. Yes, we had a good time, but it was also tough times as well."[48]

Contact with Europeans introduced new materials, including a variety of
metals that were incorporated into traditional technologies. While the use of
bone tools remained fairly persistent even after the abandonment of the three
Hidatsa Villages at Knife River, the substitution of metal for chipped stone
materials seems to have been slightly more accelerated.[49] Objects requiring
a high degree of practice and skill, such as fine knife blades or small hide
scrapers, began to decline in the 1700s and became more infrequent after
1800; at the same time simpler, utilitarian, chipped stone tools became more
numerous.[50] The recycling or re-use of previously discarded stone tools also
increased after 1800.[51] If the decrease in finely manufactured KRF objects
indicates a simultaneous decline in the transmission of traditional flint-
knapping technology, it is clear that general knowledge of KRF's suitability
for tool manufacture persisted. While there is little doubt that there was an
abatement in the overall use of chipped stone materials in the historic period,
KRF continued to be used and was adapted to meet new needs and ideas
as well. One such application was gun technology, as native-made gunflints
were created from KRF.[52] All the same, KRF was gradually replaced by
imported metal as a favored material for the manufacture of tools.

The general decline in the use of KRF was not merely an issue affecting
the material culture within the Hidatsa villages. The importance of KRF in
native trade networks meant that decline in its use could have far-ranging
consequences. A decrease in demand for materials suitable for chipped
stone tool manufacturing meant this system was altered. The place of the
Knife River Villages within that network was also changing as traditional
patterns were challenged in other ways. Incoming foreign fur-traders
sought to establish their own trade networks utilizing the existing native

---

47 From speech at Lynch KRF Quarry Dedication Ceremony, June 9, 2012
48 Gerard Baker, from speech at Lynch KRF Quarry Dedication Ceremony, June 9, 2012
49 Ahler et al. 1991, 75; Griffitts 2006, 480
50 Ahler et al. 1991, 74; Ahler and Toom 1993, 255
51 Ahler et al. 1991, 75
52 Smith 1972, 62; Ahler et al. 1991, 75; Ahler and Toom 1993, 255

trade system.[53] The existing trade network remained strong alongside trade with the newcomers in the historic period. The eventual establishment of permanent Euro-American trading posts, however, undermined the status of the Knife River Villages' inhabitants as influential intermediaries; inter-community trade was seriously diminished by the time the villages were abandoned.[54]

European contact also brought smallpox. Lower Hidatsa Village was abandoned after the 1780 epidemic.[55] The 1837-1838 smallpox epidemic was particularly destructive to the densely settled Knife River Villages' populations.[56] Some of the Mandan people, a neighboring group devastated by the outbreak, sought refuge in the Hidatsa villages; a contemporaneous government agent estimated that while the Hidatsa population had been cut in half, only thirty-one of an estimated 1600 Mandan remained.[57] Around 1845 the remaining Knife River Villages' inhabitants moved two days up-river and founded the village of Like-A-Fishhook. In 1862 the Sahnish (also known as the Arikara) people joined the Hidatsa and Mandan peoples at Like-A-Fishhook, seeking mutual protection from raiding nomadic groups.[58] The impact of smallpox was far-reaching. Not only did it mean the tragic loss of family, but the sudden loss of large numbers of elder members meant a serious disruption in the transmission of traditional knowledge.

Some sacred bundles were entirely lost as there was no time to pass the years of knowledge necessary for appropriate use to the surviving population. Rights to make some items, such as pottery or chipped stone tools, or to practise certain skills such as singing, had to be purchased as they were related to the rights and ownership of particular bundles. Bowers relates that there were still owners of appropriate bundles for the right to manufacture chipped stone tools at the time when his informants were young; but *'even so, they no longer practised their skills of stone flaking.'[59]* The ultimate decline in KRF use reflects drastic changes in the lives of the people who formerly lived in the Knife River Villages.

Fort Berthold and the Garrison Dam: Land, Livelihood and Loss

The Fort Laramie Treaty of 1851 established territorial boundaries for many

---

53 Wood and Thiessen 1985, 4
54 Wood and Thiessen 1985, 8, 70; Hanson 1987, 103-104
55 Ahler and Weston 1981, 11; Ahler et al. 1991, 90
56 Bowers 1992, 487; Fenn 2001, 216-217
57 Wood and Thiessen 1985, 72-73
58 Bowers 1992, 487; Wood and Thiessen 1985, 71
59 Bowers 1992, 166

Plains' peoples and the lands set aside for the Hidatsa, Mandan and Sahnish encompassed more than 12 million acres of their ancestral lands.[60] In 1870 the Fort Berthold Reservation was established by executive order.[61] Despite separate origins, different traditions and mutually unintelligible languages, the Hidatsa, Mandan and Sahnish were not given lands individually by the government but were treated as a group. In 1936, the three groups were officially recognized as a political entity, Three Affiliated Tribes.[62] Subsequent executive orders and congressional rulings decreased the size of the Fort Berthold Reservation to less than one million acres.[63]

In the 1940s a series of dams along the Missouri River were designed by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers to provide for agricultural irrigation, flood control and hydro-electric power.[64] Droughts in the 1930s and disastrous floods in the 1940s brought support for the project from populations living downstream.[65] A large part of the proposed reservoir that the Garrison Dam would create, however, lay on the Fort Berthold Reservation lands. The inundation resulted in a significant loss of reservation property.

The filling of the Garrison Reservoir (also known as Lake Sakakawea) in 1954 led to a loss of more than 152,000 acres of reservation land.[66] The tribes were not consulted in this matter. The tribal council issued petitions, testified before Congress and even created plans for alternative dam locations; but to no avail.[67] Residents were forced to move out of the rich wooded bottom lands to the higher ground composed of comparatively bare, glacially tilled soils less suited for traditional gardening.[68] Several towns were flooded, uprooting entire communities. Old settlement sites and traditionally significant places were lost.[69] Knife River Indian Villages National Historic Site contains the few earthlodge village sites that were not inundated.[70] Valuable natural resources, including timber, wild game and access to coal deposits were gone.[71] The creation of the dam not only resulted in the loss of resources and displacement of whole communities but formed a geographic barrier; hundreds of miles had to be traveled to visit towns on

---

60 Ahler et al. 1991, 77; *North Dakota Blue Book 2011-2013* 2011, 494
61 *North Dakota Blue Book 2011-2013* 2011, 494
62 Ahler et al. 1991, 77
63 *North Dakota Blue Book 2011-2013* 2011, 495
64 Meyer 1968, 239; Meyer 1977, 211; Lawson 2009, 15, 19
65 Meyer 1968, 220, 239, 258; Meyer 1977, 211; Vandevelder 2005, 81-83, 85-89;
     Lawson 2009, 7
66 Ahler et al. 1991, 81; *North Dakota Blue Book 2011-2013* 2011, 495
67 Meyer 1968, 245-246, 258; Meyer 1977, 212-214; Ahler et al. 1991, 81; Schneider 2002, 35
68 Ahler et al. 1991, 81
69 Murray et al. 2011, 474-475
70 Ahler et al. 1991, 100
71 Ahler et al. 1991, 82

opposite sides of the reservoir.[72] Today, around eleven percent of the Fort Berthold Reservation is covered by Lake Sakakawea.[73] The loss of intangible cultural elements resulting from 18th and 19th century smallpox epidemics, compounded by the inundation of tangible cultural resources during the mid-20th century, make the need to preserve existing sites — such as the Lynch KRF Quarry — all the more urgent. As Gerard Baker observes:

> "All these years, they — and I'm going to say this — the government has been, to a certain extent, trying to destroy us as cultural beings; and we've outlived them. We are still here. We still have our songs. We still have our prayers. We still have our thoughts. We still have our families. And more important than all of that is we still have the sacred landscape where we can come back, if not every day, then at least once in a while to still listen."[74]

Economic Considerations and Preservation Concerns

The same inundation that forced the members of the Three Affiliated Tribes to higher ground also forced out some non-native, small farmers living along the Missouri River.[75] The parents of Alan Lynch moved to the vicinity of Dunn Center when their property was flooded.[76] The new location was mostly suited for cattle grazing as a good portion of the new farmland was unsuitable for cultivation due to large irregular depressions in the ground. The Lynch family had purchased a large portion of an ancient KRF quarry site. They recognized the landscape features and artifacts that they found as important and did not develop the quarry, only grazing cattle in the area.[77] Alan and Gail Lynch, the current owners of the quarry (hence the modern name of the site) welcomed visitors, students and archaeologists. Gerard Baker notes that the Lynches *'. . . had it in their heart and they had it in their spirit and they had it in their mind, and they knew the importance of this place, not only from what they read, but from what they heard.'*[78] The Lynches own about 200 acres (about 1/3 of the area) of the site and at least seven other families or individuals own smaller parts of the quarry land.[79]

The farmers, ranchers and landowners who own portions of the Lynch KRF Quarry today are part of the community of Dunn Center. The current

---

72 Murray et al. 2011, 473
73 *North Dakota Blue Book 2011-2013* 2011, 494
74 Gerard Baker, from speech at Lynch KRF Quarry dedication ceremony, June 9, 2012
75 Meyer 1968, 247
76 Donovan 2011
77 Ibid.
78 Donovan 2011; Gerard Baker, from speech at Lynch KRF Quarry dedication ceremony, June 9, 2012
79 Donovan 2011

population of the town of Dunn Center consists of about 146 people according to the 2010 census.[80] Dunn Center was formed by the arrival of the railroad and was settled by farmers, ranchers and railroad workers.[81] Coal was discovered in 1914 and the energy industry has played an important role in the area ever since.[82] The energy industry is currently the largest economic factor in the county and represents upto forty percent of the local economy.[83] Facets of nearly every part of this more recent history are also visible at the site of the Lynch KRF Quarry:

> "... farmstead remnants now stand in a hayfield...collapsed underground lignite mine shafts have resulted in approximately 25 large sinkholes. The railroad bed crossing the extreme southern margin of the site impacted approximately four acres of land...."[84]

The energy resources of Dunn County provide vital economic opportunities and employment for local people. At the same time, it has been a source of distress regarding the preservation of natural resources and historic sites. Concerns about the continued integrity of the Lynch KRF Quarry have been expressed by archaeologists for some time. Even the initial fieldwork and research conducted at the site in the 1970s was motivated by a coal gasification complex proposed by the Natural Gas Pipeline Company of America.[85] The lignite seams underlying the quarry were considered for strip mining.[86] Considerations regarding the impact of such proposals lead to an attempt to have the KRF quarry site recognized on a national level. The Keeper of the National Register determined that the Lynch KRF Quarry was eligible for the National Register of Historic Places in the 1980s.[87]

The National Register of Historic Places is an official list of valuable historic sites considered appropriate for preservation. Authorized in 1966, the National Register of Historic places '…is part of a national program to coordinate and support public and private efforts to identify, evaluate, and protect America's historic and archeological resources.'[88] These properties have not been acquired by the Federal Government and private ownership is retained. The greatest protective benefit provided by the designation National Historic Landmark or National Register Property are the restrictions

80 *North Dakota Blue Book 2011-2013* 2011, 618
81 City of Dunn Center 2011
82 Ibid.
83 Ibid.
84 Hiemstra 2008, 10
85 Clayton et al. 1970, 284; Loendorf et al. 1984, 8
86 Loendorf et al. 1984, 4; Clark 1984, 177
87 Hiemstra 2008, 5
88 National Parks Service 2011b

placed on activities involving Federal funding; ' . . . *incompatible development projects or other actions funded, licensed, or initiated by federal agencies, are reviewed and modifications made when possible to avoid, minimize, or mitigate possible harm to historic properties.'*[89] Such projects might include levee projects, federal highway projects, federally funded construction, or home demolitions funded by Community Block Grants given to local governments.[90] Even more significant to the case of the KRF Quarry and its place within Dunn County; the restrictions include coal and surface mining.[91]

The various owners of the quarry land met with the State Historical Society of North Dakota in 1983 to discuss the eligibility of the site and the implications of being listed on the National Register.[92] The process required approval by a majority of the landowners; a site cannot be designated as a National Historic Landmark if the majority of owners object.[93] The same benefit that could help protect the site was also the major obstacle to the property holders' approval; *'the major concern voiced by landowners was that listing their lands on the National Register might restrict their involvement in other federal programs.'*[94] As Loendorf, Ahler and Davidson acknowledged, *'the lignite which underlies part of the proposed Knife River Flint Quarry District is of considerable importance to the residents of Dunn County.'*[95] At the time of the original nomination effort, the restrictions on federal funding were seen as outweighing the benefits of site recognition; *'many landowners recognized and respected the importance of the area to North Dakota prehistory, but the majority chose not to list the area on the Register.'*[96]

Forward Into History

"Never doubt that a small group of thoughtful, committed citizens can change the world. Indeed, it is the only thing that ever has."[97]

"I invite you . . . to go out here and stand and listen and take yourself forward into history."[98]

---

89 National Parks Service 2011a
90 Ibid.
91 Ibid.
92 Loendorf et al. 1984, 4
93 National Parks Service 2011a
94 Loendorf et al. 1984, 4
95 Ibid.
96 Ibid.
97 Attributed to cultural anthropologist Margaret Mead, quoted by Wendy Ross, Superintendent of Knife River Indian Villages National Historic Site, from speech at the Lynch KRF Quarry dedication ceremony June 9, 2012
98 Gerard Baker, from speech at Lynch KRF Quarry dedication ceremony, June 9, 2012

Despite initial rejection of formal listing of the Lynch KRF Quarry on the National Register of Historic Places, Loendorf, Ahler, and Davidson noted at the time that *'most of the landowners have a real interest in the archaeological sites on their lands . . . .'*[99] That interest, it seems, has continued and views on the future of the Lynch KRF Quarry eventually did change. In addition to the lignite and coal resources that have long been utilized, the recent oil boom in North Dakota has been a major factor in increasing property owners' concerns once again. Despite the lack of having been nominated, Marathon Oil moved a well site two miles away from a proposed location directly behind the quarry to safeguard the natural setting.[100] Not all companies are so accommodating. The current amount of oil development in the western part of North Dakota is increasingly leading to competition between companies for pipeline routes, well-pad sites, and access roads. Many oil-related projects receive various forms of federal funding; the National Register listing could provide some measure of protection from future projects. Twenty-five years after the original nomination for eligibility, the landowners decided to seek formal recognition.[101] Due to its remarkable size and condition, it was nominated for the National Historic Landmark Register as both 'the type site of KRF, and the centerpiece' of the KRF flint quarrying district.[102] It took six years but the Lynch Knife River Flint Quarry was finally designated a National Historic Landmark in 2012.[103]

The designation celebration was only the most recent activity at the Lynch KRF Site, an event that brought together the many different communities that have intersected at this site. But that is not the end of the story. The truth of the matter is that though the National Register does make specific property types eligible for various grants, the property remains entirely private and it is ultimately up to the owners of the properties how they manage the site. Development or destruction of a site by a property holder will, legally, only result in the site being de-listed and rendered ineligible for certain types of preservation aid.[104] Protection of the site depends strongly on the commitment of the owners to preserving the setting of the site. It also depends on the local communities' regard for cultural resources. As Gerard Baker put it:

99   Loendorf et al. 1984, 4-5

100 Donovan 2011

101 Hiemstra 2008, 5

102 Loendorf et al. 1984, 12; Hiemstra 2008, 5

103 Donovan 2011

104 National Parks Service 2011a

"You heard a statement a little while ago which I live by, and that is it takes people to move and live as a village. In order for us to move forward now, to make sure this area is protected, it truly does need all of our help."[105]

Conclusion

The Lynch KRF Quarry is a unique site with a wealth of history and cultural significance. Artifacts, landscape features, ethnographic evidence and contemporary accounts reflect both the material and intangible culture of the Knife River Villages. The evidence also illustrates the challenges and changes that the Hidatsa faced. The landscape also bears material evidence of Dunn Center's more recent history, including the railroad and coal mines. The quarry's narrative reflects issues common to small towns, villages and communities regardless of locality. Local issues decided by larger population demands — as in the case of the Garrison Dam and perhaps to some extent the modern energy and oil boom — are not matters endemic to the communities of the Lynch KRF Quarry. The clash between the need for economic viability and the desire for cultural and historic preservation is also widely relevant.

The nature of the quarry's role in community life has changed but it still remains a focal point. For the people of the Knife River Villages, the quarry provided material for tool manufacturing, items for trade and a landscape of spiritual significance. For members of the Three Affiliated Tribes of Fort Berthold and the current landowners it is an invaluable component of cultural heritage and a site of historic significance. The Lynch KRF Quarry demonstrates how multiple communities intersecting at a common site can be brought together. It is a place where not only the various peoples related to the quarry interconnect, but where the palimpsest of the landscape provides a view of hundreds, if not thousands, of years of history. It really is best that ' . . . *when you come to places like this, don't come with the idea that it's history, come with the idea that it's now, that it's in the future . . . .*'[106]

•

---

105 From speech at Lynch KRF Quarry dedication ceremony, June 9, 2012
106 Gerard Baker, from speech at Lynch KRF Quarry dedication ceremony, June 9, 2012

Sources Cited

- Ahler, S A (1977) 'Lithic Resource Utilization Patterns in the Middle Missouri Subarea' in *The Plains Anthropologist*, Vol. 22, No. 78, Part 2: 132-150.

- Ahler, S A (1986) *The Knife River Flint Quarries: Excavations at Site 32DU508*, State Historical Society of North Dakota: Bismarck, North Dakota.

- Ahler, S A (ed.) (1988) *Archaeological Mitigation at Taylor Bluff Village (32ME366), Knife River Indian Villages National Historic Site*, University of North Dakota: Grand Forks, North Dakota.

- Ahler, S A and Christensen, R C (1983) *A Pilot Study of Knife River Flint Procurement and Reduction at Site 32DU508, a Quarry and Workshop Location in Dunn County, North Dakota,* Department of Anthropology and Archeology University of North Dakota: Grand Forks, North Dakota.

- Ahler, S A and Swenson, A A (1985) *Test Excavations at Big Hidatsa Village (32ME12), Knife River Indian Villages National Historic Site*, University of North Dakota: Grand Forks, North Dakota.

- Ahler, S A; Thiessen, T D and Trimble, M K (1991) *People of the Willows, The Prehistory and Early History of the Hidatsa Indians*, University of North Dakota Press: Grand Forks, North Dakota.

- Ahler, S A and Toom, D A (1993) 'KNRI and Upper Knife-Heart Region Lithic Analysis', in T D Thiessen (ed.) *The Phase I Archaeological Research Program for the Knife River Indian Villages National Historic Site, Part III: Analysis of the Physical Remains*, 173-262, National Park Service: Lincoln, Nebraska.

- Ahler, S A and Weston, T (1981) *Test Excavations at Lower Hidatsa Village (32ME10), Knife River Indian Villages National Historic Site*, University of North Dakota: Grand Forks.

- Ahler, S A; Weston, T and McMiller, K D (1980) *Cutbank Profiling and Test Excavations at Sakakawea Village (32ME11), Knife River Indian Villages National Historic Site,* University of North Dakota: Grand Forks, North Dakota.

- Arnold, J E (1987) *Craft Specialization in the Prehistoric Channel Islands, California,* University of California Press: Berkeley.

- Bowers, A W (1992) *Hidatsa Social and Ceremonial Organization,* University of Nebraska Press: Lincoln.

- City of Dunn Center (2011) *Welcome to Dunn Center, North Dakota,* <http://www.cityofdunncenter.com/> [accessed 8/28/2012].

- Clark, F (1984) 'Knife River Flint and Interregional Exchange' in *Midcontinental Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. 9, No. 2: 173-198.

- Clayton, L ; Bickley Jr., W B and Stone, W J (1970) 'Knife River Flint', in *The Plains Anthropologist* Vol. 15, No. 50, Part 1: 282-290.

- Griffitts, J L (2006) *Bone Tools and Technological Choice,* University of Arizona UMI Dissertations Services, Proquest: Ann Arbor, Michigan.

- Donovan, L (2011) 'Ancient Flint Quarries Near Dunn Center Named National Landmark' in *Bismarck Tribune*, August 2, 2011.

- Fenn, Elizabeth (2001) *Pox Americana: the Great Smallpox Epidemic of 1775-82*, Hill and Wang: New York.

- Hanson, J R (1987) *Hidatsa Culture Change, 1780-1845: A Cultural Ecological Approach* [reprint of 1983 original], J and L Reprint Company: Lincoln, Nebraska.

- Hiemstra, D (2008) *National Historic Landmark Nomination, Lynch Quarry Site*, National Register of Historic Places Registration form, United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service. Available online at <http://www.nps.gov/nhl/Fall10Noms/LynchQuarry.pdf>[accessed 10/9/2012].

- Lawson, M L (2009) *Dammed Indians Revisited: the Continuing history of the Pick-Sloan Plan the Missouri River Sioux*, South Dakota State Historical Society Press: Pierre, South Dakota.

- Lehmer, D J; Wood, W R and Dill, C L (1978) *The Knife River Phase*, Dana College: Blair, Nebraska.

- Loendorf, L L; Ahler, S A and Davidson, D (1984) 'The Proposed National Register District in the Knife River Flint Quarries in Dunn County, North Dakota' in *North Dakota History Journal of the Northern Plains* Vol. 51, No. 4: 4-20.

- Meyer, R W (1968) 'Fort Berthold and the Garrison Dam' in *North Dakota History: Journal of the Northern Plains* Vol. 35: 216-355.

- Meyer, R W (1977) *The Village Indians of the Upper Missouri: the Mandans, Hidatsas, and Arikaras*, University of Nebraska Press: Lincoln.

- Murray, W F; Zedeño, M N; Hollenback, K L; Grinnell, C and Crows Breast, E (2011) 'The Remaking of Lake Sakakawea: Locating Cultural Viability in Negative Heritage on the Missouri River' in J*ournal of the American Ethnological Society*, Vol. 38, No. 3: 468-483.

- National Parks Service (2011a) *National Historic Landmarks Program Common Questions and Answers*, <http://www.nps.gov/nhl/QA.htm> [accessed 9/28/2012].

- National Park Service (2011b) *National Register of Historic Places*, <http://www.nps.gov/nr/> [accessed 9/28/2012].

- *North Dakota Blue Book 2011-2013* (2011) Secretary of State: Bismarck, ND.

- Schneider, M J (2002) *Cultural Affiliations of Native American Groups Within North and South Dakota: An Ethnohistorical Overview*, University of North Dakota: Grand Forks, ND.

- Smith, G H (1972) *Like-A-Fishhook Village and Fort Berthold, Garrison Reservoir, North Dakota*, National Park Service U.S. Department of the Interior: Washington D.C.

- Vandevelder, P (2005) *Coyote Warrior: One Man, Three Tries, and the Trial that Forged a Nation*, University of Nebraska Press: Lincoln.

- Wood, W R (1974) 'Northern Plains Village Cultures: Internal Stability and External Relationships' in *Journal of Anthropological Research*, Vol. 30, No. 1: 1-16.

- Wood, W R (1980) *The Origins of the Hidatsa Indians: A Review of Ethnohistorical and Traditional Data*, Midwest Archaeological Center: Lincoln, Nebraska.

- Wood, W R (1993) 'Hidatsa Origins and Relationships' in T D Thiessen (ed.) *The Phase I Archaeological Research Program for the Knife River Indian Villages National Historic Site, Part II: Ethnohistorical Studies*, 11-28, National Park Service: Lincoln, Nebraska.

- Wood, W R and Thiessen, T D (eds.) (1985) *Early Fur Trade on the Northern Plains: Canadian Traders Among the Mandan and Hidatsa Indians, 1738-1818*, University of Oklahoma Press: Norman.

Urban Residents' Life Satisfaction after Migration to a Metropolitan City: A Comparison of the Factors Influencing Life Satisfaction in Delhi and Karachi

Kiran Bashir Ahmad

Introduction

Internal migration within a country can prove to be both a boon and a bane, considering the workforce added to cities as well as the pull exerted on the existing resources. Both natural and man-made resources feel the effects of this pull and as a result, a vicious cycle along with a chain reaction may ensue; this may involve more brain drain as those already settled in the cities leave in search of greener pastures elsewhere, outside the country, while those in the countryside move towards urbanized settlements. The Asian Development Bank (Sumner, Friedrich, Jaunky, Xu, and Vohra, 2011) has noted the migration currently going on from the countryside to the urbanized areas of Asian countries as 'unprecedented in human history'.

Cross-cultural studies often restrict themselves with geophysical concerns and cultural contexts. This study takes into account characteristics of the "life in a metro" situation, which affects both Karachi and Delhi. These cities are multicultural, complex and commercial hubs in their own right. Also, there are similarities of a cultural and environmental nature which make it essential to study migratory practices in the context of a comparative analysis (Ahmad, 2011). Both cities experience a continuous flow of people to and from villages, towns and smaller cities, often in search of a better life quality and a better future. Many of these people later bring their families to the cities and in many cases entire communities and settlements have developed in this manner. At times they are disappointed with their own decision and yearn for their ancestral roots, yet several factors do not allow them to move back to their birthplaces or their place of origin. This paper is an attempt to understand the life satisfaction levels of the residents of both Karachi and Delhi and analyze the dynamics of the "life in a metro" scenario along with the factors that create dissatisfaction and ultimately a desire to migrate back. It is important to note here that this desire remains unfulfilled in many instances and the reasons may be as diverse as the perception of a better lifestyle for the children, to better access to basic amenities like water, gas and electricity.

Life satisfaction can be taken to refer to a general set of factors or to an overall assessment of one's life. It is most closely correlated with the construct of Subjective Well-Being and has been studied in happiness studies. It is also of interest to researchers in the field of acculturation, where changes in the lifestyle associated with migratory movements, especially in adolescence and young adulthood, retain their effects on the individuals' development and future outlook (Sam, 1998).

Theoretical models of migration are diverse in their explanation of constructs in the international context. However, they can be roughly classified into macro and micro level models and it is the latter that can shed some light on internal migration as well. Individual choice of movement for a better living comes at the material costs of travel expenditures, settling down and the launch into productive labor given a certain set of skills along with the psychological cost of adjustment to a new culture, the shedding of old relations and the forging of new bonds (Sjaastad, 1962; Todaro, 1969, 1976, 1989; and Massey, Arango, Hugo, Kouaouci, Pellegrino and Taylor, 1993).

According to the Asian Green City Index (Sumner, Friedrich, Jaunky, Xu, and Vohra, 2011), Karachi is placed in the lowest category, that is 'well below average', among the 22 cities studied for the eight categories of 1) energy and CO_2, 2) land use and buildings, 3) transport, 4) waste, 5) water, 6) sanitation, 7) air quality, and 8) environmental governance. Delhi, on the other hand, is ranked 'average'. The table below shows the comparative results in the eight outlined areas above.

Table 1

The eight categories of comparison of the Asian Green City Index (2011), between Delhi and Karachi

Categories	Delhi	Karachi
Energy and CO2	above average	below average
Land use and buildings	average	below average
Transport	average	well below average
Waste	above average	below average
Water	below average	average
Sanitation	average	below average
Air quality	average	well below average
Environmental governance	average	below average

While the transport system is lauded as average and well below average in Delhi and Karachi respectively, past statistics (Hasan and Raza, 2011) indicate that in 2007-2008, in Karachi, over 500 vehicles were registered in a day, while the number for Delhi amounted to 1200 vehicles per day. As far as the cost of living is concerned, the difference is significant with New Delhi being cited as India's most expensive city, ranked 85, while

Karachi, at rank 214, is not only the Asia-Pacific region's but also the world's least expensive city (Mercer, Cost of Living Survey, 2011). The main questions in this research are exploratory in nature.

- Is there a significant difference in the life satisfaction between internal migrants to Delhi and Karachi?

- What is the direction of the mean-difference in life satisfaction between internal migrants to Delhi and Karachi?

    Additionally, at a qualitative level it may be added:

- Is there a relationship between the life satisfaction levels of the internal migrants and their desire to return to their original homes?

- Which factors can be considered responsible for the life satisfaction and the differences in life satisfaction of the internal migrants to Delhi and Karachi?

- Is there a similarity between the factors responsible for the life satisfaction of the internal migrants to Delhi and Karachi?

On the basis of the data and the research literature, it seems appropriate to hypothesize that there will be a significant difference in the levels of life satisfaction of the internal migrants to Delhi and Karachi who have migrated to either of the cities from a village, town or smaller city. That this experience of life satisfaction is dependent on their perception of the comforts and facilities being offered to them, is also assumed to be true. Therefore, their free and open perception and their own idea of their earlier residence - their village, town or city, being smaller than the one they are currently living in, must be considered as an important factor for this research. Additionally, it can also be hypothesized that internal migrants with high levels of life satisfaction would not be desirous of returning to their old homes in the village, town or smaller city they had originally come from.

Method

Sampling Procedure

A total of 80 adults made up the sample size selected for this research. The cities of Karachi in Pakistan and Delhi in India were chosen amongst other factors, for their ease of access for this researcher and opportunities for data collection.

In Phase I of the research, initially a total of 250 participants, both male and female adults were selected purposively from online sources after determining their migration to a metropolitan city, either Karachi or Delhi and were asked about their willingness to participate in an online survey related to their life satisfaction in the current city of their choice. They were provided with links to either of two similar questionnaires hosted on an online survey site, 'Survey Monkey', to monitor the progress. As the total population of online users who were internal migrants as well, was unknown, the sample size was determined on the basis of random assignment to every third person on a search generated list who seemed to be currently residing in either Karachi or Delhi after having migrated from another village, town or smaller city. Both questionnaires only differed in their usage of the term 'city of choice' – Karachi or Delhi – as part of the care taken to minimize the extraneous variable of prejudiced responses in favor of one's own city. The cross-cultural comparative nature of the research was not revealed to any respondent. The sample to be contacted from Delhi during Phase I was obtained purposively through the contact lists of three contact persons based in Delhi as the cross-cultural aspect of the research made it necessary to have contact persons available in the city. The sample to be contacted from Karachi was obtained by the researcher. 114 individuals did not respond to the request for filling the questionnaires while 39 individuals - 19 from Karachi and 20 from Delhi - returned the questionnaires with incorrect or incomplete information and their data had to be removed from the process. Hence, a total of 153 questionnaires could not be included in the data out of the 250 individuals contacted in Phase I, and the total number of filled-in questionnaires dwindled to 97.

In Phase II of the research, after the collection of 97 complete and correctly filled-in questionnaires, the participants were divided into two groups of 47 'internal migrants to Karachi' and 50 'internal migrants to Delhi'. The matched sampling technique was utilized to match the groups on the basis of the variables used for the inclusion criteria including:

- Age – all participants were adults over the age of 20 years; retired individuals were excluded from the sample.

- Education – all were either professionals or students of disciplines leading to professional work.

- Work – all were currently either employed or students with good job prospects being in the final year of their studies.

- Age at the time of migration – all the participants were adults either 18 or above the age of 18 years at the time of migration.

- Number of years spent in current city of residence – all those who were included would have spent a minimum of one year in the current city of their residence.

- Type of village, town or smaller city – the perception of a village, town or city being smaller than the one currently in focus (Delhi or Karachi) was left to the respondents rather than being operationally defined by the researcher. However, at the same time, the data of respondents from recognized metropolitan cities such as Mumbai was excluded from the selected data.

After matching the groups on the basis of the variables mentioned above, the total sample size of both groups consisted of 40 'internal migrants to Karachi' and 40 'internal migrants to Delhi', as those individuals whose demographic information did not match the inclusion criteria were removed from the process.

Measures

- **Demographic Information Questionnaire**

A nine-item questionnaire was used to note the respondents' age, gender, qualification, profession, current city, place of residence before migration, age at the time of migration, number of years spent in current city of residence and country.

- **Satisfaction with Life Scale (SWLS) (Diener, Emmons, Larsen and Griffin, 1985)**

The SWLS is a short questionnaire of five items based on a seven-point Likert type rating scale. It was primarily developed to assess the satisfaction with life as a whole and does not focus on individual life domains such as health or finances. Normative data shows good convergent validity with other measures of life satisfaction and discriminant validity with measures of emotional well-being (Pavot and Diener, 1993).

- **Factors Influencing Life Satisfaction Scale**

A self-constructed survey, based on a seven-point Likert type rating scale (the same as the SWLS, in order to enhance the survey process for the respondents), was provided. This was designed keeping in mind the variables presented in the researches quoted in the literature review. Hence, the factors examined were: 1. Better employment opportunities, 2. Better income levels, 3. Better access to water, 4. Better access to gas, 5. Better access to electricity, 6. Better access to health care services, 7. Better roads, 8. Better levels of safety and security, 9. Better educational opportunities, 10. Better facilities for social interaction, 11. Better opportunities for self-growth and development, 12. Better opportunities for professional growth and development and 13. Better future for the coming generation.

• An additional question of "If you had the opportunity, would you choose to migrate back to your village/town/small city of origin?" with a 'Yes' or 'No' answer format and a space for additional comments was designed to discover the effects of the factors influencing life satisfaction and the life satisfaction levels ascertained using SWLS on reverse migration.

Results

As the data is both quantitative and qualitative in nature, an Independent Samples 't' test has been applied to compare the means of the normally distributed dependent variable of Life Satisfaction for the two independent groups of Delhi and Karachi. The comparison between the residents of Delhi and Karachi is taken as the independent variable, while the life satisfaction is hypothesized to be dependent on the city that the respondents are living in after internal migration from a village, town or smaller city. The results were computed using MS Excel and SPSS Version 16. Tables and figures have been provided in the Appendix to facilitate understanding of the data.

Descriptive statistics help in an understanding of the demographic information related to the sample data. The age-wise frequency distribution of the respondents across Delhi and Karachi shows that the frequency is highest in the young adult range consisting of respondents between the ages of 18 years and approximately 30 years. The number of residential years' frequency distribution of the respondents across Delhi and Karachi shows that the number is greater for respondents who are relatively new to city life, having lived here since the past 1 year to 6 years only.

The results of Levene's test for Equality of Variances (table 2), where the P-value is greater than 0.05 at 0.746 indicated that the variances are equal in both groups.

The value and analysis of the Independent Samples 't' test (table 3) is based on the total selected sample data of 80 respondents. This includes the total, tabulated from the ranges of their Life Satisfaction levels as given by the Satisfaction with Life Scale (SWLS) questionnaire. Thus, the two-sample t (78) = 1.986, p = 0.051. It can be observed that the group means are marginally different as the Level of Significance is at 0.051. Therefore, we can conclude that there is a marginal difference in the variable of Life Satisfaction among the two groups of individuals who have migrated from small villages, towns or smaller cities to the metropolitan cities of Delhi or Karachi.

While the results are interpreted as marginally-significant, it is necessary to indicate the direction of the mean-difference. Thus, it can be noted that the sample mean for the respondents in Delhi (N = 40) is 25.28, (Std. Dev. = 5.822) while the sample mean for those in Karachi (N = 40) is 22.68, (Std. Dev. = 5.885).

Qualitative data has been described in the form of percentages of respondents based on a total score of the relevant factor assumed to be an influence on life satisfaction while living in Delhi or Karachi (table 4).

Figure 1 shows the comparative difference in the total percentages on which each of the factors have been rated by respondents from Delhi. The figure, at a glance, shows the average amount of acquiescence by Delhi-based migrants towards the factors considered as important for life satisfaction in the current city of residence in this research. The factor of 'better opportunities for professional growth and development' (52.5%) has been rated as the highest among the given factors, closely followed by 'better educational opportunities' (50.36%) and 'better opportunities for self-growth and development' (50.07%). Factors that can be considered detrimental to the life satisfaction of internal migrants to Delhi include concerns about 'better levels of safety and security', perceived as low (34.28%) and low average levels accorded to basic amenities such as, 'better access to water' (38.6%) and 'better access to gas' (41.43%). The social component lags as 'better facilities for social interaction' (41.78%) are also perceived as a low average.

Figure 2 shows the comparative difference in the total percentages on which each of the factors have been rated by respondents from Karachi. The figure,

at a glance, shows the moderately above average amount of acquiescence by Karachi-based migrants towards the factors considered as important for life satisfaction in the current city of residence in this research. The factor of 'better educational opportunities' (58.21%) has been rated as the highest among the given factors, immediately followed by the related factors of 'better opportunities for professional growth and development' (57.86%) and 'better employment opportunities' (57.85%). Factors that can be thought of as disadvantageous to the life satisfaction of internal migrants to Karachi include concerns about 'better levels of safety and security' perceived as very low (28.57%) and low levels accorded to basic amenities such as 'better access to water' (35.36%) and 'better access to electricity' (37.5%). The 'better roads' factor is low average (42.78%) and indirectly indicates commuter dissatisfaction.

Figure 3 examines the comparative percentage levels of the internal migrants to Delhi and Karachi.

The descriptive statistics also outline the relationship between the count or number of internal migrants to both Delhi and Karachi who desire reverse migration to their original homes in their village, town or smaller city of origin. 50.6% internal migrants said 'No' to reverse migration while 48.1% said 'Yes' to reverse migration.

Discussion

Individual factors as well as environmental factors add to the possible reasons for internal migration and then reverse migration or external migration as the case may be. In collectivist cultures such as the ones present in India and Pakistan, the entire family may have a role to play in the movement of an individual. Material needs related to life satisfaction can then be thought to play a greater role than psychosocial or purely psychological ones. It becomes all the more complex here to define the nature of the individual factors as different people may perceive these differently. Therefore, for the purpose of this research in the interests of exploration, no attempt was made to classify the factors into material versus non-material or psychosocial needs.

Material needs here include all those needs that are physiological in nature or relate indirectly to these. Maslow (1954) describes food as the most potent of all human needs, elucidating that out of the four needs of food, safety,

love and esteem, we would be more likely to appease our hunger than hanker after luxuries of feeling cared for and looked up to. Therefore, the first two needs of hunger and safety are placed here. These can be followed by the factors of better educational opportunities, better facilities for social interaction, better opportunities for self-growth and development, better opportunities for professional growth and development, and better future for the coming generation, classified as psychosocial or psychological Needs.

While at present, the trend seems to show an average or slightly above average level of acquiescence to the amount of life satisfaction gleaned from factors such as better employment opportunities and better opportunities for professional growth and development, there may be other issues at play than material concerns of well-being and safety. Todaro (1980) theoretically explains this through the micro-theoretical model of supply – demand characteristics. These, he reflects, show a disproportionate increase in urban job-seekers as compared to the urban population growth due to internal migration. On the whole, this may eventually result in discontent, as on the supply side well-educated young people enter the mainstream job market while the demand characteristics involve a high amount of resources to create such jobs.

Qualitative data analysis (table 4; figures 1, 2 and 3) answers the question related to the exploration of factors that may influence life satisfaction in the urban metropolitan settings of Delhi and Karachi. It can be seen that there are common concerns between the two cities, especially in the case of 'better levels of safety and security'. The citizens perceive a threat to their well-being and safety and during the data collection, in response to the supplementary open-ended question of 'additional comments', the most frequent desire of the respondents of both cities was to see prevalence and maintenance of better levels of law enforcement, less corruption and a peaceful atmosphere. Additionally, for those respondents coming from villages or smaller towns and cities, it was the noise and bustle of city life that proved to be a negative factor initially and later even when they found themselves getting used to it, there were fond memories associated with the greener, quieter and more peaceful environment and lifestyle of their ancestral areas.

The results also indicate a trend towards low negative correlation between the variable of high levels of life satisfaction and reverse internal migration, showing that the desire of an individual to move back to his ancestral areas, where he had lived earlier, may not be entirely dependent on his current levels of life satisfaction in the metropolitan city where he has migrated. The

reasons for the desire for reverse migration as well as the decision to live on in the metropolis may be complex and multifarious and not just dependent on the socio-economic factors that appear to be responsible at a glance.

The study has implications for policy makers to conduct further studies on the factors found relevant to the variables that may highly influence reverse migration or even a trend towards external migration in city dwellers. The satisfaction at a somewhat psychological level with better access to education, better opportunities for self-growth or professional growth and development, and the stronger material factor of better income levels may be countered by dissatisfaction at the material level by a lack of or limited access to water, gas and electricity and lower levels of safety and security. Even the satisfaction levels are average across the sample population at best; while there is a slightly higher than average perception of psychological factors influencing life satisfaction in the residents of Karachi, the perception among residents of Delhi appears to be average. However, for internal migrants to Karachi the negative perception of material factors influencing life satisfaction is shown at lower levels than the perception of internal migrants to Delhi.

Conclusion

The degree of difference of the life satisfaction levels between internal migrants to Delhi and Karachi can be considered as marginal. The direction of the mean difference is marginally tilted with internal migrants to Delhi showing slightly positive tendencies as compared to those of Karachi. However, this difference is not significant and a longitudinal research with a larger number of participants may provide more information for the predictability of future trends. It can be observed that the metropolitan city has an initial attraction for internal migrants; however, it may be unable to support higher level educated young adults in the long term. Delhi and Karachi seem to be meeting the requirements for psychosocial needs such as educational opportunities, self-growth and professional growth at an average level of satisfaction while being unable to cater fully to the satisfaction levels of material needs which are most important for the sustainable future of internal migrants. As a result, dissatisfaction with life may result after some time. This research has limitations in the context of the short time frame of the study and small number of research participants, however, certain trends can be observed. There is a need to examine future implications of the skewed focus on psychosocial or psychological needs versus material needs

in the urban context and the effect on reverse migration. A certain level of reverse migration, when seen in this context, actually appears as a blessing in disguise for the overburdened resources of the cities, which due to lack of material infrastructure are at present unable to cater to the demands of the populace. Still, excess depletion of higher level manpower through reverse and/or external migration would bring on its own set of problems. The research has implications for policy makers to consider when setting out proposals for the development of city resources on either side of the border.

Recommendations and Limitations

The aim of this research has been to explore multiple factors surrounding the issue of internal migration in the cross-cultural context. The main limitation lies in the small number of participants who consented to participate in the research. Future replications of this research may show a clearer picture of the extent of the difference in the levels of life satisfaction between internal migrants to Delhi and Karachi. It is also suggested that the research categories be studied in terms of other attributes, such as gender and socioeconomic status, to understand their implications on internal migrants' life satisfaction. The additional variable of a desire for external migration may also be added to determine the views of those who do not desire or intend reverse migration, as additional data received from open-ended questions showed this trend in individuals who answered 'No' to this question. A longitudinal research spanning the duration of five to ten years may also be helpful in determining a trend line for the factors influencing life satisfaction. A comparison between the number of years spent in a city and the level of satisfaction may also provide important insights for the analysis of psychosocial factors of internal migrants linked to life satisfaction in the city of one's choice.

Appendix

Table 2: Levene's test for Equality of Variances for Life Satisfaction in a Sample Population of Delhi (N = 40) and Karachi (N = 40)

Total sample	F	Sig. Or P-value
N = 80	0.105	0.746

Table 3: Independent Samples T – test for Life Satisfaction of the Sample Population of Delhi (N = 40) and Karachi (N = 40) at 95% Confidence Interval

Total sample	t	Df	Level of significance
N = 80	1.986	78	0.051

Table 4: Totals and Percentages of Respondents by City with Reference to the Factors Influencing Life Satisfaction based on the Sample Population of Delhi (N = 40) and Karachi (N = 40) with the Range 40 – 280 on each of the Factors

Factors influencing life satisfaction	Total	Percentages (%)
Better employment opportunities		
Delhi	132	47.14
Karachi	162	57.85
Better income levels		
Delhi	134	47.9
Karachi	155	55.36
Better access to water		
Delhi	108	38.6
Karachi	99	35.36
Better access to gas		
Delhi	116	41.43
Karachi	133	47.5
Better access to electricity		
Delhi	124	44.28
Karachi	105	37.5
Better access to health care services		
Delhi	128	45.71
Karachi	141	50.36
Better roads		
Delhi	131	46.78
Karachi	119	42.5
Better levels of safety and security		
Delhi	96	34.28
Karachi	80	28.57
Better educational opportunities		
Delhi	141	50.36
Karachi	163	58.21
Better facilities for social interaction		
Delhi	117	41.78
Karachi	147	52.5
Better opportunities for self-growth and development		
Delhi	143	50.07
Karachi	150	53.57
Better opportunities for professional growth and development		
Delhi	147	52.5
Karachi	162	57.86
Better future for the coming generation		
Delh	132	47.14
Karachi	147	52.5

Figure 1: Comparison of the Percentages Based on the Ratings of Factors Influencing Life Satisfaction in Delhi-Based Migrants.

Figure 1: Comparison of the percentages based on the ratings of factors influencing life satisfaction in Delhi-based migrants

Figure 2: Comparison of the Percentages Based on the Ratings of Factors Influencing Life Satisfaction in Karachi-Based Migrants.

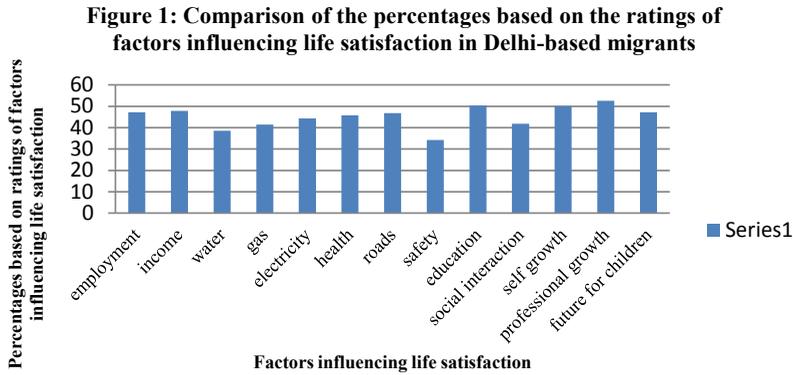**Figure 2: Comparison of the percentages based on the ratings of factors influencing life satisfaction in Karachi-based migrants**
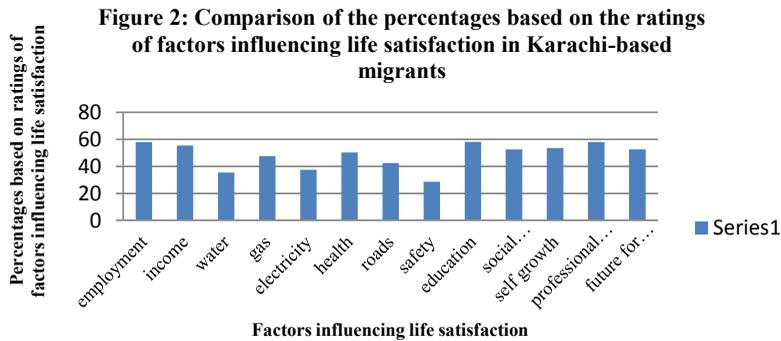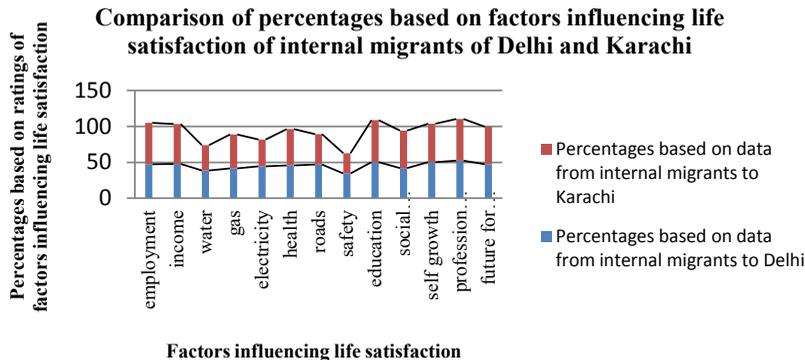
Figure 3: Comparison of the Percentages Based on the Ratings of Factors Influencing Life Satisfaction of internal migrants of Delhi and Karachi.

Comparison of percentages based on factors influencing life satisfaction of internal migrants of Delhi and Karachi

References

- Ahmad, K. B. (2011). Cultural connectivity in the SAARC region – Creativity and the Social Learning Theory as Mediators for Change. *In The Eight Neighbours: Together We Survive*. Cour, A. and Zaheer, N. (eds.). 303 – 314.

- Hasan, A. and Raza, M. (2011). *Wheels of Change.* Urban Resource Centre. Retrieved from <http://www.google.com.pk/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&frm=1&source=web&cd=6&cad=rja&ved=0CDsQFjAF&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.urckarachi.org%2FMass%2520Transit%2520Options%2520%26%2520Alternatives%2520Presenation.ppt&ei=9TVKULz3CMe4rAe9koCwBg&usg=AFQjCNFT2Hs5ur6an2d60C9399Ia4FSCnw>

- Massey, D. S.; Arango, J.; Hugo, G.; Kouaouci, A.; Pellegrino, A.; and Taylor, J. E. (1993). Theories of International Migration: A Review and Appraisal. *Population and Development Review,* 19(3), 431 – 466.

- Mercer, (2011). *Cost of Living Survey.* Retrieved from <http://www.mercer.com/press-releases/1420615>

- Pavot, W. and Diener, E. (1993). Review of the satisfaction with life scale. *Psychological Assessment*, 5(2), 164 – 172.

- Sam, D.L. (1998). Predicting life satisfaction among adolescents from immigrant families in Norway. *Ethnicity and Health*, 3, 1 - 2, 5 - 18.

- Sjaastad, L. A. (1962). The costs and returns of human migration. *Journal of Political Economy*, 70, 80 – 93.

- Sumner, J.; Friedrich, J.; Jaunky, G.; Xu, R.; and Vohra, M. (2011). *Asian Green City Index*. Assessing the environmental performance of Asia's major cities. Economist Intelligence Unit. Retrieved from <http://www.siemens.com/press/pool/de/events/2011/corporate/2011-02-asia/asian-gci-report-e.pdf>

- Todaro, M. P. (1969). A model of labor migration and urban unemployment in less - developed countries. *The American Economic Review, 59*, 138 - 48.

- Todaro, M. P. (1976). *Internal Migration in Developing Countries.* Geneva: International Labor Office.

- Todaro, M. P. (1980). Internal Migration in Developing Countries: A survey in Easterlin, R. A. (ed.), *Population and Economic Change in Developing Countries.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 361 - 401.

- Todaro, M. P. (1989). *Economic Development in the Third World.* New York.

A Tale of Two Towns: Pakpattan and Arifwala

Fareeha Zafar, PhD; Imran Khan and Mashallah

Introduction

As a lower tier in the urban hierarchy, the phenomena of small towns, in the presence of dominant metropolitan centres and urban conglomerations, have evoked less interest, particularly in Pakistan. This paper selects two towns with different origins: Pakpattan and Arifwala. The first is an example of old settlement patterns and the second is what the British introduced at the turn of the 19th century as part of the 'colonization' of the Punjab.

Old cities were built on the rubble of former settlements. They have narrow winding lanes and the agricultural areas surrounding them are irregular. In the colony areas, land is divided into 25 squares and each square is divided into one acre portions.[1] According to Vandal,[2]

> "Villages called chaks were planned on the lands taken from the original inhabitants by the Crown and among the villages at reasonable distances towns were laid out. These towns were central market places, called mandis, for livestock and agricultural produce. Both villages and towns were planned on a grid layout, as opposed to the traditional labyrinthine pattern of streets."

This paper intends to unravel the trajectory taken by the two towns in the light of past values and modern aspirations as is evident from the quality of life of the resident population as well as the lives of those linked to them in diverse ways. The section on the origins of towns relies on information from Wikipedia while sections on urban growth and modernization are based on the Planning Reports 2011 – 2012 of the Punjab Municipal Development Fund Company (PMDFC). Finally, the section on social change is the outcome of discussions and interviews of a diverse cross section of people in the two towns.
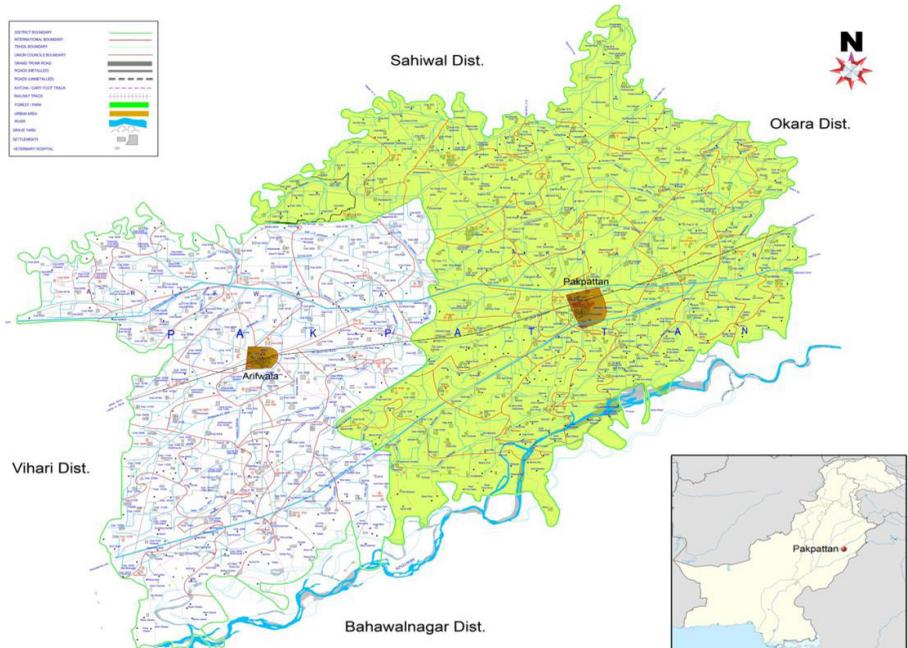
---

1 Working Paper Series, Number 15, Rural-Urban Interactions and Livelihood Strategies. "Migration and Small Towns in Pakistan", Arif Hasan and Mansoor Raja, June 2009.
2 P. Vandal (2004) "The Lesser Cities of the Punjab: Forgotten or Neglected?" Paper presented at the Urban and Regional Planning Conference, NED University, Karachi.

Town Origins

Situated on the River Sutlej, Pakpattan flourished like other cities originating on the banks of rivers. In time, the river changed its course and today flows at a distance of three miles from the city. Though some historians state the earliest name of Pakpattan to be Katora, there is general agreement that it is the ancient city of *Ajoodhun* or *Ajj-u-dhan* sacred to the Hindu religion. Its name is probably derived from the Yaudheya[3] tribe or the modern Johiyas. The old city is established on a big mound called Dhaki meaning, 'something hidden', with six gates to enter the city, of which four have survived. The eastern gate near the *Sabzi Mandi* is Abu Darwaza, the southern gate known as Shaheedi Darwaza is near the Sarafa Bazaar, the gate on the northern side is Mori Darwaza and the western gate, Rehimun Darwaza, is towards the Town Hall. The old fortification wall has almost disappeared, its bricks having been used in the construction of later day houses. (Plate 1)

According to a legend, the city was destroyed seventeen times by great warriors and each time a new city was built on the ruins of the

---

3   In Hindu mythology, the **Lunar Dynasty** (**Somvansh, Chandravansh**) is one of the three principal houses of the Kshatriya varna, or warrior–ruling caste. Yaudheya is a sub-branch. The Johiyas are one of the twenty-four undivided Rajput clans or eka and are a Chandravanshi Rajput clan in Northern India and Pakistan.

old city resulting in the formation of the mound. The validity of the legend lies in the fact that one of the main routes taken by invaders to the subcontinent from the west passed through Pakpattan. Later, in the sixteenth century, the Dehli to Multan Road was constructed by Sher Shah Suri and its remnants form part of the present road network as is evident from the milestones that even today show the distance to Dehli and Multan at different points. According to the historian Firishta, the fort defending the city was once captured by Sebüktegin in 977–78 and later by Ibrahim Ghaznavi in 1079–80. Later, the town was besieged by the Khokhars in 1394 and shortly after, Timur visited it but spared many of the inhabitants out of respect for the shrine of the Sufi saint Baba Farid. Pakpattan was also the site of two of Khizar Khan's victories over the generals of Delhi in 1401 and 1405.
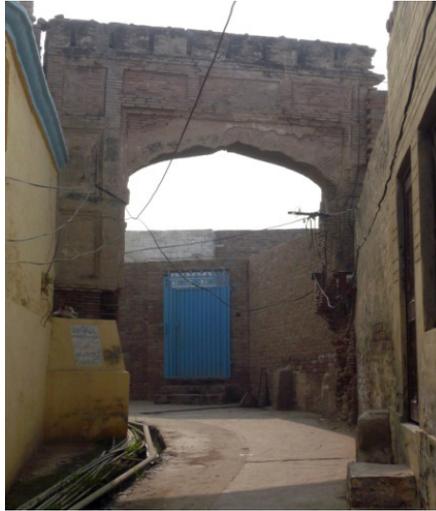
Plate 1

Remnant of one of the old gates

A plaque on the outside wall of a mosque shows that Ibn Batuta passed through the city on his way to India in 1334, presumably to pay homage to Baba Farid. After the decline of the Mughal Empire, the Sikhs occupied Pakpattan District. Ultimately, in 1770, after a battle between Mobarak Khan II of Bahawalpur and Hari Singh, it was agreed that "the neutral town of Pakpattan, held by a Muslim saint of eminence, should be the common boundary" between the two states.

The town owes its sanctity and name to the great Muslim Sufi Fariduddin Ganjshakar Shaikh-ul-Islam (1173–1265) or Baba Farid - his more popular title. The word Pakpattan is made up of two words '*Pak*' or holy and '*Pattan*' or dockland where boats and ships stop. Together they mean the 'holy ferry'. The story goes that once Baba Farid, considered a saint by the people, was bathing near the bank of the Sutlej River and a local man told him that the area was dirty and the water was not clean, upon which Baba Farid replied, "No it is clean water and so is the area", and the word 'Pak' 'Pattan' was coined. According to the Imperial Gazetteer of India, from a very early date the location of Pakpattan was important as the principal crossing across the Sutlej River for ferries and the meeting

point of the great western roads from Dera Ghazi Khan and Dera Ismail Khan.

Located 29 miles south-east of Montgomery station on the North-Western Railway, Pakpattan Town, during British rule, became the headquarters of the *tehsil* of the same name in Montgomery District. The municipality was created in 1867, and by 1901, its population was 6,192. The Imperial Gazetteer of India describes Pakpattan in the following words:

> "Pakpattan is a town of some commercial importance, importing wheat, cotton, oilseeds, and pulses from the surrounding villages, gur and refined sugar from Amritsar, Jullundur and the United Provinces, piece-goods from Amritsar, Delhi, and Karachi, and fruits from Afghanistan. The exports consist principally of cotton, wheat and oilseeds. The town has a local manufacture of silk lungis and lacquer-work. It contains a vernacular middle school and a dispensary. From 1849 to 1852 it was the head-quarters of the District."

Two large canals, the Khadar Branch Canal and Pakpattan Canal or Upper and Lower Pakpattan Canals respectively, were constructed on the left and right sides of the city in the 1920s. A Colony Officer and a Colony Magistrate were appointed to manage the administration of the irrigated areas. A train station was built in the city area to connect all the irrigated areas as far away as Bahawalpur State and what are known as Mailsi and Khanewal today. The ruins of administration buildings can be seen in the form of grand old courthouses and residences of British officers in the colony areas as they were once called. The old ticket house and waiting areas are remnants of a train station that served hundreds of passengers travelling to Bahawalpur and Lahore. Nowadays the Pakpattan train station is deserted with only one train operating daily. Pakpattan remained the Tehsil Headquarters of Montgomery District till 1991 when it was again given the status of District Headquarters and Arifwala became its second *tehsil*.

The origins of Arifwala date back to the colonization of the Neeli Bar[4] between the rivers Sutlej and Ravi in the nineteenth century. The land was allotted to veterans of World War 1 by King George in 1919. At this time, Chak No. 61/EB referred to the area of a village later given the name of Arifwala Mandi, or market after a local landlord. Trading in cattle was extensive - and this tradition is ongoing - making it one of the biggest markets of the Punjab, Pakistan. The foundation of the town was laid by

---

4   Neeli Bar denotes the forested higher ground between two rivers.

Mrs. F B Wace, the wife of the Registrar of Co-operative Societies, Punjab, in 1927, and the Town Hall inaugurated by the Governor of the Punjab in 1933, still exists in its original form. The main railway line connected Arifwala with other major towns and cities and functioned as a conduit for the export of agricultural products from various *mandi* towns.

Culture and Tradition

Historical sources are divided as to the birthplace of the 12th century Sufi preacher and saint of the Chishti Order, Fariduddin Ganjshakar. One places it at Kothewal village, 10 km from Multan and the other at Balkh. However, there is agreement on the fact that he eventually settled down in a place near the location of his current shrine in Pakpattan. The site was once marked with a tall flag that could be seen from the entrance of the main mosque of the shrine. Baba Farid's preaching to the Hindus about Islam resulted in large scale conversions but even those who did not convert became his ardent followers, visiting him frequently to seek spiritual guidance. It is said that King Balban and the Mughal King Akbar along with his son came to the shrine and Ranjit Singh always sent money and gifts for the shrine and its caretakers.

Fariduddin Ganjshakar is generally recognized as the first major poet of the Punjabi language and is seen as one of the pivotal saints of the Punjab region. Revered by Muslims and Hindus, he is considered one of the fifteen Sikh *bhagats* or holy men, and selections from his work are included in the Guru Granth Sahib, the Sikh sacred scripture. The old historic mosque next to the shrine was demolished during the 1990s as part of a project to construct a large modern complex at the site, despite opposition by the Department of Archaeology and Museums who wished to preserve it. (Plates 2 & 3)

Plate 2

Shrine of Baba Farid
Pakpattan

Pakpattan and its surroundings have been home to several other saints

Plate 3

New Mosque of Baba
Farid Complex

and holy men (*pirs*) who are commemorated in *urs* (religious gatherings) and *melas* (fairs). The *Urs* of Baba Farid attracts more than 500,000 people every year between the first and tenth of Moharram. *Mela Chan Pir* is held every year at the beginning of summer on the outskirts of Pakpattan, in village Chan Pir, also known as Basti Sakhi Ghulam Qadir, where the shrines of Chan Pir and Sakhi Ghulam Qadir are located.

On the outskirts of Pakpattan, about 12 miles away, there is a small village town called Malka Hans where the well-known Punjabi writer Waris Shah wrote his famous book, 'Heer Ranjha'.The love story of 'Heer Ranjha' came to a very interesting twist in Qabula, an old town about 15 km south of Arifwala. When the two lovers were parted in this town, Ranjha laid a curse on the town saying "may there always be fire burning here, like there is in my heart". This curse has been given substance in numerous stories and legends that relate the sudden appearance of smoke at different points of the town. Although Arifwala town itself has no such cultural traditions it has a park called Baba Farid Park.

Urban Growth and Modernization

The once walled inner city of Pakpattan has the archetypal form of an ancient town with labyrinthine streets, dense housing, intricate woodwork on *jharokas* or bay windows and doors that survive to this day. In general, the town has grown outwards from the walled city along the railway line. New settlements continue to develop in the eastern and north-western part of the city along the railway line and are presently contained between the Pakpattan Canal to the north and the Khaddar canal to the south.

New directions of growth have developed towards the north along Katchehri Road where the population is increasing due to the availability of public buildings, a central business district and good education facilities. The population is also increasing towards the west, along the Pakpattan bypass, due to cheap land prices so that most of the lower class is moving in this direction. The growth trend is expected to shift during the next 20 years as, owing to the limited capacity of TMA, newly emerging urban developments are already being undertaken by the private sector to cater to the residential needs of the town's inhabitants and the high rate of migration from the rural hinterland. The population density is not uniform; the older part has higher densities as compared to the surroundings (Figures 2 & 3). Density is very low on the outskirts.

Figure 2

Density in the Old City [5]

Figure 3

Density in Peripheral Areas

Daytime population is very high in the business corridors and markets. Pakpattan remains an agricultural town as is evident from its agro-based manufacturing activities such as cotton ginning and pressing, fertilizers, flour mills, oil mills, poultry feed, rice mills, sugar, and textile weaving. The decision to create a new *mandi* town was taken as early as 1908. However, its development was delayed until the launching of the Neeli Bar Colony project in 1925 when significant developments took place including the construction of the Pakpattan canal, the Town Hall and the demarcation of Chak No. 61/EB as the location of Arifwala town. Its next phase of growth began after Independence when, as the population increased, residential areas such as Officers Colony and Blocks C, F, H, G and D were built towards the southeast. After 1965, many residential areas and housing colonies,[6] colleges, cinemas, clubs, hospitals, cotton ginning factories and the town *mandi* developed. During this period, the town expanded mostly towards the south with some development towards the north. Development of the

---

5 Source for Figures 2 & 3: PMDFC Reports
6 Wukala Colony, Mohallah Colony, Gulshan-e-Wahab Colony, Green Town, Muhammad Pura, Mohallah Muzaffarabad, Ghaffar Town, Ramzan Town and many more were established

town picked up after 1999 with the addition of other residential areas.[7] Educational institutions such as the Intermediate College for Girls and Intermediate College for Boys were also established.

Figure 4

Expansion and density of the built-up area - Arifwala
Source: PMDFC Reports
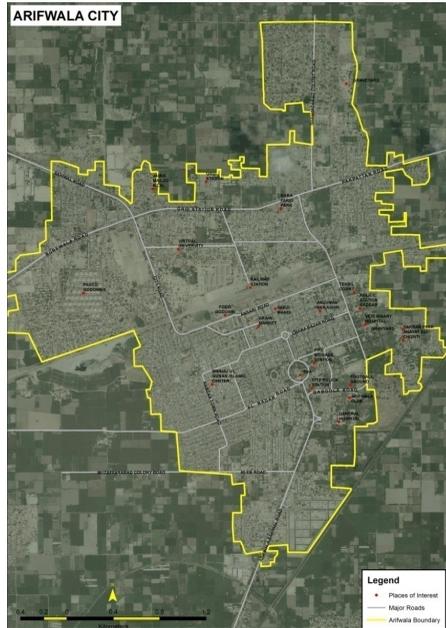
Arifwala has a strong middle income group comprising government employees, businesspersons and teachers. Many also work in the construction industry followed by agriculture, dairy and industry. Based on the existing land use and business opportunities, the town has more options for growth in the north than in the south. The town is growing along the Burewala Road towards Vehari in the southwest, the Qaboola-Bahawalnagar Road to the southeast and the Pakpattan Road to the east. Figure 4 is a satellite image taken during the last six years, which shows the expansion of the town and the density of the built-up area. The population growth rate is estimated to be around 3.17 percent per annum.[8]

A Comparison of the Urban Form of the Two Towns

The growth of trade and business activities reflects the economic potential of the town and the macro form of the city. Originating as an organic settlement, Pakpattan displays patterns of linear expansion along its major roads in relation to commercial and administrative activities. The administrative buildings are dispersed in different areas due to its road links with other cities of the Punjab. The urban form of Pakpattan emanates from six *chowks* or crossroads.[9] The *chowks* are connected to each other shaping the town and can be regarded as hubs of urban activities with a relatively dense intermix of vehicular and pedestrian flow. Commercial activities have penetrated deep into the internal streets and lanes affirming this locality with the characteristics of a Central Business District (CBD) of a medium-sized town. However, the current

---

7 Rehmat Colony, Shehzadabad Colony, Christian Colony, Faisal Town, and Muslim Garden.
8 Projected population based on the DCR 1998
9 These are Nagina Chowk, Machli Chowk, Meera Shah Chowk, Jamal Chowk, Town Hall Chowk and the Chitti Qabar Chowk.

population is estimated at 1.3 million which should designate Pakpattan as a large town.

Bazaars are congested and have narrow street paths with no facilities for parking. Local shopping centers are located on Katchehry Road, Depalpur Road, Eidgah and Pirkarian. In addition, there are two types of wholesale markets: a grain market and a fruit and vegetable market. These are situated in the central part of the town and essentially constitute an integral part of the CBD. The presence of these markets at the center has created acute congestion. (Figure 5)
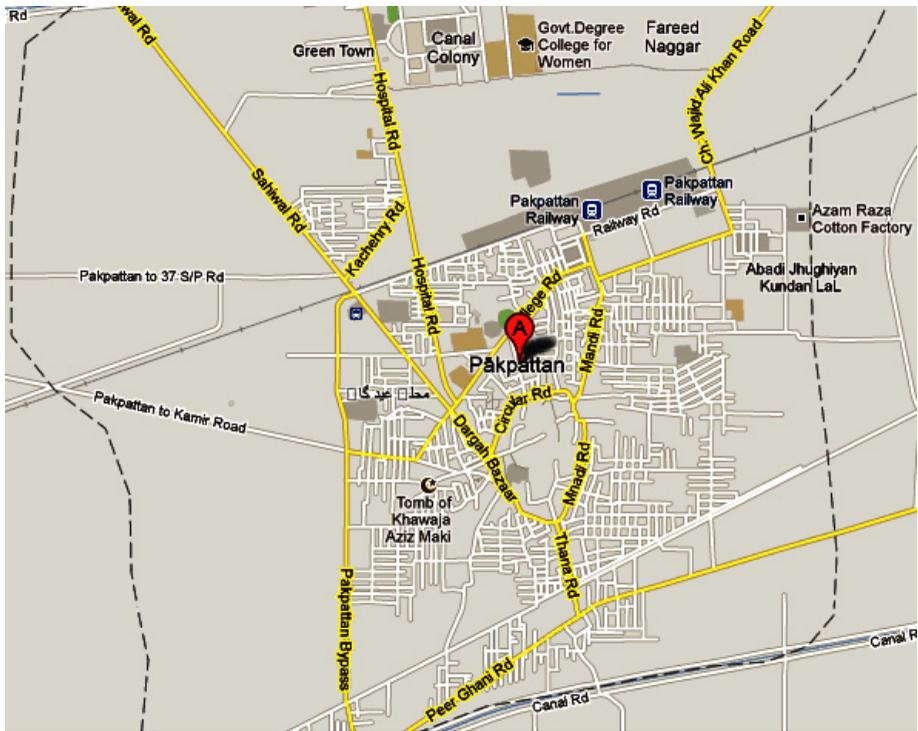

Figure 5

Map of Pakpattan City: Linear expansion with several hubs [10]

Arifwala displays patterns of radial expansion along its major street corridors in relation to the commercial and administrative activities. Administrative buildings are dispersed in different areas along the major roads linked to other towns rather than converging on a single access link. The urban form of Arifwala emanates from the seven important *chowks* located at the junction of the main roads.[11] These *chowks* can be regarded as hubs of urban activities, with a relatively dense intermix of vehicular and pedestrian flow. Commercial activities have penetrated deep into the

10   Google Map
11   Qaboola Sharif Chowk, Ansari Chowk, Jinnah Chowk, Lari Adda Chowk, Muhammadi Chowk, Pakpattan Chowk and Chandni Chowk.

internal streets and lanes, thus affirming this conglomeration of localities with the character of a CBD of a medium-sized town with an estimated current population of around 100,000. Shops and businesses located on the main arteries and close to the *chowks* receive better clientele than the distant ones. (Figure 6)

The city expanded initially towards its east, north, and west following a semi-grid pattern. The shape of the city can be visualized through the street structure and subsequently, the mobility pattern which together formulate the reference point for the physical layout. Residential land-use is the prime denominator which is closely interlinked with shops and stalls. There is no planned commercial center in the town and most commercial units abut on the main roads.

Old buildings, such as houses and shops, form part of the urban landscape only in Pakpattan. (Plate 4) However, there are numerous structures, many still functional, that were constructed during the long period of

---

12 Google Map

colonization in both Pakpattan and Arifwala. The most prominent are the railway stations, canal offices, colony or canal rest houses, railway hospitals, running rooms for telegraph personnel, and others. (Plate 5)

The overall condition of the housing sector is of acceptable quality barring the *katchi abadies* (slum areas) which show an irregular development pattern. The infrastructure of houses is also more organized as Arifwala is a planned town, although rural urban migration has created slums and congestion. Housing in the town area is more refined and modern with many multi-storeyed houses providing evidence that haphazard construction has been replaced by planned architectural design. In the more upper class areas especially, the use of modern materials and design is common. Even in the villages of *tehsil* Arifwala, the trend of *pacca* and planned houses, resulting from a certain level of prosperity, reflects a change in living habits.

The road transportation network of Arifwala town can be divided into three main categories: major, minor and streets. The street pattern is rectangular, forming a grid of iron and brick paved streets. The two major junctions are near the bus stand.[13] The settlement pattern has been disastrous as the town directly overlaps the cultivated land, some of which is right across the heart of the city. As the city grows, this land is likely to be urbanized. Pakpattan with its labyrinth of roads and narrow streets does not sport an intercity transport system and the *richkshaw or Qinqi* is the only means of transportation. Before the advent of *rickshaws*, *tongas* or horse drawn carriages, now a rarity, were a big industry in the town with hundreds of workers employed in making *tongas* and their accessories.

---

13 Borewala Chowk and Chowk Kunharan

Pakpattan is still pre-dominantly agrarian and the percentage of the labor force employed in the manufacturing industry is very low. There is a general problem of unemployment and under-employment; consequently the population is migrating to economically more developed parts of the province for better job opportunities and amenities. The recent addition of the Ittefaq sugar mills, rice mills and ginning and pressing mills is changing the character of the town. Arifwala has a large number of mainly small to medium industrial units, especially in cotton ginning and rice milling. Besides, many small industries are spread all over the town in various residential areas to meet local needs, such as *Kharad* machines, saw mills, flour mills, ice factories and such others.

Identity and Social Change

The two towns derive their identity from their geographical location and historical importance. There is a sense of distinctiveness and pride among the residents of Pakpattan that relates to its ancient origin, proximity to Harappa, and the omnipresence of Baba Farid. However, its location in the far eastern part of the district has given rise to a sense of marginalization and neglect. In the case of Arifwala, it is its central position, on the route from Sahiwal and links to Lahore, that gives its residents a feeling of importance.

In the case of Pakpattan, social change is taking longer, even though the family connected to the shrine and which determined the political direction of the town has been replaced by new players. In the current scenario, a nexus between the political elite and feudal class is hindering the middle class from entering politics. In the context of industrial development also, Pakpattan has a sense of being disadvantaged, compared to Arifwala which can boast of a steel mill. Arifwala's link with Sahiwal makes it more important for the industrial class; on the other hand, Pakpattan is more feudal with a history of *Pirs*. However, change is slowly occurring as some of the notables from the feudal class are setting up industries creating employment opportunities.

In Arifwala, the majority of the people are not only more progressive but are also free from local political pressures. Here, the more powerful class is that of the traders who have emerged as an influential class, trading with Afghanistan and Iran. Politicians also hail from the business community and are more forward-looking, especially with regard to encouraging

and promoting education. In their view, Pakpattan is less important as its only claim to fame is the shrine of Baba Farid. At the same time, Pakpattan claims to have the ingredients for interfaith harmony derived from its Hindu origins and equal reverence of Baba Farid by the Hindus, Muslims, both Shia and Sunni, and Sikhs, evident from the collectiveness exhibited during the *Urs* when people of all faiths congregate. Arifwala is considered to be deprived in this context. In the presence of large Christian and Ahmadi communities, interfaith harmony exists, and despite the fact that the Khatmain Nabuwat Tehrik started from here, people remain peaceful unless there is deliberate provocation.

In comparison to Pakpattan, Arifwala views itself as a developed town. Social change has occurred as a result of its close linkages with Sahiwal and Lahore with the latter in particular inspiring and influencing the local culture. Although the steel mill is closed at present, the poultry business is growing and Arifwala has emerged as the second largest centre in Pakistan in this context. Multinationals and other businesses such as edible oils (Rafhan) and Lays have invested here as the area is a major producer of maize and potatoes and rice is exported from here to Afghanistan. The market continues to remain the central point of the town; it continues to expand as new technologies have led to the formation of an association of Mobile Phone companies and the IT industry is growing rapidly.

Infrastructural and institutional development, the basis for social change, was evident in Arifwala earlier as compared to Pakpattan. The Tehsil Hospital, The Allama Iqbal Public Library with the Government Technical Training Centre, built by the State supported by chains of private schools lends credence to Arifwala's claim to being a progressive city of the district indicating the higher educational and literary trends of the city. Hotels, internet cafés, beauty parlors, parks, and private educational institutions further support the claim.

With the Local Government Ordnance 2001, districts acquired greater importance resulting in the construction of several new government buildings at the district headquarters. It is, thus, only since the last five years that change in Pakpattan has become visible. New government buildings such as the DCO's office, Rescue 15, District Police Headquarters, District Public School and a modern mosque, have been constructed, while others such as the District Hospital have been upgraded. New school buildings, both government and private school

chains, are providing educational alternatives and more factories have been set up. Hotels are coming up and the use of public space by families is on the increase. These are in sharp contrast to the old traditional setting of the town. PCOs employing women, mobile and computer markets are still limited in Pakpattan. Housing schemes that have been there for some time in Arifwala are also coming up in Pakpattan.

Impact of Changing Demographics and Lifestyles

In the current transition stage, the generation gap is very visible as middle aged persons do not see any change in their lives while the youth are challenging existing lifestyles. Older women face issues of gender disparity which they do not challenge, however, they do not want the next generation to face them, who in any case is beginning to rebel against them. Educated youth are seen as a phenomenon for change with most people expecting them to play a dominant role in the future development of the town. A change in the type of cultural activities conducted in educational institutions such as the introduction of debates, discussions and student clubs has contributed to young people challenging views and activities once considered unacceptable. The media has been a major contributor in this context. While technical education has added to the employment and earning capabilities of the youth, its role in changing the traditional mindset is less evident. The youth is also reshaping the family structure with single families replacing the joint family system as cousin marriages are being rejected. Fashion is creeping into homes and women are challenging stereotyped images, as they emerge into the public space.

The role of the private sector, particularly in education, has emerged in Pakpattan only since the last two years. Now all major chains such as the Educators and the City School also have their branches in Pakpattan, and a host of other cultural activities is making a difference in the lives of the young and women. The youth in Pakpattan also tend to associate with local personalities such as the Pataudi family and television personalities such as Ayesha Haq of GEO who are from this town. More job opportunities for women and children getting an education have contributed to more progressive thinking. For example, girls have more access to the internet in the homes and watch cable television including fashion TV which in turn has an impact on their attire.

There are fewer restrictions in Arifwala as compared to Pakpattan in the context of gender, such as early marriage. There is social acceptance of working women and they are active in operating small businesses and are working in government and private banks, beauty parlors, and the media. Beautician courses and beauty parlors are expanding rapidly. Weddings have become major events and in private schools and colleges cultural activities such as fashion shows and beautician courses are being promoted.

The religious heritage is viewed more in a cultural sense; for example, visiting Baba Farid's shrine and *darbar* is considered a cultural activity and as a source of income and not as part of religious duty. In the absence of other forms of entertainment, the *urs* assumes greater importance. However, to the disappointment of their elders, young people do not take such events seriously nor do they relate it to religion. In the eyes of the young, the *mazaar* is a source of revenue generation at the time of the *urs* and a means of cultural interaction with persons coming from other areas and provinces.

The youth also identify with modern personalities who are replacing historical and political figures. For example, they take pride in television personalities rather than the local politician from their town. The Standing Committee Chairman Javaid is mentioned as one of the few elected members who is recognized as having contributed to the development of the people. Politicians who remain in the background are seen as playing a more positive role as compared to elected representatives.

The electronic media is shaping how young people think; talk shows on television have enabled people to analyze and deliberate so that they have begun to question the nature of development and that it is more than just constructing roads if people continue to remain poor. The coverage of events as they happen, holds more charm for the youth and has replaced the print media which reaches the public much later.

Despite these changes, limited opportunities, especially when compared to Arifwala, are resulting in the more educated and talented persons moving away from Pakpattan. Educated girls, especially from the upper class, are moving to larger towns for higher education. This in turn has created a dilemma and crisis for families whose children are settling in large cities while parents are left behind, further exacerbating the generation gap. Those who move usually do so to take up government

jobs, while the skilled and labor class are left behind. Poverty and economic deprivation is increasing the pressure on the town from rural migrants resulting in unemployment among the lower class and an increase in urban slums.

The media and NGOs are seen as the main contributors of social change, especially in the context of women, with the public sector having played a minimal role. However, several internet cafes that have cropped up remain accessible only to the male population. The negative impact of these cafes is minimal as most youth are educated. For women, internet facilities are available inside the homes. The higher educational level of the youth in Arifwala also explains the lower use of drugs as compared to Pakpattan, where in a recent survey 700 cases of HIV were reported. With fewer educated youth moving out of Arifwala, because of its more conducive social and economic environment, they are likely to contribute to the future development of the town as compared to the youth of Pakpattan.

References

- Planning Reports 2011 – 2012, Punjab Municipal Development Fund Company (PMDFC).
- P. Vandal (2004) "The Lesser Cities of the Punjab: Forgotten or Neglected?" Paper presented at the Urban and Regional Planning Conference, NED University, Karachi. Quoted in Working Paper Series, Number 15, Rural-Urban Interactions and Livelihood Strategies, "Migration and Small Towns in Pakistan", Arif Hasan and Mansoor Raja, June 2009.
- Wikipedia.
- Working Paper Series, Number 15, Rural-Urban Interactions and Livelihood Strategies, "Migration and Small Towns in Pakistan", Arif Hasan and Mansoor Raja, June 2009.

Bhumman Shah: Life in a Lost Town

Amina Ejaz and Sarah Afzal

Introduction

Bhumman Shah is a small town located 15 km from Dipalpur on the Dipalpur-Wasewewalla road. It comes under the jurisdiction of District Okara. The town is famous for a Temple complex named after Bhumman Shah. It was built by the Udasi saints or *mahants*, with each building in the large complex offering an insight into contemporary cultural and religious practices. The four *samadhis* or funerary memorials, a congregation hall and a large *haveli*-like structure used as the Udasi saints' residence within the complex, appear to have been built in successive phases, between the mid-nineteenth to early twentieth century. The enclosing boundary wall and a lofty gateway may be dated to the late nineteenth century and are known to have been a donation from the British authorities.

Natural Subject Matter, Iconology and Iconography: Using Panofsky's Three-Step Model

In order to analyze the structures within the complex, we will be using the renowned German art historian Erwin Panofsky's three-step analysis, as first presented in his thesis *Studies in Iconology* (Zoysa, 262). Panofsky's (1939, 5-7) model consists of the following three layers, each of which will be made use of throughout the course of this paper:

- **Primary or Natural subject matter:** At this level, the work of art is perceived in its most basic form and entails a description of the work in terms of apparent elements such as the shape, the color and the form, all of which are a part of everyday experience and make use of the sensory perceptions. This forms the base of the analysis of any work of art.

- **Secondary or Conventional subject matter - Iconography**: This level goes a step deeper and comprises an interpretation of the subject matter while furnishing our analysis with cultural and iconographic information. This step also requires some textual knowledge or prior visual experiences in order to identify elements or symbols in the work of art.

- **Intrinsic Meaning or Content – Iconology**: At this level, technical and cultural information is taken into consideration along with cultural history, and these elements are incorporated in order to form a deeper understanding of the work. The work of art, at this point, is not seen in isolation but as the result of a historical process and a synthesis is achieved.

Baba Bhumman Shah

This town was named Bhumman Shah to commemorate Baba Bhumman Shah, the first missionary of the Udasi sect. His *samadhi* was built in the latter half of the 19th century and used to attract thousands of devotees in the pre-Partition era. He was a spiritual figure for the Hindu *Kamboj* tribe towards the end of the 17th century and the start of the 18th century. He was also revered amongst the Muslims. The village was initially known as Kutb Kot and only subsequently was it named Bhumman Shah out of reverence for the saint. He had seven followers or *mahants* who carried forward his teachings; four of these have pavilions within the complex. During the time of the second *mahant*, Bhajan Das, the British visited the place and were so impressed by the free kitchen that existed there to provide the devotees and visitors with food, that they granted another 3000 acres of land to add to the kitchen area. Subsequently, the construction of a *serai*, horse's stables and fort were also initiated. (Kamboh, 1972)

The Complex

Figure 1

Entrance to Bhumman Shah Outer Complex

The most important feature of the town is the main temple complex of Bhumman Shah which is a remarkable amalgamation of both British and Sikh architecture. The entrance to the entire complex is an intricately carved gateway (Fig. 1). Entering the gateway to the complex,

on the right side, is located the *serai* dating back to the twentieth century. The *serai* is constructed on a large piece of land and is flanked by rooms on all four sides. It has a covered

area of 22,000 sq. ft. with an open area of 40,109 sq. ft. About 52 families, consisting of 300 persons, reside within the *serai*.[1]

Ahead, is the fort in the form of a *haveli.* This structure is double-storeyed and has a covered area of 8,067 sq ft. It is believed that the Udasi sect's monks and saints used to reside in the quarters of the complex before the Partition. According to the Archaeology Department, approximately 300 people, that is, 52 families, currently reside in the fort and adjoining houses.[2] The temple complex is located on the left side of the main entrance, opposite the *haveli*. It has a wooden door. Upon entering, on the left and right are both octagonal and square structures which are the burial places of the *chehlas* of Baba

Bhumman Shah, while the *samadhi* of Baba Bhumman Shah himself is located to the left of the entrance to this complex (Fig. 2). The entire complex is adorned with frescoes of varying themes, depicting both religious and secular, folklore and cultural traditions. Located right ahead is the Darbar Hall which was renovated by the Evacuee Trust Board of Pakistan in 2006,[3] as a result of which it is now plastered with cement and completely whitewashed. This has unfortunately destroyed the design and intricacy of both the architecture as well as the frescoes in the Hall. (Fig. 3)
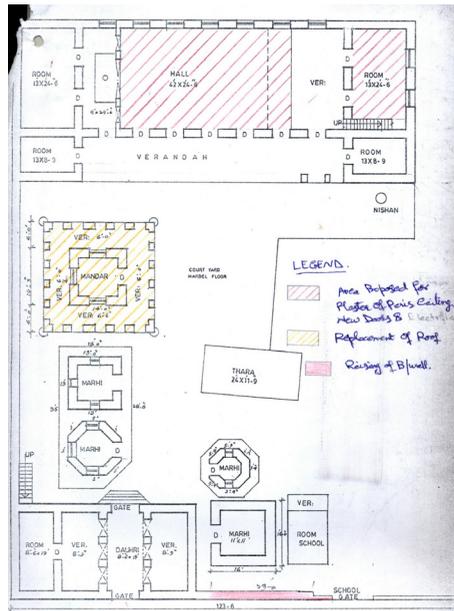
---

1 Bhumman Shah", Department of Archaeology and Museums, Government of Pakistan (Courtesy Mr. Talib)
2 Ibid.
3 "Bhumman Shah", Evacuee Trust Property Board files

Surface Ornamentation – The Frescoes and Iconography

An iconographic interpretation of the frescoes in the temple complex and the Mahindar Das pavilion has enabled us to fill in a lot of the gaps left by the lack of secondary sources to explain as well as compare the peaceful co-existence of people belonging to all religions before the Partition. The frescoes that we classified as containing religious themes depicted stories about important Hindu deities such as Shiva, Durga, Vishnu's incarnations as Krishna and Rama, Ganesh and Hanuman (Figs. 4, 5). Other paintings included important figures from both Hindu and Sikh traditions; these include Gurus from Sikh lineage such as Guru Nanak, Guru Gobind Singh, Guru Har Krishan, and Guru Dasam Granth (Fig. 6). In the Mahindar Das pavilion, the stories of all ten Gurus have been narrated through frescoes and these show a typical Sikh influence in the scenes depicted as well as through the vibrant use of the color blue. The *samadhi* complex frescoes display a beautiful rendition of Sikh art and the intricacy of the painters in the mid-nineteenth century and are excellent examples of the modification in the Pahari style paintings with considerable British influence. The frescoes in the *samadhi* temple complex seem to be inspired by both Hindu and Sikh religious themes. However, some of those themes seem to have secular elements attached to them, such as the ones with conventional depictions of Maharaja Ranjit Singh.

Guru Nanak and Guru Gobind Singh's frescoes in the *samadhi* of Bhumman Shah assert the fluid boundaries between the Sikh and Hindu religions during the nineteenth century. Frescoes of these as well as the other eight Gurus can be seen in the pavilion of Mahindar Sant Das. The fact that the pavilion of Mahindar Sant Das was built later than the *samadhi* of the temple complex showcases two interesting facts: in the later period followers of Baba Bhumman Shah started paying homage to all the Gurus and not just Guru Gobind Singh; secondly, extensive use of blue is found in the frescoes, which is considered to be representative of the Akali Sikhs, who were warriors and militants.

The depiction of religious deities and stories of Hindu gods in Sikh architecture is nothing new and holds significance in both religions, therefore, frescoes of various deities are typically found within *samadhis* and *gurudwaras*. Since the *samadhi* is constructed in the style of Sikh architecture, the frescoes used were also those common to Sikh architecture. Also, the Udasis, followers of Bhumman Shah, used to

Figure 4

Krishna subduing Kalia

Figure 5

Sharavan, the devoted son

Figure 6

Guru Nanak with Mardana and Bala

Figure 7

Heer Ranjha

recite the sacred text from the Dasam Granth, which contains hymns of the avatars and feminine deities.

Lastly, we come to the frescoes depicting famous folklore of the Punjab, namely Heer Ranjha, Sassi Pannu, and Mirza Sahiba (Fig. 7). Culture plays an important role in the art and architecture of an era and influences the artists and artisans. The *samadhi* frescoes highlight different aspects and roles of women, including *Shahlabhanjika*. Other women in the frescoes indicate the practices and the role of women in that particular time frame. It is interesting to see representations of women who are not submissive to their lords but have an independent role even in a patriarchal society.

Iconology

The overlapping boundaries between different religions in the subcontinent do not come as a surprise as this place has been home to people of all three religions: Sikhs, Hindus, and Muslims, who have incorporated similarities ranging from religious teachings to faith in saints and gurus. The cultural boundaries, however, are much more fluid between the Sikhs and the Hindus.

Upon digging a little deeper into the iconology of the monument, we discovered that the temple complex of Baba Bhumman, while it was still functional, was built for both the Hindus and Sikhs. Devotees of Bhumman Shah used to come to the temple complex and engage in religious activities. The site was considered sacred amongst the Muslim residents too at the time of the Partition, which is evident from the harmonious way people belonging to all religions and sects lived there. Most important, the monument earned the respect of people of different religions, in particular the Muslims, as the last *mahant* of Baba Bhumman Shah and claimant of the land, Girdari Das himself resided there. As a result of interviewing the locals and our own research, it has come to our knowledge that Girdari Das was very well-educated, a graduate from a prestigious university in the United Kingdom and famous as a specialist in herbal medicine as well as an expert in music. The locals used to come to him for assistance in matters of a varying nature. After the Partition, this function of the temple complex ended. After Girdari Das fled to India with no heir or claimant to the land and temple complex and with Muslim migrants coming from India, the importance of the area dwindled.

Life in Bhumman Shah

Presently, Bhumman Shah is the property of the Evacuee Trust Board which has sublet the *haveli*, *serai* and stables as residential areas to migrants since the Partition of the subcontinent.

What provoked our interest were the people who reside in this small town of Bhumman Shah and the kind of lives they lead. According to the official 1998 census,[4] 9,583 people reside in the town, with 4,931 males and 4,652 females. The literacy rate is 24.2%. The town consists of a Muslim majority with only 57 people belonging to other religions. The following is the breakdown of selected population and housing of the town:

Hadbast Number / DEH Number	Population			Literacy Ratio 10 + (%)	Education Attainment				Religion	
					Below Matric		Matric and above		Muslim	Others
	Both sexes	Male	Female		Male	Female	Male	Female		
0257	9,583	4,931	4,652	24.2	666	197	230	30	9526	57

Table 1

Breakdown of population and housing of Bhumman Shah

The new census of the town has not been published; these records are still used by the government. If new statistics are needed for any purpose by the government, they simply amend these older records by adding 10-15% to each subfield of the data.[5]

At the time of Partition, Muslims from different parts of India migrated to Bhumman Shah. Currently, people belonging to 50 different castes reside here, including *Charhoe, Rangrez, Qasae, Bhurraye,* and *Pathan Muhajirs*. These residents have been living here since the Partition on the property which actually belongs to the Evacuee Trust Board. This place has not been officially allotted to any of the people who reside here to this day. The current locals of Bhumman Shah are living in whichever area or on whatever land they got hold of when they moved here after the Partition.

According to the data collected from the interviews, most of the locals here are either farmers, shopkeepers, schoolteachers or they run their own small businesses. Since 1970, some people here have been allotted 12 acres of the land nearby, to cultivate and live off, for a tenure of 3 years.

---

4   Selected Population and Housing Statistics of Individual Rural Localities, DCO Office, Dipalpur
5   An informal interview with Mr. Shahid from the DCO Office, Dipalpur. 25th September 2012

Today, this has boiled down to 1-2 acres per person's share. They are required to pay Rs 1000 per annum as rent to the Evacuee Trust Board. However, in order to avoid administrative lapses, people are sometimes forced to pay an additional amount of money to renew the contract.[6]

Over time, some initiatives have been taken by historians and archeologists to restore this place as a historical site and allot land to the local residents where they can live in adjacent areas. The locals, however, are of a different opinion. They do not want to leave the *haveli, serai* and horse stables and move to another place unless they are provided with a housing scheme. During the regime of General Musharraf in Pakistan, steps were taken to evacuate the entire area and according to some residents, the idea of inviting the Hindus to reside in this area to look after and maintain the site was briefly considered. However, the residents protested against such drastic plans and steps were taken to resist this action. There was a conflict between the government and local residents. The Evacuee Trust Board created a scheme in 2007 but the program was never properly implemented and is pending to this day.[7]

The temple complex has been locked ever since the beginning of the conflict between the government and the locals. Despite the renovation done by the Evacuee Trust Board in 2006, the complex is in a dilapidated condition. The beautiful frescoes have been whitewashed. The complex continues to be used as a dumping ground by the locals, with huge amounts of waste piled up along the inside walls and the entire brick work is coming apart.

During the course of the interviews, one point was stressed upon by many of the locals. They did not object to the restoration of the temple complex as a historical site; the only point of concern for them was that they should continue to live there as they had been doing for generations. There seemed to be a consistent fear amongst them of being turned out of their homes without notice as per government orders. This was the reason they also wanted to be officially allotted the places they had been residing in for decades. According to them, being the legal owners of their houses would alleviate this constant fear of being turned out of their homes as soon as there was a change in government policy.

One rather disheartening element we uncovered during the interviews was the complete lack of knowledge the students who resided within

---

6 Interview with the local school Principal, Mr. Mansoor Khan. 25th September 2012
7 "Bhumman Shah", Evacuee Trust Property Board files

the confines of the main complex displayed about Bhumman Shah and his temple complex. All they could come up with was a vague bit of information about the monument being a '*Mandir*'. This is ironic given the fact that these children study in schools which are built inside the boundary of the main Bhumman Shah Complex and the fact that this place is also their home. However, the students themselves are not entirely to blame. A talk with the Principal of a local school uncovered the fact that no part of the syllabus in any of the schools covered or even mentioned much about Bhumman Shah or the temple.[8] This ignorant attitude makes a lot more sense if seen against the backdrop of Hindu-Muslim animosity that has existed ever since the Partition of the subcontinent and the state of tension that has persisted between the two states ever since. This is further aggravated by the locals' primary concern for holding onto their homes rather than worrying about the restoration of a monument they cannot even relate to on a religious or cultural basis any more. Almost complete ignorance about the rich history of the monument makes their lack of care somewhat more justifiable but all the more a reason for concern.

Conclusion

In a developing country like Pakistan, preservation of art and architecture has only been a matter of concern in the upper echelons of society, while the masses have always been more concerned with the basic needs of shelter, food and clothing. It is therefore not surprising that the residents of the small town of Bhumman Shah, especially those residing within the main complex, are primarily concerned about their homes, of which they want to be given legal ownership. Although this makes sense, the purpose of our research was not only to uncover historical facts about the town but also to inculcate a willingness to learn about our history and an attitude of respect towards our cultural roots. Our research attempts to encourage preservation of such sites in order to stay in touch with the rich cultural and historical legacy that has been left to us. The fact that the young who reside within Bhumman Shah are completely unaware of the historical and cultural significance of the monument makes it much less likely that the younger generation residing in other areas, especially those children who are not students of art and architecture, would even be aware of the existence of this place. A few years from now this would result in complete obscurity and loss of such sites and the rich history associated with them. There is therefore a need not only to study and explore such monuments but also to attempt to preserve

8   Interview with Mr. Mansoor Khan. 25th September 2012

them for our future generations who are rapidly losing touch with their historical roots. There is also a need to preserve such sites from further deterioration before they are completely lost to us.

Secondary Sources

- De Zoysa, Asoka. "Reading Images and Interpreting the Context: Differentiating between Iconography and Iconology According to Erwin Panofsky's Three Phase Analysis". Warsaw Indological Studies Series 4 (2011): n. p. Print.

- Kamboh, Chaudhry Wahab-ud-Din. Tareekh-e-Kamboh. Anjuman Kambohan-e-Pakistan, 1972. Print.

- Pakistan. DCO Office. Selected Population and Housing Statistics of Individual Rural Localities. Dipalpur: n.p., 1998. Print.

- Panofsky, Erwin. Studies in Iconology; Humanistic Themes in the Art of the Renaissance. New York: Oxford UP, 1939. 5-7. Print.

Photographs by Authors

Urbanization without Urbanism: Anti-Urbanism and Small Towns in the Punjab

Imdad Hussain, PhD

Urbanism and Anti-Urbanism

It is not easy to define urbanism and anti-urbanism as they have not been theorized adequately like the concepts of 'city' and 'urban.'[1] At face value, urbanism and anti-urbanism appear as opposite concepts, the presence or practice of the one may be taken as the absence of the other. In reality, however, urbanism and anti-urbanism might be practiced side by side, and therefore, can be studied with reference to each other. Aristotle is one of the leading thinkers of the concept of the 'city'. In the words of Schneck: "A tacit Aristotelianism dominates most academic conceptualizations of the city and constitutes an intellectual field within which questions of 'city' are resolved."[2] Philip Bess has described Aristotelian urbanism as one of the most influential urbanist paradigms, in the following words: "the city [polis] is a community of communities that exist to promote the best life possible for its citizens, both individually and collectively. Hence, this view of cities assumes that the best human life necessarily entails both individual freedom and communal belonging and obligation, and recognizes both of these as goods necessary for the good life for human beings."[3] Louis Worth, while accepting that heterogeneity had an alienating influence on urbanites, also brings to the fore the virtues of urban life. His comprehensive essay, "Urbanism as a Way of Life", has acquired the status of a classic writing on urbanism.[4] Emily Talen has described urbanism as a characteristic of a "human settlement that is guided by principles of diversity, connectivity, mix, equity, and the importance of public space. Diversity is the linchpin."[5] Calthorpe has defined urbanism "— by qualities, not quantities; by diversity, not size;

1   See, for example, William H. Frey and Zachary Zimmer, "Defining the City", *In Handbook of Urban Studies*, ed. Ronan Paddison (London: Sage Publications, 2001).

2   Stephen Schneck, "City and Village", In *Shanghai: Its Urbanization and Culture*, eds. Yu Xuanmeng and He Xirong (Washington: The Council for Research in Values and Philosophy, 2004), 171.

3   Philip Bess, "The New Urbanism: From Aristotle and God to Baseball," Interviewed by Local Liberty. *The Claremont Institute*, November 17, 2004. Available at <http://www.claremont.org projects/pageid.1999/default.asp>

4   Louis Worth, "Urbanism as A Way of Life", *American Journal of Sociology* Vol. 44, no. 1 (1938), 1-24.

5   Emily Talen, *New Urbanism and American Planning: The Conflict of Cultures* (New York: Routledge, 2005), 37.

by intensity, not density; by connectivity, not just location."[6] Contrary to Talen's view, urbanism has also been defined in negative terms. Merriam's recounting of urbanism, in 1940, is illustrative:

> I know that there are those to whom urbanism is an abomination — a continuing Sodom and Gomorrah. I know that literature is filled with curses upon the ugliness and sinfulness of great centers of population and that there are those who would scatter and destroy them all, perhaps not leaving one stone upon another. Their only urban research would be the discovery of the appropriate circle of hell for the city. I cannot share their emotional outbursts. I have read about the tower of Babel and about Sodom and Gomorrah; but I have also read Revelations. Nor does my intelligence follow their reasoning and their conclusions.[7]

Talen regards anti-urbanism as "the tendency toward separation, segregation, planning by monolithic elements like express highways. It neglects equity, place, public realm, historical structure and the human scale of urban form."[8] Thompson regards anti-urbanism as "hatred of — or even ambivalence toward — the city or urban life…anti-urbanism is more than a mere hatred of city life. It is embedded in an overlapping series of economic, cultural, political and sociological realities. It is a force that continues to have relevance in contemporary life, whether in terms of predicting or explaining political ideology or even mapping the variations of cultural habits and norms."[9] A number of people have written about anti-urbanism in the Western world.[10] The main reason is the presence of anti-urban ideas in Western writings on urbanization.[11] The earlier manifestations of anti-urbanism can be seen in the writings of classical urban sociologists such as Emile Durkheim (1858-1917), Georg Simmel (1858–1918), and Ferdinand Tönnies (1855-1936). Urbanism, in the social thought of these writers, was associated with negative things such as alienation, crimes, and disorder. They constructed a binary of human settlements, in which villages were portrayed as natural

---

6 Peter Calthorpe, *Urbanism in the Age of Climate Change* (Washington: Island Press, 2011), 3.

7 Chalres E. Merriam, "Urbanism", *American Journal of Sociology*, 45, no. 5 (1940): 720-730. 728-29.

8 Emily Talen, 2005, 37.

9 Micheal J. Thompson, ed. *Fleeing the City: Studies in the Culture and Politics of Anti-urbanism* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 9.

10 See, for example, Bernard Marchand and Joelle Salomon Cavin, "Anti-Urban Ideologies and Planning in France and Switzerland: Jean-Francois Gravier and Armin Meili", *Planning Perspectives* 22 (2007): 29-57.

11 Tom Angotti, "New Anti-Urbanism Theories of the Metropolitan Region: 'Planet of Slums' and Apocalyptic Regionalism", Paper Presented at the Conference of the Association of Collegiate School of Planners, Kansas City, Missouri, 27 October 2005; See also Lisa Benton-Short and John Rennie Short, *Cities and Nature* (Routledge, 2008); David Fleming, *City of Rhetoric: Revitalizing the Public Sphere in Metropolitan America* (New York: Suny Press, 2008).

and organic, while cities were depicted as unnatural and artificial.[13] The forms of anti-urbanism seen in Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy were partly built on the ideas of classical sociologists. Writers such as John Ruskin (1819-1900) and Henry David Thoreau (1817-1862) also contributed to the ideology of anti-urbanism. Political leaders such as Thomas Jefferson (1743-1826), Adolf Hitler (1889-1945), and Rachele Mussolini (1883-1945) practiced anti-urbanism as well. They did so by promoting sub-urbanism and village life. American and British forms of anti-urbanism need special mention because the German and Italian models were discredited after World War II, providing space for the foreign expansion of American and British forms of anti-urbanism. The British already had a long history of anti-urbanism at that time.[14]

Victorian anti-urbanism persisted during colonial and post-colonial times and was deeply rooted in Victorian urban planning. Chris Holmes has remarked that "for all its grand achievements the Victorian era left a scandalous legacy of slum housing."[15] In works such as Morton and Lucia White's, *American Intellectual versus the American City*, Jane Jacobs's, *Dark Age Ahead and Life and Death of Great American Cities*, themes of anti-urbanism can be traced. Henry David Thoreau said, "cities corrupt, nature restores". American urban policymaking has been done, for a long time, in the context of anti-urban ideologies.[16] The documentary series Legendary Sinful Cities depicts city life as sinful and to be avoided.[17] Anti-urbanism is also visible in Asia. The policies of the Chinese Communist state have long been anti-urbanist. In post-colonial times, Cambodian dictator Pol Pot used anti-urbanism rigorously. In India, the Naxal Bari movement is anti-urban, with mixed elements of nationalist, colonial and Western anti-urbanism.

Ignoring Small Towns

In urban studies, both urban sociology and the urban planning of "small

---

12 Charles R. Tittle and Mark C. Stafford, "Urban Theory, Urbanism, and Suburban Residence", *Social Forces*, 70, no. 3 (1992): 725-744.

13 Bridget Franklin, *Housing Transformation: Shaping the Space of the 21st Century* (New York: Routledge, 2006), 109-110.

14 Richard J. Williams, *The Anxious City: English Urbanism in the Late Twentieth Century* (Routledge, 2004), 2.

15 Chris Holmes, *A New Vision for Housing* (New York: Routledge, 2006), 1.

16 Morton White and Lucia White, "The American Intellectual versus the American City", *Daedalus* 90, no. 1 (1961): 166-179.

17 *Legendary Sin Cities: Paris, Berlin, Shanghai*. DVD. dir. Marrin Canell, Ted Remerowski and Henry Ramer, (Demi-Monde Productions, Inc., and Shanachie Entertainment Corp 2006).

towns" (as defined below) are unfortunately markedly under-researched topics.[18] The study of small towns has particularly been ignored in Pakistan. Cecelia Tacloi noted only a few studies dealing with small and medium-sized towns comprised of 5,000-20,000 people. It should be noted that, given a lower or even a negative population growth rate, a place of even only a few thousands will be considered a town for the purposes of this paper.[19] The role of towns in rural development and in the employment of village people is highly significant.[20] However, little work has been undertaken on the economic role of small towns.[21] Leeuwen has pointed out that "only in a few countries, towns have been explicitly mentioned as important tools in rural development. However, implicitly, their value is apparent."[22] It is pertinent here to quote Robert Home, who has commented that, "the history of towns and town-planning in the most rapidly urbanizing parts of the world is still a relatively neglected topic." The available work on small towns inadvertently focuses on Western towns. Robert Home has aptly noted that, "the growing body of academic work on planning history, nourished by networks such as the International Planning History Society, still deals mostly with Europe and North America."[23] Leeuwen observed that "much research has been undertaken on both urban issues and rural areas, but the number of recent studies dealing with small or medium-sized towns (5,000–20,000 inhabitants) is limited."[24] The research on small towns remains limited despite the fact that future urbanization will take place in small towns. Small towns link rural areas with urban ones and thus contribute to keeping human habitat in balance. As a result of this, small towns can easily be turned into efficient and economical human settlements, a statement which can be empirically verified from several sources, as follows:

---

18   David Bell and Mark Jayne, eds. *Small Cities: Urban Experience beyond the Metropolis* (New York: Routledge, 2006).

19   Cecilia Tacoli, *The Role of Small and Intermediate Urban Centres and Market Towns and the Value of Regional Approaches to a Rural Poverty Reduction Policy* (Paper presented at the OECD DAC POVNET Agriculture and Pro-Poor Growth Task Team Helsinki Workshop 17-18 June 2004).

20   David Satterthwitte and Cecilia Tacoli, *The Urban Part of Rural Development: The Role of Small and Intermediate Urban Centres in Rural and Regional Development and Poverty Reduction* (International Institute for Environment and Development, 2003); Also see Cecilia Tacoli, *The Earthscan Reader in Rural-Urban Linkages* (London: Earthscan, 2007).

21   See Bhishna Nanda Bajracharya, "Promoting Small Towns for Rural Development: A View from Nepal", *Asia-Pacific Population Journal 20*, no. 2 (1995): 27-50.

22   Eveline van Leeuwen, *Urban-Rural Interactions: Towns as Focus Points in Rural Development* (Physica-Verlag, 2010), 4; Also see, Eveline van Leeuwen, "Towns Today: Contemporary Functions of Small and Medium-Sized Towns in the Rural Economy", (PhD diss., Vrije Universiteit, Amsterdam, 2008).

23   Robert Home, *Of Planting and Planning: The Making of British Colonial Cities* (London: E&FN Spon, 1997), Preface.

24   Leeuwen, *Urban-Rural Interactions*, 1.

First, Mega has observed "compared with the average world citizen, each urban dweller consumes fewer resources and is responsible for lower levels of emissions than the rest of the inhabitants of the planet. Resource and energy efficiency is higher in cities and can be increased at a lower cost owing to large-scale economies. Action in cities represents the most efficient way to address the global challenges."[25] Furthermore, a UNESCAP report identifies the provision of water and sanitation as being significant to the functioning of small towns, but both of these factors were being ignored by the governments of developing countries.[26] UN Habitat has also recommended the development of water and sanitation on an urgent basis.[27] WaterAid, moreover, has developed a detailed manual frame on developing water and sanitation services in small towns.[28] Together, these works suggest that water and sanitation should be developed in tandem with the economies of small towns, if urbanization has to be made substantial and equitable.

A number of scholars have tried to explain why the development of small towns is being ignored across the world. David Satterthwitte discusses two myths regarding privileging of rural areas over urban areas. The first myth regards poverty as rural. The second fabricates that urban development is undertaken at the cost of rural development. In other words, the second myth regards urban development as antithetical to rural development.[29] These myths are held by policymakers in national governments and international donor agencies in many parts of the world and have adverse effects on the development of urban areas in developing countries. These myths influence the development work in Pakistan as the fascination of Pakistani policymakers with rural development appears boundless. Akbar Zaidi's assertion that Pakistani policymakers still believe in the myth of Pakistan being agricultural, supports Satterthwitte's point.[30] The work of Reza Ali demonstrates that Pakistani policymakers deny the actual level of urbanization in Pakistan, which contributes to the myth of Pakistan being rural.[31] Fascination with

25 Voula P. Mega, *Sustainable Cities for the Third Millennium: The Odyssey of Urban Excellence* (Springer, 2010), 16; David Satterthwitte has rigorously shown that urban areas consume less environmental resources. The details can be seen in his paper: "Ten and Half Myths that May Distort the Urban Policies of Governments and International Agencies" (International Institute for Environment and Development, 2002).

26 UNESCAP, *Pro-Poor Water and Waste Water Management in Small Towns* (Bali, 2006).

27 UN-Habitat, *Meeting Development Goals in Small Urban Centres: Water and Sanitation in the World's Cities* (Earthscan, 2006).

28 WaterAid, *Small Town Water and Sanitation Delivery: Taking a Wider View* (London, 2010).

29 David Satterthwitte, *Ten and Half*, 2002.

30 S. Akbar Zaidi, "Economic Myths and Our Elite", *Dawn*, 3 September, 2012.

31 Reza Ali and Sara Fatima Azfar, "Understanding Urbanisation Policy and Research Agendas", In *Cities: Engines of Growth*, eds. Nadeem Ul Haque and Durr-e-Nayab (Islamabad: Pakistan Institute of Development Economics, 2007), 99-101.

rural areas has a long history in this part of the world and found strong expression during colonial rule in India. Robert Home contends that the colonial state kept small towns underdeveloped.[32]

Small towns have not received significant attention as the object of study in Pakistan, either. With the notable exception of the works of Arif Hasan and Mansoor Raza, Akhtar Siddiqi, and Shahid Javed Burki, it is well-nigh impossible to find any academic treatment of small towns in Pakistan.[33] Like the small towns of other developing countries, Punjab's small towns in Pakistan are deteriorating. The extent of their problems is tremendous. The Punjab government spends only a fraction of its development budget on small towns. Very few small towns are allocated funds in the Annual Development Programme (ADP) of the province. The policies of the Punjab government do not promote diversity of urban experiences. The very downplaying of diversity points to the anti-urbanist tendencies of the urban policies of the Punjab. The major sign of anti-urbanism is that town planning is being done in such a way that the public sphere remains underdeveloped. The town planning practices that prevail in the Punjab do not allow cities to be developed as urban areas. The city of Lahore in the years from 2008 to 2012 may be taken as an example. The few sidewalks that previously existed in the city have been eliminated. No place is being allocated for pedestrians and deliberative activities are being discouraged through commercialization of an increasing number of roads.

I would also contend that the Punjab government is not promoting urbanism both in its Western conception, that is, size, density and heterogeneity,[34] as well as in its ancient Indian conception,[35] that is, "vertical differentiation" and "heterogeneity."[36] Thomas Riisfeldt's citation of two scholars, Bogucki and Service, on ancient Indian urbanism is illustrative:

---

32 Home, *Of Planting*, 264-65.

33 Arif Hasan with Mansoor Raza, *Migration and Small Towns in Pakistan* (Oxford University Press, 2011); Akhtar Siddiqi, "Small Town Growth and Development in Pakistan", *Geo Journal* 20, no. 4 (1993): 421-434; Shahid Javed Burki, "Development of Towns: The Pakistan Experience", *Asian Survey* 14, no. 8 (1974): 751-762.

34 For an interesting discussion on Western urbanism, see Nels Anderson, "Urbanism and Urbanization", *American Journal of Sociology* 65, no. 1 (1959): 68-73; Mervyn Horgan, "Anti-Urbanism as a Way of Life: Disdain for Dublin in the Nationalist Imaginary", *The Canadian Journal of Irish Studies*, 30, no. 2 (2004): 38-47.

> Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro were large comparable to Mesopotamian and Egyptian urban centres, and were also remarkably similar with each other, featuring regular and rectilinear geometrical street plans and modular buildings, along with a seemingly 'unified culture' of architecture and decorative styles.[37]

The policies of the Punjab government propagate a distinct kind of anti-urbanism as it encourages sub-urbanism. The public sphere, or deliberative places — which for the present purpose, may be defined as places where public dialogue may flourish on topics of political and social debate in relation to the city and society — which usually function to bring diverse people together, and hence suggest signs of urbanism, are deteriorating. Considering this decline, the situation of small towns cannot be addressed without also addressing the anti-urbanism of the Punjab government.

I would seek to build my argument on some of the insights provided by the above-mentioned scholars. I consider the existing explanations, as discussed in this section, as structural, in so far as they do not attend to the role of ideational factors in policy-making. Thompson aptly points out that "urban analysts tend to neglect the ways that non-urban areas and residents can manifest anti-urban attitudes and behavior and they fail to grasp the importance of anti-urban attitudes towards political and cultural life. In so doing, they also neglect some of the larger issues such as the connection between space and consciousness, between ideas and location and about the ways that other forms of social life — such as political values, religiosity and so on — can be changed by non-urban environments."[38] I would argue from an analysis of ideational factors.

---

35   A number of scholars have deliberated on Indus Valley urbanism. George L. Cowgill, "Origins and Development of Urbanism: Archaeological Perspectives", *Annual Review of Anthropology 33* (2004): 525-549; James Heitzman "Temple Urbanism in Medieval South India", *The Journal of Asian Studies* 46, no. 4 (1987): 791-826; F.A. Durrani, Ihsan Ali and G. Erdosy, "New Perspectives on Indus Urbanism from Rehman Dheri", East and West 45, no. 1/4 (1995): 81-96; Kathleen D. Morrison, "Trade, Urbanism and Agricultural Expansion: Buddhist Monastic Institutions and the State in the Early Historic Western Deccan", *World Archaeology* 27, no. 2 (1995): 203-221; Jane R. McIntosh, *The Ancient Indus Valley: New Perspectives* (Santa Barbara: ABC-ClIO, 2008); Jamez Heitzman's *The City in South Asia* (New York: Routledge, 2008); Reeta Grewal, ed. *Five Thousand Years of Urbanization: The Punjab Region* (Manohar, 2005); Jonathan Mark Kenoyer, *Ancient Cities of the Indus Valley Civilization* (Oxford University Press, 2006); Nayanjot Lahiri, *Finding Forgotten Cities: How the Indus Civilization was Discovered* (Delhi: Permanent Black, 2005); Bridget and Raymond Allchin, *The Rise of Civilization in India and Pakistan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982); Rita P. Wright, *The Ancient Indus: Urbanism, Economy, and Society* (Cambridge University Press, 2009); Mohammad Rafique Mughal, *Ancient Cholistan: Archaeology and Architecture* (Lahore: Ferozsons, 1997).
36   Thomas Riisfeldt, "States and Social Complexity: The Indus Valley (Harappan) Civilization", *History in the Making* 1, no. 2 (2010): 9-15.
37   Ibid, 14.
38   Michael J. Thompson, *Fleeing the City*, 9.

Drawing on the ideational literature on policy-making, I craft a distinct argument: that anti-urbanism — indifference to urban life — is largely responsible for the dilapidation of small towns in the Punjab. In order to improve the situation of small towns, anti-urbanism needs to be understood and addressed on an urgent basis.

Indian Forms of Anti-Urbanism

In the sections above, we have studied the roots of the ideology of anti-urbanism in Europe and its quick spread outside Europe, particularly in India.[39] In order to understand the current state of anti-urbanism, we need to understand Indian forms of anti-urbanism.[40] The colonial state itself was a major source of anti-urbanism. Some Indian ideologues, furthermore, constructed their own versions of anti-urbanism. Many factors contributed to the colonial form of anti-urbanism, but three were the most significant:

(i)   The British considered the existing Indian cities to be filthy;[41]
(ii) The British Indian economy was agrarian;
(iii) The British Indian town planning practices were anti-urban.[42]

The colonial imagination merged well with the anti-urbanism of the local ideologues, in particular, of Gandhi. In nineteenth century historiography, the village was constructed as a romanticized place.[43] The East India Company magnified this idealized vision of Indian villages. According to Hardings, "the concept of 'Village India', like Ruskin's rural England, was immensely attractive to those Europeans and Indians who were disturbed by the spiritual poverty of industrial, 'civilized' society. They had romantic notions about the regenerative potential of a simple, healthy environment; their needs were modest and

---

39   To know about the earlier construction of villages as natural habitats, see H. S. Maine, *Village Communities in the East and West* (London, 1871).

40   For an earlier work, see B. H. Baden-Powell, *The Indian Village Community* (London, 1896). Also see, E. Stokes, *The English Utilitarians and India* (Oxford, 1959); Ronald B. Inden, *Imagining India* (Cambridge: Blackwell Publishers, 1990).

41   William J. Glover, "Objects, Models, and Exemplary Works: Educating Sentiment in Colonial India", *Journal of Asian Studies 64*, no. 3 (2005): 539-566.

42   Deana Heath, *Purifying Empire: Obscenity and the Politics of Moral Regulation in Britain, India and Australia* (Cambridge University Press, 2010).

43   Clive Dewey, "Images of the Village Community: A Study in Anglo-Indian Ideology", *Modern Asian Studies* 6, no. 3 (1972): 291-328; Prashant Kidambi, *The Making of an Indian Metropolis: Colonial Governance and Public Culture in Bombay, 1890-1920* (Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2007); Thomas R. Metcalf, *Ideologies of the Raj* (Berkeley: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Louis Dumont, "The 'Village Community' from Munro to Maine", *Contributions to Indian Sociology* 9 (1966): 77-89; Gyan Prakash, "The Urban Turn", In *Sarai Reader 02: The Cities of Everyday Life*, eds. Ravi S. Vasudevan et al (New Delhi: New Media Initiative, 2002).

their sense of interdependence and mutual respect well-attuned; they influenced the vision of thinkers from Sir Malcolm Darling to Mahatma Gandhi."[44] Hardings further notes that villages were an attractive catchment for converting people to Christianity. Brown has provided detailed accounts of the East India Company's privileging of village life, commenting that they, "idealise the hand industry of an abstracted and generic village life. In doing so, they convey an aspect of colonial desire, as these images demonstrate a nostalgia for a lost pre-industrial British past while offering a living example of that past in the form of the hand production of Indian cloth."[45] Ideas such as these flowing from the Company were later to influence Gandhi.

According to Irfan Habib, colonialism in India contributed to de-urbanization in the 19th century,[46] largely because British interests were tied to the agrarian economy.[47] The British set out the path for Indian agriculture to follow and encouraged cash crops. Revenue from Indian agriculture heavily financed the colonial state, possibly by as much as 85%. The colonial state also took control of forests and disenfranchised forest dwellers. Chandra, Sarkar, Bagchi and Satya have all claimed that the British deliberately kept India an agrarian country,[48] which contributed to the elevation of villages.[49] An agrarian environment was useful not only for generating revenue but for converting people to Christianity. Bellenoit has noted that the British colonial state facilitated missionaries' efforts to set up schools in villages and allowed them to convert local people to Christianity. The missionaries who were involved in conversion, found it relatively easy to convert people in villages.[50] In so doing, the British colonial state was not, "adhering to its self-proclaimed principle of religious neutrality by allowing missionaries to materially persuade poor and impressionable village youngsters to convert (that is, 'Rice Christians'). This was reflected in the number of schools which it kept under its control: by 1910 out of 6,385 state-run institutions, 5,376 were primary vernacular schools for boys."[51] Nandini Gooptu has shown

---

44 Christopher Harding, *Religious Transformation in South Asia: The Meaning of Conversion in Colonial Punjab* (University of Edindurgh, 2008), 208.

45 Rebecca M. Brown, *Gandhi's Spinning Wheel and the Making of India* (New York: Routledge, 2010), 20; For Gandhi's celebration of village life, see Anupama Mohan, *Utopia and the Village in South Asian Literatures* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).

46 Irfan Habib, *Essays in Indian History: Towards a Marxist Perception* (New Delhi: Tulika, 1995), 322.

47 Ibid.

48 Cited in Laxman D. Satya, "The British Empire, Ecology and Famines in Late 19th Century Central India", *The IUP Journal of History and Culture*, 2007.

49 Nandini Chatterjee, *The Making of Indian Secularism: Empire, Law and Christianity, 1830–1960* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 142.

50 Hayden J. A. Bellenoit, *Missionary Education and Empire in Late Colonial India* (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2007), 46.

51 Ibid, 14.

how the colonial government created a category of urban poor and used it to justify its anti-urban poor policies. In the 1920s, housing was a major problem, which could not get the attention of the colonial state.[52]

In the Punjab, the British installed a powerful civil bureaucracy, the most influential and authoritarian in India;[53] they also set up a hydraulic bureaucracy, installed irrigation networks and supported the feudal class by allotting them land. In India, land was the only means of property ownership.[54] As a technical bureaucracy, the hydraulic bureaucracy was enormously powerful, next only to the Indian Civil Service. The irrigation enterprise was highly profitable for the British Empire and consequently, the British generated surplus food and money. Not only the British but their irrigation-related traders made fortunes.

In this context, the colonial state spent little money on improving existing cities. The colonial town planning, housing and municipal development did not contribute much to the improvement of urban areas. The colonial state established new housing colonies outside or away from the existing urban areas, which partially contributed to the decline of those places. In short, they did not develop cities but left them as they found them; rather, they developed new places to live.[55] The Civil Lines in Lahore, for example, were constructed as a result of the fear of the city, and places like Model Town were constructed outside the city.[56] This reflected an arguably ignorant attitude toward central as well as smaller cities and their development, categorically turning them into non-livable places. Among the small towns, Sanjay Srivastava's account of Sargodha is illustrative of my point of sub-urban development, which caused downplaying of the then existing cities.

> There were also other towns constructed in tandem with the burgeoning technological activity, and as a corollary to it, where a new urban population was beginning to take root. One of these was Sargodha … Like other such settlements, Sargodha was 'made in the image of the Settlement Officers', and proffered a very distinct aura of modernity:

---

52 Nandini Gooptu, *The Politics of the Urban Poor in Early Twentieth-Century India* (Cambridge University Press, 2001).

53 Farina Mir, *The Social Space of Language: Vernacular Culture in British Colonial Punjab* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010).

54 Matthew J. Nelson, *In the Shadow of Shari'ah: Islam, Islamic Law and Democracy in Pakistan* (London: Hurst and Company, 2011).

55 Sheetal M. Chhabria, "Making the Modern Slum: Housing, Mobility and Poverty in Bombay and its Peripheries", (PhD diss., Columbia University, 2012).

56 Glover, "Objects".

it was a stretch of the industrial space and of its measured regime, the suburbia of a new rationality of time and space. The carefully constructed spaces here constituted an observable, experienced reality of a new age and time — to use Bakhtin's terminology — was of 'real duration': it mattered, it had content, the split second as the emblematic representation of the new, scientific age was able to eclipse larger, imprecise durations, as if the latter stood for an altogether different world.[57]

Let us turn to the other major source of anti-urbanism: Gandhi. Brown has observed that, "Gandhi saw the spinning wheel's power to unite India behind a constructed but powerful village-based identity. That this idea drew from colonial constructions of bucolic rural townscapes with happy women spinning in front of mud-brick dwellings did not detract from its power to support Gandhi's *Swaraj* movement." The East India Company prepared images of a spinning wheel, symbolizing village life. In fact, this position of the Company was developed later by Gandhi.[58] Once, he said, "I would ask you to read *Hind Swaraj* with my eyes, and see there the chapter on how to make India non-violent. You cannot build non-violence on a factory civilisation, but it can be built on self-contained villages."[59] The influence of Gandhi's thinking is so broad that it cannot be surveyed in this paper. Gandhi's conception of India was agrarian and paid inordinate attention to the concept of the village.[60] While describing the nationalist imagination of ancient Indian people, Gandhi said that, "India was one undivided land so made by nature."[61] He was the most powerful voice, albeit contested, against urbanism. In 1945, disturbed with Gandhi's promotion of villages, Jawaharlal Nehru wrote to Gandhi.

> I do not understand why a village should necessarily embody truth and non-violence… A village, normally speaking, is backward intellectually and culturally and no progress can be made from a backward environment. Narrow-minded people are much more likely to be untruthful and violent.[62]

The existing tensions in India (and partly in Pakistan) over whether development policy should be rural- or urban-centered can partly

---

57 Sanjay Srivastava, *Constructing Post-Colonial India: National Character and the Doon School* (London: Routledge, 1998), 129.

58 Brown, *Gandhi's Spinning*,

59 Sujeetkaur Jolly, ed. *Reading Gandhi* (New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 2006), 82.

60 Maia Ramnath, *Decolonizing Anarchism: An Anti-authoritarian History of India's Liberation Struggle* (AK Press and the Institute of Anarchist Studies, 2011).

61 Mahatma Gandhi, *Hind Swaraj, Centenary Edition* (Delhi: Rajpal and Sons, 2010), 38.

62 Sankar Ghose, *Jawaharlal Nehru: A Biography* (Bombay: Allied Publishers Limited, 1992), 234.

be understood considering the Gandhi-Nehru competition over vilification of cities and villages, respectively. Nevertheless, Gandhi's ideas influenced the development of urbanism in post-colonial India. Gandhian and the colonial state's anti-urbanisms were very closely interlinked. Together, they exerted a powerful influence upon rural and urban development in post-colonial India and Pakistan and left a legacy of privileging villages which concerns us to this day.

Post-Colonial Sources of Anti-Urbanism in Pakistan

We have discussed Indian forms of anti-urbanism which were shaped by the colonial state and Indian ideologues. The effects of earlier policies continued in both post-colonial India and Pakistan, as planning for housing was done outside the cities, for example, in the state-supported development of new housing in Karachi, Lahore and other big cities.

Present-day anti-urbanism in the Punjab flows from five main sources and is furthermore influenced by the colonial legacy of anti-urbanism in important ways. The dominant thinking is that the economy of the Punjab is agrarian and without agriculture, survival is difficult; the majority of the legislatures represent rural constituencies and agriculturalists are powerful and organized.

Grand Visions of Modernization

Pakistan adopted grand visions of the Western model of housing which favored suburbia. This model continued despite its failure to solve the problems of sanitation and housing.[63] General Muhammad Ayub Khan despised Karachi. A look at the following views of Ayub on Karachi reveals his American-style anti-urbanist tendencies: he described the city as 'unhealthy and rebellious',[64] 'humid and unhealthy.'[65] According to Ayub, Karachi had 'an enervating climate which saps one's energy and efficiency'. For him, the 'unhygienic conditions prevailing throughout the city [Karachi] had a serious effect on the health of the government servants. The whole administration looked worn out after the first few years.'[66] Writing on Ayub's ideas of urban housing, Inskeep wrote:

---

63 Cited in Ian Talbot, *Divided Cities: Partition and its Aftermath in Lahore and Amritsar 1947-1957* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2007), 111.

64 Steve Inskeep, *Instant City: Life and Death in Karachi* (Penguin, 2011), 82.

65 Ibid., 83

66 Ibid., 83

"The General was planning to solve one of the city's enduring problems (that is, housing) by building what Americans called a suburb."[67] Ayub commissioned the construction of Islamabad as a result of his anti-urban attitude. Islamabad conformed to modernist urban planning dictates and was very different from the cities of South Asia. The grand vision of modernization devalued existing cities by regarding them as unlivable and inefficient. Anti-urbanism could be said to be built into the early urban policies of Pakistan. Although anti-urbanism acted against the big cities, it acted more against the small urban centers. Since then, Pakistani policies have been supporting sub-urbanism and horizontal sprawl, which is anti-urban. It is the policy which determined the character of the city. Overemphasis of metropolitan development, since the creation of Pakistan, is a sign of anti-urbanism. An analysis of the Annual Development Programme of the Punjab Government will demonstrate that the total share of development funds for small towns is negligible. Furthermore, the funds allocated to the development of metropolitan cities are not allocated to their core urban areas, which, ultimately, contributes to inner city decline. A large share of the funds is reserved for suburban development or serving the urban sprawl. The Kalma Chowk flyover, the road network in Johar Town and the establishment of entertainments in suburban Lahore, are all signs that urbanism is being undermined and sub-urbanism is being promoted.

Celebration of the Village

The romanticized concept of the village is so strong among the social scientists that the process of globalization is often referred to as the global village. Pakistan in no exception: the moral and environmental celebration of the village contributed to anti-urbanism in the country. The celebration of the village came from four sources: the construction of the village as a natural place, the perceived poverty of the village, funding from international donors for rural development and popular cinema. International donors' bias towards rural development also contributed to anti-urbanism. De Ponte reports that it was rare for the United Nations (UN) agencies to provide funding for urban development. The situation changed little in the 1960s, when UN agencies spent 1.9% of their funds on urban development projects. In the 1980s, the World Bank earmarked only 3% of its total funds for urban development.[68]

---

67 Ibid., 87
68 Giulia De Ponte, "The Changing Urban Discourses of the Multilateral Aid Institutions", *International Social Science Journal* 172 (2002): 205-216. 206.

The Green Revolution (GR) played a major role in anti-urbanism, as it reinforced the idea of sustaining agrarianism. The Ford and Rockefeller Foundations provided support for the GR and advanced its ideas.[69] In 1968, William Gaud, the creator of the term, 'Green Revolution' and the director of USAID remarked that, "these and other developments in the field of agriculture contain the makings of a new revolution. It is not a violent Red Revolution like that of the Soviets, nor is it a White Revolution like that of the Shah of Iran. I call it the Green Revolution."[70] In September 1973, Robert S. McNamara delivered a speech on poverty; the main focus of his attention, however, was rural, not urban, poverty. He commented that, "clearly, the bulk of the poor today are in the rural areas. All of our analysis indicates that this is likely to continue to be the case during the next two or three decades." He went on to say that, "within the rural areas the poverty problem revolves primarily around the low productivity of the millions of small subsistence farms. The truth is that despite all the growth of the GNP, the increase in the productivity of these small family farms in the past decade has been so small as to be virtually imperceptible."[71] McNamara's ideas were similar to those of Michael Lipton who presented the Urban Bias Thesis, which could not find favor in the late 1980s and the 1990s.[72] Later, the Social Action Program also focused on rural development. The discourse on development still remains focused on the imagined agrarian economy. If newspaper articles are surveyed, what will appear is a great deal of attention to rural development eventually strengthening village politics in the Punjab. It has also become stronger in other developing countries where anti-urbanism is being pursued as a state policy. India seems to be the closest example. Anti-urbanism has persisted in India even in post-colonial times. In all, it would appear that Indian politics is being ruralized.

> By now [1998], over 40 percent of India's parliament has a rural background, as opposed to about 20 percent in the 1950s. Rural mobilization on prices, subsidies and loans flourished in the 1980s. All political parties support the rural demand for more "remunerative" agricultural prices and for higher investment of public resources in

69 John H. Perkins, *Geopolitics and the Green Revolution: Wheat, Genes, and the Cold War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997); Tim P. Bayliss-Smith and Sudhir Wanmali, *Understanding Green Revolution: Agrarian Change and Development Planning in South Asia Essays in Honour of B.H. Farmer* (Cambridge University Press, 1984).

70 William Gaud, "The Green Revolution: Accomplishments and Apprehensions", Address before the Society for International Development, Shorehan Hotel, Washington, DC. March 8, 1968.

71 Robert S. McNamara, "The Nairobi Speech", Address to the Board of Governors by Robert S. McNamara, President, World Bank Group, Nairobi, Kenya, September 24, 1973.

72 S. Akbar Zaidi, *The Political Economy of Healthcare in Pakistan* (Lahore: Vanguard, 1988).

the countryside. A considerable fraction of outstanding agricultural loans was waived in 1989-90. Finally, some of the key bureaucratic bodies involved in policy making in Delhi are by now substantially rural in social origins.[73]

Another major reason for the persistence of agrarian romanticism is the romantic portrayal of the village. In Hindi, Urdu and Punjabi movies, anti-urban tendencies are quite visible. The guilt of destroying village life is visible in many films. Some Indian movies show urban life as criminal, lustful and spiritually alienating. Moreover, they posit the ideology that the villagers who come to the city for jobs, to study, and so on, get corrupted and form gangs and if they are not first killed, ultimately find solace in returning to the villages. Indian and Pakistani cinemas have contributed in a major way to the celebration of villages as natural and desirable settlements. Meenakshi reported that the "film critic Amod Mehra recalls that movies with rural subjects dominated Mumbai cinema right from the 1950s. 'Mother India' (1957) and 'Ganga Jamuna' (1961) being two prime examples."[74]

Cold War Development Model

Cold War urbanism is a special category for analysis. Cold War urbanism can be defined as a form of urbanism, which attempted to construct suburban areas as built environments, which discredited communist planning and communism. It promoted architecture, planning practices, images, land zoning and businesses consistent with Western societies as free, popular societies. Light contends that, "ironically, it was during a period of postwar anti-urbanism, when military innovations were brought to bear on urban problems, that the early seeds of vibrant cyber cities were sown."[75] Apart from America, the Cold War also influenced the shape of cities in the developed world.[76]

---

[73]   Ashutosh Varshney, *Democracy, Development and the Countryside: Urban-Rural Struggles in India* (Cambridge University Press, 1998), 3.

[74]   Meenakshi Sinha, "Bharat vs India: B-Town Taps Rural-Urban Divide", *The Times of India*, August 3, 2010.

[75]   Jennifer S. Light, *From Warfare to Welfare: Defense Intellectuals and Urban Problems in Cold War America* (The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003), 8.

[76]   Don Parson, *Making a Better World: Public Housing, the Red Scare, and the Direction of Modern Los Angeles* (University of Minnesota Press, 2005).

The Cold War exerted both ideological and developmental pressures on Pakistan, which contributed to anti-urbanism in curious ways. The master plan of Karachi, which was made with the help of the United Nations Development Programme during the 1970s,[77] points to the Cold War influence on shaping urban areas. Like the colonial state, which privileged the development of the port cities,[78] Cold War politics privileged the metropolitan cities in Pakistan. The American promoters of suburbia considered suburbia as a bulwark against communism. The Ford Foundation and the Rockefeller Foundation provided support to strengthen this bulwark. Visionary architects such as Le Corbusier and Constantinos Doxiadis also used their ideas against communism. Cold War urban policy in Pakistan promoted suburbanization as a middle ground between the evil life of the then existing cities and the life of the villages, which lacked infrastructure. It promoted a way of life, which promised large, spacious, village-like homes, with infrastructure for gardens. The beneficiaries of these schemes were the rural gentry. In fact, the ways in which housing colonies had been planned were not in line with people living in the inner cities. The idealized concept of village life was a powerful image, because it offered open spaces as opposed to the narrow streets of inner cities, thereby satisfying a sense of nostalgia for rural life.

Constituency Development Funds (CDFs)

The fourth indicator of anti-urbanism is the allocation of Constituency Development Funds to the rural areas. Since Pakistan first created CDFs in 1985,[79] rural areas have been receiving more benefit from them than urban areas. The way in which rural and urban constituencies are defined in Pakistan favors rural areas over urban areas, which is obvious in the major share of budgets extracted by rural MPAs/MNAs in Assemblies. The CDFs have been designed in such a manner that most of the funds are either allocated to the metropolitan areas or to rural constituencies. As a result, small towns lack adequate funding for development. The CDFs, combined with subsidies for agriculture, are reserved for the benefit of rural landowners and the rural poor more than the urban poor.

---

77 Arif Hasan, *Understanding Karachi* (Karachi: City Press, 2002).

78 Meera Kosambi, "Commerce, Conquest and the Colonial City: The Role of Locational Factors in the Rise of Bombay", *Economic and Political Weekly* 20, no. 1 (1985): 32-37.

79 Albert van Zyl, "What is wrong with the Constituency Development Funds", (Washington: International Budget Partnership, 2010).

In addition to the CDFs, local government funds are also allocated for the MPA's/MNA's schemes. The Chief Minister of the Punjab has given instructions on how local government funds are to be spent on the projects proposed by the MPAs/MNAs.[80] In Layyah District, the district administration allocated more than six million rupees, in 2011, to the schemes of the rural MPA's/MNA's schemes. The District Development Committees formed in the districts do not resist the pressures of the MPAs/MNAs for funds. The local government constituencies also favor villages. When local governments were still functioning, Layyah had 23 rural Nazims, but only three urban Nazims.[81] A large share of local government funds was distributed among the rural Nazims. Small chunks of funds were distributed among a large number of Nazims, which made it impossible to undertake any large scale urban development scheme. In other districts and Tehsils of the Punjab, the local government funds have been spent for MPA's/MNA's schemes. Funds from the Citizen Community Boards have also been used by the MPAs/MNAs.[82] These funds are being spent on small level rural schemes. The single greatest harm of this way of allocating funds is that planning cannot be actualized and even if actualized, remains unfruitful. In a situation where local governments do not have their own sources of revenue, the directing of their limited funds to MPAs/MNAs makes urban local governments weaker. Since the elimination of the Octroi tax, local governments have become dependent on provincial revenues. As a result, strong urban governments are becoming a distant reality. Curtailing the ability of local governments to generate their own financial resources contributes to anti-urbanism.

The Politics of Measurement

The definition of rural and urban areas is a politically contentious act in Pakistan. The way in which a settlement is defined (rural or urban) has implications for politics and development funding. In census after census, Pakistani policymakers have denied the actual levels of urbanization. The undermining of the actual urban population helps understand whose interests are served by portraying Pakistan as an agrarian economy. Urban areas are defined in such a manner that urbanization seems low. Anti-urbanism is reflected in the way

80 Iqtidar Gilani, "MPAs to Have More Say in Working on TMAs", *The Nation*, August 6, 2010; "TMAs to Utilise Unused Funds on MP's Approval," *Daily Dawn*, June 8, 2012; "Development in Pindi TMA on Backburner", *The Daily Mail*. n.d.
81 Interview with Tehsil Municipal Officer, Layyah. 8 October 2012.
82 Interview with Administrator, Tehsil Ferozewala. 10 December 2011.

in which the urban area is defined. Reza Ali and Sara Fatima Azhar have exploded the myth of Pakistan being a rural or agrarian economy. Based on their analysis of data, they make a persuasive argument for Pakistan as primarily an urban count.[83]

Conclusion

I have attempted to show the historical origins, persistence and influence of anti-urbanism in the development of the Punjab. I have focused on exposing anti-urban themes in the political, developmental and cultural practices of the province. This work shows the continuities of an anti-urban ideology in colonial and post-colonial times. An anti-urban ideology is persistent and embedded in the way urban planning is undertaken. Small towns are the victims of an anti-urban ideology. Public engagement with the question of how best to achieve a revival of public life, and promote the value of urbanism, should address the issue of anti-urbanism through the available means of advocacy. Since anti-urbanism is embedded in the very way urban development is planned by political and bureaucratic processes, persistent efforts of advocacy would be needed to expose and resist anti-urbanism. Questioning anti-urbanism means working for the expansion of urbanism. Warren Magnusson has stressed the importance of urbanism so succinctly that I am citing a highly relevant passage here:

> The nineteenth and twentieth century social sciences encourage us to think of urbanism as an unintended consequence of things we do for other reasons. Urbanism thus becomes susceptible to naturalistic explanation. A politicized understanding of the urban leads us to refuse this evasion of responsibility. It is true that no one planned Athens to be exactly as Aristotle found it. Nonetheless, the world in which we live is largely of our own making and we sustain it as such in our daily routines. To take responsibility for that world — as the Athenians took responsibility for Athens — is to take responsibility for urbanism as a way of life.[84]

---

83 Ali and Azhar, "Understanding Urbanization"

84 Warren Magnusson, "Politicizing the Global City", *In Democracy, Citizenship, and the Global City,* ed. Engin Fahri Isin (New York: Routledge, 2000), 289-306.

The Art of *Alpana* in Smaller Towns

Kanwal Khalid, PhD

Human history is most of the time based on events, arts and cultures of the urban setup of civilizations but the small towns around these big cities have indigenous traditions of their own, which they practice and celebrate very proudly. In every part of the world, the cultures of these smaller communities develop independently. They do not experience the kind of foreign pressures that are faced by urban areas; they do not have much of a role in the formation and development of rural arts and crafts. They are free to breathe on their own and develop artistic expression and vocabulary that is pure and original. One such artistic expression practiced by the inhabitants of small towns in Pakistan, is *Alpana*.

From time immemorial, humans have always used colors and shapes to express their emotions and fears. The earliest traces of homo sapiens are accompanied by lines, forms and colors. This practice was not limited to any particular era or region. The passion to paint and draw was shared by the inhabitants of every part of the earth. Apart from aesthetic satisfaction, this medium was used to curb the fears that people faced; it was thought to be a shield against the supernatural and the unknown.

From as early as prehistoric times, we observe a very peculiar feature associated with the expression of the ancient artist -- that the arts of Europe were quite different as compared to those of the Subcontinent. The paintings found in the caves of France and Spain were extremely realistic and wonderful copies of the original forms. The observation of the artists is strongly reflected in their arts. However, here, in the Subcontinent, the surface is used to express the semi-abstract. Realistic objects are free of their naturalistic boundaries and touch the line of abstraction. They are stylized and simplified according to the perception of the creator. It seems that the artist was seeing beyond the superficial and trying to grasp the real essence of the original object. The art is symbolic and most of the time we can assume that it was used as a medium to communicate not only among humans but also with the Divine. Therefore, the use of art as a means to reach the Almighty is an ancient tradition in the Subcontinent.

The basic concept and the philosophy behind the expressions of both the regions were the same but their execution was different. Interestingly, this obsession of the copying of nature did not leave Europe for a long

time and it was only as late as the last half of the 19th century that the artist looked beyond the apparent and obvious. Only then were they able to pursue and understand a philosophy that had always been practiced in India.

The application of colors was not limited to walls and pottery; we see it on the body also and the purpose was always the same, beautification or the acquisition of supernatural powers to make everyday life easier and more prosperous. One such aspect of artistic expression is the application of color on the body or tattooing.

According to traditional wisdom, body paints and tattoos were initially used to scare the enemy and acquire the powers of animals and later on to communicate with the Divine powers. Even today, designs applied on bodies have the symbolic significance of enhancing human strength, sharing the qualities of animals and other natural forces. In almost all the primitive tribes, people apply paints when going to war or for celebrations of different religious and sacred occasions. A *kala teeka* or black mark is still applied on the face to ward off evil.

As Man shifted from caves and started living in houses, the arts traveled from the caves and entered the houses of ordinary people. An expression that was associated with the Divine and with special individuals, the painters, was now shared by the common people. If the caves and the bodies were decorated with forms that had magical significance for the prehistoric person, now their settlements held the same importance. If the human body was hosting the soul, the homes were housing the families and loved ones. According to ancient Hindu scriptures, the human body is called the citadel of Man because the Brahman resides in this citadel and so it is called *Purusa* (Man).i The way the body, an abode of the Brahman, was decorated to save it from the harm of supernatural powers, the houses also barred off evil through arts. Residences and other buildings were treated just like the human body.

In the Subcontinent the temples have been divided into parts according to the anatomy of Man. In the Punjab, the front of any house is called *Matha*, forehead, even today. Hence, the house is a body and a sanctuary for the people of India. The same philosophy is applied to the ordinary houses of the Subcontinent, where designs are applied on the walls and floors that have symbolic significance in the lives of the residents. The purpose was to save the house from evil and undesirable powers

that could harm the well-being of the individuals living inside and to welcome the good and positive forces of life.

This ancient tradition of decorating houses is practiced in many parts of the world but in the Subcontinent, the same concept has been adopted with a religious and philosophical perspective.

Apart from many local traditions, one that has been practiced for many centuries is the art of *Alpana* based on colorful motifs and sacred symbols made on a surface on auspicious occasions like *Puja*, *Diwali*, weddings or other ceremonial community events. This practice is not only limited to special occasions but is practiced on a daily basis in the non-urban parts of the Subcontinent.

Many names have been given to this ancient tradition of surface decoration according to the region and race. In Tamil Nadu, it is called *Kolam*, *Madana* in Rajasthan, *Chowkpurna* in Utter Pradesh, *Rangavallie* in Karnataka, *Muggu* or *Muggulu* in Andhra Pradesh, *Saathiyo* in Gujarat, Aripana in Bihar and *Alpana* in Bengal. It is also given the name of *Rangoli* in Gujarat and Maharashtra, which is a combination of two words, *Rang* and *Availli*, which means a row of colors. Although this tradition bears subtle differences in different regions, the basic principles are always the same.

The word *Alpana* is derived from the Sanskrit word *Alimpana* which means 'to plaster' or 'to coat with'. Here the words *Rangoli* and *Alpana* will be used because the art touched its classical phase in Bengal.[ii] The name refers to the art that typically has some religious significance. This type of art form is found in almost all villages and small towns of the Subcontinent. The practice is also adopted in some larger cities but only on special occasions.

Most of the time, these designs are applied on doorsteps or entrances of houses but they can also be seen on steps, walls and shelves inside rooms. It is a dainty surface painting, which is an integral part of the Indian tradition. The areas that are selected for *Alpana* are meant as sacred welcoming areas for Hindu deities.

An important factor associated with the practice of *Alpana* is that the main practitioner is always a woman. This is a very important and authentic reference that womenfolk are solely responsible for the ritual/art practiced on a daily basis because it has always been assumed that

ancient arts were contributed only by the male members of society. After seeing the maturity of *Alpana*, we should not be surprised if any future research reveals that women of that period made their contribution in the prehistoric cave paintings and sculptures as well.

The skill of creating *Alpana* is transferred on an inheritance basis, so the mother passes it on to her daughter. It has been going on since centuries. Another aspect of this practice could be that since the harvest was also associated with women, they had been conscious of the safety of the house along with the changing moods of the seasons. Their creativity thus marks the changing cycle of the year. Therefore, the main events of the year are marked as calendars and womenfolk celebrate them by decorating their houses to ensure prosperity and happiness. In many parts of India, making of an *Alpana* on the doorstep of the house is part of a meditation for women.

History

Some scholars believe that the ancient houses of Harappan civilizations also made *Alpanas* because the motifs used on the pottery are very similar to the designs used by modern day *Alpana* artists. The formula of *Alpana* is also described in *Chausst* arts, which is one of the most ancient folk arts of India.[iii]

Swami Anand Kumar believes that *Alpana* has a direct link with the art of Mohenjo-Daro of almost 5000 years ago. Scholars also say that the lotus flower Bengali women make in their *Alpana* is a replica of the lotus made in Mohenjo-Daro.

The first Indian treatise on painting, 'Pictures Symptoms', refers to a legend in which the son of a king, who was a priest, died. Brahma said to the king that he should be given sketches of the boy on land so he could put life into them. Some lines were drawn on the floor and life was given to these lines. It is said that *Alpana* was introduced from this. Another reference is in the Ramayana where, in Sita's wedding pavilion, the discussion refers to Rangoli decorations. Cultural development of Rangoli in the south originated in the era of the Chola rulers.[iv]

In the early 20th century, Rabindrnath Tagore proved to be a great advocate of this tribal and clan-based activity. He encouraged the artists in Shantiniketan to pursue this art/technique to be more stylish, more decorative and fluid.[v]

The study of the Indian arts has been confined to the establishment of chronologies and has sought to trace the path of evolution and development within a regional framework under the heading of a particular school of thought. As a result, we lose the essence of that particular artistic expression. "Although this is an essential prerequisite, obviously it can only serve as a beginning and not constitute the totality of comprehension of the experience and final aesthetic import of the work of art."[vi] In this paper, instead of researching the path or discussing different regions, the art of *Alpana*/*Rangoli* has been explored overall and the philosophies of the end product *Rasa* or *Ananda* are to be discussed.

Artistic traditions of our region have been viewed only as expressions of otherworldly concerns, or contrarily as rigid mathematical formulae transmitted from one generation to another by the sheer weight of dead habits. However, this is not the case, and fortunately, in the present context, it is obviously the excavation of living traditions and not just of the material remains of the past. The small towns of the Subcontinent preserve many aspects of local arts/crafts where many layers of 'time' co-exist,[vii] and this is a novelty because most cultures all around the world have lost them over the years; here they are still in practice since as early as prehistoric times.

Material

Traditionally, in Bengal, *Alpana* is strictly white since the liquid paste used is rice powder mixed in water (Fig. 1) but *Rangoli* in which colored materials are used is also very popular. The basic color of *Rangoli* is white (known as *chirodi*); it is dyed in different colors, creating an attractive, multi-colored design.

The main material associated with *Alpana* is rice flour or slurry, which can also be the base material. Other natural materials used are dry flour, *Sindoor* (vermilion), *Haldi* (turmeric), *Gulal*, spices, grains, cereals, colored rice and others (Fig. 2). Dried powder made from leaves, charcoal, burned soil and wood sawdust are also used.

Chemical colors are modern variations along with colored sand and even flowers and petals as in the case of flower *Rangoli.* A newer trend of making *Rangoli* involves using cement colors with marble powder. This is a rather precise method but requires some previous training. Beautiful portraits can be drawn using this method. In this form, *Rangoli* resembles the mosaic technique but is impermanent.

Over the centuries, the material used for *Alpana* has been almost the same and inexpensive to buy. It was readily available in an ordinary household. As a result, this festival/ritual was enjoyed and performed by all, regardless of their financial status. All of the traditional materials are food products, which shows that food was in such abundance that it was used for decoration.

Regardless of what material is used in designing the *Alpana*, the parts are always created with a complex structure of interrelatedness between matter on earth and cosmic space above. Material things, plants, animal and human life are participant but here the individual is impersonalized and becomes only a unit in collective effort.[viii] In the present context, woman, material and Divine all become part of a chain. This is the depersonalization of the individual.

Technique

Alpana is made by two methods, wet or dry. In the dry technique, materials like sand and flowers are either poured or laid on the floor. In the wet technique, the floor is first cleaned with water; the muddy floor is swept for an even surface. Designs are drawn while the surface is still damp so that it holds better. Occasionally, cow dung is also used to wax the floors. It not only provides contrast with the white rice powder but is believed to have antiseptic properties,[ix] a literal threshold of protection for the house. This is the same concept that has been observed in many areas where the branches of the Shiree tree are used after the delivery of the newborn as part of an ancient ritual. These branches also have medicinal properties.[x]

Alpana is also drawn with chalk or stone powder by interconnecting dots. Dried rice flour is held between the thumb and forefinger and is dropped on the floor. The same method is applied with other colors and materials. It is a matter of great pride to be able to draw large complicated patterns without lifting the hand off the floor or standing up in between. Women would showcase their skills by covering the entire width of the road with one big *Alpana*. Numerous people can work on a *Rangoli* together to create elaborate designs. Ritual *Alpana* patterns created for occasions like weddings can stretch all the way down the streets (Fig. 3).

In today's world of modern means different icons and art mediums are used. Although a freehand image was directly created on the ground in the past, stencils are now available. Ready-made *Alpana* designs, made of wood, which are durable are also used. Some stickers along with plastic shapes, colorful *Rangoli* posters, crayons and fabrics have also emerged but they are not favored in towns and villages where the traditional methods are preferred. With time, imagination and innovative ideas are being incorporated into *Rangoli* arts.

Designs

The concept of paradigm and metaphor gives rise to a language of abstract geometrical forms in all the arts. These forms are never meaningless and they have their interpretive values, which were not considered in the researches of previous centuries. Now, however, some significant work has been initiated for the analysis of the narrative and the imaginary. In this research, an attempt has been made of a systematic analysis of the exact relationship between metaphysical concepts on one hand and the principles of artistic theory and practice on the other.

Design-depictions for *Alpana* vary from region to region as they reflect traditions, folklore and practices that are unique to each area. For example, South Indian *Rangoli* is usually based on geometric shapes while the North Indian is based on auspicious signs. The designs are

usually inspired by nature but they can also be in the form of abstract art. An interesting aspect of Indian art is that all abstract concepts are personified and all the physical forms are presented in a highly stylized manner, which sometimes leans towards abstraction. The Vedic writer is fully conscious of the physical reality of the biological man. Repeatedly his organs are described in relation to the Universe. When describing the creation of universal elements, it is written, "Thousand-headed is the Supreme Being, thousand-eyed and thousand-footed enveloping the world all around. He, yet, exceeds it by a span. All this is the Supreme Being, whatever is the past and whatever is in the future".[xi] About the making of a human, it is written, "Fire becomes speech entering the mouth, wind becomes breath entering the nostrils, the sun becomes sight entering the eyes, the quarters become hearing entering the ears, the annual herbs and regents of the forest become hair entering the skin, the moon becomes mind entering the heart, death becomes vital air going downward entering the naval, the water becomes seed entering the organ of generation".[xii] The *Taittiriya Aranyaka III*, Verse 13 speaks of the creator as moving within the womb (of the cosmos): and the 'unborn is born manifold'.[xiii]

All these personified aspects are converted into simplified forms and these simple geometric shapes and basic forms: dots, lines, squares, circles and triangles play an extremely important role in the *Alpana* designs.

Line/Point

The geometrical motifs are the natural outcome of different natural forms and they have guided the destinies of Indian arts for centuries. The structures are built on the combination of the three basic geometrical shapes of the square, the circle and the triangle. All three have a common feature: the line.

Like the Egyptians, the ancient Indian's was a 'world denying culture'. There were always questions of Man's place in the universe, his relationship to nature and the quest of the human soul for the absolute. To answer all these questions many theories and philosophies were introduced and all these theories affected every kind of artistic expression whether it was sculpture, architecture, drama, dance or even *Alpana*. Some formulas were evolved to answer these questions and one that

persisted through centuries is of the *Stambha,* the axis mundi, to connect the earth and sky, added with the concept of cyclic time (*yugas*) till Man attains absolute release (*moksa*).[xiv] All three elements were converted into the formal language of art. In this vocabulary of visual idioms, the most prominent is the *Stambha* (the pillar) because it connects Man with the Almighty and for the connection, different art forms were explored with the *Stambha* as the principle element. Human existence is possible only by virtue of this permanent communication between the earth and the sky. Several hymns in the Rig-Veda are devoted to the *Stambha* where the Supreme Being is seen as the great Cosmic Pillar.[xv] Even the erect form of a human is considered a *Stambha.*

It is an enquiry into the transference of the cosmology of the earth, the axis mundi and a centre into the formal language of art in which most of the time it is portrayed as a point, a circle or a centre. Again, many hymns of the Vedas mention a centre, which corresponds to the navel of the body and it is said that the *Stambha* or the great pillar is located in the middle or the naval of the earth. In India, it is a pivotal image on all the planes. All sanctuaries and holy sites are always believed to be situated in the centre of the earth. Thus, the temples become replicas of the cosmic mountains and hence are a link between heaven and earth. The world order is maintained through a perfect balance of the earth and the sky with a pillar. This pillar is represented in the form of a line in the designs of *Alpana.*

Now the question arises as to how movement takes place in the universe. From the Rig-Veda onwards there is a sustainable reference to the wheel, the circumference, the hub or the naval of the wheel. Another important element is time which is equally sacred and its constant movement is symbolized through the wheel. It is cyclic, repetitive, without a beginning or end, the snake eating its tail. It can also signify the idea of cosmic time, the unbroken line of eternity.

All the traditional *Alpana* designs are based on this circle and centre theory (Fig. 4). These designs are also used to communicate or connect with the Super Being. We can say that every household has a transmitter of their own to invite the deities and along with that, prosperity. Other shapes that are used to complete the *Alpana* are rectangular (*adhyardha*), the triangle and square (*pancami*).[xvi] We encounter in the ancient Hindu scriptures the recurring metaphor of the chariot and the wheel, the hub and the naval, the sun and its rays, the senses and the body and their correlation with

the macrocosm. The concept of time and space, and of externalization and internalization, run as a central theme; the relationship of the parts to the whole. Other icons such as the *Swastika*, *Lakshami* and Lotus on the steps of the houses are the indicators of prosperity.

The *Swastika*

The word *swastika* came from the Sanskrit word *svastika* meaning any lucky or auspicious object and in particular, a mark made on persons and things to denote auspiciousness. It is composed of *su-* meaning "good" or "well" and *asti* "to be". *Suasti* thus means "well-being". The suffix *-ka* either forms a diminutive or intensifies the verbal meaning and *suastika* might thus be translated literally as "that which is associated with well-being," corresponding to "lucky charm" or "thing that is auspicious.[xvii] It is also used in *Alpana* designs and especially on the mud walls of houses in villages in India.

The Lotus

The lotus is one of the most favored symbols in India and it represents different philosophical concepts as a sign of purity and innocence. Sometimes the heart is compared to a lotus turned downwards as a span below the neck and above the navel and the heart is known as the great abode of the universe. Surrounded by nerves it hangs down like a lotus bud and at its end is a fine nerve.[xviii]

Almost all the motifs have their own interpretations but due to the limited scope of present research, just a few have been discussed here. Leaves, trees, mangoes, fish and birds like the parrot, peacock and swan are also drawn (Fig. 5). Human impressions include deities along with flower and petal shapes. All these are portrayed appropriately for the given celebrations.

Sometimes they portray the unity of man and beast. The sun, moon and other zodiac signs are favored by female designers. Images include

a rice stem, an owl, a ladder, a plough, fish, a betel leaf and a snake. These patterns range between geometrical and mathematical drawings around a matrix of dots, to free form artwork.

Circular *Alpana* is used as a holy pedestal during festivals such as the *Lakshami puja* in Bengal and the Festival of Lights *(Diwali)*. It is declared God's seat, depending on the lamp, the place of worship and sacrifice on the altar. Maharashtrians *Rangoli* their homes on the door in the morning to create resistance against evil forces. It is drawn in front of the house as a sign of faith and tradition. No matter what the philosophy is, it symbolizes joy and happiness with prosperity.

Alpana is either left as an unfilled line drawing or filled with various colored materials. However, one principle is followed in almost all the designs; that it has to be closed from all angles. Folklore has evolved that the line must be completed to symbolically prevent evil spirits from entering inside the shape and thus are prevented from entering the inside of the house. However, in practical terms, closed designs last longer.

This also represents the constant awareness of the possibility of looking outward and looking inwards and the possibility of 'opening out' and 'closing in' which provides the basis of using the senses not as an external object but as vehicles for transcending the world of transient manifold phenomena. It is the thought that leads to what is considered 'awakening' which is really 'sleeping' and that which is 'sound sleep' is indeed 'awakening'.[xix] *Alpana* designs are positive and negative spaces. Closed is positive to retain the deities but open is negative because it may invite the evil within the design. Therefore, it is all black and white, good, bad, yin-yen (Fig. 6). The outline of the *Alpana* design is viewed within these contexts. It is a folk art, so its elements are taken from the

common public. The ancient symbols have been passed on through the ages, from one generation to the next. Thus, keeping both the art form and the tradition alive. For this, auspicious symbols are selected.

Figure 6

The closed design of *Alpana* indicating a positive space.

Alpana is a symbol of religious and cultural beliefs. It is considered an important part of the spiritual process. In *Alpana* patterns, many designs are derived from magical motifs, abstract designs and philosophical and religious symbols. All these have mingled together and a multi-layered concurrency is distinctive. Cave II of Badami has a ceiling painted with what has been described as celestial flying *gandharvas*. If we look at this panel carefully, we find that the flying figures are placed at the corners of a square and are encased in an unending line of continuity through the basic motif of the *Swastika*. The whole is then placed in a square, which can be broken up into lines (*rekha*): diagonal, vertical and horizontal (Fig. 7). The *Naga* motif on the ceiling of the same cave is another statement of the same, this time in the form of a circle, with the *Naga* head representing the centre. A third panel from the ceiling of the same temple is the transformation of the hub, wheel and circumference into a beautiful design of fish, a lotus, and a circumference (Fig. 8). The fish are the sixteen spokes of the wheel, the lotus is both the hub and the nave, and all are contained within the circumference. The circle itself is placed

Figure 7

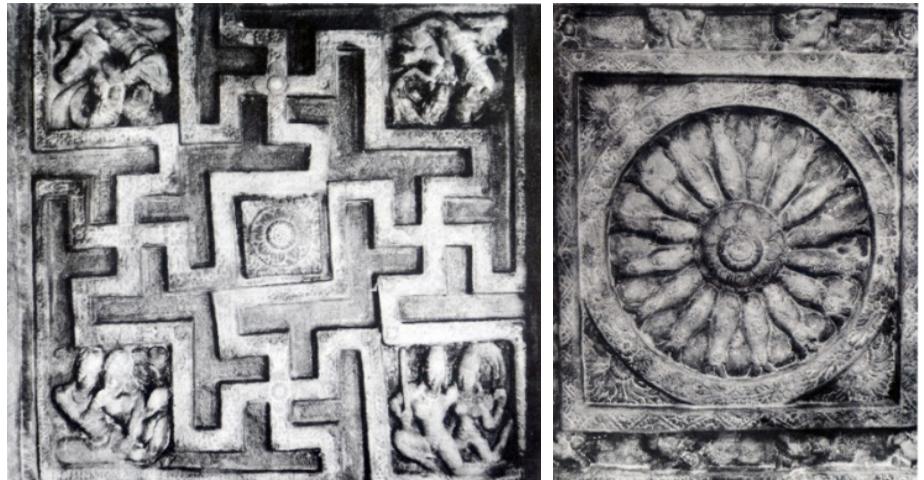Celestial flying *gandharvas* on the ceiling of Cave II of Badami.

Figure 8

The transformation of the hub, wheel and circumference into a design of fish, a lotus, and a circumference on the ceiling of Cave II of Badami.

in the space of a square. Perhaps no clearer statement could exist of speculative thought and the motifs of *Yajna* into the language of art."[xx]

Colors

In *Rangoli* the main feature is the color. Shades of different colors such as yellow, orange, black, green, red and gold are commonly used. The application of the color is also meaningful. All of these colors have symbolic interpretations. For example, black is the color of power and strength and is associated with the energy of the deities. Green is the color of prosperity and spirituality. Using leaves or leaf colors enhances the application. Red is regarded as a basic symbol of life with its dazzling strength and power, depending upon whether the red is bright or dark. It is the symbolic color of fire, blood, revolt and revenge but in *Rangoli*, all the negativity of red is lost and it supports the life and positivity of the Divine. The color or shade, which we see the most in Rangoli, is yellow or gold. It is regarded as the most precious of all. Its nature is fiery, solar, royal and even Divine. Images of the deities are also gilded as a sign of enlightenment and of absolute perfection (Fig. 9). The backgrounds of *Alpanas* are the reflection of heavenly light. Gold has been used in the *Rangoli* reflecting richness, royalty and also indicating divinity in the ornamentation. The abundant use of gold/yellow in the *Rangoli* marks the importance of the ritual. The shining tint denotes divinity as according to the Vedas light stands for one of the attributes of the Almighty. For Hindu Brahmans gold stands for immortality as well.

Figure 9

Images of deities used in *Alpana* designs

Purpose

The first and foremost purpose of *Alpana* is to present the concept of Man in relationship to habitat, physical environment, nature, the animal world and the activities of the mind and the senses.

Decoration was not the sole purpose of *Alpana.* In older days, *Alpanas* were drawn with coarse rice flour only and the reason behind it was to

feed other creatures. It was believed that the ants should not have to work much for a meal. The rice powder is said to invite birds and other small creatures as well, thus inviting other living beings into one's home and everyday life; it was a daily tribute to harmonious co-existence. To give food to animals and other creatures helps in protecting the natural cycle. However, most of all it was a welcoming sign of invitation to *Lakshami*, the goddess of wealth and prosperity. The ultimate product of all the artistic expression is *Rasa* or *Ananda.* This can be attained through music, drama, dance, sculpture, painting and even architecture. The concept of *Rasa* has been associated with all the Indian arts and no matter what path has been taken, the ultimate goal is always the same. It is that blissful moment when the maker and spectator connect with the Divine, which is the ultimate goal of all expression. "*Rasa* is the ultimate experience of the creator, the spectator and the hearer alike……this briefly is the core of the methodology of chiseling and refining the senses so that, even for a brief moment, the transcendental experience of beatitude or bliss can be evoked."[xxi] In *Alpana* the *Rasa* is to welcome prosperity, well-being and happiness.

Symbols used in *Rangoli* have their own significance and characteristics. When these different symbols come together, a magical art is created. Shapes are bound together, in the same manner as forms are considered spell-binding. An interesting fact is that all the artistic expressions were used for magical purposes in ancient worlds. They may have different looks and features but they all serve the same purpose.

People in towns and villages believe that the reason *Alpanas* were made from staples, was mainly because the cereals are full of magical effects. Even today, different staples are employed for magical purposes and people are asked to use them to perform different rituals.

When different symbols come together they do not reduce the importance and beauty of the other but every symbol enhances the whole. They are bound to one another as if there is an eternal bond between each of them. They give a divine message. Every symbol represents the good qualities of an individual. When every person's good qualities come together, a beautiful family is created. When beautiful families come together, a beautiful community is created, different beautiful communities give rise to a beautiful nation and this type of nation creates a beautiful blissful world.

The Removal

Every morning in Southern India, millions of women draw *Alpanas* on the ground with white rice powder outside their houses. This selection of the site is an attempt to consecrate a limited area of the earth so that it becomes the finite symbol of cosmic space. This basic relationship with *Prithvi* is a fundamental governing principle of all the Indian arts, for example, the fire altars, *Stambhas,* temples and even *Alpana*. Throughout the day, the drawing is walked on, rained upon or blown around in the wind. Therefore, the removal of the design is through water, wind, mixed in dust and mud but most of all with insects, sharing the blessing with other creatures, thus sustaining the circle of life. Thus, the end is very similar to the sacred fire offered on the altars where the burning was never considered an act of destruction but was a deliberate assertion of the belief that the multiplicity of form leads back to the formless, transformation and establishing correspondence.[xxii] All parts are ultimately annihilated in the whole. The time, during which the *Alpana* stays intact, the physical microcosm, is the macrocosm on earth. This is sacred; the purification of the spirit and prosperity lies behind it.

Alpana is considered an important level in the learning process of spirituality. Various intricate motifs are created in the process of making the *Rangoli,* knowing that tomorrow it will be washed away. It also symbolizes the immortality of this world that looks so beautiful but is all temporary and no matter how much effort you put into it for its beautification, at the end of the day it has to decay and finish.

Scientific Application

The art has also become a part of modern technology. The mathematical properties of *Alpana* are being used in the computer science field, especially in the designs of screen savers. Hospitality and tourism have also been affected and it has been commercially developed.

Much of the symbolic language of the design is lost to us today. Nevertheless, there were times when people would not only just look at the image but were able to read it as well because they were able to understand the visual vocabulary in the form of the square, circle,

triangle, lotus, *swastika* or any given motif. The people in small towns were no exception. Their apprehension and implementation was as powerful as in any part of the world. Today, they can be appreciated for retaining ancient traditions, which are completely lost to urban settlements in the name of development and modernization.

End Notes

i   Atherva Veda, X. 7, verses 8-32, *The Indian heritage*, (Bangalore: The Indian Institute of Culture, 1956), p. 31

ii   <www.shimeeshheart.com> (Dated: 27.08.2012)

iii   Kolangal. Available at <www.kolangal.kamalascorner.com> (Dated: 26.06.2012)

iv   Kolangal. Available at <www.kolangal.kamalascorner.com> (Dated: 26.08.2012)

v   <www.shimeeshheart.com> (Dated: 27.08.2012)

vi   Kapila Vatsyayan, *The Square and the Circle of Indian Arts (2nd Edition)*, (New Delhi: Abhinav Publications 1997), p. 5

vii   Ibid, 5

viii Ibid, 24

ix   Interview: Asghar Amritsari, Expert Local Arts and Traditions

x   Interview: Asghar Amritsari, Expert Local Arts and Traditions

xi   Aitareya Upanisads, second section, verse 4.

xii   Aitareya Upanisads, second section, verse 4.

xiii Taittiriya Aranyaka III. Verse 13.

xiv Kapila Vatsyayan, *The Square and the Circle of Indian Arts (2nd Edition)*, (New Delhi: Abhinav Publications 1997), p. 9

xv   Atherva Veda, X. 7, verses 8-32, *The Indian heritage*, (Bangalore: The Indian Institute of Culture, 1956), p. 42

xvi Kapila Vatsyayan, *The Square and the Circle of Indian Arts (2nd Edition)*, (New Delhi: Abhinav Publications 1997), p. 27

xvii *BBC News*. Available at <www.news.bbc.co.uk> (Dated: 14.08.2012)

xviii Taittiriya Aranayaka III.13

xix Kapila Vatsyayan, *The Square and the Circle of Indian Arts (2nd Edition)*, (New Delhi: Abhinav Publications 1997), p. 14

xx   Ibid, 99

xxi V. Raghavan, *The Number of Rasas*, (Madras: Adyar Library 1940), p. 3

xxii Kapila Vatsyayan, *The Square and the Circle of Indian Arts (2nd Edition)*, (New Delhi: Abhinav Publications 1997), p. 25

xxiii Ibid, 24

A Theoretical Framework for the Study of Life in Small Towns

Kamil Khan Mumtaz

This paper examines life in small towns – in terms of its cultural and political dimensions and the nature of human settlements – in the context of history. In contemporary discourses, however, history and urbanization are invariably seen through the lens of 'development'; we must, therefore, begin by clarifying what we mean by this term.

Development

Change is the only constant in nature. Everything originates at some point in time and space, evolves and develops to some degree of attainment of its normative state, and then regresses, or degenerates until the entity as such ceases to exist. Thus traditionally, all of existence is seen as a cyclic process in which "development and evolution" are phases in the process of becoming and "progress" is measured by the degree of attainment of a normative state of being or a desired goal. Yet in modernist and progressive discourses, 'progress and evolution' are regarded as a one-way, endless linear process, in which there is no normative state of being or desired goal other than the process itself. In these discourses, development is equated with economic growth and the development of the modes of production and urbanization is regarded as a necessary condition of economic growth. Man himself – human behavior, life-styles, values, beliefs – is expected to "evolve" and adapt to the new conditions brought about by development. However, we need to remind ourselves that this modern development paradigm is not a law of nature but a man-made construct that has its roots in the European Renaissance. From Galileo's empiricism and Descartes' bifurcation, through the political theories of Hobbes and the economic theories of Bentham, Mill, Adam Smith and Marshall, this model has emerged over the last five or six centuries as the dominant development paradigm and has attained global currency in our time. Among the successes of the modernity project have been some truly remarkable achievements in the fields of science and technology and the equally remarkable accumulation of wealth. The city has come to symbolize the successes of this model and "urbanization" has passed into the mythology of development economics as "the natural goal of human development".

The modernist development paradigm is rooted in the worldview that sees matter as the primary reality and man as a rational animal capable of knowing the physical universe. Knowing the physical universe is the subject of modern science, whose methods are empiricism and reductionism – the view that any complex system can be understood by reducing it to its simplest components and conversely that the greater is determined by the arrangement of its smallest parts.

In this worldview, knowledge endows man with the power to control and to dominate nature. Power, control and dominance of nature are the means to acquisition of material wealth, which in turn is the means of satisfying every desire, of fulfilling every human need, leading to happiness and well-being. In this world view, nature and one's fellow humans are seen as resources to be exploited for maximum material gain, and progress and development is measured in terms of quantity: GNP; units of production and consumption: energy, monetary wealth, commodities and so on.

The "goal of human development", promised by the modernist paradigm is progress, development and the pursuit of human happiness, not as an abstract metaphysical heaven or an abstraction in the heavens above but as a tangible, "real", material paradise here on earth. Indeed, the achievements of modern science and technology are impressive. But so also is the plunder and waste, the degradation of our humanity and our environment that has followed in its wake. We are so dazzled by the brilliance of these marvels and wonders that we fail to see the darkness that surrounds them. We write off the collateral damage as the price of progress and development.

The traditional worldviews have always considered that the goal of human development is to be human. However, the definition of "being human" is culture specific and intimately related to the economy, science and ideology of a given human collectivity, its shared perception of the nature of essential realities, of Being and manifestation, of phenomenal existence, of effects and causes. These perceptions have not always been constant but have changed over time.

History

History cannot be 'objective' or unbiased. All histories are post-facto constructs of the past. The historian only recounts the facts that appear significant to his story. Thus, narrative precedes history. All narratives have a beginning, middle and an end, that is, a structure, a preconceived model or paradigm.

In the modernist narrative, where change is seen as an endless progression, a one way process of evolution and development, our histories record events on a 'time line'. The events that are recorded are those that are significant to our story of acquisitions of power, control and dominance over nature, territory and our fellow men. Plotted against time, this story, illustrated by increasing quantities of material production and consumption, appears as an exponential curve climbing to ever increasing heights at shorter and shorter time intervals. Considering that the very idea of infinite growth of production and consumption, or anything else, is patently absurd, it is amazing that this exponential curve has become an iconic representation of the mythic ascent of Man. From the humanist myth of man the measure of all things, the center of the universe, to Nietzsche's superman, this linear paradigm is employed in support of all manner of supremacist, imperialist, fascist, Marxist and Modernist narratives. It places the narrator, in this present moment of time, at the head of the evolutionary ladder, at the cutting edge, forever conquering new frontiers.
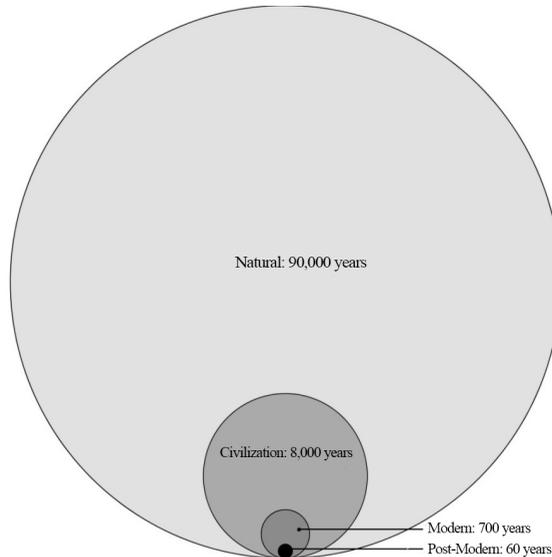
In the traditional narrative, change is seen as a cyclic and epochal process. Each cycle reflects the timeless universal drama of creation, in which mortals manifest universal archetypes; epic voyages of legendary heroes symbolize the initial journey of Everyman, in which the human soul seeks union with the Beloved. Every human act is a metaphor, every gesture is a symbol and every myth represents a higher reality.

In the cyclic representation of human history, successive epochs appear as geometrically reducing circles within the larger cycle of time.

Paleontologists date the earliest advent of modern man, homo sapiens, to some ninety thousand years ago. The oral histories of all humans have considered man to have been fully developed from the very start of this cycle of time, and to have been aware of a manifest higher reality in all natural phenomena. This was the "natural state of the human animal", primordial essential man.

In the natural economy all human needs of food, clothing, shelter and medicine are obtained from nature by hunting and gathering. Human settlements are in the form of natural or portable shelters and linkages are limited to family, clan and the natural environment.

The first major change was the separation of phenomenon, as "effect", from the higher reality as "cause". The physical world was seen to comprise of four elements: earth, water, air and fire, that manifested essential qualities. The qualities themselves belonged to the higher cause. This "science" enabled man to engage in agriculture, animal husbandry, transportation, the production of commodities and to establish settled urban communities. In this process man saw himself as mediator between "cause" and "effect". As "agent", civilized man considered that the goal of human development was to reflect the qualities of the "principal". Thus, in everything he made and everything he did, he endeavored to reflect the qualities of the higher reality. As early as the third millennium BC, the layout of the Indus Valley cities was governed by rectangular grids and cardinal orientations. The design of major buildings, such as baths and granaries was based on axial symmetries and geometric proportions reflecting the higher cosmic order. But the city was considered a means not "the natural goal of human development". The goal was the realization of the highest potential of man's "human" nature, his human soul, and his "intellect", by overcoming his animal nature.

In an agrarian economy the cultivation of crops and animal husbandry produces a surplus, over and above the basic needs of the farming family. This surplus can support artisans and service providers who can manufacture implements and tools and provide such services as health and education within the settled village communities. Surpluses can also be exchanged between villages more effectively through market towns and traders. However, surpluses produced by the more efficient division of labor can also be usurped by force of arms. Armed formations can both extend the area under their control and protect it against other robber barons. With the plundered wealth the feudal warlords can build fortified settlements and patronize the arts. The extension of control and domination over larger and larger territories - fiefdoms, kingdoms and empires - also facilitates trade between widely dispersed geographic regions. The mode of animate over land and wind driven sea transportation, however, restricts the trade to high value luxuries: gems, perfumes, spices, silks and others. This trans-continental trade enables the merchants and their financiers to amass fortunes.

The second major change was the separation of the physical from the non-physical reality. Modern man perceived all phenomena in the physical universe as actions and reactions governed by universal, inviolable laws inherent in the properties of matter. These laws could be logically deduced by observation and measurement, and verified by experiment. This "science" empowered man to dominate and exploit the natural environment and his fellow man, to amass unprecedented wealth and power. This autonomous physical universe required no external "cause" or higher reality. The non-physical world of the soul and the intellect, of ideas, values, qualities and knowledge, was ascribed to the domain of the mind. Since the primary reality was now perceived to be physical, the natural state of the "human animal" was considered in terms of his material existence, his "animal" nature.

Industrial modes of production using fossil fuels and mechanization were applied to mining and manufacturing to produce huge surpluses. But industrial production required access to global sources of raw materials and global markets, and also access to large pools of labor, distribution and marketing services provided by modern cities. The use of non-renewable sources of energy and mechanization increased production and consumption but also resulted in depletion and degradation of natural resources by increasing non-recyclable and toxic waste.

The third major change was the separation of the objective, physical reality from its subjective perception. Einstein's relativity showed that time, space, matter and energy were not absolute but relative to the observer. Quantum physics added the principles of ambiguity, uncertainty and plurality to the description of the physical universe. While these insights unleashed the power of atomic and sub-atomic forces, philosophy took up the task of deconstructing and subverting all hierarchical paradigms, replacing universal absolute values with relativism and pluralism. Universal absolutes such as the natural goal of human development are no longer considered politically correct. Philosophy removed the subject of "Being" from the scope of its discourse some time ago, and science has finally given up the pretence of being able to know what the physical universe "is", contenting itself with descriptions of what it "observes". One does not talk of grand narratives in polite company any more, but only of episodes, desires and instant gratification.

In the matrix below, forms of human settlements, including towns, are related vertically to other aspects of 'life' or culture, and horizontally according to four major epochs in the life of Man: Natural, Civilization, Modernity, and Post-Modern.

Figure 2

Relationship matrix of forms of human settlements with aspects of life and major epochs

	Natural	**Agricultural**	**Industrial**	**Post-Industrial**
Settlements	Natural or portable shelters	Village, market town, fortified city	Industrial/commercial cities	Global cities
Economy	Hunting and gathering	Farming, mining, artifacts	Organic farming, Mechanized mining, manufacture	Mechanized farming, mining, manufacture
Linkages	Family/clan/ natural environment	Farmer/artisan/ trader/feudal lord, state	Global trade, acquisition of raw materials and markets for industrial products	Globally integrated system
Science	Sanctity of Nature	Elementary qualities. Separation of cause & effect	Cartesian bifurcation, empiricism, logical deduction. Newtonian physics	Relativity, quantum physics
Art	Ritual act	Idealist reflection	Objective representation	Subjective expression
Philosophy	Unity of existence	Hierarchy of existence	Materialism	Relativism

Human Settlements (Urbanization)

The nature of pre-industrial urbanization and its relationship with the natural environment is symbiotic and sustainable. In the industrial economy using non-renewable fossil fuels, mechanized manufacture produces huge surpluses that require global access to resources and markets, and modern cities, resulting in the depletion of resources and an increase in non-recyclable and toxic waste. The nature of modern urbanization and its relationship with the natural environment is parasitical and unsustainable.

In post-industrial economies, industrial modes of production are extended to farming, resulting in still greater surpluses and still greater accumulation of wealth. But sustained economic growth requires continued expansion of production and consumption, thus the creation of ever new demands, far in excess of needs, and the growth of a hyper-consumerist marketing services sector, resulting in an accelerated depletion of resources and generation of non-recyclable and toxic wastes. The nature of post-industrial urbanization is doubly parasitic and unsustainable.

The modern city is represented as the very symbol of modernization: an engine for economic growth; a ready market for goods, services and labor; opportunity for social mobility; cultural boiling pot; a bastion of political power. But cities are also the highest consumers of non-renewable resources, and the highest polluters of the natural environment.

The expropriation of wealth by all power elites – feudal lords, industrial and finance capitalists, state bureaucracies and armed formations – is invariably presented as a benign act, done for the welfare and benefit of the producers. The roles of provider and beneficiary are reversed in these representations. The spin given to the city and urbanization as the necessary condition for progress and development is no exception.

To be sure, urbanization is a necessary condition for development of an agrarian economy from self-sustaining isolated village communities to a market economy that provides a more efficient network for the exchange of goods and services between rural and urban settlements. But so long as the raison d'être of the city is seen to be the provision of goods and services to the primary producers of food and industrial

raw materials, the relationship between rural and urban settlements remains one of mutually beneficial symbiosis. With the expropriation by the urban power elites of the surplus wealth produced by the market economy, the relationship becomes that of parasite and host, where the city expropriates more and more of the wealth produced by the agrarian economy. Even so, as long as the mode of agricultural production and animal husbandry is organic and the nature of manufacture is artisanal, using organic materials and renewable energy, urbanization continues to be sustainable. When the city becomes an integral part of the industrial economy, a locus of industrial production, market and service center and a hub or node for mechanized transportation, communications, power, modern education and others, it also becomes the base from which industrial modes of production are extended to agriculture in the form of agricultural machinery and equipment (tractors, harvesters, tube wells), chemical fertilizers and pesticides. The result is a dramatic increase in agricultural production at the cost of rapid depletion and degradation of resources: water, soil, bio-diversity, marine life and other animal stocks. But no less than the depletion and degradation of the physical environment and resources is the loss of our cultural patrimony, the extinction of local languages and the embedded wisdom contained in the knowledge pools of local lore and oral histories.

Urban Form and Structure

The old city was small in size, had a defined parameter, low rise buildings, relatively high population densities, and its structure was integrated in terms of functional activities and incomes (integrating residence, commerce, manufacturing, recreation and culture activities, and socially mixing high and low incomes). The population of a few tens of thousands, could be collected in one place, seen in one glance and their faces recognized. The size, not more than about two or three kilometers across, could be easily traversed on foot.

The hierarchical network of narrow, winding streets, designed for pedestrian and animal-drawn traffic, allowed for human intercourse. The buildings, fabricated by hand, had a scale which was human. More importantly, the social hierarchies and power structures, made up of a network of individuals and families, clans and guilds, whose names and faces were known and familiar, knitted the populations together into a delicate network of interdependence and mutual support.

The built form of the city remained limited in size and scale so long as the technologies of building and transportation were powered by animate energy. With mechanization and the use of non-animate energy, the city literally "fell apart". The volume, speed and distance in the transportation of goods, people and information reaching inhuman proportions, the street became a barrier rather than a meeting ground; and places of work, residence, recreation, commerce, and others, moved farther and farther apart from each other into segregated, function specific zones - industrial estates, dormitory towns, central business districts and others.

Mechanized construction and operation produced buildings of monstrous proportions, with artificial climates which dwarfed the human being and distanced him from nature.

The new communication technologies have now completely exploded the very basis of the city as a nucleus, focus, or center for human interaction. We have already experienced the de-population of several metropolises in the most advanced technological societies. Work, shopping, entertainment and information exchange no longer require direct human contact. Under the changing norms and patterns of relationships between individuals in these societies, the conventional concept of the family and the family house as the basic unit of human settlements has been made redundant.

Cultural and Political Dimensions[1]

Over time the city has witnessed a physical transformation accompanied by an increase in complexity and scale of social hierarchies and power structures and also in the scale and magnitude of domination by alien and indigenous systems of control and manipulation. These changes have been intimately related to the development of technology, including modes of production and communication, in which the critical factor has been the forms and sources of energy. Since animate energy is limited biologically, a critical threshold becomes the promethean act of harnessing inanimate forms of energy.

In a subsistence economy of hunting and gathering tribes, where the producer is the consumer, the only hierarchies were those based

---

1 From paper presented at the UIA Barcelona 96 Seminar, Architectos Sin Fronteras, Barcelona, July 1996.

on personal qualities. In settled village communities, we had the first degree of separation between producer and consumer, the first degree of specialization in production and a simple hierarchy between the producers of food, clothing and shelter, and those who support (provide goods and services necessary for) the activity of food production. In the market economy of the town we had the middlemen - transporters and traders - representing a second degree of distancing between producers and consumers and another tier in the hierarchical relationship between the town at the centre and the village at the periphery. Still greater efficiency in production and greater surpluses gave rise to radical transformations in the nature of food storage, accounting, management of distribution and trade. With the money economies in cities, we had the accumulation of wealth in the hands of those who were neither the producers of food and other basic necessities nor the providers of supporting goods and services to the producers of basic necessities; in other words, a cadre of parasites and predators. In these social hierarchies and power structures, the dominant positions were acquired by those who commanded the greatest wealth and armed might.

At the level of the city, a degree of complexity was reached which necessitated mediation of systems of control and manipulation, including arbitrators, accountants, administrators, and armed formations. These systems of control and manipulation could be used in the service of society by providing security of life and property and peace and harmony. However, the same systems could also be misused by one group to dominate and exploit another.

While the development of the modes of production generated progressively more material wealth, the development of the modes of communication provided the means to transport this wealth over greater distances; the development of military hardware provided the ability to dominate and control larger and larger territories and greater and greater numbers of people. As these developments also increased the distance between producer and consumer and the complexity of the systems of control and manipulation, proportionately less and less of the wealth was enjoyed by the producer himself and a greater proportion was appropriated by the parasites and predators who controlled the dominant positions in the social hierarchies and power structures. Thus, technological development effectively expanded the degree of exploitation of the producer and reduced the degree of dominion over his own affairs and the products of his own labor.

As a power base in the systems of control and manipulation, the city became a symbol of domination. As such, it was the target for any contender for power and domination. The resistance it offered to domination was not against alien and non-indigenous "systems" of control and manipulation but against domination as such. In fact, the "systems", whether indigenous or alien, were equally utilized by all contenders in the power struggle. Alien systems may be perceived as a threat by those who feel powerless to operate them but not by those who recognize in them the tools which they themselves can "control and manipulate".

Within complex social hierarchies and power structures there is invariably a hierarchy of domination in which the higher echelons exercise their domination through the agency of the lower orders of dominators, who in turn are permitted to retain their domination over the tiers below them. While the ruling elites of the city resist every threat to their own domination at their own levels or from below, they are quick to see the advantages of entering into any accommodation with the higher orders which perpetuates and even strengthens their own position. Thus in the shifting fortunes of the war for dominion and power, individuals and groups who appeared to be the greatest champions of resistance at a given moment may assume the role of dominator at another.

The relationship between the cultures of the old city and the new is the relationship between the cultures of modernity and tradition. Traditional cultures valued external, material development only to the extent of providing the supports for the development of man's internal, spiritual potential, the ultimate criterion being the extinction of desire. Modernity values internal development only to the extent of providing the support for the material development of one's external environment as the necessary condition for the satiation of every desire.

We have used the terms "modern" and "traditional" here as metaphors for tendencies which have always existed in both traditional and modern societies. Each culture may be characterized by a dominant ethos, a set of values, ideologies and beliefs which inform its rituals, practices and endeavors, but this is never to the exclusion of other tendencies. Traditional cultures which were dominated by, or were rooted in, an idealist world view, included materialist tendencies, while modern cultures, based upon the materialist world view can and do include "idealist" tendencies.

As a symbol of embedded or traditional culture, the old city bears witness to the decline of the values of giving, of humility and submission, of generosity, kindness and human compassion. As a bastion of modernity, the new city is the symbol of the ascendancy of the values of materialism, of man's domination over nature, of competitiveness, in which the value of man is measured by his material possessions.

Shikarpoor: Experiences of a City under the Shadow of a Glorious Past

Anila Naeem, PhD

Introduction

Shikarpoor, today bearing the reputation of a small town in Sindh, with a population of less than 0.2 million[1], historically enjoyed the status of being the region's most populated[2] and prestigious urban center, playing an important role as a pivot of trade and commerce on the extensive network of caravan[3] routes connecting Central Asia, Afghanistan and Iran with India; its strategic geographic location south of the Bolan Pass distinguishing it as a gateway and entrepot of Afghanistan, Khelat and Khorasan.

Towards the mid-eighteenth century under Afghan patronage, Hindu merchants from across India were encouraged to settle in Shikarpoor making it their home town and the nerve centre of an enterprising network of trade, commerce and money-lending activities, the extent of which is traced to Kirman (in southeast Iran) as its westernmost outpost, Keria (in eastern Kashgaria) as its easternmost, Chimkent (in Turkestan) as the northernmost, and Aden (in Arabia) as its southernmost post (Markovits, 2000) (Figure 1). The Shikarpuri Merchants' Network consolidated itself in Central Asian Khanates between 1800 to 1870; their forte being banking and other branches of monetary traffic, carried through a very sophisticated system of 'bills of exchange' called *hundi*, accepted across the world without question - dominating financial transactions over a vast area for one and a half centuries. Becoming an indispensable entity, the Hindu patrons of these business houses gained unconditional support from all segments of society in the otherwise Muslim dominated region of Sindh. Their economic dominance was further strengthened during the colonial period, when Hindus were given added protection and privileges through legislative and administrative reforms introduced by the British. In addition, Shikarpoor was also a base for an influential community of Muslim and Afghan landowners, having a stronghold on the working class masses.

---

1   In the 1998 census Shikarpoor's population is shown as 1,34,883; and estimated at 1,55,400 in 2009.

2   Burnes (1834) identifies Shikarpoor as the largest town in Sindh, exceeding in size even Hyderabad, the capital town of that time.

3   Postans (1843) mentions that '*Kaffilas*' or caravans travelled from Kandahar in the cold season reaching Shikarpoor in December - January and leaving around March; he estimates that over 5000 camels, laden with merchandize, pursued that route in one year.

Owing to the presence of a multicultural and multi-ethnic community Shikarpoor developed as a rare urban center of Sindh, un-matched by any of its contemporary cities. The legacy of this vibrant resident community of affluent merchants, traders, financers and landowners is a representation of religious, political, social and cultural dialogue given expression through the media of the built form.

Today, the stories of Shikarpoor's grandeur are revealed only if one glances through the pages of historic chronicles/travelogues
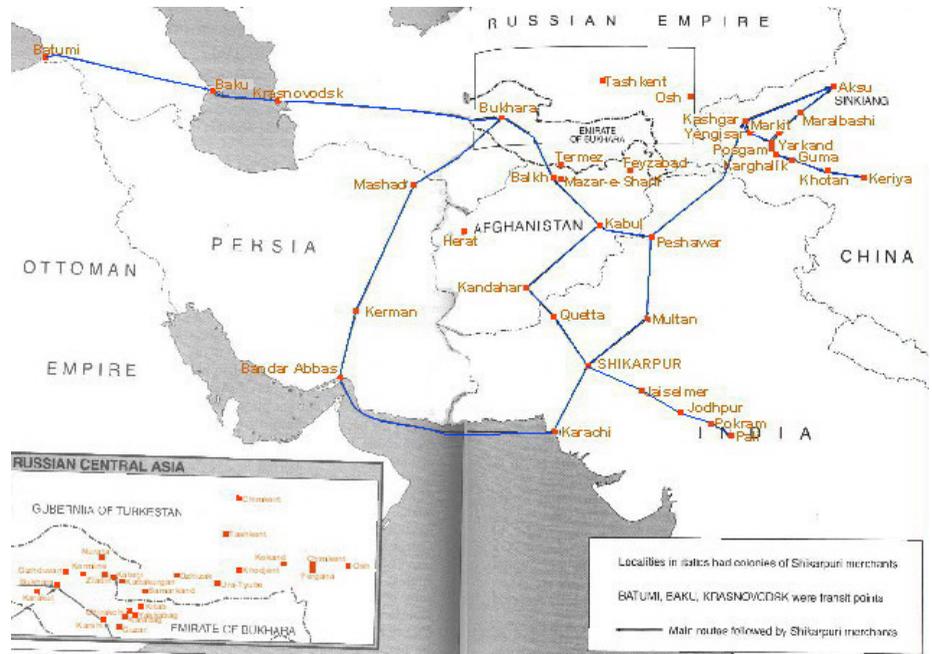
or contemplates the muffled echoes of a prestigious past whispered through the dilapidated existence of fast-vanishing architectural masterpieces and the historic urban fabric created by their once dignified presence. Taking notice of its threatened status the Department of Culture, Government of Sindh, through an official gazette notification in September 1998, declared 'Shikarpoor Historic Town' a protected heritage under the Sindh Cultural Heritage Preservation Act 1994; furthermore, in March 2012, 1203 properties within the city's municipal limits were declared as protected under the same legislative cover. 'Shikarpoor Historic Town' has also been included in the WMF Watch List of 100 Most Endangered Sites in 2008 and 2010. But mere notifications, unsupported by active conservation strategies and implementation policies leave the city still vulnerable to vandalism and

pressures compromising its heritage values and the potentials of its economic revival.

A Historical Retrospect on Shikarpoor's Illustrious Past

Shikarpoor has been described as, 'the capital of merchants, bankers and money changers' (Burton, 1877); a kind of *bania* melting pot during the second half of the eighteenth century, 'where merchants of different origins established a residence and over a period of time developed a very specific sense of identity' (Markovits, 2000). Founded in 1617 by Daudpotras, Shikarpoor was annexed to Kandahar State under Ahmed Shah Abdalee in 1747, and remained under complete Afghan control for seventy-seven years during which time Taymur Shah raised the city high above all marts on the Indus by privileging Hindus to settle here and develop it as their trade base. Shikarpoor came under the possession of Sindhi rulers in 1824 through a peaceful transaction between the Afghans and Talpurs. From 1825 until 1836 the Sikh Ruler, Ranjit Singh, had a keen desire to annex this rich town to his territories. By the mid-1830s, the prevailing political situation in the region resulted in an increased British interest in Sindh. In 1839-40, during the Afghan military campaign, the British troops used Shikarpoor as their military base, from where supplies and other provisions were ensured for the sustenance of their army. Eventually with the conquest of Sindh in 1843, Shikarpoor became part of the British Empire for a short period, capturing the interests of the colonial administration. During the first two decades of British rule, Shikarpoor was made the District Headquarters and a Military Cantonment. But post 1860s, the focus gradually shifted to Sukkur and Jacobabad, superseding Shikarpoor as an administrative and military base respectively. Developments in Sindh during the latter half of the nineteenth century, primarily the introduction of railways (1858-61) and their extension to Quetta, and the development of a seaport in Karachi (1870s), resulted in a decline of caravan trade activities that used Shikarpoor as their base, redefining the trade hub for Sindh and overshadowing the city's commercial importance (SSI, 1908). A final blow to Shikarpoor's prosperity came with Partition in 1947 (Markovits, 2000) when the massive exodus of Shikarpuri Hindus towards Bombay and other parts of India, took from this city the strength and spirit of a strongly knit community.

Shikarpoor has since suffered retarded growth in all sectors, its present resident community experiencing reversed standards of urbanized sophistication and city management. These transformations tell the tale of societal, political and developmental patronage that slipped

away from the city through its historic timeline, leaving it under-resourced and failing to offer sufficient economic incentives to sustain a prosperous resident community. Even though Shikarpoor never enjoyed the distinction of being a capital or seat of administrative power, for centuries it maintained an influential control on the region's economic and political arena and was reputed as a prestigious urban center. The loss of its community patronage in the event of Partition and its following decades has drastically changed this image – leaving its historic environment in jeopardy.

The Character of Shikarpoor's Historic Fabric

Shikarpoor was originally laid out as a walled city built with burnt bricks, enclosing a space of 3,800 yards circumference, having eight gated and guarded entry points. The spatial planning of its historic core retains the original labyrinthine, morphological pattern of narrow, winding streets and alleys; the inner streets wide enough to accommodate only pedestrian or light vehicular traffic (bicycles, motorcycles, donkey carts). Beyond walled city limits, the eastern extensions of eighteenth and mid-nineteenth century follow a similar street pattern; but further growth during the colonial period - eastwards and southwards, represents a contrasting grid-iron layout, with wide avenues and large plots. Present municipality boundaries extend way beyond these areas, but the dense, built fabric is contained within colonial limits, as Shikarpoor never attained a place in the development policies of post-Independence establishments.

The traditional built environment representative of Shikarpoor's historic character comprises a predominantly residential fabric, except for the bazaar street that cuts across the centre of the walled city area, along the north-south axis, having a character and scale similar to residential quarters (Figure 2). Large-scale public buildings, introduced under British rule lie outside the walled limits on the eastern and southeastern periphery of the city. Traditional architecture is comprised of constructions in timber, mud and brick; embellished with not just richly decorated interiors but extensively decorated façades reflecting the wealth of their original owners and the patronage they gave to arts and crafts. These rich façade treatments including intricately carved doors, roundels, colonnaded or arcaded porticos or verandahs, carved timber screens in wall openings/balconies, brackets supporting projecting upper floors and other forms of decorations using timber, wrought/cast iron metalwork and stucco contribute to the unique character of

Shikarpoor's historic fabric (Figure 3). The ornamental details include figurative, floral and geometric motifs, reflecting the religious ideology of the inhabitants and harmoniously balanced co-existence of different ethnic groups. Properties identified as most significantly contributing to the essence and spirit of Shikarpoor include 80% residential units followed by 9.5% commercial, 4.5% religious, 1.4% educational, 0.5% health facilities and 2.5% other civic amenities (Naeem, 2009; Naeem, 2011) (Figure 4).
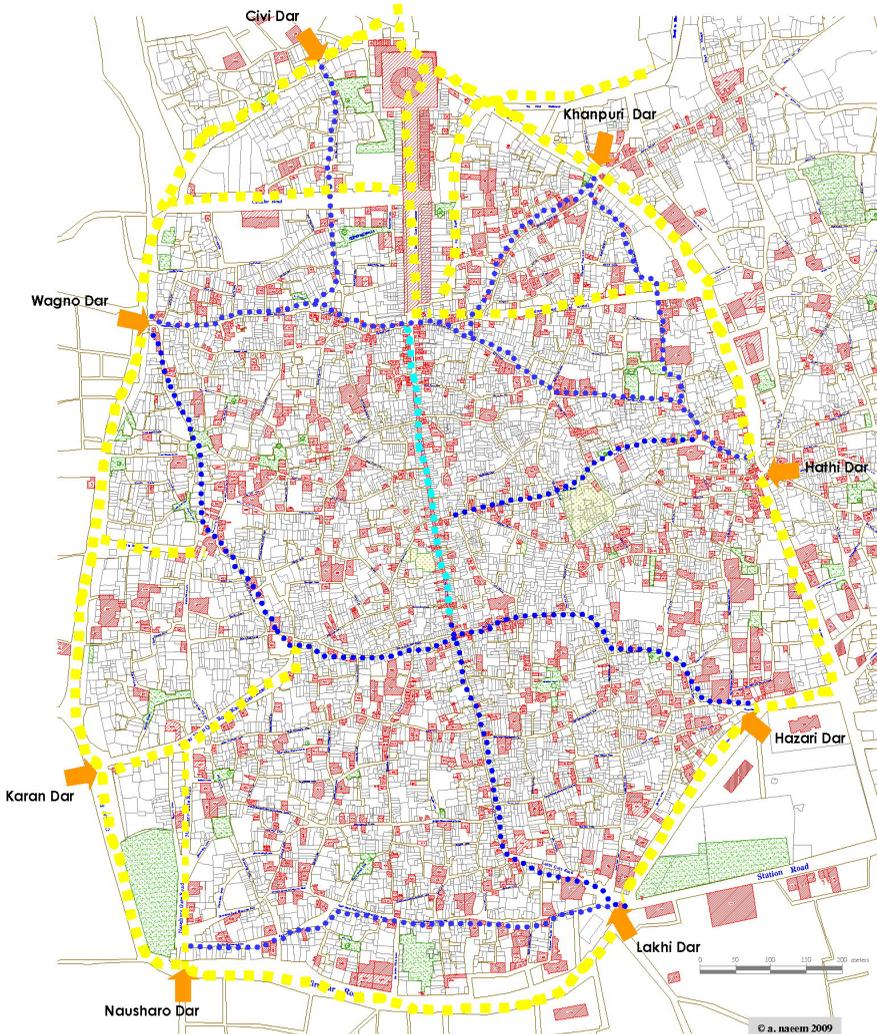
Figure 2

An example of decorative detailing on the façade of traditional houses. Source: Naeem, A. (2009) "Recognizing Historic Significance Using Inventories: A Case of Historic Towns in Sindh, Pakistan". Oxford, Oxford Brookes University

The wealth and prosperity of the city's heyday is reflected through remnants of these surviving historic structures whose variety of architectural vocabulary indicates an evolution of period styles and trends and a rich experimentation of construction materials, use of technology and decorative detailing.
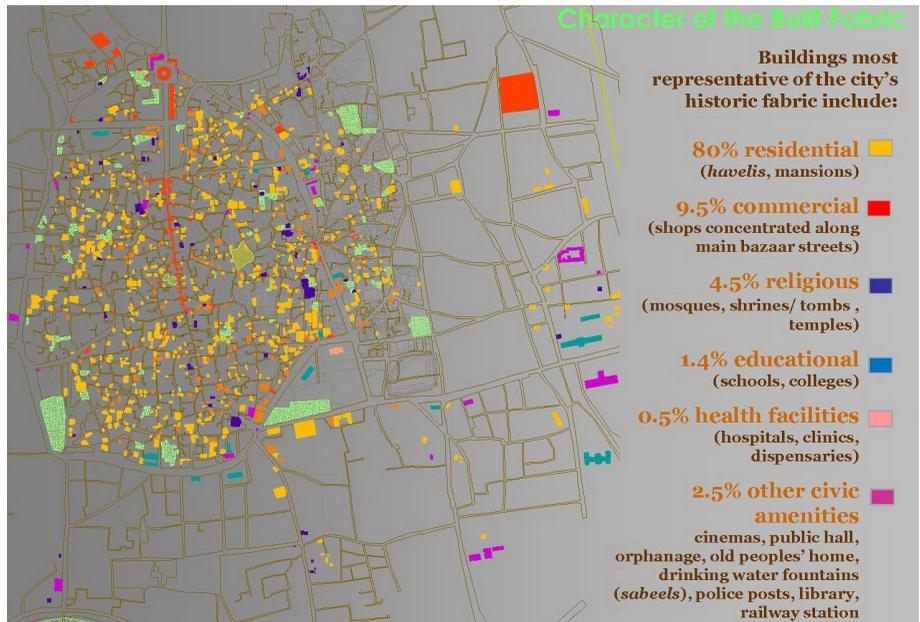
Transformations - Socio-economic Management of Built Environment

Shikarpoor's demographic transformation from a two-third population belonging to the Hindu faith (Postans, 1841; Burton, 1851; Goldsmid, 1854; Smyth, 1919) to a more than ninety percent Muslim population since Partition (GoP, 2009) resulted in the collapse of a community based support system that provided educational, health, and other welfare related facilities on a philanthropic basis.

Statistics on the present socio-economics of the resident community[4] indicates a low level of educational and professional standing, with more than fifty percent of households in possession of historic properties being associated with menial jobs or working on daily wages as laborers, vendors and others depending on very low and inconsistent monthly incomes. Their economic deprivation is further reflected by the fact that more than seventy-five percent of these families do not have any other assets besides their present residence (often shared by extended families). In terms of an association with the city, almost sixty percent of the families living in the historic properties have been there for more than thirty-five years, whereas forty percent have moved in from adjoining rural areas within the last fifteen years or less. This is reflective of the post 1980s – 90s transformation of the town described by a district revenue officer as having changed from 'commercial, civil and urban lines' to 'rural, feudal and tribal lines' (Baloch, 2007).

Shikarpoor always had a close relationship with its rural hinterland. However, prior to Partition the city administration is said to have enforced strict regulations making a distinction between urban and rural activities and their boundaries. In the present scenario, the administration has loosened its grip on these specified boundaries, resulting in penetration of the rural population and their activities inside the city core; the controlling agencies are seemingly incapable of preventing or are unwilling to prevent this change. The socio-economic configuration and administrative lapses have together impacted the built environment negatively, resulting in a degeneration of public, civic, institutional and recreational facilities that once thrived through community patronage. Decaying and dilapidated historic structures are the only remaining evidence of the prestigious pre-Partition establishments, now presenting a high degree of deterioration. Large-scale public complexes such as *dharamsalas*, *musafirkhanas* or temples underwent drastic change in ownership and usage, mutilated by unplanned alterations and subdivisions into smaller units. Many of these abandoned complexes were either illegally occupied or used by government temporarily to shelter incoming migrants during Partition - proper settlement of these ad hoc occupations never having been undertaken in the years that followed.

Present occupants, lacking resources or sensibility to properly maintain these properties, have over the years haphazardly built additional structures and used their open spaces for keeping livestock. The façades are defaced with indiscreet alterations - repairs or removal of decorative details. Disuse and abandonment is another primary cause of deterioration and decay: eighteen percent of the identified heritage properties are completely vacant and another five percent have only fifty percent or less occupancy. Deterioration of the historic fabric is not

---

4   These are based on the data collected from the families presently occupying properties identified for enlistment as protected heritage.

just limited to properties in disuse but also extends to those inhabited by residents not having resources to afford their upkeep and regular maintenance; twenty percent of identified heritage properties are completely in use but categorized as being in a highly deteriorated or partially demolished physical state. Sub-division of large properties due to shared inheritance is another reason leading to damaging results.

In the absence of regulatory or monitoring systems, the properties are subject to alterations without any process of approval or evaluation of proposed changes. From among listed buildings, around forty percent are recorded as having undergone major alterations involving structural changes including additional floors, addition of rooms or service areas and changes in original plan schemes. In addition, almost all buildings have undergone minor alterations such as closing of door/window openings and re-plastering of external walls with cement plaster. These alterations being a necessity and part of changing lifestyles cannot be ignored but in the absence of proper professionals, are carried out by owners on an ad hoc basis, without sensitivity towards retaining their original character, thus defacing the external appearance and often causing irreversible damage to the layout and materials of construction.

Shikarpoor of Today – A Small Town in Sindh

Shikarpoor of yore, as found in historic accounts, has been lost to us. The socio-economic and demographic transformations together with changes in the built environment have had a major impact on the image of Shikarpoor; falling from a high pedestal of urban sophistication to being a small and insignificant town of Sindh.

- The Present Image Of The City

Shikarpoor's present image, as conceived from news alerts flashing on television channels or newspapers every now and then, is synonymous with disturbing law and order situations, incidents of tribal clashes leading to deaths of innocent victims, extortions on minorities by intolerant religious fanatics, rising crime resulting from ever-increasing unemployment and similar negative imagery. The outskirts of the city, along the scenic sights of Beggari *Wah* and Sindh *Wah*, that once served as an active hub of evening recreation and annual festivities are now declared a 'no go' zone after sunset. Prevailing animosity and ongoing tribal rivalries[5] result in armed clashes; lives are lost but often even an FIR is not registered. The spirit of cordial co-existence between different ethnic and religious groups that collectively formed the spirit of this dynamic urban center, initially disturbed by 1947 mass migrations, has worsened over decades in pursuit

---

5   The Mahar – Jatoi tribes have been at loggerheads with each other since decades; similarly, the Mangnejo – Meeral Kalhoro tribes have been clashing, resulting in loss of lives on both sides (Phulpoto, 2012).

of religious or ethnic dominance.

In spite of these deterring impressions, enthusiasts still venturing to visit the city are taken by surprise by the enriching experiences while wandering through the streets of Shikarpoor's historic core. One always comes across a volunteer, who being a long-standing resident and sensing your appreciation of the city, proudly offers to escort you through the winding lanes of the historic core. These lanes would otherwise be difficult to penetrate due to an informal system of community vigilance – as strangers are stopped by watchful residents to inquire of the purpose of their visit and destination. The neighborhood lanes are always alive with activity; the children playing and wandering, the elderly sitting and watching, the passerby casually dropping in; everyone seemingly familiar with each other. While experiencing these scenes, the images of media hype, regarding law and order concerns, simply vanish from your mind. However, the apathy on the faces of the young and energetic segment of society does express its disappointment whilst in pursuit of professional advancement due to a lack of appropriate facilities. The *chai khanas* lined along Circular Road and the main exits of the city connecting the highway, endorse the crisis of ever-increasing unemployment as these are always filled with young men aimlessly passing their time sitting and watching TV or chatting with each other. Thus, in the absence of opportunities to channel their energies in positive directions the community remains vulnerable towards being enticed into negative activities.

- The Indicators Of Quality Of Life

Shikarpoor, once famed for its public institutions and recreational activities, has now slumped into a city lacking even basic standards in essential sectors like education, healthcare, housing and recreation. Existing establishments have fallen in standards due to lack of patronage; newer initiatives and investments by either residents or the government are largely missing. The city that claimed to have seventy graduates in the 1930s when the rest of Sindh had only seven (Wikipedia, 2012) and boasted of having the first degree college of Sindh established here, that is, the C and S College built between 1927 and 1932, today has only two schools at the higher secondary level, three degree colleges[6] and no university. The city's only public library has a collection of just a thousand books. The city offers no place for family recreation: outdoor eating facilities are limited; of the two cinemas one has been demolished, the other has been vacant since many years with intended demolition; the two public parks once famed for their collection of fragrant flowers, fruit orchards and a mini zoo, are now desolate and poorly maintained, and the theatre groups and performing arts activities, of which many local authors have written elaborate eulogies, are no longer organized in the city. The healthcare

---

6   Besides the two higher secondary level schools, the city has 1235 primary, 63 middle and 50 secondary level schools (2007-08) "Shikarpur Sindh" <http://www40.brinkster.com/mribian/db/index.html> (Accessed on 1st November 2012).

sector is similarly under-resourced, with only basic facilities available to citizens - for more comprehensive treatment people have to travel to Karachi. These facts reflect the declined status of this urban centre and are glaring indicators of the poor quality of life presently endured by its residents.

- Threats to the Historic Fabric

Even though the 'Historic City of Shikarpoor' has been declared as protected heritage, ongoing demolitions prevail as a major threat to the city's historic environment. An alarming rise in demolition activities is noted; more than twelve percent properties identified for heritage listing in 2007, have been confirmed as demolished in the following three years -- even though the official notification clearly forbids destruction of 'houses constructed up to 1950 and their wood and iron works'; yet a blatant violation of law is fearlessly in practice. The wooden '*moharis*', glazed tile or timber ceilings, carved timber brackets, windows, iron grills and many such elements are being continuously ripped off their original sites and extensively re-used in new residences and commercial establishments in big cities, flamboyantly claimed by the élite as their prized collectors' items; the architects/designers involved in promoting these trends are seemingly oblivious of their professional responsibilities. Ironically, those whose inheritance is being pillaged remain either ignorant or unconcerned about losing their wealth. Until a few years earlier, only a few specialized antique dealers managed the purchase of these materials, but in the past two to three years, a large number of showrooms/shops/godowns have opened within Shikarpoor, reflecting the apathy of the local administration, conveniently shrugging off any responsibility in curbing these illegal activities (Figure 5).

The seriousness of the matter can be understood by the fact that most officers working for the city administration do not even have 'knowledge of the designated status of Shikarpoor Historic City' (Baloch, 2007). The city's present administrative structure has no town planning office. The decision for allowing demolitions lies solely in the hands of the individual working with the Town Municipal Office (TMA) as Town Officer (TO), Infrastructure Engineer, responsible for issuing demolition permits for dangerous buildings. It is at the TO's discretion to make any decision, without consideration of the historic significance of the properties in question.

Potentials and Prospects

The historic values and significance of Shikarpoor are explicitly defined; first, as an important historic town within the regional context of Sindh, and second, as an important trade centre on the ancient caravan routes. At a regional level, Shikarpoor is unmatched as a city that was created and grew under unique circumstances: established by a tribe of Baluchis, ruled for more than eighty years by Afghans and embellished by a community of merchants and landlords for over two centuries. The surviving traditional fabric is in itself invaluable owing to the well-preserved layout of streets and overall proportions of scale, with historic buildings representing a variety of styles, high in quality of workmanship and artistic expression that seem to have been trend-setters of their time.

Shikarpoor's prospects for developing into a cultural heritage site are significantly high due to its connectivity within the regional context, its well-preserved physical ambience and its setting which allows for a combined experience of an urban core with agrarian-rural suburbs, offering an enriching combination of experiences.

- First and foremost - any planned revival of Shikarpoor would help address a key agenda of present times for international and regional policy-making, that is, promotion of sustainable development strategies. It will help address the serious ecological, environmental and socio-cultural imbalance and disparity caused by an unfair distribution of the development budget across the province.

- Exploring possibilities for regional or national level cultural tourism can help generate a source of revenue for the residents and city administration. Additionally, identification and revival of small scale local industries should also be sought as supportive options for economic revival.

- To trigger off an urban regeneration of the city, it is essential to develop a comprehensive conservation master plan, lobby and campaign for its understanding and effective implementation through local capacity building programs and community participation, and above all, development of long term management strategies that would help sustain conservation activities as an ongoing process that may boost the socio-economic prospects within the city.

- Information on existing historic fabric provides a handy data bank on regional variety and range of traditional styles, methods and materials of construction, which can be effectively used to create awareness, appreciation and sensitivity towards the traditional and socio-cultural aspects of the region's built environment.

- Shikarpoor's traditional architecture can be seen as a source of learning to seek local solutions for climatically responsive and environment-friendly building options, addressing present global concerns that

encourage energy-efficiency and eco-friendly designs.

- A possible revival of traditional building materials, crafts and techniques can be sought through identification of selective pilot projects for developing public facilities. These could serve as training worksites for local craftsmen; in turn ensuring availability of trained craftsmen and local expertise for restoration and repairs of privately owned properties.

- Stocktaking of underutilized and vacant government properties should be attempted to identify potential sites for introducing appropriate usage; including the provision of required public sector offices and other civic/public facilities desperately needed in the city for community uplift but not provided due to lack of resources. Deficiency in public sector financial resources to initiate these must be compensated by seeking public – private partnerships for required finances and investments.

The potential of Shikarpoor Historic City as listed above, indicates that a reasonable range of possibilities exist through which the urban regeneration process can be instigated. The above propositions are in line with guidelines, policies and standards internationally endorsed for conservation of urban areas or historic districts. These address the wider international debate of economic and environmental sustainability and concerns for the survival of traditional environments and the unique diversity of cultural experiences that they offer.

Conclusions

The potential of traditional built environment is acknowledged internationally, not only as unique urban settings providing exceptional human experiences, but also as a source of learning. Shikarpoor is a representative case of regional history and socio-cultural traditions and thus should be safeguarded as an asset offering enriching experiences, a testimony to urban traditions and living heritage that evolved over centuries. The shift of emphasis on trading and production patterns, creation of new communication and transportation links, loss of the internal revenue base and migration of area élite to emerging urban centres such as Hyderabad, Sukkur and Karachi, are primary causes for the degeneration of the city's urban characteristics. The process has been gradual, continuing over a long period since before Partition, but much accelerated during the past few decades. In spite of on-going destruction, the inventory compilation of the city's historic, cultural and environmental assets, undertaken by the Heritage Cell – Department of Architecture and Planning, NED University, provides substantial proof that a sizable percentage of Shikarpoor's historic built fabric has survived till present times, retaining its original characteristics to a great extent. Recent measures by the Department of Culture, Government of Sindh, notifying 1203

identified historic properties as protected under the Provincial Heritage Act, further gives reassuring recognition to the city's heritage status opening up a new chapter of expectations for the resident community eventually to receive initiatives, helping to regain some of the city's lost prestige and honor. Promoting recognition of these surviving assets - locally, nationally and internationally, and taking immediate measures leading to the prevention of further destruction is most essential. At the same time encouraging socio-cultural revival and economic regeneration that benefits associated communities is most crucial. Initiatives need to be taken to venture beyond mere listing, fossilifying history or treating these just as artefacts or monuments for the pleasure of a privileged few and to adopt an approach for preserving the historic environment in its entirety. A holistic approach taking into consideration all elements contributing to this historic fabric can be effectively used to develop integrated planning and management policies geared towards socio-economic revival and environmental protection of the historic town of Shikarpoor. This would however, require a political will that supports these objectives on regional as well as national level policy-making initiatives. Efforts are also required to inculcate among the residents and administrators a sense of pride and appreciation for their historic and cultural traditions, developing in them a willingness to take up their responsibility as custodians of their inherited legacy.

Unless immediate measures are taken to check the destruction of Shikarpoor's historic character, a fascinating chapter of Sindh's urban history will be lost in time. The formulation of effective policies and strategies need to be taken up on an urgent basis; seeking collaboration between the government departments and educational institutions can be a way for establishing long-term continuity in management, training and local capacity-building for heritage conservation. The city government and provincial administration urgently needs to address the crisis of historic environments by developing policy guidelines that would steer new development processes towards carefully gauged directions that bear sensitivity to historic fabric. Only with a balanced approach to nurturing both of these directions, can the history of unique living cultures remain intact in their true essence for future generations to cherish.

Acknowledgements

References

- (2007-08) "Shikarpur Sindh" <http://www40.brinkster.com/mribian/db/index.html> (Accessed on 1st November 2012)

- BALOCH, Y. (2007) "Open Ended Interview undertaken for Research: Government Officer". Karachi.

- BURNES, A. (1834) "*A Voyage on the Indus: The third Volume of Travels into Bokhara*", London, John Murray.

- BURTON, R. F. (1851) "*Sindh and the Races that Inhabit the Valley of the Indus*", London, E. H. Allen and Co.

- BURTON, R. F. (1877) "*Sindh Revisited*", London, R. Bentley.
  (2009) "Sindh Budget and Development". Dawn. Karachi.

- GOLDSMID, F. G. (1854) "*An Historical Memoir on Shikarpoor Prior and Subsequent to its Cession to the Ameers of Sind (Part I)*" Memoirs on Sind: Selections from the Records of the Bombay Government No. XVII - New Series.

- GOP (2009) "Population by Province/ Region since 1951" <http://www.statpak.gov.pk/depts/pco/statistics/pop_by_province/pop_by_province.html> Population Census Organisation, Government of Pakistan (Accessed on 30th October 2012)

- MARKOVITS, C. (2000) "*The Global World of Indian Merchants, 1750-1947: Traders of Sind from Bukhara to Panama*", Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

- NAEEM, A. (2009) "*Recognizing Historic Significance Using Inventories: A Case of Historic Towns in Sindh, Pakistan*". Oxford, Oxford Brookes University.

- NAEEM, A. (2011) 'Shikarpoor: Despirited and Defamed; Waiting to be Salvaged'. IN FORGET, C. (Ed.) *International Forum of Young Researchers and Professionals in Cultural Heritage "Reflecting on and Practising the Spirit of Place*". Quebec, Laval University Press.

- PHULPOTO, N. N.; SHAIKH, F. M.; SHAH, A. B. (2012) "Tribal Clashes and its Impact on Economic Development: A Case Study of District Shikarpur, Sindh, Pakistan". *Journal of Asian Business Strategy*, 2, 106-109.

- POSTANS, T. (1840-41) "*Town of Shikarpoor; The Trade Carried on Between that Town and Kandahar and the Silk Trade between Shikarpoor and Khorasan*", Memoirs on Sind. Selection from the Records of the Bombay Government.

- POSTANS, T. (1843) "*Personal Observations on Sindh*", London, Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans.

- SMYTH, J. W. (1919) "*Gazetteer of the Province of Sindh*", Bombay.

- SSI (1908) "*The Imperial Gazetteer of India*", Oxford, Clarendon Press.

- WIKIPEDIA (2012) "Shikarpur - Pakistan". Wikipedia: the Free Encyclopedia (Accessed on 1st November 2012)

The Road To Kasur

Husain Abdul Rehman Qazi

Pakistan, the land of the Indus Valley Civilization, has been an important connector between the Subcontinent, Central Asia and Europe. This land has seen civilizations marching and mixing with each other. They entered from different directions. Some came through the 'Silk Route' in the northern mountains, others paraded through the historic Khyber Pass and

some sneaked in through the sea but then most of them took one of the two legendary routes to go further into India. The most popular route to the subcontinent has been the '*Jernaili Sarak*' or the Grand Trunk Road.[1] Starting from Kabul, it entered the land of the Indus from the legendary Khyber Pass. Peshawar remained a popular stopover where the travelers sipped *Qahwa*, exchanged stories and notes at the Qissa Khwani Bazar and passing through the rich lands and great rivers, reached Lahore. Then no one could stop them going to Patliputter (Patna) and even beyond. The other great route traversed was along the mighty Indus and it was used for sea trade with a host of nations.
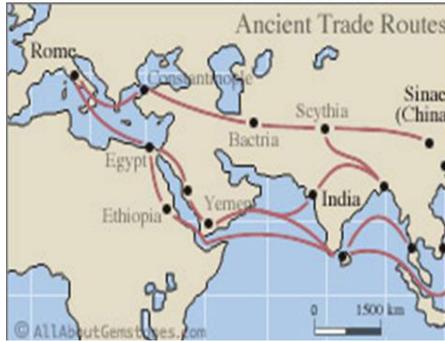
The caravans of traders, explorers and hordes of warriors and invaders passed through these routes and the interaction between the people of different civilizations wove a rich tapestry of arts and culture that we will explore and cherish.

"Roads bring change and promote progress"[2] and so The National Geographic Magazine tasked a reporter to cover an under-construction road in remote Africa. "Stay for a couple of months and observe the change the road brings". The obsessed reporter returned after a year and proclaimed that so great and fascinating was the transformation that even a year was barely enough to register it.

---

1 Sarkar, K. M. 1927. "The Grand Trunk Road in the Punjab: 1849-1886". Sang e Meel Publishers, Lahore. Reprint (2010)

2 Shirazi, S.A. "Grand Trunk Road" <http://logicisvariable.blogspot.com/2011/05/grand-trunk-road. html> Accessed 5 Oct 2012.

Our 7000-year rich civilization offers much to explore.[3] Travel becomes interesting if we start with the historical journey before the physical one and so I started my march into the past. Kasur and Depalpur lie adjacent to the historical route that connected the Indian Subcontinent with Europe and Central Asia. For centuries traders, warriors and tourists tread this

route that linked Delhi with Multan and farther with the ports of Deebul, Keti Bandar and Thattha.[4] The caravans enriched the area and Kasur and Depalpur were among the most developed cities of the subcontinent.[5]

The road to Kasur saw many ups and downs. The Grand Trunk Road that connected Peshawar to Delhi passed through Lahore and reached Delhi via Amritsar-Ludhiana-Jallandhar-Panipat. Roads make inroads and hence the Sikh Kingdom of Ranjit Singh was weary of the expanding British influence and did not allow the British roads to pass beyond the Sutlej. The British terminated the road at Ludhiana and built another similar road to link Ludhiana with Ferozepore; from here they managed the Anglo-Sikh Battles to annex the Sikh Empire and the road marched further joining Kasur and Lahore.[6]

The grand road remained the logistic lifeline for the British who acknowledge its importance during the Mutiny (the war of Independence). "*The Telegraph and the G.T. Road saved India for the British*". Rudyard Kipling brings the road to life when he describes the traffic in his characteristic style:

---

3   Dani, A.H. "History Through the Centuries". 22 Sep 2012.

4   Panhwar, M.H. "International Trade of Sindh - from its port Barbaricon (Banbhore)". 2 Jun 2012. <http://panhwar.com/Adobe/Article60.pdf>. Also see Dr. Muhammad Ali Manjhi, "Famous Ancient Ports of Sindh". 2 Jun 2012. <http://www.oocities.org/jeaysindh_org/articles/10.html>

5   Panhwar, M.H. "International Trade of Sindh - from its port Barbaricon (Banbhore)". 2 Jun 2012 <http://panhwar.com/Adobe/Article60.pdf>. Also see Dr. Muhammad Ali Manjhi, "Famous Ancient Ports of Sindh". 2 Jun 2012. <http://www.oocities.org/jeaysindh_org/articles/10.html>

6   Aujla, Harjap Singh. "Sher Shah Suri Highway" Academy of the Punjab in North America. 15 Aug 2012. <http://www.apnaorg.com>

*"Ho! Get away you bullock-man, you've heard the bugle blowed,
There's a regiment a comin' down the Grand Trunk Road."*[7]

The British, however, re-aligned the Lahore-Multan Road and the axis was shifted northwards.[8] The new road commissioned with the Lower Bari Doab Canal (LBDC)[9] brought many new cities onto the map of the Punjab and brought millions of acres under cultivation. The cities like Renala, Okara and Sahiwal became the centers of agricultural and dairy produce and bestowed the title of the 'Granary of the Country', on the Punjab.

The erstwhile prominent cities of Kasur and Depalpur, however, faded as the line of communication shifted from these areas. After the Partition of 1947, these cities received another blow as due to the hostilities between neighbors, the border belt was neglected in the path towards progress and no worthwhile investment in communication infrastructure could take place. In spite of the fading glory and being out of the limelight, the two cities had considerable potential for development and kept on enriching the country with their contributions.

Kasur, located 55 km south of Lahore, is referred to as the twin city of Lahore.[10] According to a fable, Lahore and Kasur were founded by the two sons of Ram Chander Ji named Lahu and Kassu. Many prominent personalities rose from thi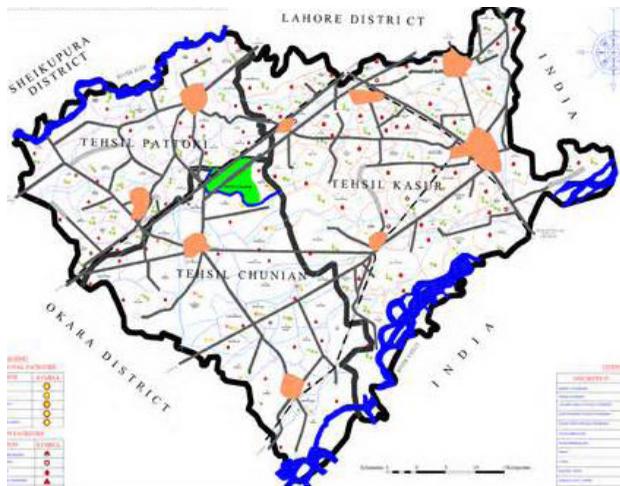s soil. Baba Bulleh Shah and Waris Shah are ranked amongst the topmost Punjabi poets, while Baba Shah Kamal Chishti and Shah Inayat are remembered by people for spreading the message of Islam

Figure 4

Map of Kasur District.
*Source:
 http://commercial-cabinetsolutions.com/wp-content/plugins/akismet/kasur-pakistan*

---

7   The Route Marching (poem) by Rudyard Kipling. 6 Oct 2013. < http://www.kipling.org.uk/poems_routemarchin.htm>

8   Sarkar, K. M. 1927. "The Grand Trunk Road in the Punjab: 1849-1886". Sang e Meel Publishers, Lahore. Reprint (2010)

9   Lower Bari Doab Canal (LBDC), River Ravi, Pre-Partition Utilization. Wikipedia, 30 Sep 2012. <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ravi_River#History>

10 Khan, Muttahir Ahmad. "Globetrotting On the Border". Daily DAWN Newspaper Archives, English: 5 Oct 2012. <http://archives.dawn.com/archives/68204>

through peace and love. It is also the birthplace of the Melody Queen Noor Jehan and Ustad Bare Ghulam Ali Khan. The rich history and the heritage of the region are adequately displayed in the Kasur Museum. For visitors, the flag ceremony at the Ganda Singh Wala border, the spicy fish, kulfi-falooda, andrassay and Kasuri methi are notable attractions.

Figure 5

Kasur Museum and Mausoleum Wakil Khan.
Photo by the author, circa 2011

At the other end of the road lies Depalpur which is known as the oldest living city in the Subcontinent, after Multan. Historians claim its existence since 2100 years, that is, presumably it is as old as Harappa.[11] The town was the provincial capital of the Tughlaq Dynasty and saw its years of glory under that rule. In the 13th and 14th centuries Depalpur, with its strong citadel, acted as the frontier fortress of Delhi and played a significant role in the defense of the Subcontinent against the Mongol invasions. Amir Khusro, the celebrated poet and musician, fought against the Mongol hordes and was imprisoned in this historic fort for some time.[12]

Figure 6

A Sikh Monument near Kasur.
Source: http:// pakistan7865.blogspot. com/2010_06_01_ar- chive.html
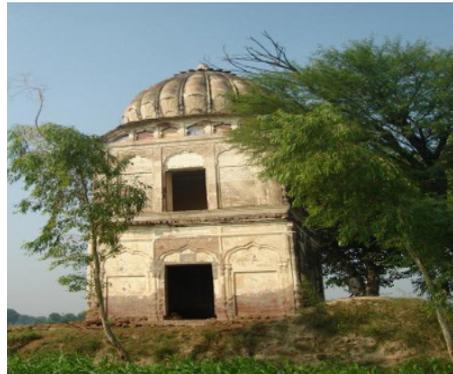
Depalpur, by virtue of its trade, agriculture and strategic location, remained an important town for many centuries, however, the town lost its glory due to the re-alignment of the Lahore-Multan route and was left isolated. The rehabilitation of the centuries-old traditional route via the Kasur-Depalpur Road will bring the lost glory back to the area by bringing about tremendous opportunities for progress and development in the southern border belt. When the link to Multan via Vehari is complete, it will become an alternate axis to the existing Lahore-Sahiwal-Multan Road and will bring many faded cities back into the limelight.

It was a pleasure to drive on the wide and quiet road as I was "far from the madding crowd" of Lahore. The lush green farmlands sprouting with the seasonal crops were a treat to the eye. The Depalpur canal runs parallel

11 Punjab Government Portal-History. 22 Sep 2012. <http://punjab.gov.pk/okara_history>
12 Amir Khusro. 5 Oct 2012. <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Amir_Khusrow#Khusrow_the_Royal_poet>

to the road[13] and many small tributaries have been carved out to irrigate a vast area. A canal junction near Talwandi seemed an ideal place for some rest and refreshment. "No Cola drinks please", I quickly conveyed my preference to Rehman Baba, the owner of the verdant

orchard where we found ourselves. Our search for the pure was rewarded as the smiling Baba came up with pitchers of sweet, heavenly *Lassi* that was tasty and energizing.

"We produce the finest milk here", he claimed proudly. The buffalos of this area are referred to as Black Gold due to their superior race and productivity. The British established the Headquarters of the Military Dairy Farms after a comprehensive survey of the then united India and found Okara was the most suitable district for dairy production due to the availability of sufficient fodder and a suitable climate. Pakistan is the 4th largest milk producer of the world;[14] however, the consumption generally remains localized. The emergence of the milk-processing industry has resulted in the improvement of the whole chain of milk production, transportation and marketing. The villagers are now happy as many milk collection centers are coming up in villages since the new road quickly transports the perishable commodity to the thriving market of Lahore.

"It augurs well for the farmer also", Rehman Baba said with a ray of hope in his eyes. Wheat, rice, sugar cane, maize and potatoes are the main crops of the area, whereas vegetable farming is usually carried out along the road for their quick delivery to the nearby bazaars. Lahoris may expect fresher vegetables at their doorstep now. "The fertile lands have a lot of potential for agro industry", Baba-ji visualized. We should go further from the cold storages into food packaging now. The preservation processes introduced in the country for milk marketing have now matured and a whole range of fruits and vegetables could be canned for the markets of the Middle East and Europe.

It was time for lunch and a cuisine of pure products coming straight from the farm was surely to be relished. We were joined by Engineer Ikram of

---

13   Pakistan Dairy Association. 8 Oct 2012. <http://www.pda.com.pk/>

14   'Pakistan: The fourth largest milk producer' The Nation newspaper. 5 Oct 2012.<http://www.nation .com.pk/ pakistan-news-newspaper-daily-english-online/Business/11-Aug-2010/Pakistan-worlds-fourth-largest-milk-producer>

the Frontier Works Organisation[15] and it was interesting to know about the construction aspects of the road and his reminiscences of the construction of the Pak-China Korakoram Highway and the Torkham-Jalalabad Road where he had been working. "It's a four lane dual carriageway that will cater to the logistic requirements of the region for the next two decades. We have been working on it since a year. We spend our lives with dust and stones; however, it is our creation, and you can imagine our sense of accomplishment when the project is complete and we see the aching journey converted into a comfortable one", said the energetic engineer.

I was feeling sleepy now as the comfortable journey, soothing *Lassi* and the sumptuous lunch was the perfect combination for dozing off. The flight of my imagination took me to Sialkot whose citizens volunteered for the road rehabilitation by sharing the costs. The benefits were indeed overwhelming and gave them further inspiration to go ahead to build an airport as well and now the world is playing with Sialkot's sports gear.

'The road to progress is always under construction'. Our country, which is predominantly agricultural, will greatly benefit from the development of its rural infrastructure. The advancement in IT has virtually connected the countryside and now the investment in the road network will physically connect these isolated areas with the progress autobahn. I wish and pray that, like Sialkot, the Kasur-Depalpur region may become a shining example of sustainable development and a model for progress for the rest of the country.

The American writer and humorist Mark Twain once said, "Travel is fatal to prejudice, bigotry and narrow-mindedness." No one knows this better than a traveler does. Travel opens people's eyes to the beauty of other cultures and promotes peace. There is an explorer in all of us because of the joy of seeing new places, meeting people, tasting exotic foods and experiencing other cultures. Through this interaction we learn to accept the rest of the world.

---

15 Frontiers Works Organisation. Corporate website. 5 Oct 2012. <http://fwo.com.pk/index. php?option=com_k2&view=item&layout=item&id=6&Itemid=116>

Night Bus to Sialkot: Memories and Anecdotes Associated with My Childhood

Yasmeen 'Mano' Javed

My hometown, Sialkot, is noted for being the birthplace of many scholars, two of them (Allama Muhammad Iqbal and Faiz Ahmed Faiz) being the most famous Urdu poets of the twentieth century. I do not consider this a coincidence. There is an enigma associated with the city – a magic utterly unique.

The known history of Sialkot goes back five thousand years when it was established by Raja Sul, who called it Sakal. The city was re-founded by Raja Salbhan of the Sia caste, who renamed the city, Sialkot. More recently, the British established a cantonment to the north of the old city and set up schools, clubs and hospitals.

My life began in the 'European Ward' of the United Christian Hospital on the Paris Road in Sialkot. If you notice, every noun in this sentence reflects the changed post-colonial culture; every noun except 'Sialkot'. Sialkot is a mysterious word with epic folklore and wonderful history enfolded in it. It is home – the roots of my soul.

Our home was also on Paris Road. As a child surrounded by anglophiles, I was really proud to say, 'We live on Paris Road' and secretly looked down upon all who had homes in areas with local names like Kashmiri Mohalla, Rangpora or Puran Nagar. My parents named me Yasmeen after the flower. The European nuns, who ran the Convent I went to, pronounced it 'Jazmin'. It made me immensely proud. Little did I know that it would take another twenty years for me to begin placing my pride in the right places.

Everyone in Sialkot had a second name. It could either be an appealing alteration of the real name or based on habits or looks, sometimes even on the whims of older folk. I was nicknamed Mano, an endearing name for a 'cat'. Why? Perhaps they fell short of ideas after my older sister was called Billy (also 'cat') because of her light coloring; or maybe just because it was easy on the tongue.

Paris Road was an unusual place to live – a patchwork of houses, mansions, shops and office buildings of all sorts and sizes. It was like

a crazy quilt on which you could find anything if you searched long enough. Between rows of one-room shops and offices were state complexes like the General Post Office and the Chamber of Commerce. Facing or sharing sides with ordinary houses were state-owned mansions where the resident Sessions Judge and the Postmaster resided. The stateliest edifice was a private mansion called Paris Pillars after which the road was named. Shops, however, were mostly of humble origin. I remember a minuscule one called, '*Willayat Di Hatti*', where we bought *chooran* and *imli* wrapped in bits of newspaper that was difficult to detach from the sticky contents. I can bet if all the bits of soggy newspaper I swallowed while licking *chooran* were collected, they would come to a week's supply of my daily paper. Magnificent Paris Pillars and humble *Willayat Di Hatti* were a stone's throw from each other. That is what Paris Road was like.

Next-door to us was the enormous mansion of the District Railway Chief. The mansion had huge front and back yards. The house nestled between elderly trees and unruly vines which were pruned only once a year and when they were trimmed, the place looked as bare as a shorn sheep. Not everything was modified by the British Raj. Away from this cultivated world, deep in the labyrinth of the narrow streets of the old city, life roamed in its rudimentary form. Parts of our extended family lived in these rather humble localities like Kashmiri Mohalla, Rangpora and Puran Nagar.

Figure 2

Family gathering

One most remarkable house called Vaira was in Kashmiri Mohalla. Vaira was a small compound with a shared central courtyard in which many families related to each other - by blood or history - lived. Although it was never counted as important in the company of our westernized peers at the Convent, visiting Vaira was a great entertainment at any given time. All

the women of Vaira had a unique, very demonstrative sense of humor which was the most prominent feature of their personalities. From the nicknames they assigned their children and servants, to their facial expression and body language, humor was reflected in everything. There were names like 'Nich' and 'Gud'. Nich was a slight household helper who got this name because of her tendency of sneezing and Gud got the name when she started school and immediately made excessive use of the word 'good'. Invariably, on our visits, two or three recent comical incidents were narrated by the women. Passing from mouth to mouth, every incident became more and more amusing and detailed. Particulars, sometimes fictitious, had become attached to it. I still remember many of the anecdotes. Another skill these women excelled in was mimicry. As children, we benefited from the mimicry but as we grew older, the pun and wit in their remarks and narratives were also enjoyed. I strongly believe that no day in Vaira went unadorned by a highlight, be it the visit of a relative or a squabble among the women. Men, however, were less demonstrative in their behavior but no less witty. Their anecdotes revolved more round acquaintances and friends rather than members of the family.

Another refreshing peculiarity of Vaira (accredited in retrospect) was the unrestrained environment. There were no gender-based divisions except for the fact that men went out to work and women looked after the house chores. Women had equal, if not more, share in family conversations and decisions; some smoked the *huqqa* in the presence of men while some had said goodbye to bad marriages and were living happy, single lives.

Women, generally, were particular about cleanliness but did not fuss a lot about cooking. This trait was widespread and it was due to this feature probably that every *mohalla* had its own small food bazaars. Right next to Vaira was a bazaar called Do-darwaaze. Both sides of the bazaar were lined with food shops and food trolleys we call *rairhies.* At most of these joints, food was freshly fried, cooked or grilled. Each shop was not only different from the others with respect to the assortment of items on sale but also with respect to the flavors and recipes. At the heart of the bazaar, there was a food shop where a green-eyed, fat woman sold *pakoras* and fried whole fish. The fish called *poong* was very small (not bigger than a finger) but extremely flavorful. There was hardly a trip to Vaira when we were not served this fish with tea.

Walking through the maze of narrow alleys of the Kashmiri Mohalla,

we emerged onto a slightly wider street where another family related to us lived in a house nicknamed *Mama-ji-ke*. It was thus named because it belonged to a character known as Mama Ji, my grandmother's stepbrother. A major portion of the house was shared by Mama Ji and his sons while a small wing was occupied by a family recently migrated from Kashmir. One of the members of this other family was a coy and bashful girl called Chiri. She was a most sought-after and most gossiped-about girl, loved by boys – hated by mothers. Mothers thought that she was too forward and wily. I see no reason behind this supposition except that Chiri invariably attracted male attention.

The interesting characteristic of the residents of *Mama-ji-ke* was their lack of travel experience and exposure to modern-day changes. So much so that they were quite unable to distinguish between Dhaka and Bombay, between London and Lahore thinking these were all mystical magical cities visited only by the adventurous.

The children of *Mama-ji-ke* were overawed when we visited, staring at us with their jaws dropped to their lapels. They secretly thought that although we were fortunate in worldly ways, we were quite ungodly. To them going to an English school was synonymous with being an infidel. One of the teenage boys once dared beyond his siblings' imagination and said, "I've heard they teach you Christian prayers in your school?" My religious ego was injured beyond repair and I was about to say, "They don't!" but he ran away saying, "You'll rot in hell for going to that school."

Tara, one of Mama Ji's grandsons, was invariably sent off to buy a certain food item from the market. Unpretentious house-women prepared some homely savories like boiled eggs sprinkled with black pepper and salt; another popular snack was slivered guavas sprinkled with black salt. When tea was served, first a high table was brought out from somewhere, placed in the center of the room and dusted in the presence of the visitors. Then a crumpled tablecloth was dug out from a drawer in the visitors' room and spread on the table. Tara was invariably behind schedule so homemade dishes were laid out one by one and tea announced. By the time Tara returned, we were full up to our ears. My mother used to say that he deliberately lingered in the market so that he could eat the food that he had brought. We used to wonder why, if he was an established foot-dragger, he was always the one chosen to go to the market. I guess that is how the *Mama-ji-ke's* residents were: floating in the world, unwary of and immune to

the pressures which end up amending routines and habits. We used to think they were stupid and gullible; but in retrospect, they seem to have been unconsciously doing what everyone craves for in the busy cosmopolitan cities of today: to channel energies to the present moment to be able to live it genuinely and to the fullest.

Almost everyone I knew in Sialkot had at least once visited Imam Sahib, the handsome shrine on top of a hill. It is the tomb of Imam Ali, the patron Saint of Sialkot. The locals have immense faith in the Saint's posthumous energies. Many claimed that their prayers never went unheard at Imam Sahib. Even those who do not share this faith are impressed by the dwarfing structure and the cool, charismatic atmosphere of the shrine. Every moment spent there is a moment of cosmic tranquility.

Twice every year there were week-long fairs or *melas* around the vicinity of the tomb: once close to Eid and the second time on the *Urs* or death anniversary of Imam Sahib. The *mela* brought a season of festivity for locals and villagers from nearby townships and villages.

My mother allowed us to enjoy a day at the *mela* with our cook, Maasi Zainab, at least once every season. For our day out, we wore our best clothes with matching ribbons braided in our plaits. Each of us had his or her own little wad of money to spend at the fair. We left for the *mela* brimming with energy and returned exhausted after the entertainment spree. The *mela* offered the same attractions year after year; small circuses, kaleidoscopes, string walkers, lucky dips and freak shows. *Maut ka Kunwa*, in which the motor cyclist rode up the walls of a wooden well, was our favorite show. You could have tattoos etched on your arms or hands. My father had a peacock tattoo on his arm from one of his childhood visits. Somehow, the custom of drawing tattoos at *melas* had become old-fashioned and obsolete when our generation came along.

At the *mela* stalls, we could buy cheap bead jewelry, bangles, toys, greeting cards, souvenirs, hair adornments and what not. Food ranging from very simple and basic to a full-fledged meal could be enjoyed. My favorite was *lobia chaat*, a very simple lentil and onion salad.

Prepared food was not restricted to the *mela*. There were many well-known places to eat at various points in the city, most of them with take-home facilities only. Eating out was a rarity and only possible in

the few restaurants in the Cantonment. In the old city, besides the usual barbecue and *salans*, there was still-water fried fish. The Kashmiris were specialists in making *murabba* and *achar*. The city was so small it was practically possible to walk from one end of it to the other. Till the nineteen seventies, there were very few cars and even well-to-do people either walked from place to place or rode on horse-driven *tangas*. To hire a *tanga*, one had to stand by the roadside and wait for one to pass by. While waiting for an empty one to come along, it was not a bad idea to shout at a *tanga wala* to come back after dropping a *sawari*. Oh, what joy it was to ride those unadorned but shapely wooden carriages which were the only form of public transport available up to the nineties! In summer, the ride was breezy and cheering but in winter it was a different story altogether. If you were riding in the front seat, facing the wind, you would end up with a frozen nose and smarting eyes.

Weddings! Each one proved to be totally different from the other. There was one in which two groups of *meerasans* (dholak singers) competed so heatedly and their voices became so deafening that all the babies at the wedding began crying and the enthusiastic competitors had to be shown the way out of the house. There was one in which the *barat* was so late, the wedding lunch was served at dinner time. At still another, *bhaands*, self-invited professional humorists who emerged out of the blue and were known for making political jokes, made fun of a politician who turned out to be the bridegroom's uncle. The bridegroom's family took it as a conspiracy against their eminent relative. There was a tiff and the wedding was called off there and then. It eventually took place at a later date in a stiff and quiet atmosphere.

When a wedding in the family was coming up, frenzy broke out even if it was a year away. New clothes were made, food stocks were built up and houses whitewashed. Family relations and friends arrived from far-off places weeks before the wedding and became house guests, either at the wedding house or those of close relations. No one minded accommodating guests for their relatives. Hence, a wedding was not only a festive spree but also a great family reunion.

For children there was no behavior code at weddings and/or even funerals. At both, we used to assemble in knots and play outdoor games like *stappoo* and *pakran-pakrai*. Outside the tent or the house where a wedding or funeral was taking place, *rairhi* food-sellers arrived automatically. Children pestered their mothers for money to buy *paapars*, fried *daal* or candy floss.

I could go on describing the remarkable quirks and idiosyncrasies of people and the culture of Sialkot and there would still be more to say.

Although I cherish the life I lived in Sialkot, I was unaware of its worth at the time. Rather there was a nonstop, nagging sense of deprivation, maybe because my mother's family was in Lahore and we used to spend our summer vacation in Lahore at our grandparents' house. Life in Lahore, being faster and more happening, seemed more enjoyable compared to life in Sialkot.

Much later, when I was married and settled, I began missing Sialkot. Slowly, the craving became more and more intense. It was at some point in the years when my children were babies that my sister and I took to the practice of visiting Sialkot one weekend every month. At that time, Daewoo had started a bus service between Sialkot and Lahore. We used to take the night bus to Sialkot on Fridays and return on Sunday or Monday. The two days we spent there, we tried our best to replicate our childhood. We would visit Vaira, Kothi, Almaaman and other relatives' houses. Our outdoor days were spent in the tranquil galleries circling the tomb of Imam Sahib or walking along the spice shops of Lihaai Bazaar; either merging with the dense throng of shoppers' in Kaamandi or driving to the cloth shops where we used to buy fabrics as girls - and, not to forget the most important activity, eating at our favorite roadside *khokhas* and *rairhies*!

We were reliving what had already been lived. Or were trying to. But for the sake of reality in this hopelessly real world of three-dimensional humans, it has to be said: Time is a non-revisit-able domain, a non-replicable entity.

In those days I wrote a long poem that eventually got lost in the heaps of papers stuffed in the drawers of my study. But I can still recall a few lines:

If I were a tree,
With my feet within the soil;
Deep and drawing life from the dust;
The dust of my home
The dust of my mother's ashes
My father's remains

With my arms out in the milieu
Wide and absorbing life from the air

The air of my home
The air of my sisters' scent
My brothers' breath;

With my head up in the heavens
High and in oneness with the sky
The sky of my home
The sky of my world
Of my immortal being.

But Ah! I'm only human
Unwanted, unanchored
Wandering feet amble out
Taking me away from all that I am
I was
I ever will be.

I often think about my role in Sialkot's history. I think, "If I can no more be a part of it, why can't I be an ardent admirer – a passionate narrator." I think, "It took me forty years to realize that I am not Jazmin of the Convent but Yasmeen of the migrated-from-Jammu, Sialkot-settled Kashmiris; it should not take another forty to express my homage. I feel a strong urge to give my honor, a tangible existence."

Off and on, I had drafted some pieces based on my childhood experiences. I began digging them out, hoping something could be done some day.

And as the saying goes: What you seek, is seeking you! One day at work as my colleague Saima Arif and I discussed the possibility of compiling the short stories, the idea of chronicling the known history of Sialkot and fusing it with my anecdotal narrative emerged from nowhere. Saima, a linguist and scholar, agreed to write the history. Together, we decided to name the book, "Night Bus to Sialkot".

Life in Small Peripheral Towns (*Qasbas*)

Nadia Anjum, PhD

The **aim** of this research is to explore/critique the socio-cultural dimensions of the life of people living in and around small towns, namely Mian Channu, *Tehsil* Chichawatni, District Sahiwal. The focus of the research is not the "centre" rather the peripheral existence of small *Qasbas* and "villages" around the *Tehsil*. It covers villages 90-95 12/L (demarcated as settlements). The area has a strong colonial bias, that is, the historical status of being managed by the British, due to its socio-economic, strategic position. Ukanwala Bangla stands as a testimony to the administrative importance the area once held. The socio-political changes, from the 1950s (Martial Law, independent representation) to date, have impacted upon the region which sadly enough still lags behind in a number of basic socio-cultural amenities; female **Education and Women's Empowerment** remain as much a sore issue as the irrigation and agricultural needs. Poor infrastructure in terms of **health and sanitation**, power supply, **population explosion** and an **unplanned expansion** has created a quagmire of civic issues reflective of weak/misdirected political and administrative policies with an emerging threat of ethnic disparity (an issue subtly brewing).

The **objective** of this study is to identify and streamline the major needs of the area and their strategic and tactile resolution in terms of communal mobilization and small-scale focused restructuring programs. The **data** was gathered through primary and secondary resources, that is, fieldwork observation, questionnaires, interviews and focused-group discussions; scanty print/electronic sources were available. The researcher as resident of the area has a firsthand knowledge of the problems. The data was **analyzed** in the light of socio-cultural theories and Social Restructuring and Planning (SAP) programs to highlight the strengths and weaknesses of the existing socio-cultural needs and draw future implications to further research and reforms.

The peripheral towns need not blindly follow the patterns adopted by the bigger cities or proposed by the so-called politically elected representatives; they could rather work towards developing a sustainable capacity enhancement program in the light of ground realities/real needs along co-operative lines.

Background Data/Research Findings

Chaks 90-95/12-L exist as peripheral *Qasbas* (small settlements, *Chaks*) at a distance of 25 miles from Iqbal Nagar, a town which strategically falls under *Tehsil* Chichawatni, District Sahiwal (named Montgomery in 1865) in the South East Punjab province of Pakistan, at 500+ ft. above sea level. Exposed to an intense heat of 49-50° C in summer and 5-10° C in winter with *Kora* at night, the *Qasbas* experience a hot, dry, humid climate with an average rainfall of 2000 mm. Located within the belts termed the Ganji Bar and Neeli Bar, each *chak* covers an area of 83 *murabaas* (land measurement system) approximately, with a population ranging from 11-1500 (registered voters). There are 300+ houses; each household claims a membership of 10-12 beings, owning a residential area (*ahata*) of 5 *marlas*, 10 *marlas* up to 1 *kanal*, as a result of governmental land distribution schemes initiated in the 1970s. The population comprises indigenous settlers called *Janglees* (The term may appear unparliamentary; the settlers are proud of their heritage, claiming to be natural and down-to-earth. The term definitely reflects the cultural innuendo going back to colonial times when such people were considered illiterate and uncouth). The people were initially professional herdsmen, farmers (*kashtkaar*), small land-holders, weekly wage-earners, big land-owners (*zameendar/nambardar*); new settlers came in at the start of the 1980s with an influx of roaming-groups, *Pakhiwas*, from the neighboring belts. They were equally matched by 8-10% mid 20-35 year-old youth, venturing outside to far flung areas on monthly wages, to Malaysia or Dubai outside Pakistan, with Multan, Faisalabad and Gujrat as their nearest abodes.

The *Qasbas* are linked to Burewala, which is the nearest town, a 40-45 minute drive, with Mian Channu, Chichawatni and district Vehari to its southeast. Once on the Multan Road, transport connections with other areas are possible via the highway and the Pakistan Railway Station at Iqbal Nagar. Khan Buses pass by twice a week, in the early morning, picking up passengers along the route. Conventional donkey carts and bullock-carts (*gadda*) are still used for local commutation along with the innovative motorbike rickshaw service self-initiated/self-sponsored by the daily wage earner (the money is generated by the driver through loans, hand-shake committee systems and even money saved by women). Two Ching Chi rickshaws have also made their way from Mian Channu. For longer distances, the villagers avail of a rent-a-car facility with two respective outlets operating at Mian Channu and Iqbal Nagar respectively. Daewoo, however, could start an out-reach service here. There was once an airport at Sahiwal which remains dysfunctional.

Economically viable, the belt is famous for its agriculture, forestry and cattle breeding. Cotton, wheat and sugarcane are the main crops along with kino, guava and mangoes. Due to climatic change and a water crisis, the farmers

growing the main crops have opted for side crops such as potatoes and date plantation. Paddy fields and patches of tobacco can also be seen. Seasonal vegetables are grown for domestic consumption, the surplus making its way to 90 *Morh* (the crossroad *chowk*) rapidly developing into a market place. The quality of rice, however, does not match that produced by the mainland (the areas known for quality rice production). Due to high water-logging and salinity, the quality of the soil, according to the respondents, varies from area to area. Though there is no hard and fast rule to the persistent threat, a noticeable occurrence of termite and salinity can be scaled at every 8-10 miles. Corroded tree trunks, powdery roots, even murky trails across mud-thatched walls stand testimony to the lingering issue. To counter its spread, Mustard oil and diluted water solutions are applied, sprinkled and drilled into the land. The villagers luckily still claim working on a "highly fertile area" capable of transforming the agriculture base with a promised output of 65-87% wheat/cotton if managed in a timely manner. However, in the wake of a major water issue, the farmers fear a drastic setback. As stated by the respondents, "The officially allocated water supply of the Nehri Pani (canal water) succumbs to an intensely ill-managed, ill-provided, untimely, meager release by the irrigation officials; resultantly there is a delayed sowing and harvesting".

Scanty rainfall at times and an unpredictable, checkered monsoon at others, presents another threat which remains unresolved in the absence of small water reservoirs. Despite cemented canals (*Khalas*) in *Qasbas* 91 and 92, water leakage/theft and *Mukaas* (water closures at specific points) are rampant crimes which go unregistered at times. Tube-well owners have reported a constant drop in the water-level, signposting a serious hydro-crisis. "Tube-wells need to be bored deeper now and with 48 hour-long load-shedding, they are not functioning at all", the respondents commented. The Water And Power Development Authority (WAPDA) does not register complaints as the telephone goes unattended; linemen remain inaccessible; and there are no checks and balances. There is not even a gas pipeline or modern solar plant or tube-well. Out of the target *Qasbas*, 91-92/12 L displayed a comparatively better fiscal rate and soil fertility, crediting it to hard work and soil quality. "Once registered as a model-farm 91/12-L, in the late sixties and seventies, the land owners initiated a reform culture". Contrary to apprehensions, these villagers gave credit to their *zameendars* (landlords) for experimenting and introducing tractors and threshers and setting up tube-wells, a practice which soon spread to the neighboring *Qasbas*. Now 42% of them own harvesters, rapiers and tractors, not taken on lease but rather self-procured.

Besides, there is no timely availability of seeds, a provision considered a long drawn-out act. There is no soil check and no cheap access to fertilizers

which are heavily charged, in "black". Its transportation remains another sore issue. Resultantly, American *Sundi* (caterpillar) coupled with termites, impacts on the cultivation span; no fumigation or spraying takes place. "An official helicopter used to fly in from Multan to spray in the seventies but not any longer". The trees are also being cut down for fodder and domestic use without re-plantation, thus, affecting forestry and avian life. The diminishing strength of partridges, white cranes, black birds (Mitchell's bird), migratory birds, Blue Robins (*Neel Kunth*), woodpeckers, *dhodhal* crow and squirrels endorse the loss. Dung cakes are still used for fuel purposes with no attempt at setting up a biogas plant nearby. *Keekar* and *Tahli*, even fruit trees, are cut down for fuel.

Harvesting reveals another facet of the people's lives. The ratio of female cotton-pickers coming in from neighboring Qasbas has drastically reduced; the Teikhdaar has emerged as an important stakeholder whose monopoly needs to be countered. The rates fluctuate; share-holdings dwindle as the middle-man pinches a respectable margin. To restore a profitable return, the Government must determine the transaction rules, fix rates, and establish small mills (flour, maize, cotton and others) at short distances. Though a handful of godowns can be seen, unfortunately no long-term planning is evident. Reduced man-power threatens round-the-clock availability of the open field workers who have taken up a host of daily-base commitments such as raj (labor), chaaj, tailoring, fruit gathering, log splitting, running small Hattis (shops) and selling sweets (Jaleebi, Barfi) within the Qasba. Some have invested in shops at the 90/morh.

Market consumption patterns are visibly evident at the morh reflecting a vibrant change. Here household items ranging from steel griddles and kneading bowls (Tawa, Paraat) to baked pitchers, ovens (Ghara, Tandoor) to wooden beds, cupboards; gardening tools, urea fertilizer, groceries, textiles to meat and medical items can be seen. Crates of fake Pepsi and Coke are readily available. Yellow Label Tea, Peak Freans' Saltish Biscuits, and sweetened bunties adorn hattis. Dalda ghee and mustard oil have unceremoniously replaced the desi (farm produced) ghee. The Huqa and cheap niswar are also accessible. Fake injections and outdated tablets (disprin) have found their way in. Amidst bicycles and donkey-carts there are stray dogs, sticky flies (blue bottle species) feasting on meat and jaleebi. No quality check or food inspection takes place. The respondents referred to poisonous cold drinks. A high quality bakery is needed. The nearest one at Mian Channu is selling locally baked pizzas, khattais and big round rusks.

Sanitary conditions are on a decline even inside the *Qasbas*. *Kacha* roads and bumpy rides are a daily feature as is the over-flowing sewerage and accumulated waste. No waste management plants are visible; in the house a

haudy-pit and open latrines still function as a "democratic luxury" (high and low, both have passed through this test of social leveling) as do the broken and over-used, rusty hand pumps, giving out contaminated water: slightly yellow, salty in taste (*khara*) due to high salinity. When the tube-wells function, water can be fetched from *deras* or a nearby well whose water level is fast decreasing. In Multan, USAID has co-financed pumps to increase the efficiency of tube-wells but no such awareness earmarks the *Qasba* dwellers.

A belt once known for its therapeutic climate and considered free of tuberculosis, has again fallen a victim to the virus. T.B has found roots in these *Qasbas,* targeting young females, teenagers and males of ages 28-32; the reason: malnutrition, unhygienic conditions, over-flowing heaps of human discharge, no toiletry and no free medical service. There is not even an ambulance to deliver the patient to a hospital. The nearest general hospital sans qualified doctors, operation theatres, even a proper stethoscope (around which the compounder has tied dirt-rimmed, thin muslin gauze) is miles away. The gravest threat is to women/young expecting mothers with no emergency service. A single, sponsored dispensary however, is partially visible (in the sense of being physically there, but reflective of an inadequate supply of medical aid; the dispensary is however run on a free charity basis).

Besides intestinal and respiratory problems, skin disease is rapidly catching up, especially in summer (white spots appear, turn into boils; there is blackish watery discharge). Villagers have expressed a growing concern, requesting a diagnostic centre to streamline at least an awareness-raising campaign. With 47-51% below the poverty line, inflation does not leave much choice for an average villager to enjoy the basic amenities of life. Even those land-holders known for small-scale cattle breeding (export quality buffalos, cows, goats and sheep) and domestic poultry are apprehensive of hard times ahead. With no veterinary help available, domestic farming (which ensured a respectable supply of *desi* eggs, *desi ghee*, meat, milk and butter) no longer seems a viable option. Corporate culture has intervened. A Nestle van comes in to collect milk from the registered suppliers who are trying to make both ends meet. They need veterinary help, control sheds for poultry, free inspection, shed construction loans and research collaboration along with awareness to ensure medical and poultry facilitation.

The middle-aged are actively engaged inside and outside the house. Women in these *Qasbas* are still early risers. They churn butter, *ghee* and make *lassi*; they cook food and *chapattis*; sweep the floors; fetch drinking water; manage *danger* (cattle), its fodder; and plant, reap, and gather sheaves of corn. In their spare time they make *chabbas, parandas, khes*, brooms, paint *tandoors*, embroider and prepare *meva wala ghur* and pickle (Potential for cottage

industry). The young girls pick cotton and get a share on a daily basis which they invest in their dowry. Interestingly, make-up kits with red lipstick, nail varnish, fancy hair clips, a nail cutter, compact mirror, powder and face cream have become a "must". Still, a neatly-attired woman is considered *teiz* (forward). Cloth from Faisalabad and stitched suits from Multan are brought in by mobile retailers and sold at a much higher price – *dhotis* (wrap-ons) are still worn, though by a small number of the female population in their 50s; the young ones prefer *shalwar kameez*; girls below 10 can be seen donning clumsy trousers, purchased at 90-*morh*.

Weddings take place once the harvest season is over, males are relatively free and families well-provided. *Watta Satta* (exchange marriages) within the *baradari* still prevails. Issues pertaining to theft, money-lending, marriages and social boycott are decided by the *Panchyat* comprising, especially, the *Nambardar* (at times from the neighboring *Qasbas*) and elders of the *Qasba*. The crime rate is on a constant rise with broad day robberies and midnight dacoities targeting cattle, water, granaries, fodder and cash; crimes as such go unregistered with the police. The *thanna* culture needs to be explored. Conventional modes of "*Khurra* finding" are resorted to, often leading to young male workers from the immediate neighborhood or within the *Qasba* itself.

Government sponsored schools reflect an apathetic turnout. The attendance thins out as the year proceeds. Despite free *takhtis* (wooden slates), the male attendance of 5% remains disheartening; the female sector shows a better attendance of 7.5% though not meriting the two secondary schools for girls and one primary for boys at 91/12-L. The main *Maseet* (centre mosque), which draws the male population on Fridays and Eid days, tries raising awareness about *namaz* (prayer), hygiene and literacy but fails to sustain the villagers' response. A cluster of 2-3, one room so-called *masjids* (mosques) can be seen at the periphery, each owned by a single, self-proclaimed owner who has set up a *Khoka/hatti* (shed) adjacent to it, simultaneously demanding funds for construction (termed by respondents as a stunt) to earn a livelihood and to claim a free property.

Another spectacle is the presence of small groups stationed at the extreme borders of *Qasba* 90 claiming religio-political affiliation (some thefts have also been traced to these). Once open to migratory birds, herdsmen, and gypsy caravans, the *Qasbas* are now a bit wary of new entrants, who, they fear, may fan sectarianism and communalism; even engage and deplete the human resource/much needed workforce in the fields.

Deras (domestic places) function primarily as residential blocks and *baitaks*

(seats) where social gathering, focused group discussions and info-exchange takes place. These can be used for effective communal networking and joint awareness campaigns. Cable networks broadcasting PTV shows (star plays and pirated Indian movies), mobiles and VCRs on rent have also found inroads, directly impacting the entertainment scene, causing a move from outside to congested rooms. Cricket, football, cock fighting, and dog shows are popular with the youth who desperately need a stadium or play ground. Hunting, shooting and *gilli danda* are losing out due to environmental loss and space mismanagement.

Another "missing" persona, according to the respondents, is that of a *merasi* or jester (male, female) who earlier served as "mobile-post", "news monger", even "match-maker", and was granted easy access to the high and the low: the *Zamindar* and the *Kami* (worker) alike. Another vanished sight is the singing minstrel (*Pakhiwa*) who would sing *tappas*, *Jugni*, *heer*, and folk lyrics; perform *Cheena*, *Sami* and *gidda* (local folk dances, traced to multi cultural/regional influence) which was a regular feature now sadly missing. Interestingly, the folk songs reflect the socio-economic change over time: "*Sahiwal da Sudagar*" selling *Chora* (bangles) has transformed into "*Montgomery Babu*" selling spectacles, and "*Mati da diva*" (baked clay container with an oil soaked cotton blob used as a candle or torch/dip) has been replaced with an "*Uccha Lanmba* (tall) *gas*" burning at "*Weera* (brother) *Jee's dera*". The music has shifted from Attaullah to Abrar-ul-Haq and Junaid Jamshed. Names have also undergone a change; from religious names like Fatima, Sakina, Amna to Kasur, Kangi, to Manzooran, Bilqis and Hina. Allah Mafi has stood steadfast, asking for God's forgiveness and hoping for a male issue; it is a name that abounds amongst the female population.

Immediate, extended and elderly members are still fondly called, *masi*, *chachi* (aunts), *dadi* (grandmother). Among males, nicknames pertaining to their physical features, habits or personality traits prevail; for example, Kala, Shera, Dora, Bola, Maskeena, Deelo. *Amma Bhatti Wali* is no longer a frequent image, earlier seen at three to four spots inside the *Qasbas*, roasting corn. Likewise, *Kanch Ki Chori Wala* has stationed himself at 90 *morh*, selling bangles and hair decorations. At social gatherings, Pepsi has replaced milk and *Chatti ki Lassi*, as rudely as the free out-of-courtesy exchange of homemade pickle, brown sugar and corn, which is charged now.

Linguistically, the indigenous dialect and vocabulary is being replaced, evidently, with Urdu words such as *salan, abu, haan, khana* for words like *lawan* (curry), *bawa* (father) *hala* (yes) and *tukr* (food). The older generations in their mid sixties have a repertoire of *Janglee* diction. Dragging on a tobacco filled *huqa*, this sector of the *Qasba* population is teeming with myths

and tales. Their encounters with supernatural beings (a female with long black hair or a moving caravan of torch bearers) and a Chan Chan (tinkling sound), usually take place at the time of the mid-summer siesta under a *Keekar* or *Beri* tree or past mid-night when these males are manning the canal water or are at *rakhee* (on guard). Snakes, mice, lizards, black ants and jackals are normal features, as are the honey bees and moths.

Social development of the mentally and physically retarded (autistic, down syndrome) known as *Allah lok* (the chosen ones) is a marginalized aspect. A hygienic environment and proper nutrition lag behind. Likewise, the women are not provided opportunities for self-enhancement or given any new skills, apart from the unskilled manual labor they provide to their men folk: fathers, brothers, husbands and sons. The sources of independent income are restricted to taking up teaching (2% - primary/secondary level) or selling chicks/eggs. Those with adequate *danger* (cattle) can afford a sewing machine.

For data collection, an eclectic approach was adhered to; the tools used were interviews, focused group discussions with the main stakeholders (*Zamindars* 11, Male Workers 87, Female Population 51, *Patwari* 1, *Teikhdaar* 9, selected randomly), open ended questionnaires which served as pointers to discussion, targeting three broad categories: Strengths, Problems and Needs. Data was analyzed and implications drawn for future opportunities and further research. Please note the study is limited to 90-95 12-L *Qasbas* only. No officially updated documentation of population census is available.

In the light of the findings, the existing organizational hierarchy depicts interesting collateral (lop-sided) sequencing, reflective of the fact that a parallel system of management works at such *Qasbas.* One must remember that these *Qasbas* exist within a framework that is reflective of National Cultural traits, that is, power distance (hierarchy) collectivism (*baradari*) and short-term orientation (low investments). Hence, shades of a status quo at the situational level. In the light of Adair's need theory (1983), the following findings impact directly on the level of threats and opportunities streamlined:

 i. Technical assistance and marketing; alternative technology and skill enhancement.
 ii. Co-operative development; initiatives to nurture cultural activities to revitalize *Deras* as community centers, cultural forums, awareness-raising spots; Ukanwala Bangla could also serve this purpose by working on its architecture and preserving the heritage.

iii. Health care clinics; relocation of incentives and local investments in cottage industry/poultry to control migration and to slowly expand the local-consumption opportunities to counter the competitive market outside these *Qasbas*. (Chinese and Malaysian (1990s) models could be researched).

Implications for Further Research

With changes taking place within the *Qasba* as well as around it, the "Needs" analysis will reflect a shift to be prioritized against ground realities/socio economic needs and the potential inherent in its agricultural/industrial base. Thus, a regular research into "life inside peripheral towns".

- Conducting focused/target research on soil quality, seed fertilization, organic fuel/solar energy/biogas
- Cultural patterns and linguistic shifts.

Based on the findings, the following model is being recommended for adoption or adaptation, especially with reference to Qasbas 90-95 12/L.
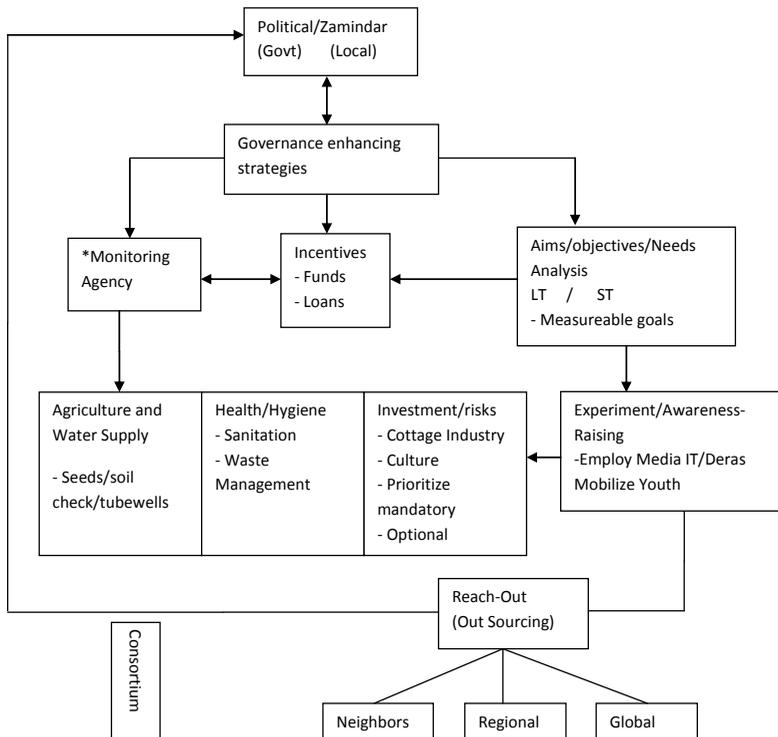

Figure 1

Reform model of co-operative development

* Voluntary and non-voluntary posts engaging local bodies to maintain inventories, conduct appraisal and control inefficiency to conduct a transparent accountability. This should be documented by public-private partnership (inhouse/outside). They will set a time limit, measure the outcome and suggest remedial strategies, keeping the risk factor in view. The important thing is not to do the unachievable by ignoring the essential but rather by increasing efficiency and encouraging investment, providing economic opportunities and trying technologies and skill enhancement (see Feser 2003, Kauffman et al 2005, Ghazala, 2006, Borrup 2006 for insights into research conducted in other parts, highlighting the importance of local assets, even games and sports to expand the economic base).

Acknowledgement and Reference

- Asian Vulture Crises Archives – Summary of Field Study Results from Pakistan for the breeding season 2000/1 – Peregrine Fund, 2 Dec 2001. Ret. 9 April 2012

- Borrup, Tom. 2006. The Creative Community Builder's Handbook; How to Transform Communities Using Local Assets, Arts, and Culture. Sanit Paul, MN; Fieldstone Alliance.

- Feser, Edward. 2003. "What Regions Do Rather Than Make: A Proposed Set of Knowledge-Based Occupation Clusters" Urban Studies, Vol.40.No.10:1937-58

- Irfan, Ghazala (ed) 2006 Social Transformation Conference Proceedings HEC/OUP: Oxford Univ. Press

- Khabar and Nazar – 2012 July US Embassy Magazine

- Kauffman, et al 2005 – Governance Matters IV: Governance Indicators for 1996-2004. Available at <http,www.worldbook.org>

- Nelson, Peter B. and William B. Beyers 1998. Using Economic Base Models to Explain New Trends in Rural Income. Growth and Change 29 (Summer)

- Nall, Rogar and Andrew Ziambalist. 1997. Sports, Jobs, and Taxes. The Economic Impact of Sports Teams and Stadiums. Washington DC: Brookings Invst. Press.

Life in Displaced Small Towns: The Case of South Punjab during Floods

Syed Faisal Sajjad

Preface

Natural calamities recur. The aftermath of the calamity at times is more devastating than the calamity itself as it presents complex and interconnected aspects that involve social issues, cultural displacement, livelihood problems, the psychological impact[1] of the disaster on the individual and at the collective level, a rising crime rate in the disaster affected areas and many other related issues. The capacity to deal with a natural calamity determines the level of disaster that one is facing. When the extent of the calamity exceeds the capacity to deal with it then it becomes a disaster.[2] Capacity building is not about crisis management; it is rather a long-term process that starts with research on the given situation, its history and context, previous examples and case studies regarding the type of calamity and measures taken to deal with it. Case studies may range from local examples to global. Based on this integrated background research, localized solutions have to be worked out to deal with the situation. The hierarchy of this system normally starts with policy-making at the government level, to planning at the departmental level and organized implementation at the grass roots level. Involvement of all stakeholders[3] at every level is crucial for the effectiveness of the plan, from immediate disaster relief, to long-term rehabilitation plans. An effective feedback loop between the affected, implementers, planners and policy makers is very important in achieving a certain level of success through an efficient and organized use of resources. Information and awareness about the grass root situation is critical at every level. A democratic and integrated approach incorporating local knowledge and wisdom along with innovation and technological advancement has given better results in a number of situations. The economics of disaster relief and rehabilitation dictates that for the successful implementation of any plan, active participation of the local people is very important.

---

1 The psychological trauma of disaster that is evident in the affected individuals and society.
2 Definition taken from National Disaster Management Act, December 2010.
3 A participatory approach

A Brief Background

The first large scale disaster that hit Pakistan in the 21st century was the devastating earthquake in October 2005. The earthquake affected large areas of Kashmir, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (former North West Frontier Province) and Northern Punjab. The magnitude of the disaster was unimaginable.[4] Initially, the authorities were unsure of the extent of the damage. The immediate task was the location and documentation of affected areas in order to plan the relief efforts. Lack of information and accessibility, hence, were the initial challenges. The government was not equipped for uniform distribution of the relief items. It was initially unplanned and haphazard. Availability of relief items and field health facilities were scarce. The majority of cases of life loss were due to substandard and faulty construction.[5] The cities and towns were located on the fault line and there was unchecked construction that did not meet any standards of seismic architecture. The capacity to deal with the situation was disproportionate to the scale of the disaster. The situation was out of control. The immediate relief efforts were unplanned and piecemeal. There was an absence of any co-ordinating authority for the distribution of international aid.

Keeping in view this organizational and administrative gap in policy, planning and implementation, the then President of Pakistan formed the National Disaster Management Authority (NDMA) under the Ministry of Climate Change, Government of Pakistan.[6] NDMA mainly focuses on preparedness, response, recovery, rehabilitation and reconstruction. NDMA has developed strategies and systems to deal with disasters and risk reduction. Along with relief planning and reconstruction, they have developed early flood warning systems.[7]

The 2010 Floods in Pakistan

The second disaster after the 2005 earthquake was the devastating flood resulting from torrential rains in July 2010. All the major rivers in Pakistan were flooded and the canal banks were breached resulting in flash floods that wiped out villages and settlements in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Sind, Eastern Baluchistan and South Punjab. 78 districts out of 141 in Pakistan were affected. About two thousand people lost their lives and 20 million

---

4 It measured 7.6 on the Richter Scale.
5 Mainly the newer structures in concrete, built without any specifications.
6 NDMA now deals with natural as well as man-made disasters.
7 Pakistan Floods Disaster 2010 - Early Recovery Report, NDMA Publication.

people were inundated. 2.1 million hectares of cultivated land was also inundated. 1.6 million houses were damaged and large sections of the population lost their homes and were displaced.[8] There was no

early flood warning system and people found themselves surrounded by fast flowing and deep floodwater before they could do anything. With major life loss, the areas under flood were inundated for weeks. The economy of these areas was badly affected and the livelihood activities were at a standstill. The crop cycle was interrupted and the winter crops could not be cultivated. The livestock was washed away in the flood and the small cattle owners and dairy farmers lost their productive assets. The standing water after the flood caused the outbreak of epidemics. Infrastructure and communication were badly affected. Schools and hospitals in the area were also washed away. The capacity to deal with the catastrophe was again an issue. The rescue and relief efforts proved to be difficult and tedious. The World Bank and Asian Development Bank at that time conducted a damage and need assessment survey. Co-ordination problems between NDMA, PDMAs, UN and the active humanitarian groups were highlighted by various active members and officials of these organizations.[9] NDMA has now developed a Geographical Information Systems (GIS) based mapping and planning system to improve documentation, accessibility and effectiveness. The rehabilitation and reconstruction task was assigned to the Planning Commission and the estimated time frame was 5 years.

Flooding of the River Chenab in 2010

The Chenab River originates from Jammu and Kashmir and is allocated to Pakistan under the Indus Water Treaty. It is joined by a number of other

---

8   Source: Pakistan Flood 2010 - Learning from Experience, NDMA Publication.
9   From Pakistan Flood 2010 - Learning from Experience, NDMA Publication.

Figure 2

Braided tributaries of the River Chenab in flood near Multan. *Source: Google Images*
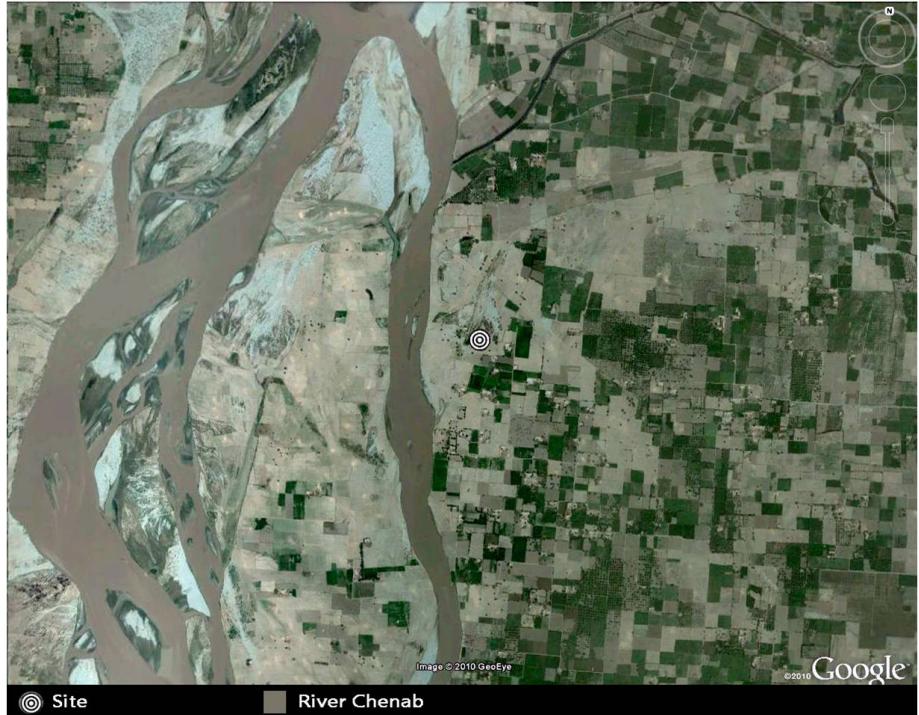
smaller rivers in Kashmir. It is joined by the River Jehlum at Trimmu and by the River Ravi at Ahmed Pur Sial, the Sutlej River near Uch Sharif and the Chenab joins the Indus at Mithankot. The Chenab River remained in high flood near Multan in 2010. The river normally consists of braided channels near Multan. The water pushed out on the flood plains near the airport area and the Multan Saddar Tehsil was badly affected. The south of Punjab was more affected than the central and upper parts of the Punjab. Seven districts were severely affected, four were moderately affected and eleven were affected.[10]

Introduction to the Project

The National College of Arts (NCA) has always participated in and contributed to efforts for physical and social reconstruction in the Country. The College has its own Social Outreach Program that acts as an interface between the institution and the public. Disaster relief and reconstruction is one of the focuses of the social outreach program. The faculty and students of the College have participated in and contributed

---

10 Source: NDMA Annual Report 2010.

positively during every disaster. The participation was at every level, from policy and planning, to management of disaster relief at the grass roots level. In the area of rehabilitation and reconstruction, the faculty and students of the Architecture Department have always been very active. During the 2005 earthquake, the NCA students were among the first ones to take the immediate relief items to the Bagh district of Azad Kashmir. For the later reconstruction phase, the NCA team researched on the causes of structural failures and designed and constructed seismically safe structures in the area.[11] The research team (of which I was also a member) made numerous visits to the area, stayed and worked there with the local people to transfer the building skills. The successful vernacular examples were also researched.
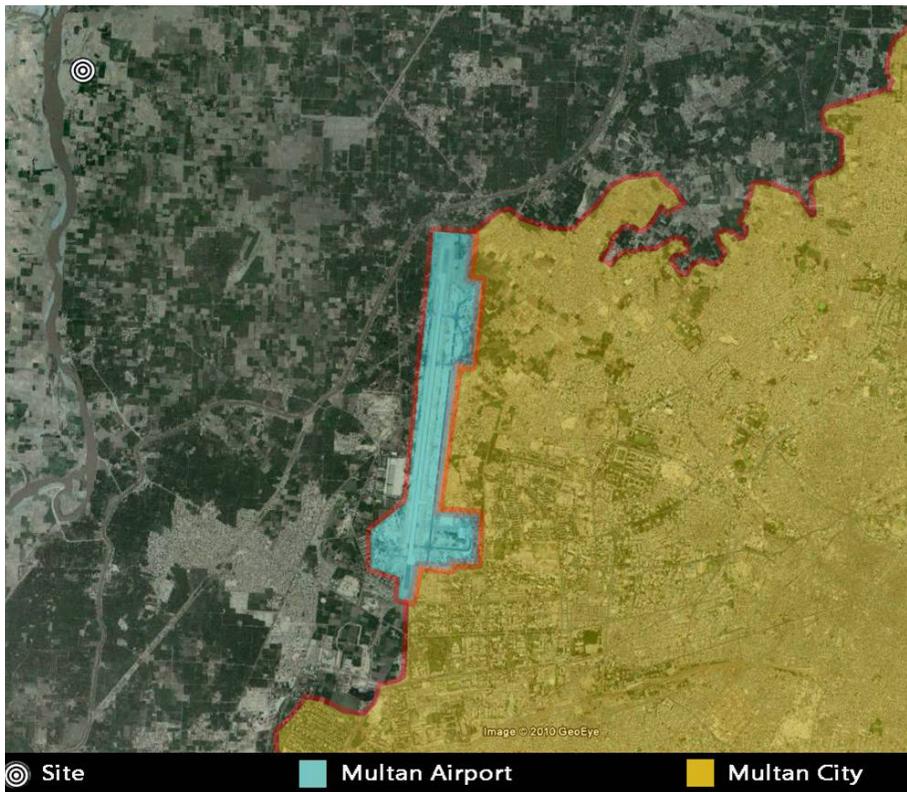

Figure 3

Google image showing the selected site between the River Chenab and Multan airport.
Source: Google Images

In the 2010 catastrophic floods, the NCA team from the Architecture Department was again active. At that time, various other institutions also worked for flood relief. The University of Engineering and Technology, Lahore, team constructed communal buildings in the flood-affected

---

11 Department of Architecture, NCA worked in collaboration with Prof. Jimmy Lim from Malaysia, an award-winning architect and a specialist in timber architecture.

villages in Multan. The UET Town Planning Department worked in the more devastated Muzafargarh district to the west of the Chenab River. The NCA team selected the Multan Saddar *Tehsil* which was the most neglected and remote.[12]

Location and Geography of the Selected Areas

These villages are between the Multan airport and the River Chenab, mainly located on the edge of the Chenab flood plain. They are not proper villages but hamlets comprising approximately 15-20 houses. After a reconnaissance survey of the area by the faculty members, the neglected hamlets in Mouza Binda Milana and Mouza Akbar Pur were selected. These hamlets were remote[13] and did not get any relief or help. The livelihood of people is more or less based on agriculture-related activities and that is the main reason for the size and location of these hamlets in the middle of agricultural fields.

Accessibility, Services and Facilities

The selected hamlets[14] are accessible via secondary roads that change into tracks with brick soling. Near the hamlet, the final stretch is normally a dirt track. These hamlets are not accessible to public transport. The residents share their private vehicles for commuting. Some hamlets have electricity and water but no gas, while some of the hamlets do not even have electricity. There are no schools in these settlements. Boys go to the *madrassa* while the girls stay at home. The basic health facilities are also scarce. The nearest hospital is in Multan. Only the bigger villages have basic health units. Limited access to resources, mainly education, employment and health facilities, has made people dependant on the city. This has also had a positive effect in the sense that they have learnt to be self-sufficient and survive on the available resources.

Mapping Exercise for Damage Assessment

The students were given the task of mapping the area and the hamlets. The collected information was supposed to be transferred

---

12 The project was initiated with the support of the local *Tehsil Nazim*.
13 In terms of accessibility and transport.
14 The selected hamlets were all legal settlements. There are a large number of hamlets and even villages in the area that are "illegal" settlements on Government land and they do not exist in the Government revenue record. These settlements did not receive any help or relief during or after the flood.

and organized on the GIS[15] for flood damage assessment and to draw research conclusions. The students were divided into groups and they were assigned one hamlet each. These groups were supposed to do a comprehensive documentation of these hamlets looking at various physical and sociological aspects along with recordings of livelihood patterns. The base layer was the physical layout and topography in the physical context of the hamlet. The layers of livelihood patterns, family structure, social structure and interaction patterns overlapped on the base of the physical layout to figure out the relationship of the social/economic and built environment. The information about flood damage was added as the top layer to develop a complete picture.
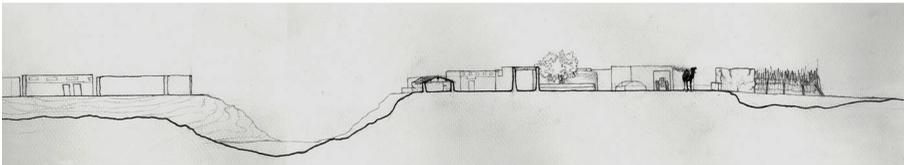

Figure 4

Drawing of a section of a village in Mouza Binda Milana, Multan. *Site section drawing courtesy of the 4th year architecture students of the National College of arts, Lahore.*

SWOT Analysis

The GIS mapping carried out with the help of physical and social surveys and the interviews[16] conducted, provided sufficient data to develop the SWOT (strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats) analysis. The SWOT analysis is a key tool for the closest possible assessment and for devising a policy for rehabilitation[17] and reconstruction. The decisions regarding physical rehabilitation, economic rehabilitation and social rehabilitation could not be taken in isolation because they are all interconnected. The GIS based mapping and SWOT analysis are the basic tools for developing a rehabilitation plan.

Research Findings

Planning and Layout

After the mapping exercise, the settlement layout plan was completed. The plan turned out to be a systematic layout based on the hierarchy of open courtyards. This layout reflected the social structure and activities in the village because the courtyards were of gradually decreasing size around the larger central courtyard that indicated various levels of privacy in social life, from combined communal to family open courts.

16 Sampling and analysis method
17 Mainly relying on the strengths and opportunities in the area from the SWOT analysis

This type of layout has been analyzed by Prof. Pervaiz Vandal and he presents a historical perspective of the change in the agrarian landscape of rural Punjab and the layout of model villages during the early period of Colonial rule. He writes,

> "The colonization by the British brought about a fundamental change in settlement patterns in central Punjab. The British launched a programme of irrigation of the vast lands between the rivers, the *Doabas*, with canals taking off from barrages built on the rivers. The gentle southward slope of the land made this ideal, as there was no major hurdle to overcome. The making of these canal colonies transformed the economics, political outlook, governance and culture of the region. More than 5 million acres were taken from the original inhabitants, the pastoral and nomadic people, and allocated to people from other parts (now mainly in India) of central Punjab. The original inhabitants living in various clans and tribes, small and big, were given the generic names of *Janglis* (savages) and deemed to have no rights, culture or values and were literally driven off the land."[18]

> "Villages called *chaks* were planned on the lands taken from the original inhabitants by the Crown, and among the villages at reasonable distances, towns were laid out. These towns were central market places, called *mandis*, for livestock and agricultural produce. Both villages and towns were planned on a grid layout, as opposed to the traditional labyrinthine pattern of streets."[19]

William Glover, on the other hand, presents a perspective on this type of planning and layout that is mostly based on the official documents that the British rulers of the Punjab left behind as an archival record regarding the planning and governance of the villages of rural Punjab. This was mainly the foreigner's perspective, or to be more precise, the perspective of the colonizers. William Glover writes on the British Colonial spatial imagination: "The earliest use of model villages in the Punjab was as new reformatory settlements for wandering "criminal tribes", a term British officers applied to several groups of semi-nomadic pastoralists they considered genetically predisposed to crime."[20] The initial consideration in planning was given to health and sanitation[21] as the British officers in their surveys generally observed the poor condition of sanitation. They found lack of proper drainage and ventilation in the rural settlements. Disease and outbreak of epidemics was common and it posed a serious

---

18 Pervaiz Vandal (2004), *The Lesser Cities of the Punjab: Forgotten or Neglected?* Paper presented at the Urban and Regional Planning Conference, NED University, Karachi, 5 June. From the book "Migration and Small Towns in Pakistan" by Arif Hasan and Mansoor Raza

19 Ibid.

20 Glover, William. "Making Lahore Modern", Oxford University Press, Karachi, 2011, p. 42

21 See Punjab Village Sanitation Act 1891

health risk that was life-threatening. Uncontrollable epidemics claimed a large number of lives. The presence of cattle inside the villages and inside the houses was a health and environmental risk. The villages were spotted with animal droppings. The early British model villages, based on the French-Canadian model, were based on zoning and human residential quarters were isolated from animal barns.[22] Along with health and sanitation, there were other planning concerns as mentioned by Glover: "The layout of a criminal-tribe settlement was designed to give an overseer a clear view into the quotidian details of residential life".[23] The central village courtyard that was designed for ocular porosity became a central space for social interaction and entertainment. Glover mentions: "In other settlements residents were housed in long lines of cell-like rooms roughly ten feet square, with separate lines joined to one another across a small walled courtyard. Whatever the particularities of the plan, each settlement was designed to be quickly surveyed from a central location."[24]

These people live in a joint-family system. The entire hamlet is one entire enclosure for one extended family comprising three generations. The tight-knit structure shows that the extended family is the nuclear family as well. As a result of natural growth, the families have accommodated themselves into their own systems of organization. The growth has extended beyond the hamlet due to shortage of space and has grown towards the river and beyond it.[25] This is a trend of sprawl. Growth is determined by necessity and the specificity of location is also in turn determined by a need.
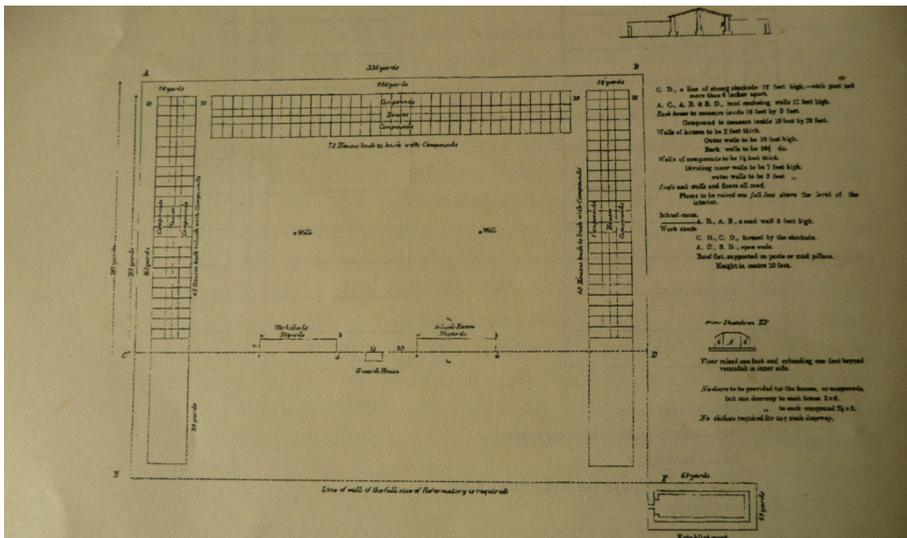
Figure 5

The early British Colonial period layout for a criminal-tribe settlement in the Punjab.
Image courtesy: Glover, William. Making Lahore Modern, Oxford, Karachi, 2011, p. 44, Source: Government of Punjab, Home Department proceedings, no. 5 (October 1873): 775.

22 Glover, William. "Making Lahore Modern", Oxford University Press, Karachi, 2011, p. 34-46
23 Ibid, p. 42
24 Ibid, p. 44
25 In this case, the extension is between the braided channels of the River Chenab, making it vulnerable.

Figure 6

The figure-ground drawing of a village in Mouza Binda Milana. *Site figure ground drawing courtesy of the 4th year architecture students of the National College of arts, Lahore*

Figure 7

Expansion of the village across the tributary of the river. *Source: Google Images*

Leisure is a communal act and is carried out in the hamlet as a whole. Social life is mainly in the central and attached courtyards. A level of privacy exists in the open spaces; the central court is mainly used by men, the attached secondary courts are used by the family and the inner courtyards are used by the women.[26] The outside is mainly an extension of the inside and most of the domestic activities are extended into these open spaces. This kind of space layout presents a great deal of flexibility in its use. During the floods, this flexibility proved to be very accommodating and life continued in these open courtyards with the surviving structures serving as storerooms. It is interesting to see how these central courts in the model villages that were initially designed for ocular porosity have transformed into vibrant social spaces for communal use.

Construction Materials and Techniques

The main material of construction is mud and thatch. Adobe bricks are also used. These materials and the construction methods employed show more flexibility and adaptability in flood-prone areas. The risk of life loss is much less in the case of structural collapse. The physical and material loss is much less and the reconstruction phase takes far less time, effort

Figure 8

Common construction materials and techniques in the village.
Photo credits: Author

---

26 It is an involuntary allocation of open space and is in no way based on gender segregation or a strict *pardah* system

and resources. Living in *kacha* houses for many generations, with the recent effects of the flood has resulted in reconstruction of houses with newer methods, and surveys show that people prefer to live in a *pakka* house. Since the recent changes in weather patterns, it may be wise to suggest that excessive flooding could be a new trend and must be considered in the design process. Before the recent flood, people would leave their homes during the flooding season to reside in the city. They seem indifferent to the flooding, as this has become a part of the routine.

Reconstruction and Rehabilitation after the Floods

An important learning point from this project had a direct reflection on our teaching methodology.[27] It was generally observed that the involvement of the real stakeholders was negligible in the planning process. Architects and architecture schools assume a modernist scientific method and planning starts from the drawing board (or laptop in the case of present times), regardless of the conditions at the grass roots level. This approach proves to be misleading and design decisions are assumed. Such solutions prove to be irrelevant and impractical for technical, economic and social reasons. The lack of knowledge and understanding of local construction materials and techniques, livelihood patterns and social structure leads to an approach that is removed from reality. Our students, in this very project, went to the selected areas to plan and figure out solutions for reconstruction and rehabilitation but their efforts were reduced to an exercise in learning from the vernacular. When we reached there, the

Figure 9

Reconstruction work in progress using traditional methods.
Photo credits: Author

27 Studio teaching method that is not based on field research.

locals had already settled down and the reconstruction process had started, using traditional materials and techniques. These people are so used to annual floods that they have devised their own ways of dealing with them. This temporary readjustment has become a part of the life pattern in this area. Their spaces and structures display a great deal of flexibility in dealing with floods. Because of the semi-permanent nature of the structures, the life loss is much less as compared to the cities. The rehabilitation and reconstruction process is based on mutual support and self-help.[28] The locals are skilled in vernacular construction techniques and the expenses are controlled. There is a positive change in architecture education in recent times; survey and case study based methods[29] are increasingly used in the study of vernacular architecture and planning. This teaching method is research based and is bringing a positive change in the attitudes of architecture students and professionals in approaching such projects. The process of learning and contribution as an informed participant is no doubt slow but it is more sympathetic, democratic and successful. It is important that reconstruction and rehabilitation is more a process based on the understanding of life in a specific area rather than an architectural and planning product. It is not a onetime project, it is rather a continuous process based on a well-informed and participatory approach.

After an ambitious start, our project was also reduced to an exercise in research and learning from experience. The survey was completed, documentation and mapping was done and SWOT analysis was conducted[30] as an academic learning exercise. In my opinion, our success was in realizing that it is a process of learning and participation of which learning from experience is the first stage in understanding vernacular wisdom.

---

28   Local people are trained in the techniques of vernacular construction.
29   This method incorporates physical and social mapping using GIS.
30   The findings were handed over to the local government for reference.

Bibliography

- Glover, William (2011). "Making Lahore Modern". Oxford University Press, Karachi

- National Disaster Management Act, December 2010

- NDMA Annual Report 2010

- Pakistan Flood 2010 - Learning From Experience, NDMA Publication

- Pakistan Floods Disaster 2010 - Early Recovery Report, NDMA Publication

- Vandal, Pervaiz (2004), *The Lesser Cities of the Punjab: Forgotten or Neglected?* Paper presented at the Urban and Regional Planning Conference, NED University, Karachi, 5 June. From the book "Migration and Small Towns in Pakistan" by Arif Hasan and Mansoor Raza

- Punjab Village Sanitation Act 1891

How Lack of Environmental Awareness Affects the Architecture of Small Iranian Towns

Sahar Morady and Alireza Golkarieh

Introduction

This paper intends to analytically observe the effects of the lack of architectural and environmental attention of builders and designers towards particular historical small towns of Iran. The aim here is not to solve a cultural, architectural or social problem but rather to execute a qualitative examination of the town setting as a case report in order to proceed where further research needs to be directed. Questions will be raised towards preserving small towns from developing into something they are not; preventing cultures from destruction. It is crucial to sustain these small towns since they are the cultural veins and backbones of Iran, feeding into the development of large cities and the country's sense of heritage, meaning and belonging. By examining the aforementioned situation, that is, the loss of a vernacular architecture through the loss of environmental awareness, our understanding might be improved in a productive way, so that some proposals for further discourse on organic, sustainable and indigenous development of these cities may be generated.

The growth of megacities through technology, industry and commercialism has brought about massive opportunities to create spaces at a faster, more efficient and economical rate. This vast spread of development within metropolitan areas of Iran has forced small towns to grow rapidly thus losing the authenticity of their architecture and culture. There is a vast gap between the richness of interaction and

Figure 1

Location of Mehriz.
Source: Google Maps

harmony between architecture and people of the past and of the modern lives of today. This directly affects how we perceive and grow within our interior and exterior spaces and hence the quality of human life. We will examine this difference through the analysis of a case report on the province of Yazd. The small town of Mehriz has been chosen because it clearly shows the contrast of traditional architecture beside that of today's, whereas many

other small towns have lost their older town fabric. It is expected from the architecture of these vernacular areas to portray an identity of the culture and history. Mehriz will be visually documented with the focus on moments where architecture has been misused by the introduction of certain elements repeatedly. Commonly these are wirings, gas and water pipes, coolers, electrical poles, iron doors and windows. The lack of thought and creativity of their placement beside antique architecture is evident throughout the carefully selected photo documentations. Three scales have been considered throughout the article: the outside environment, the façade surface and the interior environment, and what occurs in each section is of similar nature. To find direction towards improvement, two examples of well-developed areas, one a carefully designed and the other an organically grown village, are documented and briefly discussed at the end of the article.

Evidence and Analysis of Industrial Invasion

Mehriz is situated 35 kilometres south of Yazd with a population of about 43,000 people in about 12,000 families. Like Yazd, Mehriz is in a warm and dry desert setting, giving the town a reason for having a denser fabric. The town is composed of various old historical buildings such as mosques, towers, water storage buildings, house gardens, older homes, new apartments and developing residential complexes. Walking in the streets and observing the town, its skyline presents one with rhythmic flying electrical wires meshing the townscape together. As these wooden and concrete electrical poles repeat themselves, old and new buildings stand randomly beside each other (Fig 2). Newly constructed buildings upto three storeys high are built typically

Figure 2

Mismatch of old and new.

with varying colored stone facades, their material bluntly breaking the harmony in the historical architectural setting. The comfort derived through the use of these non-indigenous, rather unattractive materials may suggest an acceptance of imposing commercial materials into the town. Although this may be the result of a variety of circumstances, the presence of such seemingly misplaced elements may be embraced and celebrated if more care and attention is given to how, where and why they are placed. One may ask why have we come to neglect

our own built environment and to what advantage? Is this shift in care and creativity of any importance? The repetitive spread of these elements has forced people to accept their surroundings as is and to become gradually indifferent and numb towards change.

Outside Moments

At the entrance of a mosque three coolers are clinging onto the window openings, regardless of any architectural agreement with the facade. These protruding cooling devices are seen almost everywhere in front of or behind buildings, unconnected with their architecture.

Cooling device hanging outside in public space and neighboring electric pole.

The metaphorically armed electrical poles, standing outside the mosque, steal the purpose and intention of a sacred place (Fig 3). In traditional architecture, the rhythm of continuity is constantly sensed, creating a harmonious and intricate town fabric. A new pulse has been injected into small towns since industrialization but its beat is playing chaotically out of rhythm, an unpleasant outburst, a visual symphony without a proper conductor. If these mechanical and electrical installations were installed as part of the architectural fabric of vernacular towns, then perhaps this would create less disorder and bring back a visual and functional order.

Questions arise in one's mind upon looking at these narrow alley scenes of Mehriz. Flying wires and a new neighboring residential building have carelessly punctured the historical fort (Fig 4). Where has the sense of aesthetics in building gone and what intentions lay behind these compositions? The red iron

Figure 4

New construction and electric wires puncturing an historical fort.

bus stations and megalithic concrete poles, which themselves are born from megacities, placed beside the indigenous background, point to out of context development of industries and their irrelevance in relation to their environment. The non-contextual essence of these productions repeated across towns, through form, color and material, creates general, architectural confusion. The people of these small towns use these elements of town construction to present themselves as a modern, wealthy and

well-developed community. The spatial logic this portrays is thoughtless mimicking of urban spaces. One questions what is causing these blind imitations? Is it the lack of cultural awareness and lack of awareness of the value of heritage? Communities similar to Mehriz, once gained appreciation for the originality of their traditions; they might become conscious of how they want their town to evolve and also be more discerning in their choices of how to incorporate industry within their living spaces, while remaining economically safe and becoming technologically advanced.

With the arrival of the industrial revolution, mass production and advancements in technology, we have been led to more comfortable lives; however, it has come with a wave of unknown circumstances that need to be considered carefully. Various disciplines have developed, widening the distance between specializations.

Figure 5

Prefabricated materials on a mosque and *Sagha Khaneh*.

Traditional architects designed cooling, heating and water storage systems of a building in such a way that it brought about a sense of unity and harmony within towns and their natural surroundings. On the other hand, today we see the obvious lack of communication and interaction between these disciplines resulting in the conditions observed in Mehriz. The water-storing buildings (*Ab Anbar*) in Mehriz and other desert areas of Iran were traditionally built to perform the task of the drinking water pipes of today. An example of a steel water tank container, which has no cultural value relative to its location, neighbors its vernacular brother. In addition to the visual effect it has on architecture, this insensitive use of materials can also change the significance of a place. Mosques as edifices in Iran and also drinking water fountains (*Sagha Khaneh*) are sacred architectural elements of the desert areas and should be built with materials resembling their valued meaning. The careless choice of prefabricated elements disregards the preciousness of such sacred places and moments (Fig 5).

Façades

New industrial materials such as cement and stones are being used and

incorporated onto building surfaces causing a sense of alienation between the building and its situated context. These facades have been created in a short-sighted 'copy- paste' manner copied from culturally distant metropolitan areas.

In many cases, the juxtaposition of the new buildings against the old is vividly seen throughout Mehriz. Curved mud walls turn into straight concrete walls (Fig 6). On the concrete walls, wires are carefully placed and as the adobe walls begin wires are loosely neglected; this metaphorically resembles the attitude of the people of this town towards the new and the old. In many parts of the town, upgrades to a section or to the whole building have been made. These upgrades usually include wooden doors and windows being replaced by metal and steel ones, with plenty of pipelines running through them. By comparing two facades where one has remained untouched and the other renovated, these contrasting states allow for two different interpretations of how materials are used architecturally in connection with their natural settings. Although these upgrades on the renovated facades are surely of benefit to their occupants, the placement of each added element in relation to one another and to the building is crucial to how the town is perceived. Hence whose responsibility is it to properly fuse the past and the present?

Sunlight, being abundant in the desert, makes it a critical element to consider when designing. Hence, giving the benefit of the shadows created by buildings, rooftops, walls and doorways to bring about climate control and comfort to the people is important. In the past, before technology disregarded nature, for survival, there had to be attention given to geographical conditions. The shining sun gave opportunity for amazing architectural moments creating contrasting rhythms of light and dark, therefore shadows have been the essence of Iranian vernacular architecture of these regions.

The placement of prefabricated metal doors, the creeping of gas and water pipes, flopping of electrical wiring and clinging of water coolers over walls, all seem to de-value the importance of shadows in the region. Their shadows today are the result of unsought moments. The wire running along the wall, crossing over a traditional drainage pipe, not only disrupts the path of drainage, which favors its architecture but also creates a shadow thicker than itself unnecessarily restating its presence (Fig 7). Although this viewpoint

Figure 6

Juxtaposition of a new building against the old.

The thick shadow of a wire creating an unaesthetic vocabulary of shadows on a traditional house.

might seem indulgent it contrasts well with the lack of attention given to placement and order with logic and attentiveness.

Inside Moments

The improper penetration of technological and industrial products into authentic exterior and interior spaces has changed our interpretation of how these spaces, forms and surfaces were originally meant to be perceived. This deception in our acknowledgement of these spaces caused by the careless pasting of these elements onto traditional surfaces has created an environmental paradox. It is this paradox which leads us onto uncertain grounds not knowing how to proceed with being authentic in our architecture. For example, in home gardens they traditionally used brick for floor tiling as it allowed the moisture from the wet ground below to evaporate freely. Today brick has been replaced by stone for better cleaning and durability purposes, however, moisture gets trapped and penetrates into the foundation and the walls around causing more damage to the environment and architecture than in the past. Stone, being more expensive and luxurious, has become more important for these residences than the sense of harmony. Why, when and how has this leap of thought and attitude towards our environment and architecture taken place is critical to the future of designing and building.

Well-Developed Architectural Environments

There are many areas in Iran today where we can find examples of well-developed towns where harmony, sustainability, aesthetics and cultural meaning and identity are valued. It is our mission as architects and designers to think about the future of our built environment without sacrificing various valuable aspects of human life. According to Iran's rich heritage in the discipline of architecture, it is crucial to maintain a level of quality while renovating and restoring small towns. Success in developing these towns means neither to purely preserve the past and keep it untouched nor to invasively destroy the historical content of the past, as in the case of Mehriz. Places such as Abiyaneh, Anarak and Islamiyeh are examples of well-

preserved towns or villages where careful definitions of space and material have been executed. Routinely the government does not support small towns and their sustainability relies solely upon themselves. The natural trials and errors made over the years have created architectural shells of towns we have today. From them spaces and conditions blossom having only harmony with the basic and consistent needs of human beings. However, modern humans have various other needs where a well-renovated and well-developed town definitely considers the architectural shell concurrently with the quality of the person experiencing life within that shell. In Abiyaneh, the highly indigenous environment is sensed through its buildings and its restoration of pathways, facades and pavements which all follow a logical order giving meaning to each space (Fig 8). The more thoroughly designed town of Islamiyeh is another example of a renovated town where street furniture, lighting and pathways are built to match the social, economic and aesthetic needs of its residences. The relationship between the absence and presence of light, with the amount of light and darkness, in these renovations in comparison with Mehriz, shows how crucial these factors are when creating ideal and functional spaces (Fig 9). In the interior and exterior spaces of the renovated historic guesthouse building in Anarak, there is careful consideration of harmony and comfort between the new and the old, aesthetics and function (Fig 10). Key experiences of rhythm, order and logic are sensed throughout these towns.

Figure 8

The indigenous environment in Abiyaneh.

Figure 9

The relationship between the absence and presence of light in Abiyaneh.

Figure 10

Harmony and comfort in the exterior space of the renovated historic guesthouse building in Anarak.

Conclusion

As we have observed, through our photographic documentations, the act of neglecting composition and materials in historic towns such as Mehriz has created a sense of environmental indifference. This impassivity has taken away the harmony and aesthetics of the town and in return has given it only basic function, where these unco-ordinated executions are the result of an identity and cultural loss. Soon, the architectural heritage of this town will disappear and be replaced by alienated architecture. To move progressively in a positive direction of architectural preservation and development of these towns, a quality model of space-making must be introduced to both the people and the builders. Iran, with its rich roots in architecture should learn from itself how to develop these neglected towns into desirable and attractive living spaces. On this road to development, the lack of essential criteria not only gives the towns no modern placement, but also more important, they lose all trace of an authentic heritage. This heritage and culture defines them and can lead their way into a bright, sustained future. The aim is to continue these dialogues in order to further investigate and move towards solutions on the improvement of the architecture of these precious and vital sites. For our future studies, this paper considers the recognition of three major factors for the sustainability and protection of indigenous values: current building technologies, valuable traditional building methods, and their proper implications.

One question to ponder is: In what direction is the heritage of our architecture moving? Doubtless traditional architecture is suited perfectly to the traditional person for their times yet not fully applicable to modern man, therefore, to answer the needs of today the architects and builders must develop their designs at a proportionate rate to the inevitable growth of technology. As this paper has observed, the architecture of Mehriz has incorporated new materials and elements into its vernacular fabric without proper understanding of maintaining its cultural and authentic needs. Megacities grow with technology and modernity as their natural elements, for they are the essence of urban spaces, and this is evident through the harmony of its architecture and context. However, in small towns first there needs to be an appreciation of their cultural requirements in order to properly inject modernity and natively foreign materials into their architecture; then there is the need to fulfill both functional and cultural demands. Architects and builders must undertake to make sure these new technologies and materials do not impinge on the old fabric of towns. Their engagement in research and in understanding the existing complexities of destructive development is urgently required.

Photography by Authors.

From Centrality to Marginality: Life and Development in Sara-i-Sidhu during the Colonial Period

Muhammad Shafique, PhD

Introduction

The recent discourse on the nature of colonial/imperial contribution to the development of colonized people and society is focused on two basic arguments: The first traditional argument, mainly presented by the pro-imperialist mind, highlights the institutions, mechanism and infrastructure developed by the imperialists in the colonies. This argument focuses on the view that imperial rule contributed potentially to make the colonized people civilized and to make the living conditions better in accordance with Western modernity. The development and growth of new urban centres becomes one example in favor of this argument.[1] However, the post-colonial approach to colonial studies harshly challenges this argument. The counter arguments emerge from the view of the destruction of colonized civilizations by the colonizers and to alleviate the challenges posed by the colonized culture and politics.[2]

This paper aims to contribute to this discourse from a new angle, exploring the dynamics of changing patterns of socio-political and economic development in its relation to the scheme of urban-administrative centres. Focusing on the early period of colonization in the Punjab, it evolves around the theme that changing patterns of colonial administration altered the concept of centrality of a socio-cultural space which ultimately affected the growth and development of many cities and towns in the region, especially around Multan. Sara-i-Sidhu is one among those towns which were affected by the patterns of colonial development. The theme is analyzed through a study of the dynamics which had granted Sara-i-Sidhu a central place in the local administration of the region, and the territorial, cultural and communal

---

1   See for example C. A. Bayly, Imperial Meridian : *The British Empire and the World,* (London: Longman, 1989); Catherine Hall, *Cultures of Empire, Colonizers in Britain and the Empire in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries, A Reader,* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), Christopher Alan Bayly, *Empire and Information Intelligence Gathering and Social Communication in India 1780-1870* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996). The leading work in this context is Manuel Casttels, Informational Cities, Information Technology, Economic Restructuring and the Urban-Regional Processes, (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989)

2   A lot of postmodern literature has been produced to argue in favor of this view. See for example Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1993), Nicholas B. Dirk, ed., *Colonialism and Culture,* (Ann Arbor MI: University of Michigan Press, 1992), Writings of Subaltern Studies Group, Annales School and others.

worth of its centrality. The reduction of Sara-i-Sidhu's space to marginality is analysed in its relation to the new patterns of socio-economic and cultural development in the region and the emergence of new administrative centres more relative to the new patterns of development. In this context, the paper comparatively examines the pattern of development of Sara-i-Sidhu as an administrative centre and the patterns of development of the city after the shift of administration to Kabirwala. The paper relates the twenty-first century patterns of development in the region with the trends and patterns set by the colonial administrators.

Sara-i-Sidhu: Historical Locale

Sara-i-Sidhu is a small historical town (*Qasbah*) located at 30.59 latitude and 71.96 longitude on the left bank of the Ravi, North East of Multan District and North West of Khanewal District of the Punjab in Kabirwala *Tehsil* of Khanewal District. With a population of seventeen thousand (17,000) and an area of a few miles, it is currently the administrative headquarters of one Union Council among the 34 Union Councils of *Tehsil* Kabirwala and 100 Union Councils of Khanewal District.[3] The town does not occupy any place of significance on the late twentieth century map of socio-political development in the region. However, if analysed in a historical context, it seems to have lost the status it had on the eighteenth and nineteenth century map of Multan and the Punjab.

The importance of the place was based on the traditional patterns of development, that is, trade routes, economy and communal relevance. Historically, the town was located on the trade route linking two dockyards (*Patans*: landing places on the banks of rivers). It was a caravan *sarai* established near the junction of the River Ravi and the Chenab. The centre flourished as it provided facilities to caravans crossing the Ravi and the Chenab and linking them with the route to Multan and Bahawalpur one way and Depalpore and Lahore on the other; caravans plied on the left bank of the Ravi and the route to the Delta between the Chenab and Sind upto the high mountain ranges on the right bank of the Chenab. The route map of the new proposed motorway M4 indicates the importance of the space. (Figure 1)

---

3   See the map of local bodies - Union Council demarcation of Khanewal.

Emergence of Sara-i-Sidhu as an Administrative Centre

The historical importance of the town seems to be more significant than its geo-demographic space in the region. In the nineteenth century, it appears to be emerging as an administrative centre in place of the traditional centre of Tulamba to the East of Sara-i-Sidhu. This emergence appears to be due to the shift of the political elite of the region.
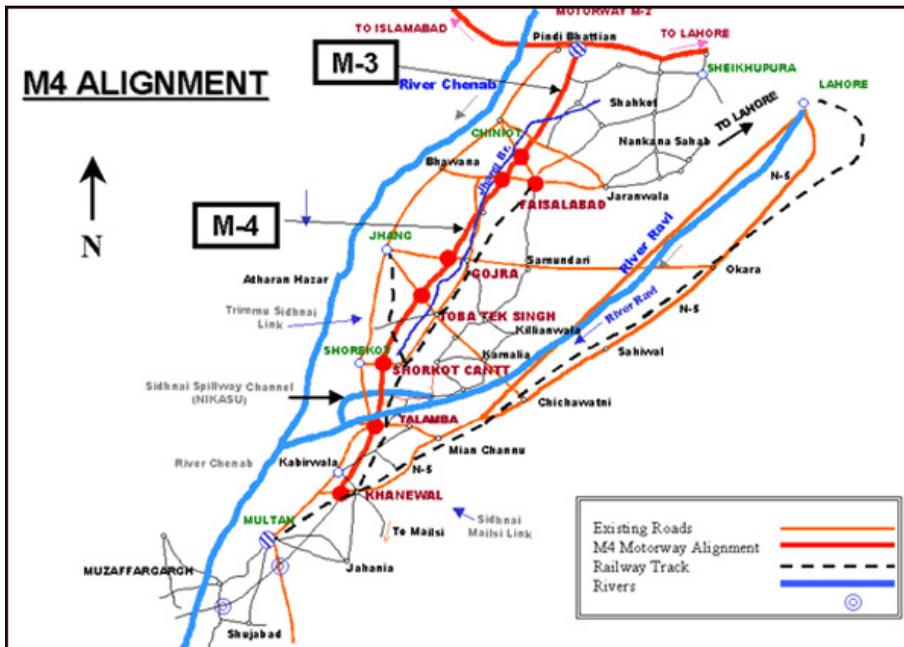

Figure 1

Map of Proposed M4 issued by Ministry of Highways following the Ancient Road route

Traditionally, since centuries, the region had been a stronghold of Muslim political elite. During the Mughal period, the region, well-known for its agricultural produce, had been administered from the centre of Tulamba and it was a part of Multan, either as an independent state or as an imperial province.[4] After the independence of Multan, under the Afghans, the region became an important part of the new state. However, under the Sikhs, Tulamba lost its status as the administrative centre and Sara-i-Sidhu emerged as the new administrative centre.[5] This was not only due to Sara-i- Sidhu's importance on the trade map of the region but also due to the revenue it was generating. As most of the revenue was being generated from this region, a centre in this region would be most suitable for administrative purposes.

---

4   See Muhammad Azhar Iqbal, *Tulamba Tarikhi Tanazar Mein* (Tulamba in Historical Perspective) M.A. thesis, Department of History, Bahauddin Zakariya University, Multan, Pakistan, 2001.

5   Lala Fateh Chand, *Multan Kay Zila Ka Geographia*, (Lahore: Mufeed-e-Aam, 1888),   pp. 44-5 Pakistan, 2001.

On the other hand, the change of political regime, the conflict of loyalty to old and new regimes became sharp. Tulamba as the traditional centre of politics was considered the centre of the old political regime. Therefore, for the new regime of Sawan Mal of Multan, the shift of the administrative centre was inevitable. The new, suitable centre was to be not only well-connected with the trade routes and revenue generating areas of the region but also had to provide political support to the new rulers. Sara-i-Sidhu well-suited the new political elite in this context. Apart from being located on the trade routes and river crossings, it could provide communal support to the new Hindu and Sikh elite also.[6]

The area around Sara-i-Sidhu was also venerated in local Hindu mythology. The myth was constructed around the characters of Ram, Laxman and Sita. The River Ravi flows down a distance of nine miles in a straight canal in this region. According to local Hindu mythology of the time, this position of the River Ravi was ascribed to the miracle of Ram and Laxman. According to local Hindu mythology, one day Ram and Laxman were bathing in the Ravi and there was no one to watch their clothes. While swimming they desired the river to flow straight so that they could watch their clothes. They swam about nine miles and the river began to change its course and became straight according to the wishes of Ram and Laxman.[7] Another story relates that Ram was watching Sita who was sitting on the bank of the River Ravi (at Sita Kund) and was washing her clothes.[8] Ram wanted to watch her beauty and the river respected his wish. After swimming nine miles they came out of the river: Ram on the left bank and Laxman on the right bank. The two sacred places began to be known as Ram Choutra and Laxman Choutra and were venerated by the Hindus of the region. Temples were erected on the spots and an annual fair used to be held at these places in the month of *Besakh* (April). Dewan Sawan Mal of Multan not only rebuilt the temple of Ram Choutra but also erected a temple in Sara-i-Sidhu which is still being used as a school.[9] (Figure 2)

From this perspective, the town could provide ample support to the Hindu rulers of Multan. The Hindu rulers also supported religious activity which made Sara-i-Sidhu a central administrative place in the region, yet it was not a big demographic or trade centre as compared to historic Tulamba.

---

6 J. H. Morris, *Report on the Revised Settlement of the Mooltan District in the Mooltan Division,* (Lahore: Punjabee Press, 1870). Also see Lala Fateh Chand, p. 44

7 Lala Fateh Chand, p. 46

8 Lal Chand, *Geography Zila Multan,* (Multan: Lal Chand Publishers, n.d.), p.18

9 Lal Chand, p. 79.

Sara-i-Sidhu as a Tehsil Headquarter

Sara-i-Sidhu took a more important position during the early British period. After the conquest of Multan by the British, the British did not change the administrative centres immediately but rather reorganized the administrative structure. The new administration was based on a hierarchical structure in which a district was the most influential unit. Districts were divided into *Tehsils*, *Tehsils* into *Purganas/Tauluqas* or sub-*Tehsils* and then there was the *Mauza* or revenue-collection-unit, the village.

Sara-i-Sidhu became a *Tehsil* headquarter under the British with an area of more than 1,700 square miles. Its population in 1870 was more than 42,000[10] and in 1888 more than 80,000.[11] It was a fast-flourishing region of Multan district and was further divided into four administrative units of *Purganas* or *Taulaqas*: Sidhna, Tulamba, Sara-i-Sidhu and Sirdarpore. Tulamba and Sirdarpore were two major centres in the sense that they had been affiliated with the traditional Muslim elite.

The *Tehsil* stretched from the North West of Multan to the extreme East of Multan, having its boundaries with the District of Jhang in the North, the District of Googera in the East, and the *Tehsil* Mailsi and *Tehsil* Multan of Multan District in the South. In the West Sara-i-Sidhu was separated from Muzzaffargarh District by the River Chenab at the junction of the River Ravi and the River Chenab.[12] (Figure 3)

The *Tehsil* had no city at its extremity, rather it contained a few towns or *Qasbahs*. The major *Qasbahs* were Makhdoom Pure, Tulamba and Sara-i-Sidhu. However, by the 1890s Khanewal, Salar Wahan, Mamdal and Dadwana had begun to emerge as new parallel centres of trade, commerce and revenue.[13]

---

10   J. H. Morris, p. 22.
11   Lala Fateh Chand, p. 48
12   J. H. Morris, pp. 22-45
13   Lala Fateh Chand, p. 48

As a *Tehsil* headquarter under the British, Sara-i-Sidhu was granted the placement of an Assistant Commissioner and *Tehsildar* along with other functionaries of revenue administration, education, health and policing. Simultaneously, an Anglo-Vernacular middle school and a Deonagri Girls School had been established in Sara-i-Sidhu along with a hospital, by the beginning of the last quarter of the nineteenth century.[14] The two establishments made Sara-i-Sidhu a central place in the region for the people who were ready to accept the British as their rulers and Sara-i-Sidhu became a centre for the modernization project of the British at the junction of the two rivers. The people belonging to all of North and East Multan district, who were influenced by the modernization project of the British, had to move for their official work, judicial cases, revenue cases, health and education to Sara-i-Sidhu. The establishment of an Anglo-Vernacular school at an early stage of colonial rule provided the region with an opportunity to develop a consciousness of new systems and Western modernity, fast encroaching on traditional society. The people coming into contact with the British institutions adopted the western customs and models immediately and gained employment under the British system. Therefore, the region found a reasonable representation in the services open to the indigenous people.

Figure 3

Map of Sara-i-Sidhu as a *Tehsil* Headquarter

---
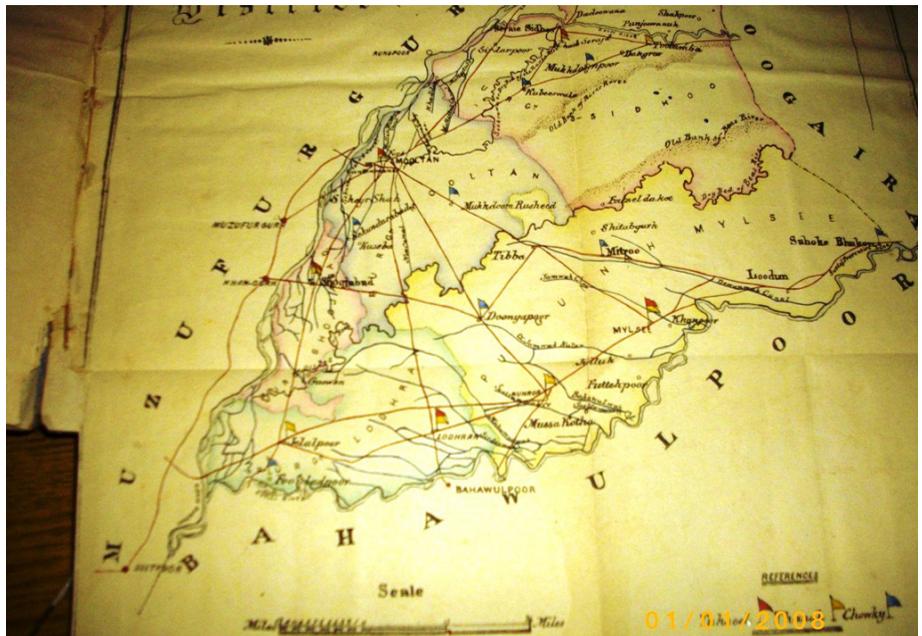
14   Nand Lal, *Geographia Zila Multan*, (Multan: Saraswati Press, 1884), pp. 14-16

Emergence of Parallel Centres

The space of Sara-i-Sidhu in the imperial administration of the region began to change with the new colonial establishments, especially with the development of the new irrigation and communication systems and the rise of communal politics.

The North-Western part of *Tehsil* Sara-i-Sidhu was well-known for its agricultural products and natural system of irrigation. It has more than 290 natural *Kusses* (small water channels) linked with the river to irrigate the region.[15] However, this status became unimportant due to the emergence of the new canal system, especially the establishment of the Sidhnai Canal and Nala Koranga. In 1873, the Council of India passed the Northern India Canal and Drainage Act VIII which was applied to the system of land settlement, water management and revenue collection in the region. New regulations under this Act were devised and new areas were brought under cultivation through the rules and notification to regulate the Sidhnai Canal including Koranga Fazal Shah and Abdul Hakim Canals.[16] This system generated new activity in the region which began to develop new centres of trade and commerce such as Abdul Hakem, Khanewal, Kabirwala and others.

The simultaneous rise of communal politics in Indian politics and the British policy of winning the support of the Muslim masses generated a need to shift the centre of administration in the region to a newly emerging place. Kabirwala and Khanewal emerged as two new centres of trade, commerce and administration to replace Sara-i-Sidhu as an administrative centre. Both towns were located on the new system of roads; Kabirwala linking Multan with Head-Sidhnai, Shor Kot and Jhang, and with Northern Punjab and Khanewal a new junction on the Railway Line linking Lahore with Sind and Balochistan. The new road link and the agricultural economy of the new settlement in the region was the root cause of this shift. The establishment of the railway link through Khanewal Junction minimized the importance of Sara-i-Sidhu.

The plan to shift the *Tehsil* administration offices to Kabirwala was made in the 1870s. However, it materialized in the 1890s. Simultaneously, a new *Tehsil* out of the territory of *Tehsil* Sara-i-Sidhu was also established in the early twentieth century. After the shift of the centre of administration to these new

---

15   J. H. Morris, 24

16   See for details *Rules and Notifications under the Northern India Canal and Drainage Act No VIII of 1873, Applicable to the Sidhnai Canal including Koranga Fazal Shah and Abdul Hakim Canals,* (Lahore: The Civil and Military Gazette Press, 1903).

towns, the flow of socio-political and economic development began to turn to Kabirwala and Khanewal. Currently, as against the 17,000 population of the Union Council of Sara-i-Sidhu, the population of Kabirwala is more than 70,000 and the population of Khanewal city is more than 160,000. Both the cities are well-linked with the sources of communication and have all the facilities of modern times. However, Sara-i-Sidhu did not survive as an administrative centre and therefore as a centre for modern developments.[17]

Conclusion

The patterns of socio-economic development during the British period changed the structure of the administrative establishment at large. The traditional systems of administrative centres were constructed around river-communication and self-sufficient regional economy. The development of a new road system, the introduction of the railway, the establishment of new canal colonies and settlements to facilitate imperial communication and the rise of trade and commerce served the purpose of breaking up the traditional centres of administration with the people's loyalties with the traditional elite. This pattern seems to be followed throughout the Punjab. Other than Sara-i-Sidhu, one can find areas in the Multan Division treated in the same way. The emergence of Vehari against the centres of Fateh Pur, Mailsi and Dunya Pure may be given as one example. The new centres appear to be centres of western modernity in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century and helped the British wipe out the traditional political elite and fostered the growth of new elite loyal to the British.

---

17   See the census report 1998

Architectural Elements and Techniques from the City of Chiniot, Pakistan

Bazla Manzoor

Introduction

Chiniot, a district of Faisalabad Division, lies on the left bank of the River Chenab, in the province of the Punjab, Pakistan. Previously it was a *tehsil* of Jhang District and was upgraded to district level in 2009. This district derived its name from the city of Chiniot, which is now its headquarters.[1]
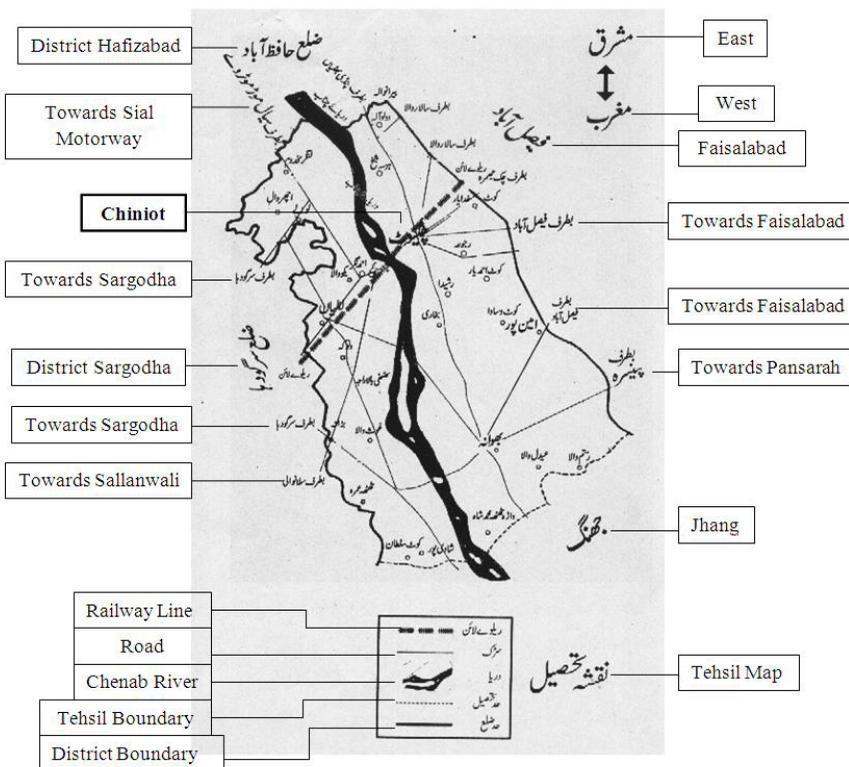

Figure 1

Map of Chiniot [8]

History

Human history in the region of Chiniot has been recorded since 326 B.C, during the reign of Chander Gupt Mourya in the sub-continent, when an inhabitant of Chiniot joined the royal court of the Dynasty.[2] After Chander Gupt Mourya, many battles were fought by people belonging to different parts of the world to gain possession over the region. It was ruled by Alexander the Great, at one time. Later, a tribe, White Huns, from Portugal gained possession. In 712 A.D, Muhammad-bin-Qasim defeated Raja Dahir and conquered the Sindh and Punjab regions. During the reign of the Mughals, Emperor Babar took control. In 1849 A.D this region went into British custody. In 1940, when Quaid-e-Azam invited the nation after the acceptance of the Resolution to join him, freedom-loving families of Chiniot, one of which was the Qazi family, offered their services.[2] Since 1947 A.D Chiniot has been a part of Pakistan.

People

The people of Chiniot are socially active.[4] This has been a major contributor towards the development of their craftsmanship and sharing of skills. However, due to the lack of patronage the craftsmen and skilled laborers have not been training the next generation in their arts.[4]

Chiniot city consists of a few *muhallas* (colonies) with a population of more than two lacs[5], which is increasing day by day. These *muhallas* are connected through narrow streets; with the passage of time, these streets have taken the form of *bazaars*. The narrow streets were initially planned as such to avoid the entrance of horses and elephants during battles. They are full of life and local coherence and are one of the reasons for the social activeness of the people of Chiniot. Presently, these narrow spaces have become congested due to the increase in population but the people of Chiniot believe that the positive impact of these spaces is greater.[4]

Early Settlements

There is no authentic proof of why the early settlers decided to settle in the Chiniot region. The elderly of Chiniot suggest that the early settlers were of the view that they could have certain benefits from the River Chenab such as an abundance of drinking water and a better irrigation system for the agricultural land of Chiniot.[4]

Irrigation Methods of Early Settlements

Due to the contoured topography of Chiniot, the early settlers used different methods to irrigate the land. Small drains were made to irrigate the area level with the river. The lands at higher levels were supplied with water through indirect means, such as digging a large pit (like a well) in the nearby area of the land. A circular grill was then installed on the pit with buckets tied to it with ropes long enough to draw out water from the pit. The loop of rope and buckets was run by an ox or two oxen. The water was then supplied to the drains to irrigate the land. This method is no longer feasible due to the lowering water table of the region.

Other Benefits of the River Chenab

The people of Chiniot were of the view that since only the river passage separated their area from the rest, they could be attacked only from that side. Hence, they dug caves in the mountains to monitor the river passage. Remnants of the caves are still present.

Till the last century, there was navigational movement on the Chenab River. People of earlier times were not in favor of a bridge crossing as it could easily be seized by the enemy. During the Colonial period, the British Government decided to build a bridge for a railway track with a road for the villagers and their beasts of burden to cross, as cars were not common at that time. The bridge is only used as a railway track now. A new bridge has been built by the Government of Pakistan for vehicular traffic.

A picturesque site, environmental benefits like airy nights in summer, a pleasant atmosphere and a natural fishing site are some of the other benefits that the people of Chiniot enjoyed.

Growth and Development of the Architecture of Chiniot

The landlords of the region generally sent the masons to visit different regions of the world, especially to see the Mughal era architecture, to learn about their techniques and aesthetics.[4] On the other hand, the people of Chiniot were working not only in their own region but also in other parts of the world. They saw different architectural marvels on their journeys

and brought those ideas home to the local builders and masons.[4]

According to the elderly of Chiniot, people of the past brought certain materials from other countries of the world, which were then installed in the buildings of Chiniot with the required skills. On the other hand, various architectural styles were brought by people who migrated from different parts of the world to the Chiniot region.[4]

Settlements in Chiniot and their Architecture

There have been many settlements in Chiniot. It was destroyed and built many times due to various attacks, to create a wider passage for the River Chenab (to avoid flood) and by the landowners to reconstruct old spaces.[4] Therefore, only a small number of historical buildings have survived. Most of these buildings were inspired from the architecture of the Mughal era. But overall, the architecture of Chiniot is inspired by the architecture of Hind (presently India), Mughal era architecture and Colonial era architecture; a blend of the first two being the dominating style.

Following examples include the finest structures of the region from two types of buildings: residential and religious.

Umar Hayat *Mahal*

Gulzar *Manzil*, popularly known as the Umar Hayat *Mahal* and "*Taj Mahal*" of Chiniot gives an idea of the elemental aesthetics and techniques of Chiniot according to the writer's observation and local people of the area. The construction of the building began in 1923 as a result of a bet between the owner, *Seth* (landlord) Umar Hayat and Ilahi Baksh Peerjha, famous for his wood works, on the victory of wealth over skill. The Seth lost the bet and the *Mahal* was completed in about 8-10 years.[7]

After some years of its construction, the *Mahal* came under the possession of the Government because all the family members of the owner had passed away. The *Mahal's* top storey was demolished by the Government due to structural concerns coupled with privacy issues raised by the neighboring houses.[5] In 1990, M. Athar Tahir, Deputy Commissioner of Jhang, on the advice of Sajida Haider Vandal, took steps to conserve the *Mahal* and ordered a library to be built there.
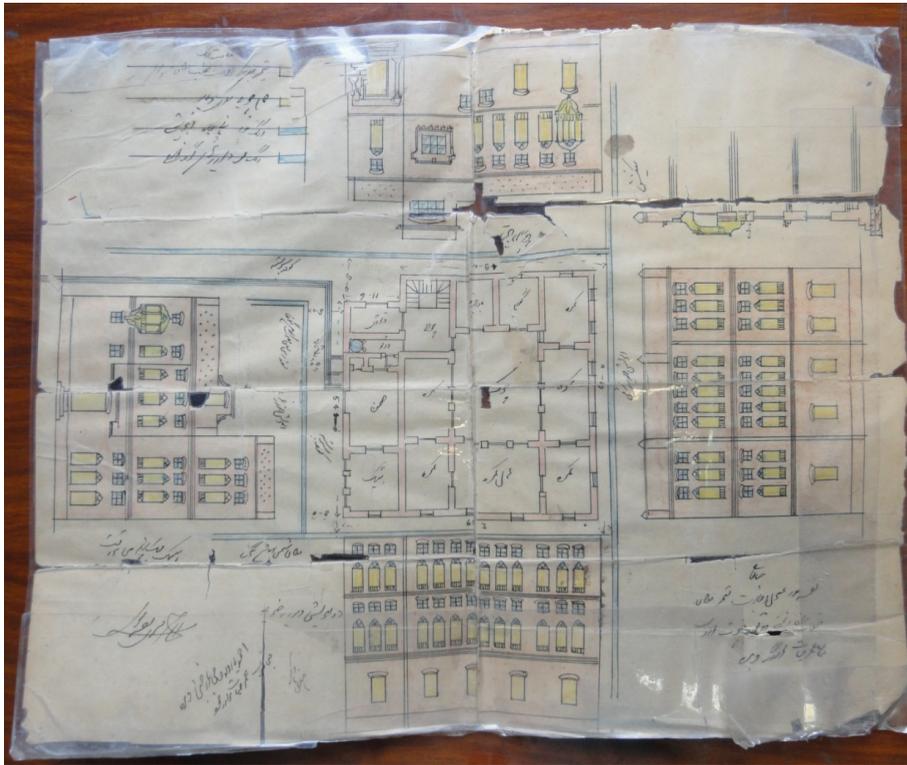
Figure 2

Original drawing of Umar Hayat *Mahal* [5]

The Building

Passing through the main entrance and the foyer comes the central court of the *Mahal* in which Gulzar (the only son of *Seth* Umar Hayat) and his mother are buried. The *Mahal* was constructed on a plot of 59ft-6in x 58ft-6in. with four storeys and a basement. The ground floor consists of several rooms including a kitchen, a bath and a staircase lobby; almost all the rooms open onto the central court. The first floor is almost the same as the ground floor with the rooms opening in a square passage above the central court. The second floor has rooms only at the front of the *Mahal* while the third floor has been demolished.

Figure 3

The *Mahal* in 1963, in its original form [8]

Figure 4

The Mahal in *2006*, in ruined form [8]

Figure 5

The *Mahal* in its present renovated form [9]

Figure 6

The *Jharoka* above the main entrance [8]

Figure 7

European style fireplace inside the room [8]

Ventilators in the colonial style were used in the building as can be seen in the original drawing of Umar Hayat *Mahal*. There is a planned passage for natural ventilation, for the comfort of the users. Air comes from the side passages of the *Mahal*, which are about 3ft. wide and flows up according to the stack effect. The windows of the *Mahal* were designed to allow denser (cooler) air to penetrate the interior of the *Mahal*. Every space was planned to incorporate daylighting, both in summer and winter. Different styles of windows and ventilators were designed to create different patterns of light. The lower side of the wall, at the sill level of the ventilator, sloped down to make natural light fall directly on the floor.

The third floor of the *Mahal* has two rooms connected by a passage. Both the rooms provided a scenic view of the city but the room on the western side captured the striking view of the Chenab River.[7] The basement was

designed considering the required amount of natural light and natural ventilation. The basement also had ventilators for ventilation and natural lighting. It was to provide comfort to the users in summer and a warmer effect in winter. The other reason for constructing the basement was for storage purposes and as a safe space during battles and wars.

Water Supply and Drainage

Water was supplied to the upper floors through a well as explained in fig 11. The rope was driven by hand and by *Charkhari*, a manual tool for driving the rope. Water was filled in buckets and poured into a water storage area inlet, through which water was supplied into the taps of the kitchen and other areas. This system was built during the construction of the *Mahal*. Water storage and its opening are shown in fig 12, in a room on the second floor of the *Mahal*. Water was drained through small drains located all over the *Mahal*, connected with the main drain, which ended on the ground floor, at the front of the *Mahal*.
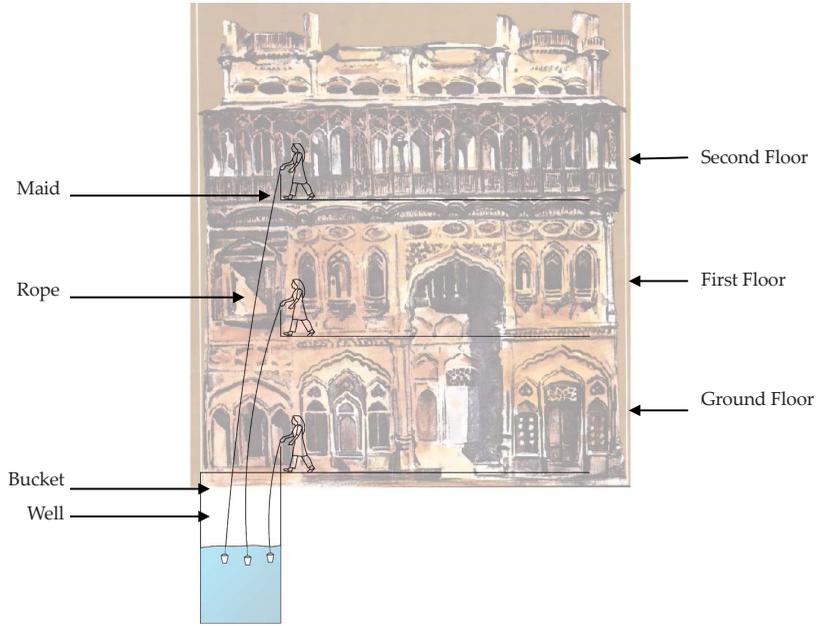
Water Heating Technique

Gas was not available in the region when the *Mahal* was built. A metal drum was fixed beside the wall during the construction period. Coals were placed in the heating chamber and water was heated for hot baths.
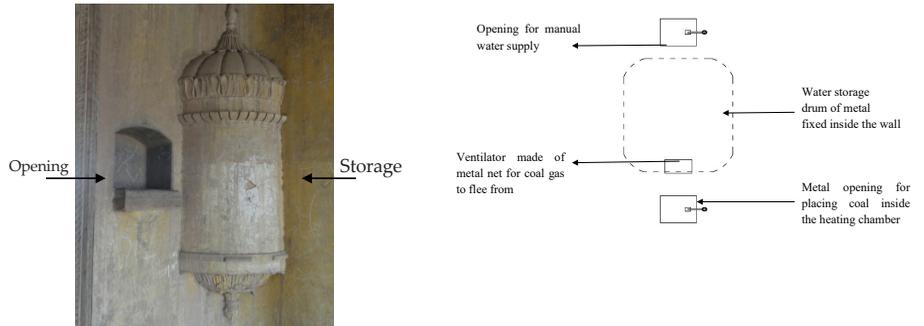
Cooling Chamber for Food

The users of the *Mahal* used to sleep and spend their evenings on the roof of the *Mahal*. They had built a small cooling chamber for the storage of the food items and meals. The chamber is on the second floor and is open on one side, with a *Jali* on the other side, for air to pass through keeping the food and water fresh and germ free.

Opening for manual water supply

Water storage drum of metal fixed inside the wall

Tap

Ventilator for coal gas to be released

Metal opening for placing coal inside the heating chamber
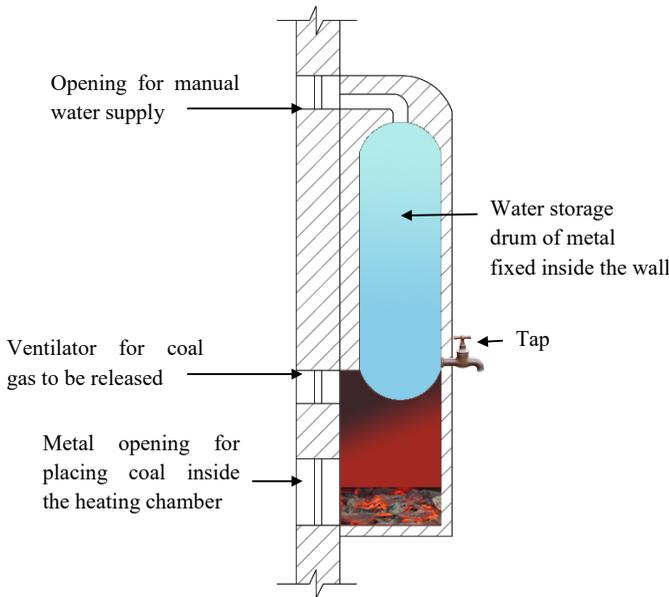
Figure 14

Sectional understanding of the heating technique

Materials

Different materials from different places of the world were used in the *Mahal*: Wood, one of the main materials, was brought from Rangoon, Burma and remote areas of the sub-continent; tiles, glass and paints were imported from Europe,[7] while local skills and workers were employed to create the *Mahal*. [5]

Construction Materials

Brick (joined with mud) and wood were the main construction materials. Plastering was done by mixing certain materials like pulses and lime. Following materials were used for plastering in older times:

- *Daal Maash* (A type of pulse)
- *Matti* (Soil)
- *Choona* (Lime)
- *Gur ka sheera* (a solution of water and *gur* - a sweetening material made from sugarcane; the solution was made from older *gur*, which turns bitter with the passage of time, and thus was also a termite-proofing technique of the time)
- *Patsun*
- *Baan* (a material from which cots are made in the region)
- *Gairee* (broken bricks used in plastering in powdered form)

Brick, wood, gypsum, tiles and paints were the main materials used for aesthetic purposes.

Structure

The structure of the *Mahal* is load-bearing with 24 inches thick walls. This width was planned to increase the time lag of brick both in summer and in winter and to increase structural strength in case of disasters like wars, floods and earthquakes. Presently, the structure has weakened with the complete removal of the third floor and partial removal of the second floor.

Shahi *Masjid*

Shahi *Masjid* was built sometime between 1646-1655 A.D. by Saad-ullah-Khan, Prime Minister of the fifth Mughal Emperor, Shah Jahan, who was an inhabitant of Chiniot. It is said that Saad-ullah-Khan was inspired by the construction of Jamia *Masjid*, Delhi, and thus ordered the construction of the Shahi *Masjid* along the same lines, at his personal expense, as his annual pay was more than 30 lacs.[4] The Shahi *Masjid* stands at the highest point, in the center of the old city. Prime Minister Saad-ullah-Khan wanted the *Masjid* to be viewed from all parts of the city, throughout the ages.[4]

The area of the mosque is 108ft-6in. x 97ft- 8 ½ in. excluding the stairways. The ablution area, designed in the courtyard, was filled with water brought from the well adjacent to the mosque. This well is now closed and a pump has been installed in its place. A water discharge system was kept underground and is still working. The mosque stands on 21 columns, which were beautified with *Naqashi*. Stone from Chiniot Mountains was used to construct the main structure of the mosque while the courtyard was built of bricks.[4]

Almost 200 shops have now been built in the mosque's open area to generate revenue. However, the rent of these shops is not spent on the maintenance of the Shahi *Masjid*, instead the Government has been spending this money on

building model cities. Only a small amount is being spent on the mosque.[4] The mosque was once converted into an animal shelter, during the reign of Raja Ranjeet Singh.[3]

Chillah Gah of Boo Ali Qalander R.A

Chillah Gah of Shah Sharf-ud-Din, commonly known as Boo Ali Qalander, is located in Chiniot, on the bank of the River Chenab. *Chillah Gah* is a place where saints recited holy verses for the sake of Allah Almighty.
A *Masjid* (mosque) Qaim Saeen has been built on the *Chillah Gah*. The development of the area of the *Chillah Gah* and the *Masjid* is in its completion stages and is the most recent example of Chinioty architecture.

Many elements of the architecture of Chiniot have changed with time. The reasons might be financial, lack of skilled workers and lack of working time. Calligraphy, *Jali* work and tile work are dominant features in the *Masjid* and *Chillah Gah*. *Munawwat ka kaam* (embossed patterns) and *Naqashi* (a painting style) are seen on the entrance door of the *Masjid*.

Impact of the Architectural Elements and Techniques of Chiniot on the Users

The people of Chiniot are proud of the work done by their forefathers in the field of architecture. They provided the related historical information with great interest. Even today, they use many old architectural elements in their designs. However, the use of old architectural techniques has minimized due to technological advancements. They still use natural materials for plastering and local materials in construction. The trend of importing materials from remote areas, as was the custom in older times, has almost finished, as the process involves huge sums of money. On the other hand, they have become aware of the fact that materials with high embodied energy need not be used as good quality local materials are also available.

In older times, there were no electricity, gas, sanitation and sewerage systems. For this reason, people invented local design ideas through which they could better fulfill their living requirements. At the same time, those people were very fond of ornamentation, for which they designed many elements. According to the present generation, the earliest users of the area and buildings were as satisfied and comfortable as the present users of the area and the buildings.

The present designers of Chiniot also consider the issue of sustainability

while designing buildings as has been considered by previous designers.

Role of Architectural Elements and Techniques of Chiniot in the Present Day Field of Architecture

The elements and techniques of the architecture of Chiniot can still be utilized. The techniques can be applied in remote areas where utility infrastructure is either not in a good condition or is not present. These techniques need not be improved or modified in such areas. However, if some of the utility infrastructure is present and functioning then these techniques can be re-designed accordingly.

The architectural elements of Chiniot city can be used according to the design requirement for various traditional buildings as they are, and in a modified form too, in buildings which are built in modern and post-modern styles of architecture. One such example is the Serena Hotel, Islamabad, where *Jharokas* have been designed in modern form by the architect.

References

1: Dr. Saif-ur-Rahman Dar, 2010, Crafts of Chiniot, Punjab Small Industries Corporation, Lahore, Pakistan.

2: Chiniot City Research Department, 2012, Chiniot City, History of Chiniot, Retrieved on 17-09-2012 from <http://chiniotcity.com.pk/chiniot/24464682489011.htm>

3: Dr. Irshad Ahmad Thaheem, April-2005, *Tareekh-e-Chiniot*, Chiniot, Pakistan.

4: Bazla Manzoor, August-September, 2012, Interviews and Observations (Source of information), Chiniot, Pakistan.

5: Mushtaq Ahmad, August-September, 2012, Librarian and caretaker of Umar Hayat Mahal, Chiniot Pakistan.

6: Architect Saharan, August-September, 2012, Saharan Associates, Chiniot, Pakistan.

7: Amjad Saqib, Umar Hayat Mahal, Chiniot, Pakistan.

8: M. Azhar Chughtai, Visit Chiniot (a CD), Chiniot, Pakistan.

9: Shaukat Niazi, Cultural Heritage of Pakistan, Umar Hayat Mahal, Retrieved on 25-09-2012 from <http://www.flickr.com/groups/culturalheritageofpakistan/pool/page3/?view=lg>

10: M. E. Hume-Griffith, Behind the Veil in Persia and Turkish Arabia, Retrieved on 26-09-2012 from <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/39463/39463-h/39463-h.htm>

11: Daniel Ruyle, Ox-Powered Irrigation No.3, 31st March-2008, Retrieved on 26-09-2012 from <http://www.flickr.com/photos/aeschylus18917/3205035591/>

12: Owner of Muslim Book Depot, The British Bridge, Interior City, Chiniot, Pakistan.

Chronicling the Development and Growth of Serai Khurbooza: Culture, Conservationism and Sustainability

Samra Mohsin Khan

Introduction

Caravanserais (travellers' inns) were rest houses for caravans, built on the trade routes between central Asian cities in the middle ages. Several types of caravanserais developed in Asia from the 10th century onwards, varying according to time and place (Ahmad and Chase, 2004). These caravanserais supported the flow of commerce, information and people across the network of trade routes covering Asia, North Africa and South-Eastern Europe, especially along the silk route. Sher Shah Suri is accredited with bringing the pattern to the sub-continent and multiple *serai* or travellers' inns were constructed in Sher Shah Suri's era on the Grand Trunk Road connecting Kabul with Calcutta. Such public works were dotted along the G.T. Road and provided travellers along the route with rest stops, safe accommodation and a place to trade with local people.

The Asian caravanserai was designed as a fortified development with a central courtyard and a cellular growth of rooms all round it. Typically a caravanserai was a square or rectangular, walled structure, with one or two entrance portals wide enough to permit large or heavily laden animals and carriages to enter. The courtyard was almost always open to the sky and the inside walls of the enclosure were fitted with a number of identical cells, bays, or chambers to accommodate merchants and their servants, animals and merchandise. Often a 'four *iwan*' plan was adopted for the caravanserai. In this type of building, there was added emphasis on the central bays on the orthogonal axes, which were developed into large, arched rooms, open to the court. According to Michell (1978) this 'generic' plan was applicable to various kinds of buildings in the Mid East such as palaces, private dwellings, caravanserais, mosques and *madrasas*.

In the 19th century, the British colonised the sub-continent. The new dynamics set into motion new routes of trade and the mechanisms of carrying out trade. According to Begley (1983), most of the *serais* along the Mughal highway fell into disuse due to the shifting trade routes and the advent of the railways in the 19th century.

Development of Serai Khurbooza

Sher Shah constructed the Grand Trunk Road from Attock to Delhi. *Serai* Khurbooza is one of the old caravanserais, on the Grand Trunk Road. It is near Sangjani, located about 2.5 km on the Eastern side of the G.T. Road. The historic remnants of the *serai* do not point conclusively to any era and the *serai* may have been constructed in Sher Shah Suri's reign or the later

Mughal period. The Mughal Emperor Jahangir, noted in his memoirs that he ordered the construction of many *serais* and wells along the major roads throughout his kingdom.
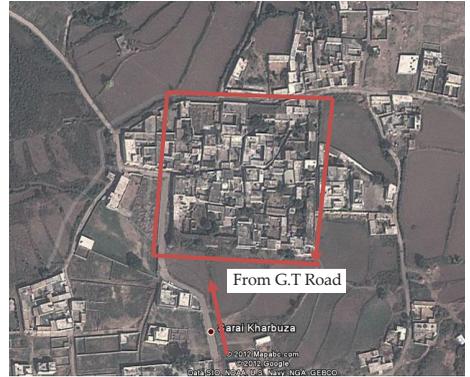
Serai Khurbooza was situated close to the old historic G.T. Road. However, due to the diversion of the new G.T. Road, the town is now about 2 km away from the road. A small winding road from the Grand Trunk Road leads to the original corner of the old *serai*. This is about 22 feet above the road and in a depleted condition. The *serai* area measures 390 ft. x 390 ft. (Fig 1)

The Original Serai Khurbooza

Figure 2

Bastion of external
wall, SW corner

The *serai* was a square walled enclosure with possibly four bastions, one in each corner (Fig 2). Presently one bastion stands but there seem to be no intact parts of the other three. This is a brick structure tower with rubble foundations. It is octagonal in shape and was possibly topped by a dome. There would have been recessed panels dividing the length and width of the bastion, which were possibly decorated with recessed arches and some kind of decorative elements like tile work; this was

the traditional style of the Punjab. Serai Khurbooza's remaining bastion displays similarities in architectural features with most caravanserais of the empire; a tower with a flaring cornice. In its original condition, the entry to the enclosure was provided through two gateways, placed in the middle of its western and eastern walls. All along the inner side of the enclosing wall were small rooms for travellers. The *serai* had *hammam* facilities or bath-suites. The lodgers in the *serai* could offer their prayers in the mosque, situated in its courtyard. They would provide water to their animals from the central *baoli* (step well), located next to the mosque.

The entrance ways on the western and eastern sides are maintained as entries to the small town even today. The elderly of the village narrate that in their childhood, there were parts of the two entrance gates, which have now disappeared with time.

Figure 3

Motif on the ceiling of the dome

The outer wall had residential cells with verandas lined along it. Currently there are some cells along the North and Eastern sides; the rest of the fabric of the *serai* has amalgamated and disappeared into the small town which has developed in the *serai.* There is a small mosque in the centre of the town. This is the only mosque of the town and is credited with being one of the oldest structures (968 years old) of the town (personal communication, Qari Zahid Mehmood). However, the present construction shows that the mosque was possibly re-built on the original site at a later date. (Fig 3)

There is a large well located on one side of the mosque, which has been encroached upon by many houses. The diameter of this is approximately 16 feet and it has two lower levels of access which have been blocked over the years. The lowest level has steps into the well and is designed like a traditional *baoli* (step-well). This well was closed down and has fallen into disrepair and dried up. The people of the town narrate that they have heard from their elders that there was access to the well from the mosque and its underground chambers but now the access is blocked.

Most of the original walls and residential cells of the *serai* have been destroyed and the remaining portions of the walls/living cells on the West,

South and East side have been encroached. A very small part of the *serai's* boundary wall remains on the Northern side but there are no residential cells along this perimeter.

The Northern side contains a dominant structure enclosed by tall walls and a large wooden door. This was called the *mahal* (palace) and seems to be a structure from the Mughal period. It could possibly be the residence of the chief or elder of the *serai*. It is the largest surviving building in the *serai.* There are four rooms with covered veranda space. The building has been abandoned since some years and is now reduced to rubble. The remains of the depleted buildings show the use of flat Mughal arches and *Shah Jehani* balustrade columns (Koch, 1982) inspired by Renaissance Europe. (Fig 4) As a response to the era of urbanization in the 20th century, most of the farmlands in the surrounding areas were acquired by the sprawling metropolises of Rawalpindi and Islamabad. The farmlands shrank and lifestyle changes forced people to start earning their livelihoods by working in the nearby urban cities. The population living in the surroundings of the old *serai* made their livelihood from farming and trading with the travellers staying at the *serai*. With the advent of the railway to Rawalpindi, a garrison town of the British Army in the 1880s and the extension of the railway line to Peshawar in the 1890s, rail travel took the place of travel by road. The railways were faster, secure and possibly more economical. Travel by railways made

the old *serai* redundant and it fell into disrepair, ending up as available land to house a small community who initially wanted the protection of the fortress. Population growth and expansion within Serai Khurbooza led to the use of the material of the *serai* walls and structures to construct houses. Its spacious courtyard became crowded with houses, many of which have been built by stealing the bricks from its enclosing walls and the structures inside the old *serai*. This encroachment upon the old building and replacing historic fabric with new age constructions, resulted in a settlement pattern of a small urban township rather than a village.

There are different versions of the origin of the name of the *serai*, with some narrations citing the name Khurbooza due to the dome of the old mosque (Usman Basharat, local resident), while other sources (Imam Masjid Qari Zahid Mehmood) told us that the name Khurbooza was derived from a Persian word *khor* which means the 'horse's hoof' and the original name was *Serai Khor Buza* (place of stay for horses), the name *Serai Khurbooza* slowly became the current name.

Serai Khurbooza Today

The total area of the *serai* is approximately 30 *kanals.* There are about 75 houses in the small town with a population of about 500 people. The majority of residents are uneducated laborers or farm workers. They are working for nearby landowners or are employed in the nearby towns of Sangjani (C.D.A. sector D-18), Tarnol and the twin cities of Rawalpindi and Islamabad. Ethnically, the local people of Serai Khurbooza are *Malyar*; then there is the *Khatter* clan, families who migrated from Afghanistan at the time of the Mughals. Traditionally they were a farming community and mostly grew wheat and corn and kept cattle and sheep. The lands attached to Serai Khurbooza receive irrigation from wells and rainwater; there is no canal or river for irrigation.

Serai Khurbooza faces many developmental difficulties as a town because it does not have its own municipality but comes under Tarnol. The lack of empowerment of the small town is manifested in the design of the town. The streets are irregular and organic with no facility of sanitation or garbage disposal. There are open drains running in the streets, without a proper sewer disposal system. There is no running water supply and households use wells to cater to their needs for water. The modern conveniences that the town enjoys are electricity and gas connections to houses.

There is a primary school housed in some of the old residential cells along the South wall. The students who want to go to high school and college have to travel to the nearby town of Tarnol and then onwards to Rawalpindi and Islamabad.

There is no dispensary or clinic in the town, so the residents visit the twin cities for health care. The entrance to the town from the G.T. Road has developed as a commercial artery, inhabited by a predominantly Pathan merchant class. This is the closest commercial hub catering to Serai Khurbooza's needs for local grocery shops, eateries, household items and garments. The tiny town does not have a bank or a service station; the nearest facilities are on the G.T. Road or the nearest town of Tarnol. Tarnol also provides some rudimentary facilities but Rawalpindi caters to the larger shopping needs of the town. Both the twin cities are magnets for jobs and higher education, being a twenty-minute drive away.

Figure 5

View of a residential cell

The old residential cells of the *serai* have been encroached by the people of the village (Fig 5). They have been taken over for various uses like the local school and at places they have been sub-divided between members of various families. Some residents are renting them to tenants from other areas. Apart from the mosque, religious buildings consist of two small shrines of Sufi Saints; Nara Pir Baba and his son Pir Mashoom's Darbar. These shrines have been built outside the walls of the *serai*, adjacent to it on the South East side.

The residents have undertaken to modernize their homes and streets, often to the detriment of the previous architectural heritage. As a result of haphazard development and the congestion of the tiny town which has outgrown the boundaries of the *serai*, the residents are caught up in a vicious cycle of inner city decay.

The Future: Culture and Conservation

Caravanserais played an important role in economic and cultural life before the 19th century; they were the hotels and motels of a bygone era. Many major caravanserais lend their names to modern cities (Serai Alamgir) but there is no indication of the original fabric of these historic structures. Studies of Mughal architecture have largely ignored these typologies and have remained focused on the royal architecture of the Mughal Kings. Yet the *serais* have played an important role in the life of the ordinary man; be he a traveller or trader they are an integral part of the ordinary man's history. According to Begley (1983), most of the *serais* along the Mughal highway fell into disuse due to the shifting trade routes and the advent of the railways in the 19th century. The neglect of the old *serais* was partly due to the new modes of transport and partly due to the changes in the layout of the major highways. These realities made the old *serai* locations isolated and their maintenance unnecessary.

The city of Islamabad continues to grow and has acquired land on both sides of the G.T. Road and is now expanding towards the South West and North West simultaneously. As per the revised Master Plan of Islamabad, Serai Khurbooza has come within the new C.D.A. sector of D-14 and will be completely demolished as has been done with other villages (Shakar Paryan) whilst developing different sectors of Islamabad. Serai Khurbooza is in the middle of this new expansion and the remaining parts of the old *serai* will possibly be razed to the ground to usher in future developments of the new sector. The new realities will also hit the remaining historic fabric hard.

The Ministry of Planning is keen to explore ways to retain the heritage areas of Serai Khurbooza. This historical heritage needs immediate attention and at present it is in the most vulnerable position for further damage. There is no doubt that the *serai* is an important part of our cultural heritage, and it must be preserved in its present condition and efforts should be made to conserve and restore the building as much as possible. The question is whether there will be a balanced approach in the conservation efforts or whether the needs of the residents will take preference over the conservation of the *serai*; this has often remained an unresolved issue in other projects in Pakistan.

In order to successfully implement a plan for the improvement of the town and restoration of the historical fabric, there is a need to structure an inclusive policy which addresses the requirements of the conservation of the old historic fabric with the participation of the population. Within

the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization's (UNESCO) Management of Social Transformations (MOST) Programme a specific focus has been given to social perspectives for the renewal of inner cities since 1996. Many cases of old towns' conservations around the world have developed rehabilitation policies (Baer, 2002) which take into account, socioeconomic concepts such as environmental accounting, cost-benefit analysis, sustainable development, valuation of loss of cultural property, and intergenerational equity. Others (Casser, 2003) advocate that the three thematic areas of sustainability – social, economic, and environmental – should be the starting point and the wider context within which conservation of the material heritage is practised. To ensure a holistic approach and more realistic goals, the conservation practitioners should identify more closely with society's interests. In the case of Serai Khurbooza this means that the needs of the conservation of the *serai* have equal importance with the well-being and development of its residents.

Discussions and Conclusions

In an increasingly urbanized world, the promotion of sustainable conservation - encompassing issues of economic growth, social equity, cultural and ethnic cohesion and environmental protection - require strategic planning, consensus building and conflict resolution. Sustainable forms of conservation initiatives require a concerted set of socially inclusive policies capable of ensuring that the benefits of a revitalization/historic preservation project for Serai Khurbooza today will remain sustainable in the future.

Maintaining the social fabric of the settlement while taking steps to revitalize historic districts continues to be a challenge for cities in developed and developing countries like Pakistan. Residential neighborhoods that lack sanitation or are dilapidated or both raise questions about the viability of restoration: whether it is better to demolish and rebuild structures in their original style or in completely new designs. Conservation initiatives are motivated by the physical and environmental decay of the original historic fabric (like Serai Khurbooza) that are a danger to public health and safety. Other driving forces for conservation include the economic decline of towns caused by degradation and poverty. In the case of Serai Khurbooza, the desire for conservation is also fed by the understanding of the historic importance of the place and the need to preserve it.

Conservation initiatives in Serai Khurbooza must involve local residents, local authorities, helped by national government agencies in collaboration

with heritage specialists. The role of the local residents and authority is critical and the diversity of partnership will be a big advantage. The *serai* cannot be preserved as a building in isolation, but alternative approaches that can create jobs and revive skills by involving the residents in historic conservation, will not only strengthen the identities of communities but will contribute to tourism development. A variety of interventions and initiatives that focus on ways to improve the physical environment and historic buildings in Serai Khurbooza while attending to cultural, social and economic issues of its inhabitants are required.

This paper has raised many points of contention between preservation and modernization and the need to strike a balance between improving living conditions and preserving the cultural heritage. How to restore and preserve historic districts as habitable areas where residents can enjoy the benefits of the revitalization remains a challenge.

Acknowledgements

References

- Ahmad, S.; Chase, S.C. (2004) 'Design Generation of the Central Asian Caravanserai'. 1st ASCAAD International Conference, *e-Design in Architecture KFUPM*, Dhahran, Saudi Arabia. December 2004. <http://aalborg.academia.edu/ScottChase/Papers/848807/Design_generation_of_the_Central_Asian_Caravanserai> Last visited on 4.10.2012

- Baer, N. S. (2002); Snickars, F. (Editors). 'Rational Decision-making in the Preservation of Cultural Property', Dahlem Workshop Reports. Dahlem University Press, Berlin, Germany. <http://discovery.ucl.ac.uk/13300/1/13300.pdf> Last visited 6.10.2012

- Begley, Wayne E. (1983) 'Four Mughal Caravanserais Built during the Reigns of Jahangir and Shah Jahan'. <http://archnet.org/library/documents/collection.jsp?collection_id=86> Last visited on 7.10.2012

- Cassar, May (2003) '"Places" and "stuff": is it only the language of conservation that is changing?' *Conservation of historic buildings and their contents: addressing the conflicts*. Watt, David; Colston, Belinda, Donhead Publishing Ltd., Shaftesbury (2003), pp. 41-51. <http://www.donhead.com/new_introductions_and_reviews/Conservation_historic_buildings_contents_introduction.htm> Last visited on 4.10.2012

- Koch, Ebba (1982) 'The Baluster Column: A European Motif in Mughal Architecture and Its Meaning'. *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*. Vol. 45, pp. 251-262. <http://www.jstor.org/discover/10.2307/750984?uid=2129&uid=2&uid=70&uid=4&sid=2110124488748> Last visited on 30.9.2012

- 'Jahangir, The Tuzk-i-Jahangiri', Translated by Alexander Rogers. Edited by Henry Beveridge (1909) (reprinted Delhi 1968) pp. 8. <http://ia700502.us.archive.org/17/items/tuzukijahangirio00jahauoft/tuzukijahangirio00jahauoft.pdf>

- Michell, G. (ed): (1978), Architecture of the Islamic world: Its History and Social Meaning, Thames and Hudson, New York.

- Caravanserai, *Wikipedia, The free encyclopedia*, < http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Caravansarai> Last visited on 3.10.2012

- Best Practices on Social Sustainability in Historic Districts. *UN Habitat*. <http://www.unhabitat.org/downloads/docs/10362_1_594120.pdf> Last visited on 1.10.2012

- Management of Social Transformations (MOST) Programme,

- *In Social and Human Sciences, UNESCO.* <http://www.unesco.org/new/en/social-and-human-sciences/themes/most-programme/> Last visited on 1.10.2012

- Pakistan Railways, *Wikipedia, The free encyclopedia,* <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pakistan_Railways> Last visited on 6.10.2012.

Kūrri Remembered

Mamoona Khan, PhD

Kūrri, now a small town in the vicinity of Rawalpindi and part of the federal area, is 13.8 km away from the Islamabad Airport, now called the Benazir Bhutto International Airport. The history of Kūrri is a somewhat neglected domain, although it still has the remains of a fort, a *Gurdawāra*, a legendary *Masjid*, along with ancient wells and a few other mosques named after certain castes like *Masjid-i Khatīkan* and *Masjid-i Qādīyān*. Moreover, archaeological sites like Hindu Temples, *Dharam Sālas* and indications of many wells that have become extinct, are pointed out in an authentic map of Kūrri, Fig.1, drawn in 1905. It is regrettable that modern plans of the Government of Pakistan to allot plots to Federal Government officials at this place may cause the dissipating oddments of the history of Kūrri to vanish. Living nations never break links with their past. This paper, thus, intends to bring to light the inconspicuous status of Kūrri by conducting an on-site study attached with interviews of those whose ancestors were familiar with or have made some contribution to the magnificent past of this region of the Puṭhūhār and to build a link between its past and present positions. The etymology of the word "Kūrri" is variously given. Some associate it with the word *Kūr* of the Puṭhūhāri language that means "blind", while the Sikhs use the word *Kaur* for woman. A large number of Sikhs

Figure 1

Map of Kūrri, called *Latha* in local dialect, drawn in 1905.

inhabited Kūrri before Partition. The city might have been named after a respected blind woman who lived there.[i]

The history of Kūrri is very old. Even the Mughal Emperor Jahāngīr, mentions it in *Tuzk-i Jahāngīri*. He writes that after suppressing the revolt of Khusrau in 1607, he decided to visit Kābul. On 7th Dhi al-Ḥajj, 1015 Hijra, he moved from the Lahore Fort, passing through Jahāngīrpūra - present day Shaikhūpūra - then Ruhtās, to Bhakhra, then to Pakkāh; he stayed at Kūr, ascribed as very near to a pond famous for crocodiles, a little away from the Rāwal town, present day Rāwalpindi, and then to the Kharbūza, moving to Attock. (Jahāngīr 189-197). The place Kūr is definitely present Kūrri, for all adjacent lands mentioned by Jahāngīr indicate this place and the pond is the present day Rāwal Dam. The history of Kūrri is even older than that, for Chhapprān: the land surrounding Kūrri from the north-east, has a variety of sculptures of Buddha, many excavated but still many which require to be searched out from under the earth. Abd al-Azīz, a teacher of the school at Kūrri once kept those sculptures which were taken over by the Pakistani Government and placed in the Taxila Museum. Jahāngīr also mentions that the word Kūr, in the Gakhaŕ dialect, stands for destruction or dissipation (Jahāngīr 197). The Kūrri fort and ancient Buddhist edifices might not have been intact even at that time.

Kūrri being at the crossroads, was once a gold market and a supplier of goods to the surrounding settlements, including Kahūta, Murree and Kashmīr; salt besides oil and *Guŕ*[1] , being major commodities supplied through this path to the Kashmīris.[2] Now there are very few familiar with its magnificent past and not even a single monograph is attributed to this place. Being in the region of the Puṫhūhār, some writers have mentioned it in their treatises on Puṫhūhār, but in a cursory manner, allocating only one or two lines to it. There is a dire need to document it before it completely vanishes even from the minds of the dwellers living there since generations.

But what does the Puṫhūhār stand for? The nomenclature "Puṫhūhār", according to Azīz Malik, is a combination of two words of the native language: *puṫh* and *ār*. The former means back and the latter stands for *like*, so it connotes *back like*. It defines the undulating surface of the earth of this region, which is neither plain nor fully mountainous; rather there

1 *Guŕ* is a raw form of brown sugar.
2 Accounts given by Qāḍi Muḥammad Ashraf Ṣāḥib, Mr. Muḥammad Sharīf, the *Lambardār* of Kūrri and by Khālida Parvīn, Professor of Political Science at Postgraduate Government College of Women, Satellite Town, Rawalpindi.

are plains and ridges or rugged terrain (Malik 11). Some associate it with Bhattiwār or *Pupe hār* twisted to Puṭhūhār[ii]; whichever meaning is attached to the word Puṭhūhār[3], Kūrri is part of it.

The perimeters of the Puṭhūhār are also variously defined. Some people limit it to the *tahsīl* Gujar Khān, while others restrict it to the region between the River Sawān and Nāla Kānsi[4]. But Minhās in *Tārīkh-i Puṭhūhār* allocates a vast land to the region: from Mardān to the Jehlum River, and on the other side, from the mountains of Kutli Pūnchh in Āzād Kashmīr district, including Murree, to the Indus Kaisar Mountains in Sargodha district[iii] (Minhās *Tārīkh* 40).

Prior to the advent of Pakistan, Kūrri was inhabited by Hindu clans, Sikhs, Jains and Muslims. With the divide, Hindus and Sikhs migrated to India and now Muslims are the only inhabitants of this region, while marks of the cultures of the other two religions, once dominant, are now disappearing rapidly.

Locals of Kurri narrate that there were three major markets in Asia: *Mandi* Amratsar, *Mandi* Baha al-Dīn, and *Mandi* Kūrri. The market of Kūrri was very large but its main importance lies in the fact that it was covered from all sides. All sorts of goods were available, including a huge area for the selling and purchase of gold. Residents of Malut, Bhaigaiwāl, Karuŕ, Kahūta, Murree, Kashmīr and others used to visit this place to buy commodities of daily utility along with objects for ceremonial usage. At the time of marriages, religious festivals or on other similar occasions, a visit to this market was essential, for it fulfilled all required needs. It was like today's Rāja Bāzār of Rāwalpindi that keeps each object of utility, from eatables to utensils, clothes, gold and silver. Moreover, caravans of traders used to move twice a week from Kūrri *Mandi*[5] to Murree and then to Kashmīr. Goods were transported on *karainchīs*[6], donkeys, mules or horseback. It was a favorite place of grain merchants. Landlords of the surrounding regions used to come to Kūrri market to sell their crops[7] : grains, corn or cotton, and all sorts of goods were sold and purchased there. Murree, under the British Rāj, had almost a

---

3   The date of the origin of the word Puṭhūhār is unknown but according to Minhās it is present in the books of Sulṭān Gakhaŕ Shāh, also known as Gakhaŕīn Shāh. He started ruling the Puṭhūhār in 412 Hijri/1022 A.D., which is not more than twelve hundred years ago (Minhās *Tārīkh* 31).

4   Nāla Kānsi starts from Kalar Sayidān and falls into the River Jehlum near Mangla. Satellite Town, Rawalpindi.

5   *Mandi* is a market place.

6   In the language of the Puṭhūhār, *Karainchi* is a bullock cart. Goods were brought from the plains on *Karainchis* to Kūrri.

similar market; goods were brought from the plains to Kūrri, then to Murree and from there to the adjacent settlements.

Kūrri Bāzār was almost 1 km long. It started from *Qil'ah wāli Dhakki*[8] and continued, keeping all the goods of necessity from pulses, grains, vegetables, fruits, sugarcane, to oil and leather goods, for oil merchants and leather merchants were in abundance there. Proof of this is the still existing *Masjid-i Khatīkān*.[9] Herds of animals were brought from the plains of the lower Punjab and their skins were utilised and even sent to Murree and Kashmīr. Two folded paths led from Kūrri to Kashmīr: from *Qil'ah wāli Dhakki* to Chhapprān, Bhaigaiwāl, the Murree Road,[10] Angūri to Murree, and the other path starting from a similar place to 'Ali Pur Farāsh, Karuŕ to Murree and from there to Kashmīr. From *Thāna*[11] Wārith Khān in Rāwalpindi to Kūrri, there was an 8 km long, paved road named the Kūrri Road which still exists. It starts from Rājā Bāzār, crossing the Murree Road at Nāz Cinema, passing through Chāh Sulṭān; it crosses Rāwal Road which is a present addition. It then moves to Ṣādiqābād, crossing Chirrāh Road at Ḥāji Chawk; it then passes through Transformer Chawk, Tarlā'i, Trāmŕi, 'Ali Pūr Farāsh, Pindurīān to Kūrri.

Among the tribes of Kūrri, at the time of Partition, there was no royalty. Various clans all lived together. All spoke the Puṭhūhāri language; even Hindus and Sikhs used pure Puṭhūhāri. Trade was in the hands of the Hindus of Kūrri who were educated and very rich at that time. An authentic source of information is the map of 1905 that points out a large number of *Chāh*[12], *Dharam Sāla*[13], *Marghat*[14], *Khānqāh*[15], School, and *Masjid*. Each clan had their *Dharam Sāla* and *Chāh*, such as *Dharam Sāla qum Bandrāsi*, *Dharam Sāla qum Dham* and others. Kūrri was an important place as it had all the requisites of a civilised society. Cleanliness seems to be an

---

7   Khālida Parvīn, Prof. of Political Science at the Postgraduate Government College of Women, Satellite Town, Rawalpindi, belongs to Kahūta Town; she gave a valuable account of Kūrri narrated by her father, while making her daughter familiar with their ancestors of Puṭhūhār. Her father was a landlord and said that they used to come to the market of Kūrri to sell their cotton crops. It is interesting that the natives of this region take pride in the rugged terrain, the Puṭhūhāri language and their customs and traditions. They never let their children speak any language other than Puṭhūhāri at home.

8   *Qil'ah* is a fort and *Dhakki* is a higher place that covers something underneath. It means the market started from the place which was higher than its surroundings and which had traces of a fort underneath.

9   *Khatīk* are leather workers: leather dyers and processors.

10 It is the old Murree Road that passed through the region where the Rawal Dam exists now. The remains of this road are visible in dry seasons when scarcity of water in the dam causes the ground under the water to be visible.

11 *Thāna* is a Police Station.

12 *Chāh* in the Puṭhūhāri language is a well.

13 *Dharam Sālah* or *Dharam Shālah* is a building used for a pious purpose by Hindus; a place where alms are distributed, or a rest house for travelers or pilgrims.

14 *Marghat* is a place where Hindus burn the *ārthi*, that is, dead bodies.

15 *Khānqāh* is a dwelling place of saints or pious persons

essential part of their living, owing to the presence of a *Chāh* after short intervals and each clan owning an independent *Chāh*.

The present state of Kūrri is exactly like other small towns of the country, though a recently repaired paved road exists, not for its natives, but rather for its future dwellers. The people of Kūrri are educated, civilised and hospitable, mostly having simple and clean dwellings, along with a deep-rooted reverence for the place. Nannad Kishaur Wikram, a renowned Indian writer, belongs to this soil and still yearns for it, calling it a beautiful and attractive valley (Wikram 23). Despite its historical value, it is a completely neglected town and instead of allocating funds to save its artefacts that connect us to the ancient past of Puṭhūhār, decisions are made for replacing the indigenous with modern dwellings, not for the natives but for higher officials of the federal territory. It may turn this beautiful piece of land into a replica of some European city but at the cost of its precious heritage. It still lacks the basic facilities of the modern era. Electricity was provided in 1970 but water and the facility of gas for domestic use is still lacking.

Kūrri is at 33.68° latitude and 73.18° longitude and was once within a fort. A thin *badrau*, meaning moat, still surrounds it -- an essential feature of fortified places. A few marks of fortification are still visible from underneath the school which is now much higher than the moat. Two decades ago, the walls of the fort formed the boundaries of the school which survives no more, but its marks can be seen, Fig.2. Minhās, while discussing the forts of the Puṭhūhār, says that the account of Kūrri Fort is variously given by different writers, being almost in oblivion. Some refer to the fort of Kūrri *Shahar,* while others locate it on the mount opposite Taxila, because the remains of both are so inconspicuous that they cannot narrate their past (Minhās *Nāma* 163). Reasoning minds will relate it to the former, on the grounds that a fort which is named after a place cannot be situated miles away especially when its remains still survive at the place whose name it bears. So the Kūrri Fort mentioned by Minhās is very much the one which once surrounded Kūrri *Shahar*. The *Lambardār*[16] of Kūrri, Mr. Muḥammad Sharīf[17], mentioned a *mut ka kunwān*[18] on the north-eastern wall of the fort, because courts of justice were held there and criminals hanged in the death-well. His ancestors had informed him that the courts of justice in Kūrri were far older than those of Rāwalpindi.
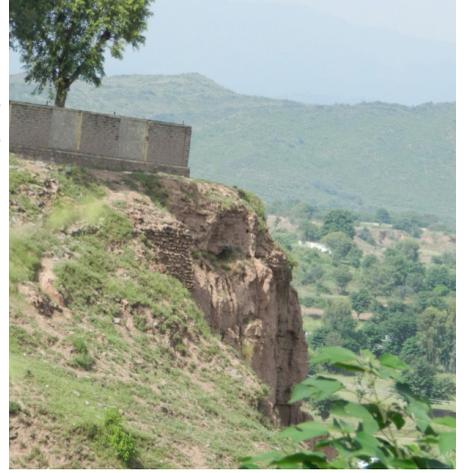
---

16 *Lambardār* is the headman of a village.

17 He was the fifth *Lambardār* of his family: the first among his family was *Lambardār* Nūr, then Faḍal Illāhi, Bustān, Muḥammad Ṣaddīque, and then Muḥammad Sharīf.

18 A death-well

The school now named Islamabad Model School for Boys (VI-X), Kurri, Islamabad, is more than a hundred years old. A respected old man of Kūrri, Qāḍi Muḥammad Ashraf Ṣāḥib[19], ninety-two years old, was a student and later a teacher of the school. He retired in 1980. Qāḍi Abd al-ʿAzīz and his father also studied from this school and became *Qāḍi*[20] of the region from Khanna Shakrīyāl to Sunth village. Since professions of people were labeled as their castes, his grandfather Qāḍi Ghulām Nabi and great grandfather Qāḍi Quṭb al-Dīn were *Qāḍi al-Qaḍḍa*[21] and the family was given the nomenclature of *Qāḍi.*

The old man gave a very interesting account of the school when he was a student there. The headmaster was a Hindu named Bakhshi Chait Rām and was qualified as a master in Mathematics and English. The school had boarding quarters as well and every student had to live there for at least six months. He had to get up by 4 o'clock early in the morning and was kept engaged till midnight. Moreover, the schools of Cherrah, Kirpa, Jagyut, Tarlāʾi, Bārākahu, Pind Bigwāl, Malpūr, and Khanna Dāk were under the Kūrri Middle School. Qāḍi Ashraf passed the Middle Examination from this school and the Matriculation from the Jain Model High School Kuhāti Bāzār, Rāwalpindi. He says that there were two types of schools at that time: Anglo-Vernacular Schools and Vernacular Schools: the former taught English along with other subjects and the latter, other subjects without English; Kūrri School was Anglo-Vernacular. The monthly tuition fee of the Anglo-Vernacular was Rs 3.50 and of the Vernacular was Rs 1.30 when daily wages of a laborer were only two *ānās*[22].

Two most ancient places of Kūrri are Jāmiʿāh *Masjid* and the *Gurdawāra*, called by the natives of Kūrri, Akbari *Masjid* and *Bārādari*. The *Masjid* is thought to have been constructed in 198 Hijra and the *Gurdawāra* in

---

19 He also has a valuable register, keeping a record of funds and materials of the school from 1927 to 1947. Funds were given by the Red-Cross to students and materials for the school like *tāt* (Jut rug), *qufal* (lock), and *ṣandūq* (boxes) were collected from other places. It is signed by a headmaster named Ch. Rām Wīdhāya along with some other teachers.

20 *Qāḍi* is a judge

21 *Qāḍi al-Qaḍḍa* is a Chief Justice.

22 One rupee had sixteen *ānās*.

the Sikh era. The former is now robed in new attire where it has completely lost its original state and the latter is in a completely dilapidated condition but both are in their original places. A poetic inscription on the spandrels of the central *mihrāb* of the mosque defines that an Iranian trader came here and laid its foundations in 198 Hijra (Javadi 173-75) that is 815 A.D. It is usually difficult

for a building to survive for thirteen centuries; moreover, its present structure is not so old. It is known among the natives as Akbari *Masjid*, but it is questionable whether the mosque has any link with the Mughal Emperor Akbar. History says that Akbar came to Rāwalpindi to settle issues of the Gakhaŕ Clan, who always remained friendly and helpful to the Mughals. He stayed for a few days in a camp on the bank of the River Sawān. There he went on a lion hunt on the hills of Saidpūr with Sardār Said Khān and also extended matrimonial ties between Jahāngīr and Sardar Said's daughter (Azīz 130). There are similar accounts of other Mughal emperors too, who visited the Puťhūhār. Thus Akbar's visit to Kūrri is very likely. Furthermore, the structure of the mosque at many places resembles buildings of Akbar's period. The shape of the arches around the courtyard, that are not monumental in scale were visible in the period of Akbar, because Hindu elements are most conspicuous in the Mughal art and architecture of Akbar's regime.

Architecture being plastic art, the decoration is usually two or three dimensional. Akbari *Masjid* too, once kept both types of ornamentation. One in the form of frescoes and the other in relief form. It is unfortunate that the frescoes have been engulfed by the white paint of the modern renovation of the *Masjid*. The three-dimensional decoration is still visible through the paint. The original layout of the mosque is unknown but it has a columnar and trabeated style of construction; it also has arches around the small courtyard and the central part of the sanctuary is covered with a dome. The entrance is trabeated but decorated with the soffits of a false arch, surrounded by panels formed into rectangles, topped by projected thin cornices. The skyline forms an interesting pattern with two non-functional minarets with seven cupolas.[23] The entrance door opens into a thin corridor with six small-scale pointed arches flanking the courtyard.

---

23   The minarets are a later addition and part of renovation because a few decades back they did not exist.

From inside these are simple, pointed arches but facing the courtyard they are three-tiered; the pointed arch is the most recessed; the spandrels of the foliated arch are slightly projected and the rectangle surrounding it all is the most projected. It forms an interesting pattern of light and shade.

The central part of the sanctuary is square and covered with a dome. It is extended north-south having a flat roof. Covering a square with a sphere needs some addition to fill in the zone of transition. This is provided here with simple, usual squinches, in the four corners. The central *mihrāb* is within a blind arch; spandrels of it are divided into three sections; the central one is in the shape of a small foliated blind arch which has the above-mentioned poetic inscription, surrounded by half D-shaped panels. The central *mihrāb* has two small niches on either side to place small oil lamps within but now these niches hold the Holy Qur'ān. In keeping with the general decorative scheme, the small niches too are surrounded by blind foliated arches. They are slightly recessed from the rectangular panels around them. The upper part of the inner side of the *mihrāb* too, has similar slightly recessed panels with the same foliated blind arches, while the lower part has five rectangular panels. It is the only surviving decoration.

Figure 4

Decked spandrels of the central arch, engulfed by renovation, photographed in 1994. *Photo Credits: Zarrar Baburi*
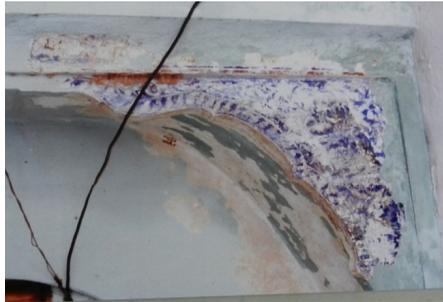
A few decades ago the central *mihrāb* and pillars were fully decked with floral ornamentation on the spandrels but all has been lost, in the guise of renovation, under thick white paint, Fig 4. At places the decoration peeps through the sections where the paint has chipped off. Moreover, embossed designs of frescoes are faintly visible through the white paint. The structure is a mixture of arch and beam styles. A combination of both styles of construction was introduced by Ghiāth al-Dīn Tughlaq in the subcontinent. Here decorative and constructive elements are combined together.

The *masjid* is a witness to history that viewed many phases of both reverence and disrespect. Anjum Ḥafīz gives a valuable account narrated by his father. A Bodhi tree was adjacent to the *masjid*. At the time of prayer the Sikhs started jingling bells tied to the tree and incanting *mantras*,

which disturbed those absorbed in prayers. One night the Muslims uprooted the tree and threw it away although it was very huge. People were astounded in the morning to see that the ground was plain without any mark of roots or the trunk of the tree. Consequently, Maulvi Abd al-Ghani and his elder brother Ghulām Qādir had to go to jail because it was Sikh rule and the tree was sacred to them. Another sacrilegious act during the Sikh Rāj, was the conversion of the *masjid* into a stable where the Sikhs used to tie their horses. After Partition it was cleansed by digging deep, to clear the smell of the faeces of the horses tied there.

There was a *hammām* with a well, outside the western wall of the mosque which supplied water to the *masjid*. In cold weather a metal *dīya*[24] was used: a Mughal device to warm water. The well is constructed of fine stone masonry with a stone epitaph, still visible, but without inscription, for it has flaked out due to the ravages of weather and climate.

The other surviving ancient building is a *Gurduwāra* decaying rapidly, also popular among the locals as a *bārādari* (Kalhoro), Fig.5. It is an octagonal structure of narrow bricks, placed on a raised plinth of twelve stairs with eight arched entrances, one on each side. Inside its centre is another smaller octagonal structure with four entrance arches that made the natives call the structure a *bārādari*. It is regrettable that the outer structure is completely demolished and only the inner structure survives, placed on an octagonal plinth and covered with a dome which is not pronounced from outside but visible only from the inside. But a closer view deciphers the remains of the surrounding walls and at the corners of the plinth. Minor remains of pilasters that once adorned the structure still survive.

Figure 5

The present state of the *Gurdūwara or bārādari* of Kūrri. *Photo Credits: Author*

It has not been long since the outer walls of the octagon were destroyed. Furthermore, the whole structure was actually covered with a huge ribbed dome which was onion-shaped but slightly compressed.[25] It was there during the 1970s. This means that the central part had a double dome, the very reason why it does not protrude. Thus, it must have been an impressive structure in its original state.

---

24   A *Dīya* is an oil lamp made of baked clay.
25   It is also described by Zarrar Ḥaider Baburi, an artist from Rawalpindi, who was a frequent visitor to this place.

The dissipated remains narrate that it was adorned with two and three dimensional ornamentations: fresco painting and brick laying designs. Each arched entrance of the outer octagon had an arched ventilator at its top and two blind arches, one on each side. The blind arches are three-tiered: the inner rectangular part is surmounted by a pointed arched shape; slightly projected from it are the foliated spandrels of the arch, surrounded by a further projected rectangle. The blind arches on both sides of the ventilators are framed by pilasters. Each side of the octagon is topped by a thin projecting cornice with rick-rack placing of bricks underneath which forms interesting patterns of light and shade.

Figure 6

Niche of inner side of the outer octagon of the *Gurdawāra* with pictures on panels and an epitaph in Gurmukhi.

Similar division is repeated on the inside walls but the blind arches are in the form of niches, perhaps to display sculptures. These are surmounted by smaller blind arches of the size of the central ventilators, also three-tiered: the innermost with paintings of vases, fruit dishes, peacocks or portraits and others, Fig.6. Slightly projected are spandrels of foliated arches, recessed from the outermost square. In between the upper and lower blind arches is a small rectangular epitaph in Gurmukhi. It is surmounted by parallel double cornices in undulating geometric movement and the whole is very symmetrical in design.

The inner structure with four arched entrances is symmetrically decked like the outer structure. The entrance arch is pointed, surmounted by foliated blind spandrels, horizontal rectangular panels for the epitaph in Gurmukhi and a delicate undulating geometrical cornice. Blind arches, on

Figure 7

Bases of pilasters of the inner octagon of the *Gurdawāra .* *Photo Credits: Author*

the other hand, were fully bedecked with fresco paintings: the vertical rectangular panels portraying Bābā Gūru Nānak and his companions, Bāla and Mardāna, defines Kalhoro. The south-eastern walls still have traces of the frescoes. The dome also once had floral designs (Kalhoro). Pilasters, supporting foliated spandrels, placed at the edges of the octagon have delicately carved

bases and tops with lotus and acanthus petals, a mixture of Buddhist and Greek traditions, Figs. 7-8. The soffits too, are bedecked with floral and vegetal ornamentations in fresco. On the north-eastern side a well survives, though not functional now. The whole structure is decked and designed symmetrically.

The old residential buildings of Kūrri are of chiseled and carved stone masonry, while the doors are specimens of beautiful wood-carving, although wear and tear of the ages has engulfed their crispness. Column, beam and arch combine to play the role of constructive and decorative elements. Most of the doorways, though carved in the column and beam style, are provided with arched entrances, projected from the doors.

The arches used are multi-foiled with wedge-shaped stones laid in a radiating manner. The wedge of the key stones has been holding the structures for more than a century. The residents of a house known as *Hindū'un ka chubāra*[26] said that its

upper storey fell in the earthquake of 1935. The house is more than a hundred years old. Its wooden doors are delicately carved in geometric and floral patterns. The frame of the entrance door has three strips of carving, bearing separate designs, of leaves and flowers, Fig.9. The inner

---

26 Hindū'un ka chubāra means house of a Hindu

door of the main room, called a *dālān*[27], is intricately carved, having geometric, floral and vegetal patterns, Fig.10.

The most common design of the structures of Kūrri is a combination of pointed arch, attached to a foliated arch, rectangular panels and frames, whether the structures are wooden, of stone or of brick masonry. Designs of the door follow the same pattern. The most unusual design is on the underside of the spandrels that form a sort of architectural representation, with huge, double-corbelled arches having thick pillars and smaller arched entrances below. A plant is also growing through the pillars and huge bells or cages hang in the centre of the arches. All this is carved on the panel underneath the spandrels of the *dālān* door. The uppermost part of it has three sections with perfect geometric patterns, the central one concentric to a twelve-petalled flower and the side ones like a six-pointed star. The frame of the door is huge and has a variety of intricately carved, beautiful designs that bespeak the skill of their creators. Even nail-heads that join thick pieces of wood are star shaped, not simple nails; they are called *Kuka* in the native dialect.

Old residential buildings and wells are in stone masonry, bricked symmetrically in circular structures for wells, horizontals of walls and diagonals in radiating arches. The façade of every house has a small alcove on each side of the entrance door, usually covered with a single stone, beautifully chiseled like the finial of a dome. It was used to keep a *dīya* which was lit at night. Moreover, houses were faced *dakhan-uttar*, that is, south-north, which is aligned to the natural flow of wind that keeps these structures airy, fresh and cool, a practice frequent in ancient buildings of this region but now long forgotten. Doors in the ancient structures faced *dakhan*, that is, south and ventilators *uttar*, that is, towards the northern side. It is closer to nature but modern builders have not adopted these methods.

---

27   A sort of lounge

It is said that the craftsmen at Kūrri were all Muslims and business was in the hands of the Hindus. The remaining old buildings bear evidence of the expertise of the craftsmen, not only in the domain of construction but in their aesthetics as well. It is amazing that symmetry is maintained in designs, whether working in stone, on wood or bricks. It is rightly said that artefacts provide firsthand knowledge of the past. As John Ruskin says:

> Great nations write their autobiographies in three manuscripts -- the book of their deeds, the book of their words and the book of their art. Not one of these books can be understood unless we read the two others; but of the three, only quite trustworthy is the last (Ruskin 1).

There is a lot more to know about the historic past of Kūrri, which held great splendor and then sank into oblivion. It produced many renowned personalities, Nannad Kishaur Wikram; a writer of India being one of them. His book *Unīswān Adhīyā'ay* narrates the past of Kūrri and he yearns to return to the place of his infancy.

---

i   Another link, that is more solid, is about the two famous tribes of northern Hind; Pandū and Kurū ascribed in the Hindu epic *Mahābhārta*, which is Sanskrit literature and presents poems of war between these tribes. The Kurū tribe is given importance in Brahman literature. In the *Aitarīya* Brahman, Kurū is defined as *Madhīya Daish*, meaning a country between the mountain regions of the Himalayas and Bandhīya Chal and in the north across the Himalayan Mountains (Wali Allāh 22). It traces the region of Kurū near Peshawar, Taxila or Rawalpindi. Wali Allāh also quotes the writer Hargreaves (924) about the mother of Kurū as Shāhzādi Gandhāri, who belonged to the Gandhara region (Wali Allāh 23). Taxila, the main centre of Gandhara civilization, was not very far from Kūrri. Chhaprān, a locality adjacent to Kūrri, must have been a Buddhist encampment because sculptures of Buddha have been unearthed from here. The schoolmaster Abd al-'Azīz kept the sculptures at his school and had to face a police case. Thus, the region must be a part of Gandhara civilization and Kūrri might be taken from the word Kurū. Along with Buddhists, this region was replete with Hindu temples. A living example is two Hindu temples constructed on Stūpās: one is drowned under the Rāwal Dam and the other still exists on the bank of the Rāwal Lake. It is less than 2 km from Chhaprān, which is a *dhok* (a *dhok* is a small settlement of a city or town) of Kūrri. Looking back one finds that Stūpās were constructed at reverential places not elsewhere, a proof that Kūrri was a place of some importance. The presence of Kūrri *Shahar* within the bounds of a fort, further stresses its reverential status because forts too, were constructed for the protection of royalty and treasures.

ii   Rāḥat Chightā'i also agrees with the previous interpretation (Chightā'i 61). Another source attributes it to the Bhatti tribes of the Rājpūt clan, still scattered all over this region, which was called Bhattiwār, twisted to Puthwār and then turned to Puthuhār (Minhās Tārīkh 33). An interesting account is written in Kai Goharnāmah that Rā'i Pithura while defeating Ghaurid Sulṭān Shahāb al-Dīn chased him upto the river Sindh. On his return, he stayed with the Gakhars near Daingli that was replete with a variety of flowers. He was so pleased that he proclaimed the region with joy *Pupe hār*, meaning garland of flowers. In Hindi, *Pupe* is flower but the natives being unaware of the meaning of the word *pupe* called it *puthe*, so it became known as Puthehār (Dūni Chand tr. by Akhtar 51-52). Another source traces the origin of this word from the Hindu god Ardhanāri Īyshawritha, who was half man and half woman called *Puta* in the Sanskrit of Kashmīr. So the land where the Puta god was worshipped was called Puthuhār (Naqvi 10-11).

iii In *Tuzk-i Jahāngīri,* the boundaries of the *Puthuhār* are defined from Haith to Margalla (Azīz 11). Prof. Karam Ḥaidri views it on a vernacular basis and stresses that regional unity is defined by the analogy of languages along with the affinity of traditions. In this context, he links this classification to a vast land within the rivers Jehlum and Sindh (Ḥaidri 10). This region is important for being one of the earliest lands inhabited by man, and the Sawān Valley has proved to have one of the earliest civilizations on earth, which is older than that of Babylon. It is also witness to a variety of cultures, for almost every clan of warriors invaded and ruled the land, leaving marks of their heritage on its soil. The mountain passes on the north-western side provided space to the invaders; they had been entering through the fissures since pre-historic times up to the nineteenth century. They not only massacred but always brought a variety of languages, religions and cultures that made the land a cradle of splendid civilizations. This splendour is usually credited to the invaders, though the adaptability of the locals brought novelties to their culture. From the Aryans to the Greeks, then the Kiyāni Iranians to the arrival of the Muslims; Ghaznawids, Ghourids, Timūrids, Mughals, Afghāns, and the British ruled this land. Among the natives, Mūrian Buddhists, Hindu and Sikh rule is a prominent part of the history of this region.

Works Cited

The Modern Language Association (MLA) Style has been used for citation.

- Chightāʿi, Amīn Rāḥat. "Puthuhār ki Wādi aur iski Thaqāfat". *Fanūn*. Lahore: Edition-30, June-July, 1990. p.61.

- Dūni Chand, Rāʿīy Zāda Dīwān. *Kai Gauharnāma*. tr. Sultan Zahur Akhtar. Zurikh: Tep-Tex GmBH, 2004.

- Ḥaidri, Karam. *Puthuhāri Gīt*. Lahore: Āʿīna Adab, 1970.

- Hargreaver, H. *The Buddhist Story in Stone*. Calcutta, 1924.

- Javadi, S. K. S. Sayed. *Eternal Heritage*. Islamabad: Cultural Consulate of Islamic Republic of Iran, 1991.

- Kalhoro, Zulfiqar Ali. "Crumbling Heritage of Sikh Era in Kuri". *Pulse* weekly. Islamabad, 15th March, 2010.

- Kalhoro, Zulfiqar Ali. "Crumbling Heritage of Kuri Town". *Pulse* weekly. Islamabad, 23rd March, 2012.

- Malik, Azīz. *Puthuhār*. 1978, Islamabad: Lok Virsa, 1987.

- Minhās, Rāja Ḥāfiẓ Amjad. *Puthuhārnāma*. Rāwalpindi: Anjuman Puthuhāri Adab wa Thaqāfat, 2010.

- Minhās, Rāja Muḥammad ʿĀrif. *Tārīkh-i Puthuhār*. Rawalpindi: Pakistan Book Depot, 1978.

- Naqvi, Khāwar. Puthuhār: *Tahdīb, Tārīkh, Qiṣṣa Guʿi*. Lahore: National Book Foundation, 1995.

- Ruskin, John. *St. Mark's Rest: History of Venice*. New York: J. Wiley and Sons, 1877.

- Wali Allāh, Muḥammad. *Gandhara*. Islamabad: Lok Virsa.

- Wikram, Nannad Kishaur. *Ūnīswān Adhīyāʿay*. Delhi: J-6.

Balakot City: A Victim of Earthquake

Sajjad Haider and Rao Nadeem Alam, PhD

Introduction

Balakot city is located on Balakot-Bagh, a fault-line that makes it vulnerable to earthquakes and consequently destruction. It was mentioned by the Geological Survey of Pakistan but the activity and danger was made overt only by the quake of 2005 which led to it being declared a Red Zone.

This paper is a case study of Balakot city which collapsed during the earthquake. On the morning of October 08, 2005, a mega earthquake of more than 7.6[1] on the Richter Scale shook the Northern Areas of Pakistan including Azad Jammu and Kashmir, leaving around 3.5 million people homeless (Kennedy, 2006). Albeit, according to another measurement of earthquakes by Giuseppe Mercalli in 1902, known as the Mercalli Scale, the intensity of the earthquake is taken as per reported by the people who experienced it. The Mercalli Scale is less scientific but it provides us with a perspective that is proverbial in Hindi and Urdu, *"Jis tun lagay, so tun janay"* (one who experiences, only he knows). Anthropology brings this aspect to life when visiting the horrifying experience of the earthquake and the consequent homelessness. Homelessness has a causal relationship to trauma as explained by psychologists from Pakistan who interviewed earthquake victims and stated:

> "The complete process of physical rehabilitation probably requires a few years, however, the psychological after-effects of this devastating trauma may take years or could even be lifelong for those who have lost their family members and homes." (Suhail, et al., 2009)

Balakot from 2005 to 2010: A Review

Balakot is located on the bank of the river Kunhar at a distance of 72 kilometers towards the North of Abbottabad. Balakot made its space in the books of history because of the famous battle fought between the Sikh army and Muslim *Mujahidin* lead by Shah Ismaeel and Syed Ahmad in 1831. The historical city of Balakot was located on a hillock to the west

---

1 Pakistan Earthquake – Oct 2005, *ERRA: Earthquake Reconstruction and Rehabilitation Authority, Government of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan*. Retrieved from <http://erra.pk/eq2005.asp>

of the contemporary main bazaar. Balakot earned its name from *Hindko*, the local language: *Bala* means upper and *kot* means fort. Albeit, there is no fort now, it is assumed that on the hilltop there was once a fort that gave the city its name. Balakot is a valley surrounded by green hills. It was a big tourist attraction for Pakistani as well as foreign tourists for its scenic view. It is also called the gateway of the well-known tourist attraction, the Kaghan valley, which leads to Naran and other northern areas of Pakistan. The place served as a mid-way stopover for tourists going to the Northern Areas or coming down from them. The locals were dependent on tourism as a major source of income. Due to lack of alternative sources of income, the majority were involved with tourism-related businesses. One of the relevant businesses was assembling jeeps for the tourism industry to negotiate the mountainous northern region of Pakistan. The tourism industry suffered greatly from the earthquake; in the aftermath of the earthquake, tourists avoided visiting the region and the infrastructure deteriorated to the extent that travelling in the region was quite impossible. Jeep assembling continued at a very low rate. According to the natives, "this current state of business (in 2010) is not equal to even one tenth of what we had before the earthquake."

[i]Balakot, a small town, a *tehsil*[2] of Mansehra district, is located exactly on the juncture of the fault-lines that caused more loss of human lives and infrastructure than most earthquake-affected areas. The Government of Pakistan, concerned with the massive geographical area affected by the natural disaster, established a governmental authority called the Earthquake Rehabilitation and Reconstruction Authority (ERRA) with the core responsibility of monitoring and supervising the rehabilitation and reconstruction projects in the earthquake-affected area. The international aid agencies, international and local NGOs (Non-Governmental Organizations) and donors also contributed in the rebuilding of the affected areas. After the earthquake, the survivors were settled in tent villages organized by these voluntary organizations. By March 2006, the emergency phase of rescue and relief were completed as stated by ERRA and the next phases of reconstruction and rehabilitation for the victims of the earthquake began. These phases are still in progress in the earthquake-affected areas with gradual and partial accomplishments. (ERRA Web, 2012-13)

This anthropological study is based on participant observation and fieldwork of five months from January to June 2010, with follow-up visits

---

2   An administrative unit

and updates on the progress in the reconstruction process of Balakot. With participant observation, other data-collection tools included Focused Group Discussions (FGDs) and In-depth Interviews (IDIs) for collecting first-hand primary data and review of the relevant reports for secondary data collection. The Tehsil Municipal Administration (TMA) Balakot, ERRA office Balakot, District Census Report (DCR), online publications, news reports and official websites of related organizations provided an overview of the effects of the earthquake. Extensive fieldwork within the earthquake affected areas and a stay in the Red Zone, living in a pre-fabricated shelter house, provided first-hand experience in finding an indigenous view or a first-hand perspective of the situation. The respondents included mostly male members of society. At a later stage, three interviews were managed with female members and some data was collected with the help of another female researcher working in the same locale.

Balakot town is a unique case of the reconstruction phase. With its declaration as a high hazard area or Red Zone in early 2006, ERRA implemented a complete ban on construction in this area. With this announcement, the development organizations working in Balakot wound up their projects and shifted to other places. ERRA planned a project to shift the residents of Balakot to a safer place. For this purpose, Bakryal was selected for the establishment of New Balakot. It is located about 15 kilometers to the South-West of old Balakot. ERRA assigned this project of the construction of New Balakot city to National Engineering Services Pakistan (NESPAK). The foundation stone of the project was laid in May 2007 and it was expected to be completed by 2010.[3] The project underwent delay due to various reasons including the value determination of the land at the time of land acquisition by the government, conflicts on land ownership, local resistance and reservations in the construction of the site and political involvement for vested interests. The project is still in suspension and the people of the Red Zone are still living in pre-fabricated shelter homes despite the passage of many years.

Psychological problems still prevail among the people of Balakot. During most of the interviews, the respondents mentioned that they were still depressed. They realized that their mental abilities like memory and feelings of excitement were absent. A victim expressed his inner feelings in these words:

---

3 New Balakot City Rehab Plan Delayed by 4 Years (2009, October 8), *Geo Television Network.* Retrieved on 14-09-2012 from <http://www.geo.tv/10-8-2009/50479.htm>

"Zalazalay ke baad hamaray dil bujh gey hein. Hum khushee ko ziada mehsoos nahein kar patay"

(After the earthquake we have become sad and are unable to enjoy feelings of happiness.)

While talking about life in a town which has been badly hit by a mega disaster, it is essential to know the life-style and social psychology of the people. The respondents repeatedly mention that they still have nightmares and flashbacks of the earthquake shocks. They become alert at a minor shock or a movement. After the main earthquake, the aftershocks and jerks continued for more than a year with gradually increasing time intervals and decreasing intensity as compared to the main earthquake of the morning of October 08, 2005.

Loss of house translates into loss of hearth or kitchen that ultimately causes a nutritional risk. The nutritional evaluation of the children from the district of Mansehra, where Balakot is located, reported and confirmed the "prevalence of both acute and chronic child malnutrition in the affected areas of Pakistan." (Hamid, Dee and Gilchrist, 2008)

The earthquake left many markers of grief and sadness in the life of Balakot residents. They find the inscriptions of the mega disaster on every second street in the form of graves, debris and broken physical infrastructure. These symbols continuously remind them of the disaster which they suffered seven years ago. Apart from the children who are born after the earthquake, for whom the meaning of home and school may only be a shelter-house, the rest of the people perceive prefabricated shelters differently. On a metaphorical and symbolic level, the discourse holds the prefabricated shelter as a symbol of insecurity and risk. Those who are young have a stronger feeling of homelessness and deeper impressions of atrocities associated with the earthquake. The survivors cannot forget their older, beautiful multi-storeyed homes, with diverse colors and well-decorated interiors. They cherish the memories of their old homes, the outlook of the town and the beautiful landscape. They miss even the old trees and the collapsed buildings. The irrecoverable loss of their family members, relatives, friends and neighbors makes them sad. The respondents mentioned that for about two years after the earthquake, they were badly depressed as they were living in tent villages before the installation of the pre-fabricated shelters. When comparing the two living conditions, they are grateful for the gradually improving circumstances but they are not satisfied with the pace of

development. They miss the warmth and zeal which they had before. A sense of loss and longing is very much part of their conversation. One of the local poets Akhtar Zaman Akhtar wrote a poem in Urdu narrating the tragedy:

> Apni roodad sunata houn mein aehwal kay baad
> Gham ki soorat mujhay nazar aaye bhoonchaal kay baad
> Phool khiltay thay mehaktay thay mairay aangan mein
> Kuch bhee baqi na raha waqt ki ik chaal kay baad

A translation[4] could be:

> I narrate my story after welcoming you
> I saw the face of Gloom after the horrendous tremors
> Flowers used to blossom in my garden
> Everything is gone after the treachery of Time

After the earthquake, the victims received grants, donations and relief goods in abundance which also affected their life-styles. The distribution of the relief goods, initially in abundance, was expected to be transitory. However, it created an attitude of dependency among the recipients of the aid. According to the respondents, the aid made them greedy and lazy. Prior to the earthquake, they were self-reliant and were living a life of dignity but after the earthquake, they have become dependant. Now, the external support has ceased but the people have lost their habit of working hard. It was one of the main factors that affected their economic life in Balakot. Due to expectations of financial help and donations, they did not take an interest in their businesses. They were not very eager to improve their situation to find monetary gain. Now, they have no savings and resources to establish any kind of business for a regular income. The decline in income is affecting the whole family structure although after the earthquake, the different local and international NGOs launched their development projects, creating a lot of opportunities in Balakot, especially for educated females. In NGO, or development sector lexicon, the life of a project is always smaller than the life of a program; Balakot needed a comprehensive program instead of multiple projects. Unfortunately, with the declaration of Balakot as a Red Zone, many NGOs wound up their projects as there was a ban on reconstruction by the ERRA.

Like any other small town in the hilly areas of Pakistan, the majority of the buildings in Balakot were multi-storeyed and constructed close

---

4   The translation is not literal. It provides a gist of the poetic expression of the poet.

together. These adjacent buildings made it more destructive for the residents when they were struck by the earthquake. Some pictorial representations of the damage done by the 2005 earthquake may help readers to visualize the impact of the earthquake. Once the audience has a cognitive image of the destruction, they will grasp the process of reconstruction more easily.

Figure 1

Old Balakot entirely collapsed after the earthquake.
*Photo Courtesy:
Tehsil Municipal
Administration (TMA)
Balakot*

Nature of Help and Quality of Life in the Red Zone

All the people are living in temporary residences in the pre-fabricated shelter-house units provided by the ERRA. It is a two-room unit, designed for a nuclear family, which includes a married couple and their children. This shelter-house is safe in case of an earthquake but it cannot protect from the intensity of the weather. It is made of thermopore but cannot resist the heat in summer or the cold in winter. Further, the thin panels cannot provide privacy to the residents. These are portable units and can be altered. In these shelter-house units, one room serves multiple purposes. At the same time, it is a guest room or drawing room, bedroom, TV lounge, study and storeroom. Adult sisters and brothers have to sleep in the same room. Further, these shelter-rooms are not soundproof. Privacy for a married couple was an important concern that most of the male respondents shared during interviews and focused group discussions.

Another problem is that these shelters are flammable, therefore, the residents cannot use a heater or stove for cooking or for heating. Prior to the earthquake, every household had a kitchen where women made

fires by burning wood or with gas cylinders. All the family members used to gather around the hearth for food and chat with each other, usually at night. This activity was the essence of the family unit and the reason for a frank and interactive social bond among family members. Now, the concept of the kitchen is no more the same as it is too small to accommodate more than three people. People have lost the tradition of sitting around the hearth where the mother used to distribute food to everyone in the home. Now they take bread and curry and sit on the beds in the rooms. The hearth is a symbol of warmth and kitchens are places that keep the family integrated, affectionate and affiliated through food.

This folk belief is enacted in the social domain of the household but loss of the kitchen cannot be recreated in prefabricated shelter-houses in its true spirit. After the disaster, the daily routine and sleep timings of different family members have also changed.

Saudi Public Assistance for Pakistan Earthquake Victims (SPAPEV) is the main donor that is providing these shelter-houses to the victims in Balakot. They were handed over to people for an ad hoc stay in the Red Zone. Now these shelter-houses are exceeding or are about to exceed their expiry date. The deteriorated material is repaired with temporary solutions because the housing is temporary; their ad hoc nature creates the anxiety that the investment in temporary housing is not a wise decision. This attitude leads to psychological stress among the residents. The people of the Red Zone have been living in these small cabins for more than six years. They suffer many problems in their social life because of the small houses. They cannot accommodate guests for a stayover and if one cannot offer hospitality it brings shame to the family. This limited availability of the space in their homes has also affected their family gatherings. Accommodating the relatives and friends, who come to participate in marriage or funeral ceremonies, is a traditional practice and a compulsion for the natives of the hilly town of Balakot. The duration of the rituals and ceremonies, too, have been shortened. That indeed reduces the leisure time of the residents of these prefabricated shelters. Limited availability of space and low family income are the two major reasons for this. Now a marriage ceremony is shortened to one or two days compared to the pre-earthquake, usual full week celebrations. Some of the festive ceremonies turn into sad remembrance sessions of the deceased relatives who departed in the earthquake.

Due to limited space in a shelter-house, the amount of dowry and the quantity of bridal gifts has also been reduced. The groom has no space

to place the furniture of his bride in his small shelter-house. One of the female respondents said that the decoration of a house was the dream of every woman. They could not decorate

their houses and drawing rooms. Privacy and space utilization were also important concerns. The respondents used phrases like *banday* or *astabal*, "animal shed", for these shelter-houses. They complained about the monotony of life in these shelters that causes boredom among residents. It becomes very difficult to stay inside in the long winter nights and hot summer days, as well as in the long rainy seasons. The drainage of water and availability of safe drinking water were major problems.

With the distribution criteria of these shelter-houses, the family structure in Balakot has changed from a joint family system to a nuclear family system. As per the shelter distribution policy, a single unit was allocated to a married couple irrespective of the fact of the number of children or dependants. Prior to the earthquake, they had been living in a joint family system and in some cases in a joint-extended family system for generations. In that system they used to share responsibilities. Now increasingly this nuclear family system has made them *'selfish'* as the respondents shared in the interviews. Another factor that affected life in Balakot was the new role assigned to the eldest son or daughter after the death of their parents, mother or father or both of them. They had to look after their younger siblings. Because of these new sudden responsibilities, many of the school or college going students had to leave their formal education. During the earthquake, the schools in Balakot also collapsed and nearly all the students missed the initial three months of their regular classes.

Now in the Red Zone, the schools are only partially functional in the pre-fabricated shelter buildings. The students and teachers face many

problems due to lack of infrastructure and resources as Naveed-i-Rahat (2010) writes,

> "The students and teachers both demand a prompt decision regarding their shifting to a safe place, as in the Red Zone reconstruction is not allowed. Therefore, there is no development in the reconstruction of educational institutions in Balakot."
> (Naveed-i-Rahat, 2010)

A single unit consists of two rooms, one kitchen and one bathroom. These are single-storey houses. The residents feel confined and claustrophobic. They had big houses before the earthquake. In their old homes they had beautiful drawing rooms for guests. They miss the courtyard and the upper floor of their old houses. Children wish to fly kites on the roofs but they cannot. The rooftops were an integral part of their lives; they miss the life on rooftops. The longing for rooftops was made clear in many statements by people who miss the winter sun and the view of green hills. They cherish those memories.

Other problems include poor light and ventilation in these units. There are no ventilators and windows are at a very low elevation and cannot be opened for those in *pardah*. It becomes very difficult to live inside the units in the hot summer during the long hours of load-shedding of electricity. These houses are not equipped with solar panels and thus the dependency on electricity supply is more than that of their counterparts in America. The students also have problems in doing their homework.

Usually the contemporary urban and semi-urban dwellers try to create their space independent of their deceased ancestors. Urban life is highly segregated from the cemeteries. The earthquake was a fatal reality for the residents of Balakot and they saw many of their family members dead as a consequence of the brutal earthquake. The casualty rate was high and the destruction massive; all the people were panic-stricken, therefore, they buried the deceased either in mass graves or in random spaces. Now, in every second street one can find a small graveyard.

Many of the old playgrounds are now graveyards and the rest of the places have debris and ruins. Children in the community play in the very narrow streets of the shelter-house clusters. Another change that the children shared was the lack of spirit and passion. They lost the zeal for sports after the earthquake.

The earthquake invoked *liminality*[5], a transitional phase, for the earthquake victims where they faced the critical rites[6] of separation from their homes. Rites are highlighted with rituals and mourning is one of the major rituals of

separation rites. The symbolic analyses of mourning are significant because rituals are intelligible to the participants. Speech in the form of prayers and in other forms of discourse is the elementary part of ritual that guides the symbolic analysis. Homelessness as a liminal phase is the state that invokes fear and danger. Shifting to the prefabricated houses is the reintegration of the members of the community in the new 'home'. How this transition is performed and perceived has been narrated in this article. This description of the life in the small town of Balakot narrates the special circumstances of post-earthquake life. Secondly, the issues that are ignored in the reconstruction or rehabilitation phases are briefly pointed out in this study; for example *pardah*, the transformation of social organization from joint and joint-extended family to nuclear family, the loss of hearth/warmth of kitchen and loss of life on rooftops. Privacy, parenting patterns, play space, leisure activities and many other concerns have been made overt from the perspective of the residents of Balakot. This ethnographic, descriptive study may serve as a primary source for future planning for the authorities and other concerned researchers, developers and donors.

---

5   Liminality is a concept given by Arnold van Gannep who talked of *rites de passage*. He mentioned it as the phase where the members of the community are separated from one social position to be integrated in a new social position.

6   Rites are of two types: calendrical rites and critical rites. Calendrical rites are performed in a regular cycle of time, whereas, critical rites are performed occasionally with respect to need.

Bibliography

- Ahmad, H.; Yeats, R. S. and Monalisa. (2009). Geological setting of the 8 October 2005 Kashmir earthquake. *Journal of Seismology, 13* (3), 315-325.

- Hamid, N.; Dee, B. and Gilchrist, B. (2008). Nutritional status of the children in areas affected by the 2005 earthquake in northern Pakistan. *Proceedings of the Nutrition Society, 67* (OCE8 / May 2008 / E324). doi:10.1017/S002966510800997X

- Kennedy, C. H. (2006, January/February). Pakistan in 2005: Surviving Domestic and International Tremors. *Asian Survey, 46* (1), 125-131. doi:10.1525/as.2006.46.1.125

- Suhail, K.; Malik, F.; Mir, I. A.; Hasan, S. S.; Sarwar, A. and Tanveer, S. (2009). Psychological Health of Earthquake Survivors in Pakistan. *Psychology and Developing Societies, 21* (2), 183–207. doi:10.1177/097133360902100202

- ADB/WB (2005), *Pakistan 2005 Earthquake. Preliminary Damage and Needs Assessment, Islamabad*, Asian Development Bank/ World Bank

- Ahmad, Waheed (2007). *Social Structure at Stake: An Anthropological Analysis of a Transitional Society*, M. Phil thesis, Department of Anthropology, Quaid-e-Azam University, Islamabad.

- Aziz, Fiaz M. (2006), *Balakot Jo Ik Shehr Tha*, S. T Printers published by Qalam Dost, Rawalpindi

- Aziz, Fiaz M. (2000), *Mashhad Balakot: Tazkara Syed Ahmad Shaheed*, S. T Publishers, Gawalmandi, Rawalpindi

- Butt, Abdullah, (years not known), *Shah Ismaeel Shaheed*, Makki dar-ul-Kutab, Lahore

- Butt, Fazal-ur-Rehman (2007), *Household Economy, Earthquake and Social Change, A case study of Khawas Dherian, a village in Tehsil Balakot, District Mansehra*, M. Sc thesis, Department of Anthropology, Quiad-e-Azam University, Islamabad

- Bernard H, Russel (1994), *Research Methods in Anthropology, Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*, 2nd ed., Sage Publication

- Channa, Razzaque A, (2007). *Engendering empowered men and disempowered women through state and civil society discourse on rehabilitation and reconstruction on earthquake hit area*. M. Phil thesis, Department of Anthropology, Quiad-e-Azam University, Islamabad

- District Census Report (1998), *District Mansehra*, Government of Pakistan

- Gardaizee, Husain, *S. Haqaiq Tehrik e Balakot*, Majlis e Aloom-i-Islami

- Garcia-Acosta, Virginia (2002). *Historical Disaster Research* in 'Catastrophe and Culture' edited by Sussana M. Hoffman and Anthony Oliver-Smith, James Currey Ltd, 73 Botley Road, Oxford OX2 0BS

- Hoffman, Susanna M. (1998). *Eve and Adam among the Ashes: In the Gendered Terrain of disaster* in 'Through Women's Eyes'. E. Enarson and B. Morrow (Eds.) pp.55-61. Westport, CT: Greenwood

- Hoffman, Susanna M (1999a). *After Atlas Shrugged* in 'The Angry Earth: Disaster in Anthropological Perspective'. A. Oliver-Smith and S. Hoffman (Eds.) pp.302-25. NewYork: Routledge

- Hoffman, Susanna M (1999b). *The Worst of Times, the Best of Times: Towards a Cultural Response to Disaster* in 'The Angry Earth'. A. Oliver-Smith and S. Hoffman (Eds.) pp.134-55. New York: Routledge.

- Hoffman, Susanna M., and Anthony Oliver-Smith (1999). *Anthropology and the Angry Earth: An Overview* in 'The Angry Earth: Disaster in Anthropological Perspectives'. A. Oliver-Smith and S. Hoffman (Eds.) pp.1-16. New York: Routledge

- Hoffman, Susanna M. and Oliver-Smith, A (2002). *Why Anthropologists Should Study Disaster* in 'Catastrophe and Culture' edited by Susanna M. Hoffman and Anthony Oliver-Smith, James Currey Ltd, 73 Botley Road, Oxford OX and 2 0BS

- Jaah, Mehmood A, (2007), *Zalzala, Zakham Aur Zindagi*, Ilm-o-Irfan Publishers, Lahore

- Jahanpuri, Shah P. (year not known), *Shahdat Gah Balakot*, Idara Tehqiq-o-Tarikh, Lahore

- Khan, M. Arshad (1976), *Tarikh-i-Hazara: Turko Ka Ehd*. Peshawar, Ahbab Printers and Publishers

- McCabe, Terrence, J. (2002). *Impact of and Response to Drought among Turkana Pastoralists: Implications of Anthropological Theory and Hazard Research* in 'Catastrophe and Culture' edited by Susanna M. Hoffman and Anthony Oliver-Smith, James Currey Ltd, 73 Botley Road, Oxford OX2 0BS

- Mujahid, Hussain A, (2007), *Safah-i-Khak*, Ehtamam Publications, Iqbal Market, Committee Chowk, Rawalpindi

- Mehr, Rasool G. (year not known), *Syed Ahmad Shaheed*, Sheikh Ghulam Ali and Sons, Lahore

- Mehr, Rasool G. (year not known), *Jammat-i-Mujahideen*, Sheikh Ghulam Ali and Sons, Lahore

- Nadvi, Ali Abu-al-Hasan, M. (year not known), *Seerat Syed Ahmad Shaheed*, part-2, Maktaba Al-Qadir, Lahore

- Naveed-i-Rahat and Haider, S. (December 2010). After the earthquake:Education in Balakot. *Pakistan Journal of Social Sciences, Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad* , pp. 136-146.

- Oliver-Smith, Anthony (2002). *Theorizing Disaster: Nature, Power, and Culture* in Catastrophe & Culture, edited by Susanna M. Hoffman and Anthony Oliver-Smith, James Currey Ltd, 73 Botley Road, Oxford OX2 0BS

- Oliver-Smith, Anthony (In press 2010) *"Communities after Catastrophe: Reconstructing the Material, Reconstituting the Social,"* in Stanley Hyland's (Ed) *Community Building in the Twenty-First Century*, Santa Fe: School of American Research Press.

- Raza, M. A. (2001) *Chaltay Ho to Kaghan Ko Chalyye*, Raza Publications, Pasroori Gate, Qala Ahmad Abad, Narowal

- Rasheed, Amir, (year not known), *The Worst Disaster of Pakistan*, Impact, Rawaplindi

- Tariq, Muhammad, (2008). *Wadi-e-Kaghan Ke Aansu, Pal Mei Zamana Hum Se Rooth Geya*, Nasir Book Center, Qazafi Market, Urdu Bazar, Lahore

- Thanseeri, Jaffer M. (year not known), *Maktoobat-i-Syed Ahmad Shaheed*, Mandi Baha-ud-Din Gujrat

• Watson, D. H (translation in Urdu by) Prof. Ahmad, I. (2006), *Hazara Gazetteer*, Maktaba Jamal, Hassan Market, Urdu Bazar, Lahore

---

i The source of the 8th October 2005 earthquake, of magnitude 7.6, was the northwest-striking Balakot-Bagh (B-B) fault, which had been mapped by the Geological Survey of Pakistan prior to the earthquake but had not been recognized as active except for a 16-km section near Muzaffarabad. The fault follows the Indus-Kohistan Seismic Zone (IKSZ); both cut across and locally offset the Hazara-Kashmir Syntax and are defined by the Main Boundary and Panjal thrusts. The fault has no expression in the faces of the Miocene-Pleistocene Siwalik Group but does offset late Pleistocene terrace surfaces in Pakistan-administered Jammu-Kashmir. Two en-échelon anticlines near Muzaffarabad and Balakot expose Precambrian Muzaffarabad Limestone and are cut by the B-B fault on their southwest sides, suggesting that folding and exposure of Precambrian rocks by erosion accompanied Quaternary displacement along the fault. The B-B fault has reverse separation, northeast side up; uplift of the northeast side accompanied displacement, producing higher topography and steeper stream gradients northeast of the fault. (Ahmad, Yeats, and Monalisa, 2009)

Embracing Modernity Hesitantly: The Toda, an Ancient Tribe

Ashok Koshy

The Western Ghats, a mountain range that strides the western ridge of the Deccan Plateau, originates at the borders of Gujarat and Maharashtra and terminates at the very tip of South India, in Kanyakumari. The range skirts the western coast of India in close proximity to the Arabian Sea. The Western Ghats have been declared a World Heritage Site by UNESCO owing to their unique, rich and diverse character. The average height of the range is about 1,200 m going up to 2,695 m at its highest point. The Nilgiris Mountains, an integral part of the Western Ghats, cover the states of Tamil Nadu, Karnataka and Kerala in South India.


Figure 1

The Western Ghats, South India

Influx

Till the early years of the 19th century, the Nilgiris were unchartered territory to the rest of the country, best known as the Blue Mountains for the picture they presented to the people of the plains as they gazed up towards the majestic peaks. The dense forests and daunting mountain sides discouraged any adventurer from sallying into the dark forests, almost permanently covered in a thick cloak of mist at the higher ranges. History records the journeys made by an Italian Jesuit priest and, thereafter, by a group of priests belonging to the Orthodox Syrian Church of Malabar in the 17th century; however, little came of these visits. Finally, in 1817, two British civil servants attached to the Collector's office in Coimbatore undertook the perilous journey into the wildlife and malaria infested ranges. They returned ecstatic over the incredible terrain up the range that reminded them so much of "home", of Scotland in particular. It motivated the Collector of Coimbatore, John Sullivan, personally to trek through the thick forests to the very top of the ranges. Overwhelmed with the vistas of rolling downs and bracing climate, he decided to stay on and build himself a home, "Stone House", which exists to this day. The year was 1823. Unbeknownst to him, at the time, Sullivan was to lay the foundation for the establishment of Ooty town (known today as Udhagamandalam), a tiny outpost that two centuries later was to grow from shanty town to sanatorium, to cantonment and finally a bustling township - a haven for tourists seeking its salubrious climate and a commercial hub for agricultural produce that would find markets across the country and around the world. The current population of the town is about 90,000

Figure 2

Ooty and its Environs
Source: Maps of India
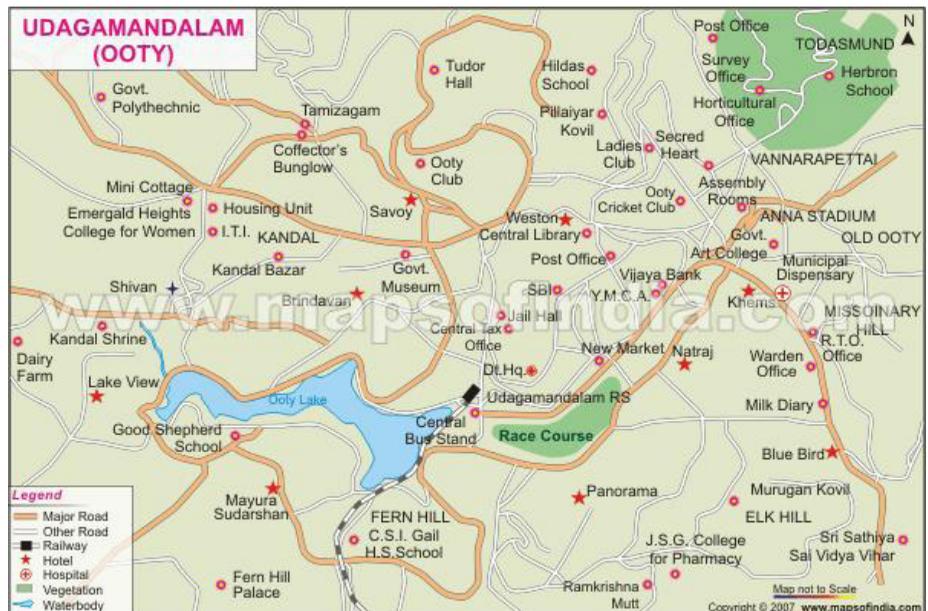
comprising of about 20,000 households. It boasts of five higher secondary schools, one government hospital (there are seven private hospitals) and four government dispensaries. The floating population of tourists runs into many thousands at the height of "the Season".

However, till the early 19th century, the Nilgiris was still covered with thick forests of indigenous species of flora as also with rambling grasslands, the downs, on the higher peaks, the 'shola' (clumps of forest in the folds of the grassy downs), swamps and streams. The Toda grazed their unique long-horned buffalo in the higher ranges of pasture lands and had their *munds* (homesteads) in these parts. The forests were a haven for wildlife including tiger, elephant, sloth bear, leopard and the Nilgiri ibis, and avian species such as the laughing thrush, hornbill, hawk and eagle. The Toda, to whom the buffalo was sacred and the sole source of their livelihood, believed that the tiger and their herd once lived in harmony with their cattle. Legend tells of the tiger being "watchdog" to the herd until a starving tiger was mocked by a cat consuming a rat. The feline's taunt turned the beast against the buffalo which it thereafter regarded as prey.

Seasons

The Nilgiris experiences four clear climatic seasons, the North-East monsoon from December to March, when temperatures range between 25 degrees Celsius and freezing point; the period between April and June is "the Season" when visitors flock to the hills to escape the scorching heat of the plains; the South West monsoon brings heavy showers to the area in the months of June through to September; thereafter, the dry but pleasant season, before the cold winter days set in. The three months of the tourist season bring rich income to the permanent residents of the hills, when even the Toda rake in revenue by posing for photographers in their traditional garb before their unique huts.

Indigenous Population

When Sullivan reached the top of the mountain, he was met by an indigenous population who were living there for many centuries. The communities were distinctly different from one another in social mores, religious practices, and agrarian preferences and even in physical appearance. The five indigenous communities were the Toda, the Kurumba, the Kota, the Irula and the Badaga. The last had moved up the mountain from the adjoining plains of Mysore in the 17th century to escape the tyranny of the rulers of the Mysore region. Of the four tribal communities, the Badaga was an agriculturist and a trader quite unlike the four original inhabitants of the Nilgiris; the Toda was looked upon by the rest as superior, being

the first to inhabit the hills. They were a distinct entity, living entirely around their sacred buffalo as herdsmen, and combing the highest ranges of the Nilgiris for grazing their cattle and meeting their daily needs by trading in milk and milk products (including bamboo milk containers and butter churns) for the daily essentials of life. The Kota were artisans functioning as potters, leather-goods manufacturers and smithies, while the Irula and the Kurumba foraged the forest for produce like honey, wax, berry and firewood to barter for their daily requirements. Till well into the 20th century, these distinct hereditary professions remained in practice amongst the five communities, and a distinctly crafted system of barter ensured that each was well taken care of as regards their daily wants. And, not unlike the caste systems that existed amongst the Hindu communities of the plains, a clear division of "upper" and "lower" divided one community from another, for example, while the Toda and the Badaga fraternise with one another, their social interaction with the other communities is somewhat limited.

Figure 3

A Toda Family

Meanwhile, Sullivan had spread the word amongst the British administration in Madras that he had discovered a location so like their own country as to provide the disease-plagued foreigners in the plains with a haven to rush to for salvation. Bridle paths were forged through the dense tree cover which in due course became transportable roads, and even a unique medium-gauge railway line was laid from the plains at Mettupalayam right up to the infant town of Ooty and the even smaller town of Coonoor en route. The British moved up the hill in increasingly large numbers to Ooty, developing it as a sanatorium for rest and recuperation. In time, a cantonment town with a resident garrison was established in Wellington, near Coonoor, and a third satellite township Kotagiri developed not far from Ooty. Encouraged by the "English" weather and the lush and verdant surroundings, the government in Madras decided to move to Ooty for six months each year. As was inevitable, such a move brought with it traders, laborers, cooks and housemaids, and other camp followers. A shanty town was developing around the foreign presence in Ooty. On the heels of this foreign influx came the rich and the influential; rajas and maharajas from across India came, saw and were enraptured, they too purchased land from the locals and built large holiday homes for themselves. The

infrastructure for a township, albeit tiny at this stage, was surely and permanently being established.

The Toda watched with awe and distress this sudden transformation of their lands. Since they were the very original inhabitants, they surveyed and were not amused at what they were witnessing. Sullivan acquired large parcels of land from the Toda's prized pastures for sums as insignificant as one rupee an acre, and as the town grew, the Toda found themselves increasingly alienated from what was free range territory to them for many centuries. But, while change was inevitable, the Toda were not to be led by the nose into this "brave new world". And resist they did, for the better part of a century. Even today, there remain stray pockets where the Toda continue to live as their ancestors did and practise social and religious customs they hold dear, albeit with more than a little concession to the changing times.

Life in a Toda *Mund* – Past and Present

The Toda are a tall and regal community whose origins have at some point of time been linked with the "Lost Tribes" of Israel. The connection apparently draws not only from their stature but also from the manner of dress and even the embroidery on their stark white garments. The needlework is of a high order and has a striking resemblance to the embroidery famed in Mediterranean countries. Without any proof to the contrary, it is generally believed by anthropologists that they are part of the Dravidian population of South India. Their language, which lacks a script, has definite affinity to the Dravidian languages.

The Toda dress simply with a large, white sheet like garment that is thrown over their person, not unlike the plaid of a Scottish Highlander. A loincloth is the only other apparel they wear. Their dwellings are likewise unique. The hut is oval shaped and barrel-like, standing ten feet tall, eighteen feet long and nine feet across. A tiny entrance, three feet tall and three feet wide, often requires all adult movement into and out of the dwelling on all fours. There is no ventilation. The objective is to keep wild animals at

Figure 4

Decorated Entrance of Toda Home

Figure 5

The Sacred Temple

bay and to protect themselves from the often freezing temperatures. The construction is of bamboo, rattan and thatch with granite "walls" in the front and the back of the hut, and a loosely constructed stone wall separates one hut from another.

The *mund* or hamlet consists of not more than three or four huts with a separate hut for buffalo calves and one that houses their temple and local priest.

The residents of a *mund* are invariably inter-related and form a bigger family. A separate well-constructed pen of solid granite encloses the buffalo herd that is both a religious symbol and a source of income – Toda are herdsmen first and last and shun all other professions. The Toda worship the buffalo but also pray to a pantheon of other gods. The annual sacrifice of a young male buffalo forms the main religious function in their calendar. The priest manning the temple is chosen from amongst the clan and may function for life or for a limited period. However, during his tenure strict observations are expected of him which include celibacy (if married, he must leave his wife); eat only special grains procured from the Badaga community; tend and milk the sacred buffalos. The Toda are pure vegetarians; the carcass of dead animals is carried away by other meat-eating communities.

Status of Women

The status of women in the Toda community can leave a stranger to their customs alarmed. Female infanticide was prevalent until Sullivan had the British government pass orders banning the practice. The custom of placing the infant girl before a herd of charging buffalos is believed to have existed but is hotly denied by the Toda today. The Toda also practised fraternal polyandry, where a woman was married to the brothers of a family and lived under one roof with all of them. A rather unusual practice amongst the Toda was that of "woman snatching". Men could make away with a woman of their choice by sheer physical force where the views of the woman were perhaps neglected. The Toda also practised child marriage where infant girls were betrothed to males in the community, often of considerable age. The girl was expected to move into her groom's home at puberty, any reluctance to do so would result in heavy "fines" – the transfer of heads of cattle to the "aggrieved groom". Today, none of these practices exist, with the exception of fraternal polyandry in a very limited manner. The advent of British missionaries who opened schools in the growing town, the establishment of welfare organisations catering exclusively

to the interests of the Toda, chaired by the Collector (but often with no Toda representative on board), medical facilities and Post-Independence budgetary provisions for the development of the tribal in general and the Toda in particular, blew in some winds of change. The Toda woman is far from liberated today, and in keeping with the status of women in rural India, continues to remain in the shadow of a predominantly patriarchal society. But change there is, and with education in particular, a number of Toda women (and men) have entered professions in the town of Ooty and in other parts of the country. One of the Toda women qualified as a nurse and married a German baron. The couple have furthered the cause of the Toda both within the country and abroad.

The Ultimate Herdsman

For centuries, the Toda practised only dairying and bartering the milk, *ghee* (clarified butter) and dairy utensils for all their daily needs, which included food grain, salt, clothing, utensils and building material. With the arrival of the British, the extensive grazing pastures where they roamed with their cattle at will were no longer available to them. The local administration in nearby Coimbatore and subsequently in Ooty, where the office of a Collector was established with the carving of the town as the district headquarter with the same name, quickly annexed these lands and transferred large parcels of them to the Forest Department for reforestation with alien species like eucalyptus and wattle, and the Irrigation and Electricity Departments for hydel projects. The shrinking pasture lands did not deter the more orthodox Toda from refusing to consider any other form of livelihood, including agriculture. The administration allotted 45 acres to every *mund* for the express purpose of cultivation, also retaining some pasture lands for exclusive Toda use. The Toda responded by either leaving the land meant for cultivation fallow or leased it out to the more than eager Badaga for cultivation on a tenancy basis. Today, that scenario has altered and the Toda, by and large, cultivates his land (while retaining his herd), growing grain, pulses, potato and vegetables on the terraced slopes of the hills.

The Toda population, in and around the Nilgiris and in parts of Tamil Nadu, numbers about 1,750. Of these, some 450 are Christian converts. The active Christian missions in the towns of Ooty, Coonoor and Kotagiri left no stone unturned to proselytise, with hardly any success in the early part of the 20th century but with rapid progress thereafter. Conversion for the Toda meant instant excommunication from the community which turned its back on the convert, not permitting any further communication with him. Invariably, such converts sought spouses amongst the Tamils, Kannadigas and Malayalis from adjoining areas, their children no longer being considered Toda. The Toda Christian is quite unrecognizable from

his forebears, living a lifestyle as modern as any inhabitant of the town. They live in pucca brick and cement houses, wear western clothing, are employed in every profession available to others and retain no links with their past. Despite living in the Nilgiris for centuries, it might seem strange that the Toda population has remained small. Female infanticide created a natural imbalance in the male-female ratio, coupled with outbreaks of venereal disease (in 1927, out of 465 blood samples taken, 49% were found to be infected), high rate of infant mortality (400 out of 1000 live births), and rampant infertility (20% of the women examined were believed to be infertile). The Toda insist the "scourge" was brought up the mountain by the "invaders" of their homeland. The mushrooming of medical facilities in the town and dispensaries catering to Toda needs quickly checked venereal disease with doses of penicillin, and counselling and medication prevented the community from certain extinction. Today, even the male – female ratio has stabilised; there are 803 females to 757 males.

Funeral Rites

The Toda funerary rites are not for the faint hearted but they are taken very seriously by the entire community. Before cremation, the young men of the particular clan cast off their covering sheets and dressed solely in their loincloth give chase to the sacrificial buffalo by driving it down a steep slope all the while thrashing its hind quarters with sticks until the animal tires, at which point a young man grabs the animal by the horns while another strikes the death blow with the blunt end of an axe, the idea being to not shed blood as the animal needs to be transported "whole" to the other world to serve the deceased. At the funeral of a priest, the animals are chosen from the sacred pen attached to the *mund* temple. The rather distressing scenario is further aggravated by the fact that in the past as many as eight to ten animals were sacrificed depending on the importance and cattle wealth of the deceased. Alarmed by the practice, the local administration supported strongly by the more enlightened in the community have spoken out against the practice. Today, only a single or a couple of buffalos are thus sacrificed, while most Toda have done away with this part of their funeral rites.

Figure 7

Funerary Rites
Source: Arctic Photo

Agrarian Shift

With the "colonization" of the hills in the first half of the 19th century, the British set about laying plans for the "commercialisation" of this beautiful territory. Thousands of acres were "acquired" from the original inhabitants and converted into hitherto unknown cropping patterns. Tea and coffee were the favored plantations and, ere long, forests were felled and rolling downs converted into these plantations. The *sahibs* became large plantation owners, built sprawling bungalows and engaged large numbers of local and imported labor to work the plantations. The revenues were substantial, and the produce provided delectable drinks at afternoon tea "back home". But the Toda steadfastly refused to either work the plantations or even consider planting these alien bushes. The Badaga, on the other hand, had no such qualms and over a period of time, fine agriculturists and astute traders that they were, came to acquire many of the plantations left behind by the English with the dawn of Independent India. Today, the Nilgiri hills are cloaked with tea plantations that rake in rich dividends for their owners, the local Badaga, and the plainsman Marwari. Similarly, large tracts of open land were planted with eucalyptus and wattle, species totally unknown to the region. Time has proved the folly of these choices, the already fragile groundwater of the region is rendered at grave risk of total depletion with these alien plantations. The British administration also introduced potato and vegetable cultivation, a move supported by the Indian government post-Independence. Schemes for terracing the hillside for potato, vegetable and floriculture have proved very popular even for the small landholder who finds avid markets for his produce across the country. With the advent of cold store chains and effective logistics, their cultivation has proved an economic boon to the residents of the Nilgiris. But the Toda, unlike the four other indigenous residents of the Nilgiris, solidly turned away from any practice other than dairying. But theirs was a losing battle. With the introduction of high yielding, cross-bred cows, the cooperative dairies programme and excellent veterinary services, the Toda buffalo was proving a liability in the fiercely competitive market place. The barter system was now history and life revolved around the large market in the heart of Ooty. The Toda's traditional customers no longer sought their milk and milk products from them, preferring the easily accessible polythene sachet or 'tetra-pack' milk purchased on a cash and carry basis, coupled with a wide variety of choices in food, clothing and domestic requirements available in the market place. It also became a gathering place to exchange pleasantries, gossip and make social contacts. With a fair section of the rather small community also having embraced a new religion, Christianity, and turned their back on everything traditional, the Toda was bound to lose heavily in the numbers game and be reduced to penury. On the clear principle that if you cannot kick them, join them – the Toda have in the last quarter of the last century and in the first decade of the 21st century entered the

mainstream of life in the town of Udhagamandalam (Ooty) – albeit with hesitation and some measure of regret.

The unmarked rambling downs; the rich sholas; the clear, crystal brooks; the peaks where their gods resided; their pride – the long horned buffalo; their unique dwellings and a way of life lived over centuries has passed into history, never to be relived. Instead, the Toda moves into the new century, albeit tentatively, trying to understand the market economy, cultivating the fields allotted to him by the government with potato and vegetable, constructing houses like any other in the town, discovering new neighbors, and dressing in clothing he never dreamt he would acquire. They are radio and television announcers, medical professionals in hospitals, teachers in local colleges and schools, and man desks in government offices. Only a small handful remain, dressed in their beautiful wrap-around; their women sporting long, buffalo fat smeared ringlets of hair; their buffalo still penned near their *mund* and their dairy products ready for market. They might just be the last generation of a proud tribe that once walked the Nilgiris like kings, respecting and respected, proud of their centuries' long heritage and practices, and regal in bearing. The glory, regrettably, would seem to have departed from their souls.

The Author is indebted to the following for their invaluable inputs.

Dr. Tarun Chhabra has been studying indigenous Toda ethnography and ethnobotany for the last two decades. He founded the Toda Nalavazhvu Sangam along with some Toda elders to restore many facets of traditional Toda cultural practices and in providing myriad developmental schemes to the original inhabitants of the upper Nilgiris. He has published over 50 articles for journals and magazines all over the world; including some chapters of international books.

Madhavi Ravindranath is Station head at All India Radio (AIR) Station, Ooty.

Dr. Anthony Walker is professor of anthropology at Universiti Brunei Darussalam; he has also taught at universities in Malaysia, Singapore, the USA and Fiji and is Senior Editor of the journal contributions to SE Asian Ethnography. Anthony's major field research has been among the Toda and Lahu peoples. He has authored many books including *The Toda of South India* (1986), *Between Tradition and Modernity and Other Essays on the Toda of South India* (1998).

W. H. R Rivers was an English anthropologist, neurologist, ethnologist and psychiatrist, best known for his work with shell-shocked soldiers during World War I. He is also famous for his participation in the Torres Straits expedition of 1898, and his consequent seminal work on the subject of kinship.

Photographs by Northey Kuutan.

Life of the Pastoral Bharwad in Rajkot (Gujarat, India): Ethnic Sustainability in Transition

Eesha Thaker

For many communities and ethnic groups, their intangible cultural heritage is an essential source of identity, deeply rooted in the past – a veritable melting pot for creative expression and a driving force for living cultures. The decisive factors considered indispensable for documentation and interpreting intangible cultural heritage are: 1. The forms of popular and traditional expression such as languages, oral literature, music, dance, games, mythology, rituals, costumes, craftwork, know-how, architecture; and, 2. The cultural spaces, that is, citing places where popular and traditional cultural activities take place. Also, noteworthy is the conflict and evolution of the cultural and modern expressions of art and indigenous knowledge.

This study enquires into the present state of the pastoral Bharwad community, in Rajkot (Gujarat, India), in context with accelerating inflation constraints which compel them to embrace imposing simulative occupations, consequently deserting traditional sustenance patterns. This is an effort to comparatively study transitional settlement patterns of the Bharwad (pastorals resorting to sedentary life) and migrant residents belonging to diverse social strata, to try and understand the assimilation of the Bharwad community, a relatively smaller faction within the developing agglomerate populace of the city. Interestingly, the common deciding factors of both these kinds of settlements and movements (pastorals and migrant residents) are primarily susceptible to being led or even disrupted by climatic, economic and political change. Sustenance for pastorals greatly depends upon their livestock-yielding capacity based on the breeders' considerable skill and knowledge (a quintessential attribute of their distinctive intangible culture) acquired over generations in such business. The integration within human agglomerations has the approach of exploiting chances offered by immediate circumstances. Such resettling patterns are typically practised in the developing world. The social standing of the Bharwad as a community in contemporaneous society continues to lead its members into adopting city-life professions in an effort to integrate within so-called modern society. Dependable income is evidently prospective, contrary to the seasonal and laborious

livestock rearing profession. Traditional materials are replaced with the exposure to life in cities; for example, their customary dwellings – present Bharwad homesteads do not differ much from modern homes in structure and material; neither could a Bharwad be identified from his/her clothing or adornments (they employ time-saving devices such as machine embroidery and readymade trims). Besides, communal organization – ethnic identity within a diverse cultural ecology – of a single community disrupts, for example, consequential intermarriages between the diverse communities and castes living in close proximity. The living traditions of the pastoral Bharwad lie in the hands of their forthcoming generation. In perceiving the value of craft in ensuring sustainability, handicraft activities (to begin with) are sought to be economically and culturally viable for preserving material traditions, enabling a livelihood through consciously innovating their art.

As a result of preliminary field work carried out in and around the city of Rajkot, some characteristic intangible qualities of the Bharwad community have thoughtfully been brought out. It is an elaborate task, having to get across the purpose of studying the 'intangible cultural heritage' – terms which require considerable rendition to such a community and in *Gujarati* at that. Their simplistic response being an amusing exercise of facial expressions, supplemented with exclamatory remarks of amazement at someone's interest in their community. To be startled at such intrusive probing is a common occurrence, often holding their surprise in a chuckle. One might as well get used to being 'an object of curiosity' rather than expecting to draw curiosity driven scholarly research out of them! After all the elbow nudging, side winks, lip smacking, eye rolling, hand tapping and children piling giggling snoopy looks, that is, once the routine amusement is over, with a traditional manner of a nice warm hug, a *rakaabi* (saucer) of *chai* (extra sweet milk tea) is served, and they are ready but in no hurry to answer all the curious questions. Simply, the feeling of experiencing such comfort, from complete strangers, not just an acquaintance, strums innate chords which are certainly exceptional yet jarring in our 'modern' societies; a breakthrough in first-hand experience of 'intangibility' of a tangible community. Theirs is a culture bound to be 'touched' by that which 'holds' our attention. For example, from simple visual impressions, their modernity is evident in their communal tattoos, rooted in traditional customary practices and one of the earliest forms of 'identity adornments'.

There is a great deal of interest in present-day market trends for 'folk' designs, '*gamthi*' motifs, 'traditional' patterns, and indigenous techniques; whether in textiles (cotton being replaced with polyester, a difference in material and not design) and various household utility articles, or in dwellings which have altered in structure and material, or ritual practices modified according to convenience (a popular trend of manipulative religious practices, since time immemorial). Particularly deliberating over such intangible cultural traits which are fortunately prevalent and preserved in the Bharwad community, we wonder from where we get this 'inspiration'. What are the values that the existing society is contending with and how far has it come from its derivation? Rather, there is this query - a driving force for gauging popular culture and adopting a demeanor which would completely erase the inherent qualities of the ones which are actually oppressive. This is a frighteningly 'deconstructive' trend. How 'cool' is that? And yet, in spite of all the alteration, there seems to be this innate quality which distinguishes the Bharwad. They may live in concrete houses, wear jeans and T-shirts, drape synthetics, enjoy eating at Ching-Chong *laaris*, flaunt the latest mobile phones, own SUVs… their manner of greeting, the warmth in their smiling eyes, their sense of community belonging and responsibility, family bonding and the respect given to elders, the importance of a community consensus for making a decision on any occasion; these are their 'collectible intangibles' which render them their remarkable character. A young Bharwad boy, displaying the newest haircut, would still not be able to cover his DNA in his physicality. Their dialect is unique. Besides, the Bharwad have retained their original and distinguishing ornaments – more for their significance, than with any intention of making a fashion statement, giving them a distinct identity – which cannot go unmarked even in the present-day scenario, which is sure to carry a meaning beyond the impression they make.

The Bharwad have complete faith in their village elders and their religious head, called a '*Bhuwa*' (spiritual head/priest, usually a male member of the community, especially since the past few decades) who is not appointed (nor is priesthood hereditary) but a highly revered, enlightened, spiritual individual, who in turn is accepted and venerated without reservation. A *Bhuwa* is principally associated with being a medium between the living and ancestral spirits. It is the *Bhuwa* who presides over religious and secular ceremonies, initiates ritualistic offerings and commemorates celebratory occasions. Interestingly, the Bharwad remain, to this very day, primarily Nature worshippers. They idolize '*Shakti*' (worship of

the Divine Mother). Consequently, the Bharwad adulate female deities (a practice which brings to mind the female figurines symbolic of the fertility cult, of proto-historic times) such as '*Amba-Ma*', '*Khodiyar-Ma*', '*Meldi-Ma*', '*Brahmani-Ma*', '*Surapura-Ma*'; to name a few. However, some of them have been borrowed from the Hindu pantheon. The nine '*avatars*' or incarnations of '*Shakti*' or Goddess Parvati, wife of Lord Shiva, greatly celebrated during *Navratri* ('*Nav-*' meaning nine and '*-ratri*' meaning night) when people express reverence for their faith by dancing and singing. There are deities, who have been enshrined in temples, for example, '*Maso-Ma*', and '*Rani-Ma Rudi-Ma*'. The primary male deities are '*Vachhda Dada*' and '*Ramdev Pir*'. The Bharwad take considerable pride in the history of their wandering ascetics; holy men and women who preached the faith in the form of folklore. Prominent mention may be made of *Raghu Bhagat* (at Dwarka), *Lakhu Nath Bapu* (at Dhrol), *Veeram Nath* (at Dhrol), *Lakshman Bhagat* (near Morvi), *Shivpuri Bapu* (Jadavada, near the Pakistan border), *Godh Ma* (Gatrad, near Junagadh), and *Maso Ma – Puniya Mama*. To discuss the myths of the origin of these venerated deities, may not be considered within the scope of this paper. However, the rhetorical description including minute details, enhanced and complemented with dialectic charm, of the lore of their gods, is another intangible experience. Recording such oratory is a valuable tool in documenting and interpreting the intangible cultural heritage of the Bharwad community.

Fairs and festivals play a significant role in the lives of pastoral communities. All celebrations follow the lunar calendar. Their wanderings depend on seasonal changes and therefore they associate a lot of importance to celebrating auspicious days, such as '*Poonam*' (full-moon), '*Gokul Aatham*' (a particular eighth day of the ascending moon cycle. They observe a customary '*Nived*' (a thanksgiving ritual for the family deity), and '*Kadi-Chaudas*' (the fourteenth day of the receding moon cycle). These ceremonies have a lot in common with most Hindu customs. It may be worth considering that this may be the result of obvious influences, as a consequence of diverse communities and faiths living in close proximity over a period of time. Talking of fairs and the purpose they serve, for example, '*Tarnetar no medo*' is associated with matchmaking and marriages (*Tarnetar*, derived from '*Tri-netra*' or the one with the third eye, synonymous to Lord Shiva of the Hindu Trinity). Similarly, there are other popular fairs of various pastoral communities and tribes, being greatly promoted by the State in order to attract tourism. Although, the association of various fairs to a community's tradition has

already been studied by established scholarship, and considering the scope of this study is focusing on the intangible cultural heritage, an exhaustive account of the fairs and festivals of the Bharwad is seemingly out of place in the present context. However, the intrinsic socio-religious significance of these fairs, whether religious or secular in nature, is essential for an analogous understanding.

One of the most celebrated festivals of the Bharwad community, and the most popular, is *Navratri* (as mentioned earlier). Traditional '*Raas*' and '*Garba*' (dance forms) are performed, along with songs accompanied by traditional musical instruments, which extol the beauty of Lord Krishna's illustriously celebrated '*Leela*'. A lot has altered in the course of time, from the traditional hymns being replaced by a cacophony of popular, 'filmy' tunes (to the extent of even performing in popular movie musicals with just the beat of the drum as background rhythm) and live music being substituted with audio DVDs. Such is the nature of cultural transition, especially in a developing society like ours. Simultaneously, this modern intervention has had a positive impact and provided not only religious stimulus but also influenced secular functions.

The Bharwad community, in the present societal structure, given a developing urban context, is reduced to earning their income from make-shift '*thelaas*' (make-shift roadside stalls) selling *paan* (betel nut) and *chai* (tea), driving auto-rickshaws and '*chhakdas*' (three-wheeled motor-carts), and the fortunate few have come up with dairies supplying milk and milk products (in an effort to continue with their traditional means of sustenance by practising animal husbandry, although in a sedentary fashion). Some of the marginally 'advanced' members of the community have, however, made their mark in almost all sections of society.

Holding societal responsibilities in order to represent the community's standing and in an effort to bring forth their progressive eminence, qualified members amongst the Bharwad community, have taken the opportunity to represent their identity by holding government offices at several administrative levels. Engaging in activities, such as representing their community at various political, social and cultural events for building a strong sense of development for the community's welfare, is taken up enthusiastically by individuals who think they are capable of such respectful, dependable work. Contrary to the general belief, the majority of the present-day youth of the Bharwad community happen to be the first generation to have had any formal education.

Through successive generations as pastoral nomads, the Bharwad have naturally learnt to face difficulties posed by challenging circumstances. No doubt, for a people who have learnt to tame adversities to their advantage, finding a means of livelihood (and a profitable one) is no small matter. Indisputably, the Bharwad community has a place in the neo-rich circles of our society – their children study in international schools; the Bharwads have become sought after proprietors owing to their inheritance of land (with the recent boom in real estate) as a result of ever increasing urbanization. Nevertheless, irrespective of how rich and affluent the Bharwad may become, their homes continue to display beadwork '*torans*' (gateway decorations), and their '*abherai*' (shelves) are lined with vessels and utensils being proudly shown-off belonging to the family's daughter(s)-in-law. In addition, they adorn themselves with their traditional garb during all festive occasions, expressing pride in observing such customary practice. On a personal level, such an inclination points to a deep-rooted inherent need to illustrate their characteristic traits – yet another inseparable intangible quality, which fortunately remains, although not entirely unaltered, in customary practice and which credits them with their traditional character.

Kinship between pastoral communities connects them as far as their respective myths of origin, and therefore, studying the Bharwad in isolation would be an incomplete rendering. The Bharwad convincingly associate themselves very closely with Lord Krishna (believed to be their nephew, on the mother's side) whom they consider to be their progenitor. Mythology has it that when Lord Krishna was trying to carry the *Gowardhan* mountain on his index finger, the Bharwad quarreled over helping Lord Krishna in supporting the great mountain with their '*Daang*' (shepherd-sticks). It is since such early times that the Bharwad are marked to have an intolerable temper and a boisterous attitude, owing to which they shamefully ended up in a brawl with Lord Krishna. As a result of their offensive behavior, Lord Krishna took off to Dwarka; the act which entitles Him to one of the innumerable names, '*Ranchhod*' (the one who abandons). It is a strong belief among the Bharwad, to this day, that prayers may be granted and one's efforts may bear fruits, if one pays respect at the Dwarka shrine for twelve consecutive '*Poonam*' (full moon) days. Another version of the conflict with Lord Krishna (or the origin of the myth), which grew out of proportion, narrates how the Bharwad quarreled about the right for cattle grazing.

In retaliation, Lord Krishna thought it best to teach these rowdy Bharwad a lesson and cursed them and expelled them to '*Daanav-lok*' (hell). Interestingly, it was only the male members who were banished to hell. After briefly enjoying peace, the female members of the Bharwad community found it difficult and naturally could not live without their men-folk, having the imposed burden of toiling for the chores of a pastoral life besides caring for their children and maintaining a household. They duly prayed an apology to Lord Krishna to forgive their men-folk for being so wilful. Lord Krishna modeled clay figures and presented them to the womenfolk, explaining that these were now the replacements for their banished men and order was restored in society.

These divinely handcrafted Bharwad came to be known as '*Mota-bhai*' (elder brother) and had comparatively positive traits of character as compared to their banished counterparts, which gives them their individual characteristic identity. However, fate had to play yet another game. The men-folk driven away returned, now with families, having made alliances with the '*Naag-kanyas*' (serpentine females); they came to be known as the '*Nana-bhai*' (younger brother) – considered to have a disreputable character, being frequently involved in conflicts and quarrels, even often involved in land-grabbing or other illegal activities. To this day, the '*Nana-bhai*' Bharwad female folk are said to owe their beauty to such a legendary alliance. The '*Mota-bhai*' Bharwad speak of their latter half with a streak of contempt. Although, both arguably belong to the Bharwad community, they do not share much amiability to date, and refuse even to share a meal, leave alone have any societal alliances like inter-marriages. They have different customs, practices, rituals, dress differently, are known by their characteristic adornments; for example, the men wear a distinctive '*Kadu*' which would help distinguish them while greeting and shaking hands when making an acquaintance. Such accounts are narrated with considerable conviction, almost denying it as a form of folklore, rather making it sound like an incident of yester times. This quality of discourse may also be considered an intangible trait of their tangible existence.

The rationale for sustainability, especially of community groups such as the pastoral Bharwad, cannot be argued. Development anthropology is scientific research with significant application and an objective to enhance benefits and mitigate negative consequences for the communities involved in and affected by development efforts. Correspondingly, in order to understand the present condition/

settlement pattern of the community dwellings of the Bharwad in and around the region of *Saurashtra* and *Kathiawad* in Gujarat, it is crucial to try and understand parallel developments of urbanization, multiple and/or equal opportunity for employment, the demand for commercial labor, to assimilate within our so-called modern society the result of being minority groups; simply to mention a few notions in justifying the sustainability of such pre-industrialized community groups and their individual and collective growth is not enough. The chief rationale is perhaps that local intangible cultural heritage is rapidly replaced by a standardized monoculture, fostered not only by socio-economic but also by the progress of information and transport techniques. The intangible nature of heritage also makes it vulnerable. Today, with the sway of the market economy, the repositories of these ancient traditions are switching to professions with greater monetary returns. Furthermore, the pace of this change, needless to say, will inevitably escalate - resulting in many of these traditions and arts escaping from our living memory.

In the eventual progress of this study, the sustainability of the Bharwad community needs to be addressed by reviewing the response of a few (and duly approaching many more) members of the community, in order to have a better understanding of their future needs, for providing future generations with the same sense of reassurance in community belonging, and more important, in order to preserve their delicate fabric of intangible cultural heritage while pursuing a viable livelihood.

The speculative transmutation of culture into intangible heritage continues to undergo elaboration and development as it grows in acceptance. Most important of all, the terms and concepts of "orality" and "literacy" have come to be replaced with the more useful and apt "traditionality" and "textuality". Many of the criticisms of the theory have been absorbed into the evolving field as useful refinements and modifications. A number of individual scholars in many areas continue to have misgivings about the applicability of the theory of skillfully transmuting intangible heritage in successive material cultures – implications for creativity which may legitimately be attributed to the individual artist. At present, there seem to be few systematic or theoretically coordinated challenges to the fundamental tenets of such a theory. However, a number of its manifestations, such as traditional and popular music, dance, festivals and know-how of craft production, oral traditions and local languages and dialects have already disappeared or are jeopardized. The anticipated study objectively intends to review,

recollect and reassess the material culture, in order to support and comprehend the intangible cultural heritage of the pastoral communities of Gujarat.

During the course of fieldwork, the one thing which came across most evidently is the realization of the tender nature of intangible culture – an inheritance which initially flowed through various attributes of tradition (such as household skills, knowledge of customary specialization in breeding animals, playing musical instruments) – yet, the fervor to acquaint the forthcoming generations with essential intangible folklore for their future, amounts to an adverse act; it is the kind of inheritance which requires extemporized modeling and remains crucial in the context of evolving societies. The value of such heritage, if bypassed, is likely to repeat not just history but create yet another proto-history. For only the most simplified forms of culture are witnessed to have survived in progressive cultural ecology, unless of course, we make a conscientious effort to emphasize the meaning and purpose of such an intangible inheritance as an analogy to our collective cultural development.

However, for the present context, a prospective model which may be found useful is a technique called "Q Methodology" which is intended to be employed in due course of time, having carried out extensive fieldwork. It is a diagnostic tool aimed at studying participant subjectivity. This methodology combines qualitative survey-based data gathering techniques with statistical analysis, and is underpinned by a desire to prioritize the individual's point of view and the perspectives they offer. Q Methodology can be used to illustrate the divisions implicit in the discourses that organize and regulate the management of tangible and intangible heritage. The two concepts of 'heritage' may exist in tandem but they have never really intersected. Simply put, the two draw from separate discourses that have trouble communicating. Q Methodology offers methodological insight into these discourses and seeks to establish frameworks for the facilitation of dialogue. It requires participants to sort through a series of statements reflecting upon heritage and its management and make distinctions between the various viewpoints expressed. The questions and statements used in this exercise may so be composed as to question both tangible and intangible heritage and designed to tease out consensus, contestation and possible points of negotiation. Overall, then, such a case study may eventually provide an opportunity to assess and interpret a number of individual understandings of heritage in relation to how others see it and perhaps sponsor a course for communication that moves beyond the 'problems of discourse'.

Literary References

- "*Asian Embroidery*", Abhinav Publications and Crafts Council of India, 2004, Editor: Jasleen Dhamija (Faculty of Fine Arts Library, TT 771.A8A8.D4)

- "*Dryad Handicraft Instruction Leaflets*", Dryad Handicrafts, Leicester (Faculty of Fine Arts Library, TT 160.D7)

- "*Living Traditions of India – Crafts of Gujarat*", 1985, Editor: Jasleen Dhamija, Mapin International Inc., New York (Faculty of Fine Arts Library, NK 1048.G8L4.D4)

- Basa, Kishor K., Mohammad Rehan, Ravindra K. Gupta; 2007, "*Museology – A Comprehensive Bibliography and Webliography*", Indira Gandhi Rashtriya Manav Sanghrahalaya – National Museum of Mankind, Bhopal, India; Serials Publishers, New Delhi (Faculty of Fine Arts Library, Z 5052.B2.M8)

- Bedekar, Prof. (Dr.) V.H., 1995, "*New Museology for India*", National Museum Institute of History of Art, Conservation and Museology, New Delhi (India)

- Bhan, K.K., and D.R. Shah, "*Pastoral Adaptation in the Late Harappan Tradition of Western India with Specific Reference to Gujarat*", paper presented at the seminar on *Rising Trends in Palaeoanthropology: Environmental Changes and Human Responses (Last Two Million Years)*, Pune, 1990

- Bhan, K.K., 1994, "*Cultural Development of the Prehistoric Period in North Gujarat with Reference to Western India*", South Asian Studies 10

- Bhan, Kuldeep K., 2011, "*Occasional Paper 10 – Linguistics, Archaeology and the Human Past*", Indus Project Research Institute for Humanity and Nature, Kyoto, Japan; Edited by: Toshiki Osada and Akinori Uesugi

- Bhan, Kuldeep K., March 2004, "*Indus Civilization Sites In India – New Discoveries*", Marg Publications Vol. 55 No. 3 (National Centre for the Performing Arts, Army and Navy Building, 3rd Floor, 148, Mahatma Gandhi Road, Mumbai 400001 India), Edited by Dilip K. Chakrabarti; "*In the Sand Dunes of North Gujarat*", pp. 96-105

- Bortolotto, Chiara; (Istituto di Arti, Culture e Letterature Comparate, Università IULM); 13th May 2006; 7th Annual Cambridge Heritage Seminar – 'Intangible-Tangible Cultural Heritage: A Sustainable Dichotomy?' (Session 2 – Cultural Heritage Forms and Meanings); Abstract: "*Living human treasures and their tangible products: traditional whistles in Matera*"

- Bounhiss, Mohamed; (PhD student, City University, London); 13th May 2006; 7th Annual Cambridge Heritage Seminar – 'Intangible-Tangible Cultural Heritage: A Sustainable Dichotomy?' (Session 3 – Interpretation and Representation); Abstract: "*The intangible heritage challenge and ecomuseology in Morocco*"

- Boylan, Patrick J.; (Professor Emeritus in Heritage Policy and Management, Department of Cultural Policy and Management, City University, London); 13th May 2006; 7th Annual Cambridge Heritage Seminar – 'Intangible-Tangible Cultural Heritage: A Sustainable Dichotomy?' (Session 3 – Interpretation and Representation); Abstract: "*The Intangible Heritage: A Challenge and an Opportunity for Museums and Museum Professional Training*"

- Buhler, Alfred, and Eberhard Fischer, 1979, "*The Patola of Gujarat – Double Ikat in India*", Volume 2, Publication of the Rock Foundation, New York, and the Museum of Ethnography, Basle (Faculty of Fine Arts Library, TT 849.Z3G8.B8.2)

- Burgess, James, 1971, *Antiquities of Kathiawad and Kutch*, Archaeological Survey of India

- Byrne, Sarah; (Institute of Archaeology, University College, London); 13th May 2006; 7th Annual Cambridge Heritage Seminar – 'Intangible-Tangible Cultural Heritage: A Sustainable Dichotomy?' (Session 3 – Interpretation and Representation); Abstract: "*Archaeological research implications and the case study Papua New Guinea*"

- Calvo-Valderrama, Adrian; (UNESCO, Intangible Heritage Section and Université Pierre Mendès-France, Grenoble, France); 13th May 2006; 7th Annual Cambridge Heritage Seminar – 'Intangible-Tangible Cultural Heritage: A Sustainable Dichotomy?' (Session 1 - Dichotomy/Discourse Development and Analysis); Abstract: "*Tangible to Intangible Cultural Heritage: A Sociological Question*"

- Carman, John; (Institute of Archaeology and Antiquity, University of Birmingham); 13th May 2006; 7th Annual Cambridge Heritage Seminar – 'Intangible-Tangible Cultural Heritage: A Sustainable Dichotomy?' (Session 2 – Cultural Heritage Forms and Meanings); Abstract: "'*Castles in the Air': the intangibility of the tangible*"

- Chattopadhyaya, Kamaladevi, 1963, "*Indian Handicrafts*", (Indian Council for Cultural Relations), Allied Publishers Pvt. Ltd. (Faculty of Fine Arts Library, TT 147. I4C4)

- Chattopadhyaya, Kamaladevi, 1975, "*Craft Centres In India – Handicrafts of India*", Indian Council for Cultural Relations (Faculty of Fine Arts Library, TT 147.I4C4)

- Choe, Jong Ho, August 1994, "*Dangi Culture Through Museums – Collection, Documentation and Interpretation of the Material Culture of the Tribal Communities of Dangs*", Vol. I – II, a thesis submitted to The M.S. University of Baroda as a partial fulfillment for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Museology (Guide: Dr. R.T. Parikh)

- Frater, Judy, 1995, "*Threads of Identity – Embroidery and Adornments of the nomadic Rabaris*", Mapin

- Gostelow, Mary, 1977, "*Embroidery – Traditional designs, techniques and patterns from all over the world*", Marshall Cavendish Limited: London

- "*Indian Archaeology*" 1984-85 – A Review, pp. 12-18; 1990-1991 – A Review, pp.14-16

- Irwin, John, P.R. Schwart, 1966, "*Studies in Indo-European Textile History*", Calico Museum of Textiles Ahmedabad, India (Faculty of Fine Arts Library, TS 1403.I7)

- Koerner, Stephanie and Lorna Singleton; (University of Manchester); 13th May 2006; 7th Annual Cambridge Heritage Seminar – 'Intangible-Tangible Cultural Heritage: A Sustainable Dichotomy?' (Session 1 - Dichotomy/Discourse Development and Analysis); Abstract: "*The Unquiet Past. Cultural Heritage and the Spaces where Reasons Matter in the Social Geography of the Lake District of Northern England*"

- "*Kutch Ancient Land – Timeless Traditions*", Global Heritage Fund

- Majumdar, M.R., 1965, "*Cultural History of Gujarat*"
  Mehta, Ms. Mahruq, 26 January 2001, "*Cultural Mosaic of Gujarat*", Tourism Corporation of Gujarat Ltd.

- Mehta, Rustam J., 1960, "*The Handicrafts and Industrial Arts of India*", D.B. Taraporevala Sons and Co. Private Ltd. Mumbai (Faculty of Fine Arts Library, TS 2301.T7M6)

- Mitra, Haridas, Second Edition: January 1980, "*Contribution to a Bibliography of Indian Art and Aesthetics*", Visva-Bharati Research Publications Committee (Faculty of Fine Arts Library, Z 5961.I4M4)

- Mookherjee, Ajit, 1956, "*Folk Toys of India*", Oxford Book and Stationary Co. (Faculty of Fine Arts Library, TS 2301.T7M6)

- Morris, Benjamin; (Department of Archaeology, University of Cambridge); 13th May 2006; 7th Annual Cambridge Heritage Seminar – 'Intangible-Tangible Cultural Heritage: A Sustainable Dichotomy?' (Session 2 – Cultural Heritage Forms and Meanings); Abstract: "*Literature as Heritage: Tangible or Intangible?*"

- Nichols, Marden; (Faculty of Classics, University of Cambridge); 13th May 2006; 7th Annual Cambridge Heritage Seminar – 'Intangible-Tangible Cultural Heritage: A Sustainable Dichotomy?' (Session 2 – Cultural Heritage Forms and Meanings); Abstract: "*Documenting Folklore? Intangible Heritage in the 20th Century*"

- Parmar, Khodidas, 1969, "*Saurashtra nun Lok-Bharat", (Folk-Embroidery of Saurashtra)* (in Gujarati), Gujarat Rajya Loksahitya Samiti: Ahmedabad (Gujarat)

- Parmar, Khodidas, 1999, "*Lokbharatni Sarjat*" (in Gujarati), Praveen Prakashan Pvt.: Veraval (Shapar, Rajkot District - Gujarat)

- Pearce, Susan M. (University of Leicester, Leicester, United Kingdom); Published: June 1995; Proceedings of the International Conference on Anthropology and the Museum, "*Interpreting Museum Objects: An Outline of Theory*", pp. 295-311; Date of Conference: December 21-23 1992; Edited by Tsong-yua Lin – Taiwan Museum; Taiwan Museum No.48 Hsuchou Road, Taipei, Taiwan, R.O.C.

- Prasad, Sachchidananda R.R., 1996, *Encyclopaedic Profile of Indian Tribes*, Volume 1 and 4

- Schwartz, Paul R., 1969, "*Printing On Cotton At Ahmedabad, India In 1678*", Calico Museum of Textiles Ahmedabad, India (Faculty of Fine Arts Library, TS 1403.S2)

- Smith, Laurajane (Department of Archaeology, University of York); 13th May 2006; 7th Annual Cambridge Heritage Seminar – 'Intangible-Tangible Cultural Heritage: A Sustainable Dichotomy?' (Session 1 - Dichotomy/Discourse Development and Analysis); Abstract: "*Heritage and its intangibility*"

- "*The Last Wanderers: Nomads and Gypsies of India*", 1995, Mapin

- Waterton, Emma; (Department of Archaeology, University of York); 13th May 2006; 7th Annual Cambridge Heritage Seminar – 'Intangible-Tangible Cultural Heritage: A Sustainable Dichotomy?' (Session 1 - Dichotomy/Discourse Development and Analysis); Abstract: "'*We have trouble communicating': Intangible heritage and the dominant heritage discourse*"

Life in Iranian Small Towns

Taraneh Yalda, PhD

Introduction

There has been great change in the Iranian territorial scenery. A galaxy with hundreds of small towns has sprung up in the last 50 years. Perhaps the 1979 Islamic Revolution was the fruit of all that change. Since then the change has never stopped.

Historically, Iran developed as a strong and rich civilization with a self-sufficient agricultural economy and cities with administrative and commercial functions. Today, the economy is dominated by the export of oil with the majority of employees in the service sector and retail industry.

While considering small towns, it should be mentioned that many facilities are needed for a town to develop on this land. These factors are not only geographical (land, water resources and such) but also economic and social. Among these, for the cultural and social basis, participation of the urban communities, their sense of belonging to the town, with its spiritual wealth and dignity, are the most important.

In world history, many towns were settled by force -- by a king or a sultan. However, they soon lost their inhabitants after the pressure was released; for example, Soltanieh city (1300 AD) in north west Iran, where only the famous dome still stands after 800 years; or Fatehpur Sikri in northern India, the Mughal capital city, that lost thousands of its inhabitants in a few years.

The comparatively larger towns in Iran, formed for the extraction of petroleum in the south, also lost their inhabitants after the source of industry was exhausted; similarly Masjed Soleiman and Detroit in the US, after the decline of the car industry. Thus, it is important to look at the historical roots and resources of small towns and cities:

- Old settlements which were at the crossroads of trade: Rey, Tabriz and Neishabour, grew on the Silk Road.
- Towns to which the tribes took their products (dairy, wool, carpets and such) to sell: Shahre Kord, Shiraz, Kashan and others.

- Towns strategically positioned in the territory: Qazvin and Bandar Abbas.
- Historic towns in rich agricultural regions: Shush [Susa], Shushtar and Dezfoul.

After a land reform in the sixties that put social relations into a deep crisis, immigration from rural areas and small towns to bigger cities became rampant (small towns being settlements with 5 to 50 thousand inhabitants at that time). This flow continued with the Revolution and during the 33 years that followed the event.

I should mention first that Iran, unlike Pakistan and the Punjab with the Indus River and the prosperity and civilization it brings with its water, is a mountainous arid country, with no big river - except for the south west Khuzistan region - and with a semi-desert climate where water has traditionally been brought to small towns and villages by a subterranean irrigation system called *Qanat* or *Kariz*. This system has always had the rich Khan or Landlord as the investor who would provide the water for his share of the production. Some say that it is a mode of production specific to Asiatic civilizations. Marx has described it in his Grundrisse, as a despotic social system.

In Iran, small towns are distributed in the greener northern and western regions of the country near the Caspian, with rice, olives and a happy agriculture (even though menaced by cheap imported goods and the construction sector);

- Other small towns, less green but active with their *Qanats* and other original peculiarities, in the center and the east.
- Also, small towns in the south are different but center to the surrounding villages.

In denser rural areas with more than 100 inhabitants per square km, we have the most powerful network of small towns. This is in the north - the Caspian Sea, western Azerbaijan, Hamedan, and Isfahan regions. In other deserted areas (mountains and deserts), isolation helps increase the population of smaller towns.

Traditionally, small towns are centers for the exchange of agricultural products, which have always been managed by a sort of local provincial bourgeoisie. This role and traditional system has changed gradually with the new systems of transportation, co-operatives and big stores, with the power of Tehrani commerce that has taken over the retail commerce; the ring of small towns has a tendency to disappear in the hierarchy of exchange. On the contrary, small towns feed the agricultural society with their retail goods and services.

Small towns in Iran have also been centers for handicrafts. This has deteriorated in the last decades but could be revived. In very traditional places, the arts and crafts still survive but in other places only craftsmen related to housing, such as blacksmiths and carpenters have survived, together with the mechanics of car repair. The decline of handicrafts has been compensated for by new small industry, the food treating industry, cement, textile, small mechanics, or small brick and mosaic workshops, or pottery and stone work.

The tertiary sector has increasingly had a huge share in the economy of these towns. Agriculture has been destroyed in many regions, not only around small towns but also in rural areas. Thousands of villages have been deserted by their inhabitants. In many other villages only the elderly generation survives. This is the sign of a society in transition.

Even 35 years ago the planners were preoccupied with the regional and territorial balance. They feared that the rural population would too rapidly immigrate to towns and cities. The imbalance did occur. Today, the rural population has fallen to only 20% of the total population in some regions. There was to be a hierarchy in which the concentration of the population in the big cities had to be stopped by giving the small and medium-sized towns services that would give the maximum coverage also to the surrounding territory. This happened to a certain extent after the Revolution but the roads also opened a way for the rural youth to immigrate to big cities.

The comprehensive Territorial Physical Plan of Iran gave priority to the growth of small and medium-sized towns (100 to 250,000 people) in 1976, before the Revolution took place in 1979. The planners thought that Persian cities had historically little capacity for the settlement of large populations.

When I started my career as a town planner, we used to carry out studies for a sphere of influence for each town or city. Now, each region and every province has a physical plan, indicating the role of each settlement in the territory.

Problems Today

Today in Iran, municipalities, even in small towns, are unfortunately driven into earning their income from speculation on land and in the building sector. This can destroy the wealth of the small towns where an ecological balance and serenity is a condition of their survival. It is together with these natural values that the historical and cultural wealth and attractions of the town can be considered of great importance creating harmony between all factors.

These are the main arguments that should be followed for small towns, as a result of a conference that was held in Qazvin last year on the Rehabilitation of Small Towns.

- Public Services and welfare of the population
- Economic growth and job creation
- Environmental issues
- Finding an identity and character for the role each small town should play
- Creating hope and incentives in the inhabitants for participation in urban management
- Creating relations between the municipalities and the local NGOs (non-governmental institutions)
- Helping the sustainable development of the town by placing universities and colleges in small towns
- Creating a 'Movement' for 'Returning to small towns'

In the recent National Spatial Planning Report (2011), I came across this subtitle: "The ambiguous future of small and medium-sized towns". It reported that there is a danger of smaller towns losing their population because of immigration. In medium towns, with a population of 50,000 to 150,000, the quality of services is similar to the small towns but they claim to have a network of more dynamic medium towns in future for

the regions that stand out from the greater development axes that are along the two big mountain ranges of the Alburz in the north and Zagros in the west. This also indicates that below the level of the category of big cities (Tehran and the 12 important cities), greater importance should be given to the network of small and medium towns in order to:

- Develop the prior axis of development
- Distribute a part of the population of bigger cities to their satellite towns
- Give a correct structure to the peripheral areas outside the more populated axis

This will help slow down the growth of Tehran metropolis and facilitate the formation of a network of small towns with a good coverage over the land.

A holistic approach drives us to first see the essence and the identity of the town and what can help us to reinforce this essential character for an indigenous development in future. Today, all authentic values, be they religious, social, natural, cultural, industrial or architectural and historic, can be a motor or incentive to growth and prosperity in small towns.

Iran is among 10 or 15 first countries in the world with a precious cultural and natural heritage. Unfortunately, today we have a very small share of the world's tourism industry due to political problems and isolation (it ranks 98th).

Other countries, especially in Europe, or even Turkey, have successfully based part of their economic planning on a "conservation-based development". They conserved their heritage within the cities and villages and this brought them prosperity and tourism, while we destroyed our heritage to give way to ugly buildings built haphazardly without any logic, taste or insight. This is, of course, the result of a cultural crisis we are going through that should be understood, studied and resolved. We have lost our traditions without really being able to modernize them for today. We thought that western culture could give us all the solutions but now we find ourselves obliged to cope with the problem ourselves with insight and with responsibility.

Our Turkish brothers seem to have achieved their goals and had more success in their trade and industry and in the field of tourism and eco-tourism, and of course, with a more democratic and open social system. They were lucky to open themselves to the world, to people who are

attracted by the uniqueness and beauty of Turkish sites and cities. We also have unique towns and sites: the tombs of Multan, the gardens in Lahore, all those beautiful mosques and gardens in Kashan, Natanz, Yazd and Birjand are unique.

Planning for Small Towns

I first want to present the 3 towns I had worked on with great love and enthusiasm when I started as a town planner in the 1980s: they were two of our famous northern towns: Chalous and Noshahr, on the Caspian Sea and a world famous ancient small town called Shush (Susa) in the southern province of Khuzistan. It was then that I came to know of the life in the small towns of my country, their calm atmosphere, the rural markets, animals in houses and the semi-rural character. It was also then that I realized that there is a special character to each of these towns that should be developed.

From the very beginning of my career, I felt uncomfortable with all the tendencies that wanted to find and use the same pattern for all smaller towns and cities in the Master Plans. I disliked all those belt roads around small and medium towns that prevented all the passing cars from entering the town and all those boulevards that looked just the same in each and every small town. This assimilation and homogenization into the "generic" town was our fault, us town planners.

When I went back to Chalous and Noshahr, each with a population of 30,000 some 25 years ago, I still recognized places, though the essential role of the twin towns as places for leisure and summer holidays has changed. After the Islamic Revolution it is less possible for families to go to the seaside to swim together. There still seems to be very little touristic infrastructure. Many Tehranis have their own villas and come out only for shopping and so many other families go camping around in nature or camp on the roads and sidewalks.

The story of Shush (Susa) was different. Being a very small but important historical and religious town in the south-west, it has a large sphere of influence with brilliant features such as the Shaour River that flows mysteriously through the city, the wide and large Karkheh River that is not far from the town, the Prophet Danial's mausoleum that attracts many pilgrims and of course, the famous archeological site with 7 different layers of ruins from the Achemenians (500 BC) onwards, which

were excavated by Girschman and others to fill huge galleries in the Louvre Museum in Paris. The French had also built a sort of fake castle, with the ancient bricks, that still remain.

The only thing I was happy to see from our master plan, when I went back to Shush after 10 years, was the promenade they had built for people to walk on the two sides of the river Shaour, as we had actually recommended in our plan. Not far from the city lie the ruins of the 3,500 year-old Choga-zanbil, the only Ziggurat we have in Iran, from the Ilamide period.

Shush grew unfortunately, and contrary to our plan, on the other side of the national road to Ahwaz. Today it is a large town with hotels, schools and other goods services and the people who kept cows in their courtyards and buffalos in the river have big houses and cars, thanks to the modern canals that have brought a fantastic irrigation system for agriculture to the region.

Participation of Citizens for a Better Community and the Popular Health Care System in Iran

In the history of Iran, we see that the people's participation in the management of society has never been permanent, sustainable, dynamic or evolutive; it has faced long and continued breaks (Alireza Alavitabaar's report, 2002). This has been so because the political autocratic systems in Iran have never historically fully accepted people's participation. This has become a habit, or a fear and tradition. Ten years ago, when everyone was more optimistic in Iran, 80% of the parents Alavitabaar interviewed said that they do not attend their children's school committees. This was not connected to their age or level of instruction (education). In the guilds and syndicates, non-participation was about 90%, which was more for the less educated. The level of non-participation was 93% for the group with the least income and it was 77% for the highest income group.

In Iran, people do not generally trust each other. [Idem] In small towns this is different and there are more healthy relations because people know each other. Alavitabaar concludes that there is more possibility for people to participate in community affairs in small towns than in large cities. He also talks about working women, whose occupation has a double effect as a social factor: on one side, working women have

less time for socializing and their time is restricted to their family, thus decreasing the general trust; on the other side, their self-confidence increases their identity and trust towards participation in social affairs.

After the Revolution, a so-called 'populism' has been growing, Alavitabaar notes, as an economic pattern. In smaller towns where there is less private initiative in the local economy -- especially during the last 7 years of economic depression since 2005 -- lower income groups have been directly receiving money as subsidies and this has made them draw back from all social participation or activity. The trading small bourgeoisie and the medium class traditionals are also happy with what they have. Different crisis like the eight-year war with Iraq, or political and economic crisis in general, has also distracted the attention of the government body from doing their job, which was restructuring the country towards a more efficient system of governance. The state has always been very central, unable to divide the roles at the National, regional and local levels and to distinguish these when necessary. This has caused extreme weakness in civil institutions (NGOs, syndicates, social and economic participations and gatherings in general), and thus has driven the citizens to feel "disabled" and at the same time justified to be "inefficient".

This does not mean that after the 1979 Revolution, the quality of life has not reached higher levels. Actually people eat better. Per capita consumption has doubled and the medical care and hygiene have made enormous progress during the first sixteen years after the Revolution:

- 120% growth in the number of urban Hygiene and Medical Centers from 800 units to 1770 units in 1994
- Increase in the number of rural Hygiene and Medical Centers from 1500 to 2290
- 97% of vaccination coverage in 1994
- A growth of Hygiene Houses from 2500 to 146,000. That is 5.8 times more
- Increase of rehabilitation centers to 20 times more

This has decreased the Child or Infant Death factor from 104 in a thousand to 24 in a thousand.

Now I shall explain more about this preventive health system that is working well, especially in small towns:

According to the 2006 census, the Iranian population was counted at 70,472,846 with 32% of the population living in rural areas. Traditionally, the major barriers towards access to healthcare for the rural population and those living in small towns have been population dispersion, distance from major cities, road limitations and location in mountainous areas. In fact, these are some of the major physical factors which are barriers in providing health care for rural populations in many countries of this region. Despite these barriers, access to health care for the rural population in Iran has increased significantly through innovative policies implemented since the 1980s. I will briefly describe these policies and their practical application.

According to the latest data (Population Reference Bureau, 2010), the major health indicators for Iran are at higher levels when compared to the world and the continent of Asia. For example, infant mortality is below 30 per 1000 live births as compared to the 46 and 41 for the World and Asia respectively (Table 1). Only 4 percent of the population is classified as undernourished compared to 14 and 15 percent for the World and Asia. In terms of life-expectancy, particularly for women, Iran stands above Asia and the World.

Health Indicator	World	Asia	Iran
Undernourished Population	14	15	4
Infant Mortality	46	41	29
Life Expectancy at birth (all)	69	70	71
Life Expectancy at birth (male)	67	68	70
Life Expectancy at birth (female)	71	72	73

Table 1

Health Indicators in Iran, Asia, The World, 2009
Source: Population Reference Bureau, 2010

In many cases, there is in fact no difference between rural and urban areas, especially when it comes to infants and women. The lack of these differences is due to significant improvements in access to health care in rural villages and small towns.

Indicator	Urban	Rural	Ratio of Rural to Urban
Neonatal mortality rate per 1,000 births	17.1	20.6	1.20
Infant mortality rate per 1,000 births	27.2	30.2	1.09
Child mortality rate per 1,000 ages 1 to 4	6.9	4.6	0.67
% children with one illness during last 2 weeks	41.6	41.6	1.00
% of mothers treating their children's sickness correctly	93.0	92.0	0.99
% of children under 5 years having diarrhoea	11.8	13.7	1.16
% of children with diarrhoea correctly treated	91.1	91.0	1.00
% of children with diarrhoea who used ORT	96.4	94.6	0.98
% of children with respiratory infection correctly treated	93.6	91.9	0.98
% of women with no prenatal care	5.2	10.1	1.94
% of pregnant women who received vaccination	80.7	77.8	0.94
% women who received postnatal care at least once	63.9	56.6	0.89
% who received postnatal care at least twice	30.7	31.6	1.03

Traditionally, preventive health has been encouraged through proverbs, wise men's statements, religious statements and emphasized by literature, culture and folklore. For example, washing hands before eating is highly emphasized by religion and culture in Iran. Treatment and curative medicine was limited to traditionally trained *Hakims*, who depended on herbal material for treating the majority of diseases. Each local community had a few herbal shops which sold herbal medicine. The first exposure of the Iranians to modern medicine was in the late nineteenth century when a number of students were sent to Europe to study medicine.

In the first part of the 1980s, the Iranian Government introduced policies that changed the situation of access to higher education in general and specifically the training of medical doctors. First and foremost, a policy of affirmative action was implemented for enrollment in universities.

Given the fact that for many decades the share of the population from rural areas and small towns was very minimal in the total university enrollment, a geographic factor was introduced in the formula for admission to universities and medical colleges. At least 50 percent of the positions were filled by qualified applicants from remote and small towns. These affirmative action candidates were not as prepared as their highly equipped counterparts from large urban areas. Thus, the universities made the commitment to prepare these individuals. Through this policy, many of the small towns and rural areas, which never had a chance to send their children to medical schools, were given access to medical school training. In addition, the government made sure that the addition to medical schools happened only in the disadvantaged remote provinces. A combination of these factors resulted in an increase in the number of medical doctors who were from remote areas, small towns and villages.

Another important policy that contributed to the increase of the medical doctors from small towns and rural areas was the allocation of 50 percent of the medical training positions to women. Women were strongly encouraged to apply to medical schools. In fact, women were very successful in completing their degree and even surpassed men in retention and successful graduation. Today, women have become very competitive candidates at medical schools and form 60 percent of the medical school enrollment every year. Furthermore, this change gave strong power to provincial offices of the Ministry of Health and Medical Education to influence the quality and quantity of medical personnel trained for local communities, small areas and rural villages.

In 1985, the government received support from the Assembly of Representatives, to separate the schools of medicine from the universities which were under the management of the Ministry of Culture and Higher Education. A new university system of medical education was created under the management of the Ministry of Health. The Ministry of Health was later renamed the Ministry of Health and Medical Education. This change had a major impact on the training of medical personnel in Iran. It increased the availability of medical doctors in rural and remote areas of the country.

The increase of the medical doctors in small towns and in the large villages has been very important in improving the health care in rural Iran. However, the most important innovation which was seriously pursued by the Ministry of Health and Medical education was a strong push to establish and vastly expand an inexpensive community-based Primary

Health Care (PHC) system. In this system, care starts with minimum care provided by a medically trained local villager and continues in hierarchy of referrals to MDs and specialists in the larger villages and in towns. A strong focus on primary care and prevention, rather than capital-intensive tertiary care made the rural health network expansion inexpensive. The main element of the program was establishing a strong network of Rural Health Centers (RHC) and smaller units called "health houses" to deliver low-technology PHC through indigenous health care providers at the village level. Training and utilization of local community personnel was a key part of the system.

References

- Report of Iran 2000 Demographic and Health Survey. Tehran, Islamic Republic of Iran, Ministry of Health and Medical Education, 2002 [in Farsi].

- Menashri, D. *Education and the Making of Modern Iran*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2002.

- Shadpoor, K. The network of primary health care in Iran. Tehran, Islamic Republic of Iran, Ministry of Health and Medical Education, 1993 [in Farsi].

- Statistical abstract of Iran, 1991. Tehran, Islamic Republic of Iran, Statistical Center of Islamic Republic of Iran, 1992 [in Farsi].

- Statistical abstract of Iran, 2001. Tehran, Islamic Republic of Iran, Statistical Center of Islamic Republic of Iran, 2002 [in Farsi].

- The Model of Participation of Iranians in city governance. Alavitabaar, 2004.

- Different documents from the National Conference on Small Towns, Iran, Qazvin, 2011. Ministry of Housing and Urbanism.

Yazd -- The Pearl of the Desert

Sharieh Hosseini Nasab

Introduction

Culture is a defining feature of a person's identity, contributing to how they see themselves and the groups with which they are identified. Culture may be broadly defined as, the sum total of ways of living built up by a group of human beings, which is transmitted from one generation to another. Every community, cultural group or ethnic group has its own values, beliefs and ways of living.

The observable aspects of culture such as food, clothing, celebrations, religion and language are only part of a person's cultural heritage. The shared values, customs and historic characteristics of culture shape the way a person thinks, behaves and views the world. A shared cultural heritage binds members of the group together and creates a sense of belonging through community acceptance.

In every society people create culture; culture shapes the way people interact with and understand the world around them. Although usually the bigger and capital cities and their people represent the overall culture of any society, in small towns and settlements where people still protect their original traditions and life style, one may find a better understanding of that nation. In the vast and broad country of Iran with a population of 75 million in almost thirty-one provinces, one must have a comprehensive overview of all groups of people in all the provinces and cities in order to have a better perspective of Persian culture, history and civilization.

However, among all Iranian historic cities, the city of Yazd, the capital city of Yazd province, is a noteworthy settlement due to its ancient history and unique culture. The city of Yazd, with a population of 5,26,276, may not be listed among the large Iranian cities but it is ranked as one of the highest in the sphere of nurturing a rich culture and tradition. The aim of this paper is to portray the city of Yazd from historical, social and cultural aspects and thus to show a part of prosperous Persian culture and civilization.

An Outline of the Geography and History of Yazd

The province and the city of Yazd are located on the central part of the Iranian plateau. The city of Yazd, 420 miles (677 kilometers) from Tehran, is the capital of Yazd province which borders Southern Khorasan, Isfahan, Fars, and Kerman provinces. Being located beside the central mountains and far from the Caspian Sea and the Persian Gulf, Yazd has a climate which mostly resembles dry and semi-dry desert climate. This is also due to its proximity to two major deserts of the Iranian plateau and to being in the shadow of the rainy region. Hot weather, low dampness with low rainfall and high evaporation are the main factors that make Yazd province one of the driest provinces of Iran (Abouei, 2006). The maximum temperature in the hottest months of the year, particularly in May and June, in the north and northeastern areas of the province is about 50 degrees celsius which is greatly intolerable. In the coldest month of the year, the temperature in the western area, particularly at the foot of the Barfkhane and Shirkooh mountains, falls to about -20 degrees celsius (Mostofiol-Mamaleki, 1997).

Historically, Yazd, with a large number of monuments and sites, possesses a rich heritage of ancient culture and civilization of various historical periods of Iran. The city has a history of over 3,000 years, dating back to the time of the Median Empire, when it was known as Ysatis (or Issatis). The present name, "Yazd" (Worship) has however been derived from Yazdegerd I (399-

Figure 1

Map of Iran and the location of Yazd. *Source: Ahmadreza Foruzanmehr and Marcel Vellinga, (2011), Vernacular architecture: Questions of Comfort and Practicability, Building Research and Information, 39:3, 274-285*

421 B.C.), a Sassanid ruler. However, according to the documented data, Yazd was first mentioned in history in the form of a small town in the 11th century AD, when the Seljugh Turks were ruling Iran. At that time Yazd was being ruled by Al-e-Kakouya, until the Mongol invasions in the 13th century.

Fortunately, due to its distance from important capitals and its harsh natural surroundings, the city remained immune to major troop movements and destruction from wars and preserved its urban form and architectural style, as well as its traditions, for centuries. For instance, during the invasion of Genghis Khan in the early 1200's AD, Yazd became a safe haven and home for many artists, intellectuals and scientists fleeing their war-ravaged cities around Persia. In 1272, Yazd was visited by Marco Polo, who described it as a good and noble city and remarked on its silk production.

For a brief period, Yazd became the capital city of Muzaffarids in the 14th century. During this time many establishments were introduced in the city. The Friday (or Congregation) Mosque which is arguably the city's greatest architectural landmark, as well as other important buildings, date back to this period. Many professionals believe that the major architectural features of the city belong to the 14th century with a vast and noble series of buildings and establishments of that time.

Yazd experienced another change during the Qajar dynasty in the 18th century and later on during the Pahlavid dynasty. Although the city's main urban features date back to the 14th century and Muzaffaridz in the case of city expansion and growth, Yazd was mainly developed during the Qajars in the 18th century, and those areas are still known as the historical quarters of the city. As was mentioned, due to various reasons the city remained immune to destruction during the course of history. Hence, a current bird's eye view of the historic urban areas of Yazd gives a specific impression of its particular urban fabric.

The Urban Structure of the City and its Significance

There are some common structural and physical features in the layout of desert cities which help them to adapt to the harsh climate and natural situations. The historical city of Yazd is an important example of Iranian urban historical settlement, whose urban fabric, well-adapted to the region's dry and hot climate, is a relatively living and dynamic area.

"The high radiation and temperature in the summer, diurnal variation of temperature, seasonal variations from dry hot summer to cold dry winter, low humidity, limited water supplies and the dusty winds are the most important factors in forming the urban structure of Yazd"(Monshizade, 2008).

Yazd's urban fabric is in harmony with the conditions of life and natural factors and uses these factors in a very difficult climate. The important aspects of Yazd's urban fabric are as follows:

Density

Figure 2

The dense urban fabric of Yazd with connected centralized buildings and complicated system of alleys. Source: Bird's eye view of Yazd in 1957, NCC, Iran National Cartographic Center

The urban form of the historical city of Yazd is completely centralized or inward looking. The city form consists of connected buildings, a complicated system of alleys and covered bazaars. In an overview, you can see it as a single roof with holes (courtyards) and some alleys cut in this roof. In fact, roads appear as if carved out of a mass.

In this compact city, the dense urban fabric diminishes the penetration of dusty winds into the complex. It also affects the heat influence on the building surfaces. To provide shade and protection from the hot sun and dusty winds, the alleys are not straight. They have high walls and in some parts they are covered by roofs in order to provide shade for pedestrians on hot summer days.

Yazd bazaar, which is one of the most important urban spaces within the city, consists of a complex of several pathways which are covered with domes, and the holes on the top of the domes provide light and ventilation for the overall environment of the bazaar.

Qanat (Underground water channel)

The average annual rainfall of Yazd is about 59 mm on the plains and 112-470 mm in the mountain areas. For such an extensively arid area as Yazd, this little rainfall has afflicted the region with austere water resources. The most outstanding infrastructural and historical feature of Yazd is its underground water channels, *qanats*. These canals are, in fact, the basis on which the foundation of urban development has been laid in a very logical way (Ghoreishizadeh, 1997). This system, which brings water to ground level through a simple traditional technology, can transfer water to gardens, dwellings and public services. In these areas, water is stored separately for each neighborhood (Kamiar, 1983).

Thus, the ancient Iranian system of irrigation, the *Qanat* or *Kariz* is an organized network of deep water wells linked by a maze of underground tunnels and canals to form an artificial spring. In this ingenious system, a fresh subterranean water source from distant resources is tapped and channeled down through a series of tunnels to ground level (Abouei, 2006). The *qanats* are usually used to irrigate farmlands and small fruit orchards of residential buildings throughout the populated areas. In winter, when there is less need for water, it is stored in reservoirs to be used later in the summer (Owlia, 1997).

Due to the shortage of water in the central provinces of Iran, there are thousands of water wells connected together by qanats. In Yazd, some parts of the city are located on several *qanats* and their branches, which have provided the lower agricultural farms with an adequate water supply system. It should be noted that these urban facilities are the main water resource for irrigation of the agricultural lands of the city and neighboring areas. Many residential buildings, schools, bazaars and mosques have also been connected to the network of *qanats* by gutters, grooves, rivulets and ponds (Abouei, 2006). In some cases, people also used to take advantage of the water from *qanats* for their personal use such as drinking, cleaning and irrigating their small gardens. *Qanats* built more than 1000 years ago are still active. Yazd province is proud that it still has numerous running *qanats*, particularly the mountainous ones (Boustani, 2009).

The City of *Badgirs* (Wind-catchers)

By using the *badgirs*, the *ab-anbars* and much more importantly the

qanats, the people of Yazd remarkably battled against the dryness of the neighboring deserts for centuries. These traditional cooling structures are among the most conspicuous features of Yazd, giving the city a totally distinct appearance from other Iranian cities. Old residential quarters, some mosques and the city's traditional water reservoirs have *badgirs*, which are indeed the breathing outlets of Yazd (Tavakolli, 2009).

Figure 3

A bird's eye view of the city skyline and *badgirs* (wind-towers). *Source: Author*

A *badgir*, literally a "Wind-catcher", is a high structure built above the roof of residential buildings, that catches the passing fresh air and channels it down to the ground floors and basements (Abouei, 2006). In the *badgir*, the hot air is captured at the top of the structure and passed through a simple canal, delivering the cooler air at the bottom of the canal, where there is a small water pool in the basement.

Basements were used extensively in the old houses in which the temperature is about twenty degrees less than that of the courtyard, particularly in the summers (Abouei, 2006). In the hot and dry summers of Yazd, the inhabitants of these houses still use the basements with their small pool and fountains to escape from the hot weather of Yazd. In the past these basements were also used as a natural refrigerator in which foods such as fruits and meat were stored and preserved for several days.

The ventilation shafts are worthy of being mentioned as the best examples of efficient and clean energy systems. In addition, they have a special effect on the city skyline which has made the city of Yazd known as the "City of *Badgirs*".

The city of Yazd is well-known for many other significant urban and architectural elements such as *ab-anbars*, old covered bazaars, caravan *serais*, traditional residential houses with remarkable patterns and many more. Although the most important points have been discussed, in fact, the combination of all these factors makes the old city of Yazd one of the valuable examples of noteworthy urban structure and identity.

A Socio-Cultural Perspective of Yazd

Yazd has always been a famous settlement known for its unique architectural and urban features which are well-adapted to the region. However, Yazd should be studied for its socio-cultural aspects as well. Some of the vital aspects are as follows:

Yazd, The Capital City of the Zoroastrians

Zoroastrianism has a long history in the city and province of Yazd. As was mentioned, Yazd's history dates back to the Sassanid Dynasty. During Sassanid times, the city was definitely a Zoroastrian centre. After the Arab-Islamic conquest of Persia, many Zoroastrians fled to Yazd from neighboring provinces. By paying a levy, Yazd remained Zoroastrian even after its conquest and Islam only gradually became the dominant religion in the city. Once more, after the Mongol invasions that saw the total disappearance of Zoroastrian populations from the provinces of Sistan and Khorasan, Yazd emerged unharmed, protected by its vast expanses of featureless desert. It became a haven for Zoroastrians from all over Iran. In this city of walled gardens and turquoise domes, they continued to practice their religion and customs relatively undisturbed (Boyce, 1971).

Due to the habitation of Zoroastrians in Yazd, there are large numbers of monuments and buildings related to this religion and its followers. The fire temple known as the "Atash-kade" and the tower of silence, the graveyard (known as Borj-e-Khamoushan) are among the most famous Zoroastrian sites in Yazd.

Yazd today is still a capital city for the Zoroastrians of Iran due to the large population of Zoroastrians in the city. This fact becomes more important when one knows that most of the city's half million population follows the Islamic faith devoutly and the city is also known as "Dar-ul-Ibadat" (Home of Piety). Yet for a city renowned for its religious conservatism, Yazd is far more tolerant and open-minded than cities more accustomed to tourists such as Isfahan and Shiraz. This may be because Yazd is also the birthplace of the Zoroastrian religion.

Art and Crafts

Being possibly one of the most beautiful desert cities in the world, with its harsh and arid climate which makes the agricultural life difficult, Yazd has survived for many centuries. Once an important station on the Silk Road, Yazd remained a home for trade for many centuries due to its magnificent local products and crafts:

Termeh

Termeh is a silk fabric whose warp is silk thread and whose woof is colorful silk, cotton and woolen threads. In the olden days, people made *termeh* by hand, because of which *termeh* was known as "finger-woven fabric". This elegant and soft fabric is world-famous for its patterns, especially an aigrette-like design (*Boteh*), tuft-like design (*Jegheh*), hart's horn design (*Shakh-e Gavazni*) and rose-like design (*Gol-e Mohammadi*). The city of Yazd is renowned for its 400-year old industry of *termeh* weaving.

It is noteworthy to mention that the motif called *Botteh* and different combinations of it, reaches its maximum beauty in the *termeh* design. The design motif known as "paisley", in the west, is taken from the ancient Aryan *boteh* (*botteh*) motif. *Boteh* is a Persian word meaning bush, shrub, bramble and herb. Some would even take it to mean a palm leaf, a cluster of leaves (perhaps as a repeated pattern) and a flower bud. *Botteh* is the same motif which is used in the design of some products like shawls in Kashmir, in the north of the Indian sub-continent. The name used to

Figure 4

Left: Kashmiri Buta Shawl,
Right: Yazdi Termeh with Botteh design.
Source: http://www. heritageinstitute.com/ zoroastrianism/trade/ paisley.htm

describe the motif is *Buta* in Kashmiri. The earliest surviving examples of the *Boteh* motif in the weavings of Kashmir are from the third quarter of the 15th century AD, reportedly commissioned by Sultan Zein-al-Aabedin (AD 1420-70). This Sultan is the one who, according to Kashmiri historians, geographers and researchers, brought the "decorative designs from Iran to India". The motif has since become a very popular theme of Kashmiri woolen scarves (Irwin, 1973).

Besides *termeh*, there are other silk products and handicrafts which Yazd is famous for: *Daraie* (a silk product), *Giveh* (a kind of woven shoe), pottery, ceramics and many more.

It may not be listed as an art or handicraft but confectionery also has a long history in Yazd. Yazd's confectioneries have a tremendous following throughout Iran. This has been a source of tourism for the city. Workshops (experts or *khalifehs*) keep their recipes a guarded secret and there are many that have remained a private family business for many generations. Sweets are various and divine, melting on the tongue with hidden flavors of rose water, pistachio and almonds. *Baghlava*, *Qotab* and *Pashmak* are the most popular sweets made in the city.

Conclusion

The identity of cities is not known only as a physical or natural element but as a mental and cultural element that has its formation in people's minds and has direct relevance to the interventions of history, religious and mythological beliefs, environment, traditions and others. The point to be mentioned is the enriched situation of traditional cities because of their identity and meaningful and functional structure. The presence of such sustainable and qualitative dimensions of built environment has an influential impact on the urban form, function and meaning which are the basic factors of urban identity (Tavakoli, 2009). This is evident in the historical cities of Iran such as Yazd, which is one of the old Iranian cities and has a special identity because of its physical structure. The technological and systematic function of the architectural buildings, along with social communication even in each small district, the dynamic economy pattern regarding tourism attraction and the economical focal points such as bazaars, efficient utilization of natural materials and resources such as *qanat* or water storage, unity and integrity in urban form, feature and fabric, besides many other conceptual and meaningful components have led to the creation of a sustainable pattern, which can be the symbol of a sustainable historic city.

References

- Abouei, Reza. (2006) "*Conservation of Badgirs and Qanats in Yazd, Central Iran*", The 23rd Conference on Passive and Low Energy Architecture, Geneva, Switzerland.

- Boustani, F. (2009) "*Sustainable Water Utilization in Arid Regions of Iran by Qanats*", International Journal of Human and Social Sciences 4:7.

- Bonine, M.E. (1980) "*Yazd and its Hinterland, a Central Place System of Dominance in the Central Iranian Plateau*", Marburg/Lahn, 95.

- Boyce, Maria. (1971) "*The Zoroastrian Houses of Yazd*", Edinburgh University Press, Scotland. UK.

- Ghoreishizadeh, A.R. (1997) "*Yazd, the Gem of the Desert, a Tourist Information Guidance*" The Society of Yazd Public Libraries and Office of Yazd's Governor General 1, 8-31.

- Irwin, John. (1973) "*The Kashmir Shawls*", H.M. Stationary Office, London.

- Kamiar, M. (1983) "*The Qanat System in Iran*", Department of Geography, Michigan State University, USA, 303.

- Mostofiol-Mamaleki, R. (1997) "*The Geography of Yazd, in Yazd Provincial Government Office (Ed.) Yazd: Negine Kavir (Yazd: The Gem of the Desert)*", Yazd: The Society of Yazd Public Libraries, pp. 25-52.

- Monshizade, Arezou. (2008) "*The Desert City as an Ancient Living Example of Eco-City, Case Study: Yazd, Iran*", 7th International Eco-city Conference. Academic and Talent Scouting Session, San Francisco, United States.

- Owlia, M. R. (1997) "*The Traditional Art and Architecture of Yazd, in Yazd Provincial Government Office (Ed.) Yazd: Negine Kavir (Yazd: The Gem of the Desert)*", Yazd: The Society of Yazd Public Libraries, pp. 105-144.

- Tavakoli, Niki. (2009) "*The Role of Physical Identity of the City in Urban Sustainability (Case Study: Yazd, Iran)*", 14th International Planning History Society Conference.

- Zende Del, Hassan. (2011) "*Yazd Tourism Guide*", Iran Gardan Press, Tehran, Iran.

The Potential of Living in Harmony with Nature in Small Towns

Mahdi Sadeghahmadi and Shera Owlia

Introduction

The supremacy of technology and the expanding city has caused several problems. Ecological crisis and identity crisis are some of the problems. Some of the human values developed with the co-ordination of human beings and nature, over decades, are deteriorating in big cities and mega-cities due to the disruption of the human-nature relationship. However, in small towns and rural areas, there is, still, considerable contact between human beings and the natural environment. Therefore, the presence of human values is vividly seen in different types of behavior.

This essay is an attempt to study the possibility of life in co-ordination with nature in the small town of Ardakan, in the central part of Iran. The emphasis is on the life values in small towns and introducing their constancy as a way of survival for human beings in the future.

Basic Theory

Prior to the industrial revolution, human beings had reached a balance in their interaction with nature; the result is still evident in the current architecture and urbanism. The industrial revolution led to several changes and damages in the long-term relationship between nature and human beings, especially in the developed countries. In the last few decades, mankind has behaved irresponsibly by using and destroying natural resources equal to what would be used in a thousand years in the past, until environmental problems made mankind choose new approaches to life. Sustainable development is one of these approaches.

Sustainable development is a dynamic concept and an ongoing process whose desirable characteristics change over time and within different social, political, cultural and historical contexts. (Balee, 2008: 7)

The concept of sustainability can be traced back to the 1970's and continues to evolve till today (Foley, 2010: 30). At the 1992 United Nations

Conference on environment and development in Rio, Brazil, it was agreed that the protection of the environment and social and economic development were principally viewed in the context of managing the natural resource base (United Nations, 1992). Sustainable development was first articulated as

> "development which meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs. Our understanding of sustainable development has evolved since […]; however, at the heart of a sustainable approach is the idea that we should conserve or improve the quality of life for both present and future generations." (Foley, 2010: 31)

Sustainable development would be able to decrease, dominantly, the environmental consequences of industrial development but it has been specifically designed for and dedicated to developed countries. Countries which are not completely affected by the negative consequences of development and are still safe from its damages can depend on their own local life patterns to find their own new ways of life. Some local patterns in small towns, with a long history of civilization and culture, seem more progressive than the ways suggested by modern sustainable development. These local patterns have promoted human values and thus, can improve the future of global society as well. One of the most important issues in mega-cities is human values which are rapidly disappearing.

In Farsi, the term *mohandes* -- which means engineer -- is "someone who knows scale and the quantity of something". It conveys the fact that everything has a defined scale. This is also true about human settlements. Human values are formed through the interaction of humans with humans, humans with the society and humans with nature. In mega-cities, these three kinds of interactions have changed but in this study our focus is on the relationship between man and the natural environment; the bigger the city, the less the interaction between human beings and the natural environment. The issue is what Charles Correa calls the *two-edged sword*.

> There are a hundred indications emphasizing that impaction (implosion!) of energy and people which really is a two-edged sword . . . destroying Bombay as environment, while it intensifies its quality as city. Obviously, this is true of Bombay. While it is getting better and better as a city and disintegrating (very rapidly and quite unnecessarily) as an environment... (Correa, 1985)

The mental and behavioral results of a better relationship between human and natural environment are to spread calm, truth, honesty, kindness and simplicity in a society. These are some of the human values which continue to exist in many small towns. While Ardakan is not absolutely safe from new development and its negative effects, most of these human values are still alive in it; for example, a baker has set up a small library in his bakery, in Ardakan, so his customers can read books while visiting. It is not possible to imagine such innovations in mega-cities like Tehran.

Where is Ardakan?

Ardakan is a small town, near Yazd city in Yazd province, which still has a noticeable part of its traditional structure. The primary core of the present Ardakan city has a history which can be traced back to the 14th century. Old neighborhoods around the castle and the Charkhab neighborhood confirm this fact.

Ardakan has a compressed texture and old city gates and parts of castles can be found in some neighborhoods. The substructure of the city is the *Qanat* network that carries water from the distant mountains through the desert to the city. A donation letter known as, Baha-a-din, from the 9th century, proves this system. (Sepehri, 1995:33)

In the flat desert, where Ardakan is situated, the open view and outline of the city with adobe wind catchers is fascinating as a large mass of earth. This adobe mass is limited to the large gardens of pistachio trees to the north and pomegranate gardens of Sadr-Abad to the south and west.

Figure 1

A small library in front of a bakeshop in Ardakan.
Source: Mehr News Agency

Figure 2

General view of the traditional texture of Ardakan.
Source: <http://www.golceram.com/ardakan.aspx>

Harmony with Nature

One branch of the positive results of the human-nature relationship

directly ends in environmental privileges in small towns. This interaction can be studied on two scales: a single house and the urban texture of the whole town. First, we are going to survey the conditions of human relationship with nature on the scale of a traditional town and the vast ecological environment related to it; second, its effects on the scale of traditional houses of Ardakan. Further, the consequences of the interaction of humans with nature, which is about human calmness, mental safety, intuition and peace, will also be discussed.

Harmony with Nature in Ardakan

Figure 3

The traditional town of Ardakan
Image from Google Earth

In spite of the harsh desert climate of Ardakan, the city is constructed in harmony with nature and optimally utilizes the facilities. The old urban texture is compressed and this property makes it resistant to the harsh summer and freezing winter wind. The old texture is limited to vast pistachio gardens to the north and pomegranate gardens of Sadr-Abad to the south and west as previously mentioned. To the southeast are some farms where *Ronnas* (the root of this plant is used as a coloring agent in carpets) are planted.

In Ardakan there are three types of water: briny, fresh and bitter. The city is located on the lower point of the field; therefore, the shallow wells to the north of the town draw briny water. This water is perfect for the pistachio trees. The old gardens in this area prove this idea. To the southeast, bitter water (water with a high mineral content) is drawn from the wells. This water is suitable for the *Ronnas.* The *Ronnas* trade is still active in Ardakan and the surrounding villages.

Fresh water moves through the Qanats from the southern mountains and springs into the Sadr-Abad area to water the green vivid pomegranate gardens which have created a pleasant and cool atmosphere there. The old people still remember that
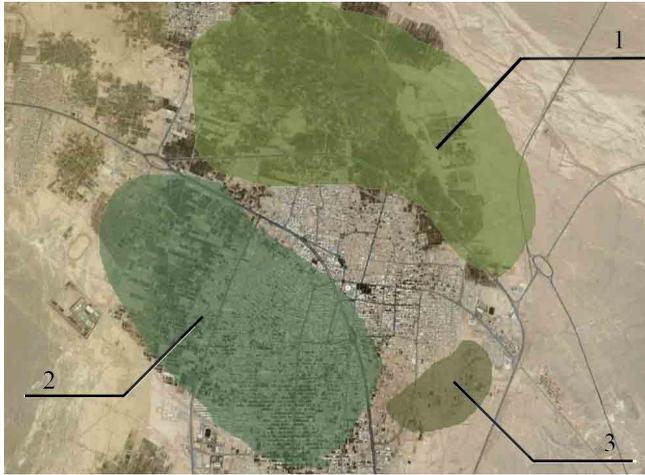
there had been a street in Sadr-Abad with rows of tall beautiful Plantain, in the middle of the gardens (just like the Char-Bagh historic street in Isfahan). Due to rapid urban expansion, more than half of this area has been recently occupied by residential land. Therefore, we can say that these gardens have embraced the city like a green ring.

The small scale of the town provides people with an opportunity to buy their fruits and vegetables directly from the farmers. This is a valuable advantage in small towns that have several commercial and social benefits.
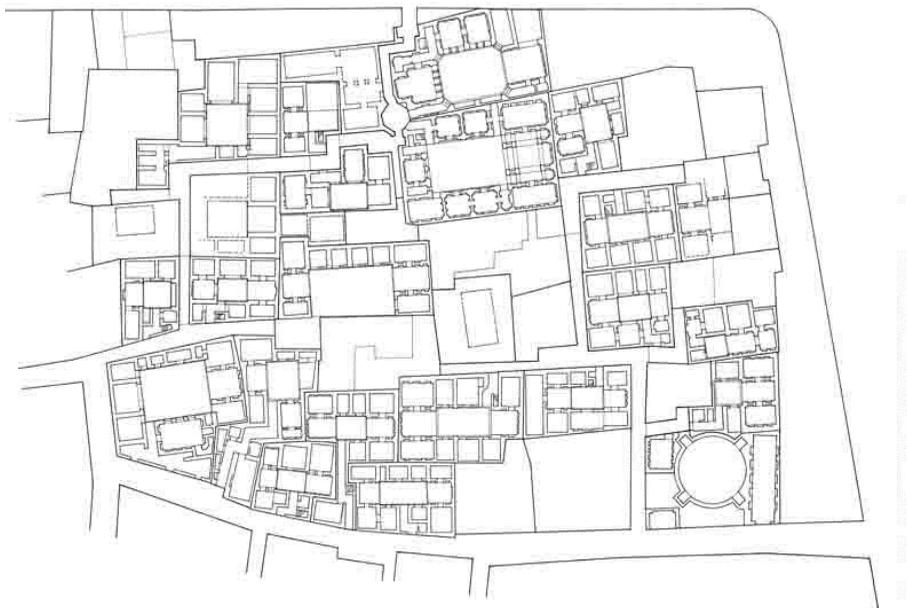
In traditional urbanism, there are appropriate accesses to urban utilities and short commutes, hence, it is not necessary to use cars or other modes of transportation and there is no noise or air pollution. This has a deep influence on social health and empowerment of the cultural and social bases of the society and continuity of human values.

Harmony with Nature in the Scale of Ardakan Houses

A traditional house in Ardakan has an inner structure, like many houses in other desert towns, in which we can see a central courtyard in the middle of the house with rooms around it. Some of these rooms are closed spaces and some are semi-closed spaces. The houses are normally double-storeyed with a ground floor and basement. This pattern is shaped to suit the climatic conditions of this geographic region and answers beautifully to the natural limitations.

In a traditional house of Ardakan, by utilizing environmental energies such as wind energy and solar energy and architectural elements such as the shape of roofs (domes and arched roofs instead of flat roofs), walls (large and thick), materials (mud, mud brick, stone, brick, mortar, lime and wood), *Godal Baghcheh* in the house yard (increase of contact surface of building with the Earth), windows and wind-towers (*badgir*), comfortable conditions have been provided for the occupants. The courtyard, which
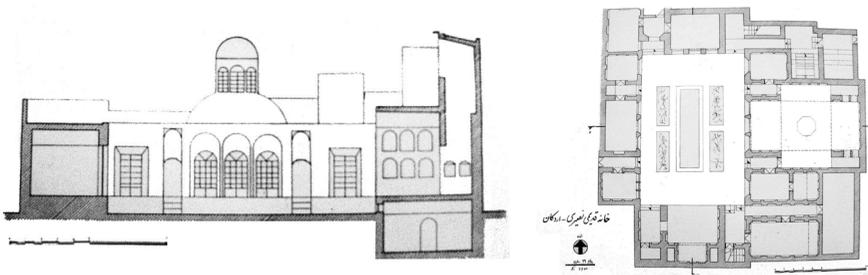
consists of plants and trees compatible with a desert environment and a water pool, makes a microclimate for having comfortable conditions in this hot region. Through the wind catchers, air is channeled into interior spaces, on the water body in the centre of the courtyard and the plants. Wind catchers act not only as a principle element for using clean energy, the spatial arrangement also helps to maximize the use of this renewable energy source (Maeiyat, 2009: 4).

The wind-scoop houses of Iran, where the courtyards and water pools are not just arbitrary ornamental decorations but crucial passive-energy devices, serve to make this city at least 10 degrees cooler than the surrounding countryside (Correa, 2000: 23).

The results of co-ordinating with nature are not only observed in climatic specifications of the physical bodies of houses in this region; living in harmony with nature has many other privileges.
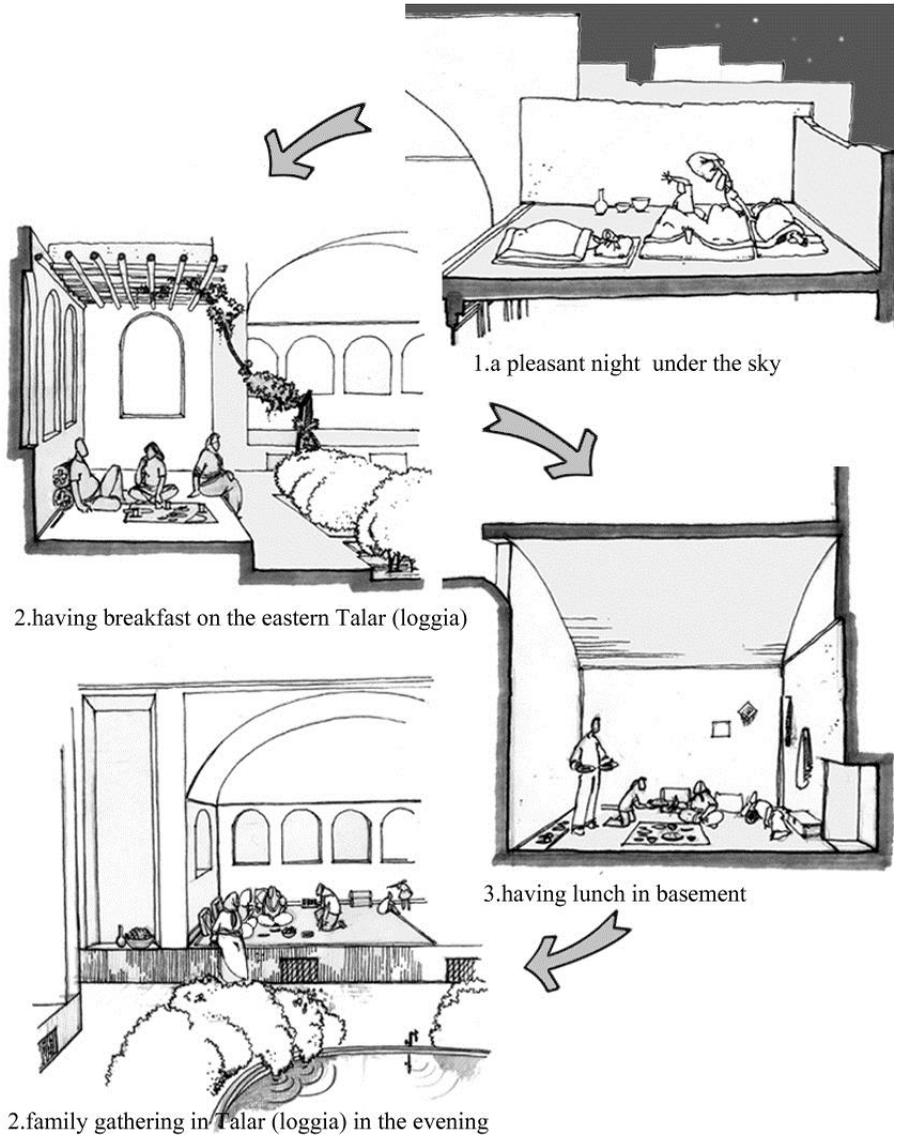
Movement in Co-ordination with Nature

Some scientists believe that human beings naturally are interested in movement. Inhabitants of Yazd and Ardakan traditional houses move from one place of the house to another according to seasonal changes throughout the year and the sun's position throughout the day. Accordingly, the architecture of traditional houses matches nature's cycle.

These yearly movements usually happen horizontally in the spaces of a house with some vertical movement on a day-to-day basis. In other words, the inhabitants of these houses move their main living areas from the "sun facing" zone of their house in winter to the "shade zone" in summer with some intermediate areas for the seasons in between.

Figure 9

The movements of
a family during a
summer day.
*Drawing: Shera Owlia,
2002*

1.a pleasant night under the sky

2.having breakfast on the eastern Talar (loggia)

3.having lunch in basement

2.family gathering in Talar (loggia) in the evening

Here we are going to describe the movements of a family during a summer day more specifically:

- Waking up in the morning after a pleasant night's sleep under the star-filled sky of the *kavir* (desert) with a cool breeze, on the roof of the house.
- Having breakfast on the eastern *Talar* (Ivan) of the house which is shaded from the morning sun, beside the water pool and small green gardens.

- Having lunch and an afternoon nap in the basement, away from the midday heat.
- Serving the evening tea on the main *Talar* (Ivan) of the house, while the one-sided wind catcher channels cool air to the *Talar* (Ivan).

Growing Food at Home

Growing your own food at home has a strong impact on families living in Ardakan who have a central yard in the house and some small gardens with domestic animals such as chickens. It is not only a hobby for the elder members and children of the family, to grow vegetables and fruits such as grapes and pomegranates, it also helps the family keep in touch with the reality of food production. In the traditional pattern of life, food is consumed with minimum wastage. Here we explain some instances of this:

Much of the fruit leftover in large cities is known as garbage. However, in traditional life the same material is re-used: making jams of orange peels, sun-drying the seeds of watermelons and using pomegranates to make red color pigment for use in carpet production. Used and worn cotton clothing is woven into a traditional shoe called a *Giveh.* Bones and flesh of consumed food are either directly turned into cat food or bird feed or used as a natural fertilizer in the garden soil.

Comparing the pattern of food consumption of traditional cities with that of mega-cities it is evident why the mega-cities are facing a crisis. In mega-cities, the garbage from leftover food products goes through an expensive and long-term process of being turned into compost, whereas the natural recycling of food products in a traditional pattern of life is much shorter, cheaper and happens on the individual house level. This attitude of having deep respect for nature is called *qenaat* [1] in Islamic culture.

Another instance of this matter which has been observed by the authors is explained below:

In a traditional house in Yazd, during winter, the family sprinkles breadcrumbs on the *Talar* (Ivan) for the pigeons. The family then uses the bird droppings as fertilizer for the grapevines to enjoy ripe grapes the following harvest season.

---

1 قناعت

The Realization of Time

One of the spiritual consequences of living in the traditional houses of Ardakan is the realization of time. In other words, we can say it is about understanding different situations during the day and the night, such as dawn, midday, sunset and midnight. Since these situations are directly created by the quality of sunlight entering the spaces, the traditional Ardakan houses allow their inhabitants to experience each moment of the day and night and to ponder upon its meaning. This is absent in modern cities and life.

Psychological Effect and Spiritual Calmness

Since small towns offer more opportunities for human beings to stay in touch with elements of nature, they have a positive impact on the humans' psychological calmness and their mental health. Accordingly, we are faced with an increase in psychological illnesses, problems of an ethical nature and increasing stress in the lives of people residing in mega-cities.

Figure 10

A framed panel of sky in a traditional house in Ardakan.
Source: http://www.golceram.com/ardakan.aspx

Traditional houses in Ardakan have been able to make a balanced, direct relationship between their residents and nature. The possibility of sleeping on the roof under the sky full of stars is not just about climatic privileges but also an opportunity for improving the human relationship with Heaven. The sky has been bestowed with sacred meaning in the traditional and Islamic culture of this place and has been introduced as a source of peace and spirituality. Repetition and permanency of human presence under the open sky (which happens in traditional houses) is different from looking at the sky for some moments on a weekend vacation in the countryside.

> The sky, all said and done, is the source of light – which is the most primordial of stimuli acting on our senses… Small wonder then, that man has always perceived the sky above to be the abode of the gods and that down all these many millennia, it has exerted such extraordinary power on us and on the architecture we build. (Correa, 2000:28)

Mega-cities, with all the rush, noise and crowd, do not give human beings opportunities to experience the vastness of the sky, the trees or any other natural element. Such a relationship does not allow for spiritual consequences. Such opportunities are available to people of small towns and they are able to ponder on the signs of the presence of God on earth. In this vision, every part of nature may be considered as a symbol of the imaginable world. Man could know that every element of nature has its own special meaning.

A heavenly comprehension of life is possible for humans if they have opportunities for recognition of nature and co-existence with it. This is when every tree is a sample of a tree in paradise and every flower implies the essentiality and purity of heaven that mankind has ever yearned for.

Therefore in Islamic culture, nature is introduced full of signs and symbols and God's words, like the written Quran. We may call it the "Cosmic Quran".

References

• Alexander, Kristofer (2002), *The Phenomenon of Life: An Essay on the Art of Building and the Nature of the Universe*, Translated by Sabri, Reza and Sirus, Parhan. Naghsh Press,Tehran.

• Arjmand, Habib (2004), *Migration in Architecture,* MA Thesis in Architecture, Art and Architecture Faculty of Yazd University, Iran.

• Baker, S. (2006), *Sustainable Development.* Abingdon, Oxon, United Kingdom, Routledge.

• Borjian Boroojeny, Farshad (2012), *The Symbolism of Domes in Islamic Architecture of Mosques in Yazd and Kerman.* Retrieved September 28, 2012 from <http://www.domesintheworld.com/wp-content/uploads/2011/11/045_Iran_BorijanBoroojeny.pdf>

• Correa, Charles (1985), *Great City, Terrible Place,* The New Landscape, The Book Society of India, Butterworth Architecture, New York. Retrieved September 28, 2012 from <http://www.charlescorrea.net/pdfs/essay07.pdf>

• Correa, Charles (2000), *The Blessing of the Sky,* Thames and Hudson, London. Retrieved September 28, 2012 from <http://www.charlescorrea.net/pdfs/essay07.pdf>

• Foley, Elleen (2010), *A Conservation Strategy for Sustaining the Cultural Significance of Rural Landscapes,* Master of Landscape Architecture, The University of Guelph, Canada.

- Maeiyat, M. Mehdi (2009), *Sustainable Housing in Semi-Rural Settlements*, Research co-workers: Movahed, N. and Maeiyat, F., 45th ISOCARP Congress.

- Sadeghahmadi, Mehdi (2004), *Discovering Nature Harmony in Architecture*, MA Thesis in Architecture , Art and Architecture Faculty of Yazd University, Iran.

- Sherafati (1996), *Rehabilitation Plan of Charkhab Neighborhood of Ardakan.* Art and Architecture Faculty of Yazd University, Iran.

- United Nations (1992), *Report of the United Nation Conference on Environment and Development,* Rio de Janeiro, 3-14 June, 1992.

- Nasr, Seyyed Hossein (1988), *Knowledge and the Sacred,* Translated by Rahmati. Enshaallah, Nay Press, Tehran.

- Nasr, Seyyed Hossein (1996), *Religion and the Order of Nature,* Suhail Academy, Lahore. Translated by Rahmati, Enshaallah, Sohrevardi Press, Tehran.

- Sepehri Ardakani, Ali (1995), *The History of Ardakan*, Honain Press, Ardakan.

Cultural Pedestrians: An Investigation of Pedestrian Architectural and Urban Spaces during Religious Mourning Rituals

Jalal Mohaddesi

Preface

Worldview and Lived Environment

A human being lives upon a wisdom by which he interprets the world: a worldview. Any mental and physical aspect of human life is justified based on his chosen way of life. Consequently, there should be a connection between beliefs and ideologies in a community and its socio-cultural behavior. The reflection of this connection can be seen in the structures and features that deal with it. In the case of religion, worldviews that have passed an experimental background through history, are more visible.

Religion related environments are outstanding samples that reflect their content. In different cohesive nations, cultures and regions, the worldviews form "lived environment" because of the strong integration between lifestyle and the built environment.

While Islam was expanding its domain, the affected communities were gradually involved in a sensible metamorphosis, one of whose visible aspects is the physical formation. "Islamic Cities" in the Muslim world are the best prototypes of this idea, among which is Qom.

In the case of Qom, which is an historical city, located near the central desert of Iran, you can find the above-mentioned cohesive. The entrance of Islam in Qom (25 After Hijrat) and the burial of Fatima Masuma[1] (201 A.H), changed its social context to a Muslim Community. Qom was one of the Shi'ites' outstanding communities in Iran and its urban structure has been affected by its religious context, specially after the Safavids (10-13th Hijri, 15-18th Hijri). Therefore, it is not so surprising that the structure of this small town reflects its religious rites. Over 400 years (after the Safavids and specially during the Qajarids) the annual ceremony of the mourning ritual, Ashoora[2] and its related rituals has affected the city in the realms of both form and function. (Fig. 1)

---

1 She is the daughter of the Shi'ites' 7th Imam (Musa Kazim). On a journey whose destination was Toos (Khorasan), where her Brother, Reza (8th Imam) was exiled, she became ill near Qom and then died and was buried in this town.

2 The historical event in which Husayn (PBUH), the grandson of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH), was murdered in Karbala.

Qom in 1955
*Photo: National
Cartographic Center.*
This is the earliest
aerial photo of a
city whose physical
texture is still along
its environmental
determinism:

Natural environment:
(Left)
desert and harsh
climate, a river
passing through
the town (SW-
NE), encircled by
agriculture, dominant
topography (W, S-W
and S)

Built environment:
(Right)
densely compact
urban texture, early
city-center: Meidan
(East), late city-
center: Holy Shrine
(West), Bazaar
(connecting these
two) (see Fig.6)
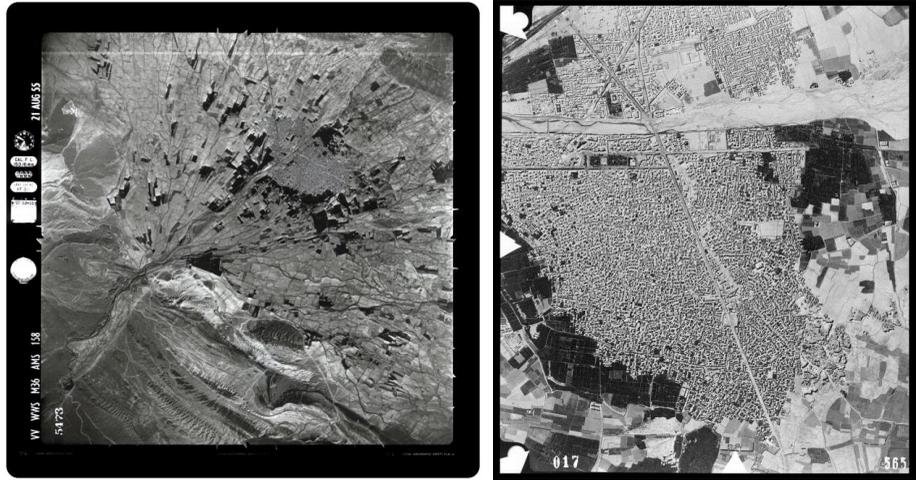
During the last three decades Qom has experienced an explosive expansion. New urban planning and design, based on this expansion but ignorant of the mentioned formation procedure, is going to define a new structure for the future of the city. Among these plans there is a "governmental ordered" ritual urban axis (Fig. 2) that has "no justification" and even "no definition" of the idea of responsibility.

Figure 2

The expansion of
Qom since 1955
(Left) to 2008
(Center).
Right:
The recent urban
projects proclaiming
"development and
progress", but ignorant
of the tradition of
social and physical
contexts, cut through
them.
(Jalal Mohaddesi)
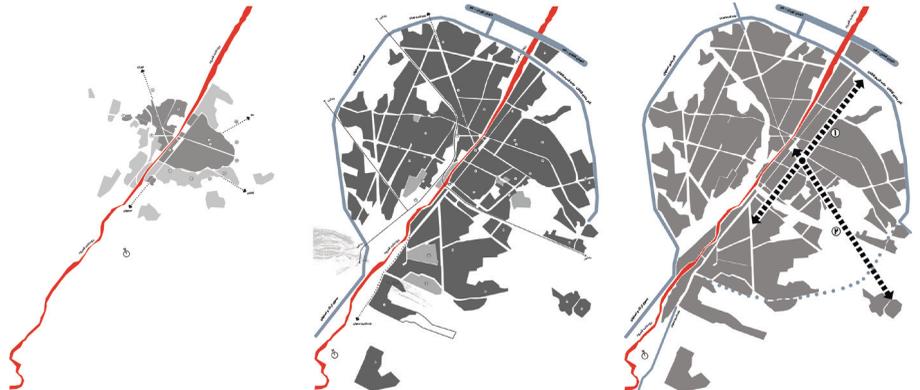
Evidence

As an environment designer, probing rituals in Islam with a Behavioral Science approach would help to create a more responsive built environment. Annual mourning rituals under the issue of Ashoora had a deep impact on the Shi'ite Muslim communities and their public and private lifestyle. Different cultural layers reflect this impact, hence the socio-urban context, in the case of Qom, is our focus zone. Recounting some samples of this context would reveal this assertion:

- Donation (Financial aid): Spontaneous public behavior, in a non-predetermined template, based on personal interests and ritual requirements, occurs in the form of financial payments to *Hei'ats*[3] or other NGOs related to Ashoora. This finance, either in the form of public aid or governmental support[4], has been continuing until now.

- *Vaqf* (financial devotion): This is a tradition in which someone designates all or a part of his/her property or income for public services (education, water usage and others), the poor, religious activities and other such purposes. Supplying the costs, requirements and equipment for rituals or providing their performing space or place has been continuing since ages:

  • Allotting harvest to a ritual named Imam Husayn's (PBUH) *Korde*.
  • Allocating the products or incomes of public service structure (*Yakhchal* or ice-reservoir) to mourning.
  • Dedicating a part of a property to build a building with a ritual function (Mosque, *Hussainia* and *Tekye*) or a public service.
  • Constructing or repairing any kind of building (Mosque or *Hussainia*) in which rituals are performed.
  • Establishing a *Caravansary* or inn for visitors of Holy Lands and Shrines and offering discounts for the services they offer to travelers and users.
  • Feeding the poor or even passengers with meals or snacks.
  • Setting up or performing *Ta'zieh* or outdoor play (Mohaddesi, 1996: pp. 495-7)

---

3   It is a community that includes a number of members (from less than 50 to a few thousands), who perform mourning rites defined as traditional behavior.

4   The "Imperial Donation" was a tradition in which the king and his rulers associated with public activities by giving financial or infrastructural support and it continues till today. The recent kingship dynasty "Pahlavi", in the tradition of their ascendants, continued this support that was reluctantly accepted by the community.

- Respecting the "Sayyed" (pl.: *Sadat*): The descendants of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) are highly respected in society, particularly in rituals. They are the criteria for ranking communities, groups, teams and families. The more *Sadat* they include, the more credit they would have.[5] The urban district that is connected to this social class becomes important too. Some districts in which the *Sadat* community lives or where there is a tomb of their ancestor (a shrine), play an important role in identifying the group or community that belongs to them.

Theory

Being a responsive environment, there would be no way out of considering human life and its needs. In this fusion of life and needs, you can find a number of traditions that fulfill the desire for Identity. Identity based on the worldview is accompanied by some needs that are responded to by religion. These needs, integrated with rites in religious contexts, are pivotal issues in making responsive environments. Exploring the connection between mourning rituals and social contexts, built environment, urban substructures and districts, economic systems and others is an attitude towards the behavioral science approach in urban and architectural design and studies.

This issue will be examined in detail, reviewing the mourning types and their corresponding places. Then will follow an analysis of the behavioral patterns, social roles and required equipment within the rite. (Fig. 3)

Figure 3

The body structure of the article, showing the behavioral approach to the mourning rituals study. (Jalal Mohaddesi)

Mourning Environment and Social Context			
Mourning Types	Static	Dynamic	Behavioral Patterns
Mourning Places	**Permanent**	**Temporary**	Social Roles
	Private houses	*Sangabkhane*, drinking stations	Streets, pathways
	Mosque, *Hussainia* and *Takieh*	Urban spaces	Bazaars
	Shrine, Fatima's Holy shrine		Plaza, urban spaces	Equipment
	Religious schools		

5 As *Seyyedan* and *Chehel-Akhtaraan Dasteh* or group that are highly respected by citizens.

Mourning Types

Movement is the base of human activities that form civic life. Therefore, upon the matter of "movement" there could be two main types of mourning:

- **Static:** People going to a specific place to mourn

  • Permanent: Performing the ritual in a permanent fixed place that could be an empty space (a court or a square), a building or a structure. These places are attached to the concept of mourning and then after decades and centuries become its urban icons.

  • Temporary: Performing the ritual in a place that is fixed but relocates from time to time. These temporary places are set up for a short period and then removed after the rite is performed.

- **Dynamic:** A group of mourning pedestrians by the name of *Dasteh* going from one point to another usually on a specific route: a procession.

Mourning Places

The natural or built environment embraces human life. The environment deals with it and is consequently characterized by it and its different aspects, including rites, especially in religious communities. No mourning type (static/dynamic) occurs but in places or spaces. The dependence of mourning types on a variety of architectural and urban spaces that embrace them is deeply relevant to the social context of the rite. In other words, the way of carrying out a mourning rite and its included activities determines its behavioral atmosphere and the spatial factors of its corresponding environment. Based on the mourning type upon the concept of Movement, we can list the corresponding urban and architectural places and spaces. These environments contain the social context of different types of mourning rituals.

- Static Permanent:

- Private houses, usually belonging to nobles: (Fig. 4)
  - Clergymen and religious scholars
  - Well-known merchants
  - Well-known families
  - Important and well-known individuals
  - Masuma's Holy Shrine Trustee
  - Imam Jum'a (The city's religious agent and the trustee of the Jami' Mosque)
  - Ordinary and unknown people (Abbasi, 1992: p. 9)

- Mosque, *Hussainia* and *Tekieh*[6]: After mosques, *hussainias* are the most important religious sites among Muslims (Mohaddesi, 1996: p. 127). A *hussainia* belongs to the urban, social and religious context of the community and there are a variety of them in the towns:

  - Mosque, *Hussainia* and *Tekieh* of a district or neighborhood
  - Mosque, *Hussainia* and *Tekieh* of a Bazaar and guilds (carpet sellers, masons, craftsmen and others)
  - Mosque, *Hussainia* and *Tekieh* of the social strata (scholars, military men, theology students, merchants and others)
  - Mosque, *Hussainia* and *Tekieh* of non-native citizen (Isfahaners,
  - Kashaners, and others)

- Holy Shrine: Fatima Masuma's Holy Shrine and its "New Court" (Atabaki Court)[7] which is the processions' destination and the climactic point of the *Dastehs'* (pedestrian mourning groups) movement. (fig.5)

- Religious schools: Those which have a critical urban position or social position (such as *Khan* or *Feiziyeh*).

Figure 4

Holding mourning ceremonies in a private house: a preacher at a pulpit is giving a lecture.
Left: Motevali-Bashi's house in 1310 H. (1931 C.E.)
Reference: Abbasi, 1371: 1992;
Right: A contemporary merchant's house in 1389 H. (2010 C.E.)
Photo by: Jalal Mohaddesi

6   A *Tekieh* or *Hussainia* is a place where Shi'ites gather to mourn the killing of Husayn ibn Ali (PBUH).
7   Built in the time of the Qajarids, during the kingship of Fath-Ali-Shah, and by Ataabak son of Amin-ol-Sultan, the Prime Minister.

- Static Temporary:

  • *Sangaab-khane or Saghaa-khaneh*: A temporary pavilion or station that serves free drinking water, tea or sometimes snacks. It is usually established near the pedestrians' ways of returning to their district and is dismantled after the rituals end.

  • A district's open urban space[8] : It could be either an empty space that is abandoned, useless or an open space in a district. These open lots serve as common spaces which come in a variety of scales. Pedestrians gather in them to start their procession together, perform *Ta'zieh* or any kind of outdoor activity. In addition, when the *Dasteh* finishes the mourning in the Holy Shrine and returns to the district, these spaces serve as a place in which mourners cool down and then disperse. Sometimes (on dry, hot or bitter cold days of the year) they are sheltered by installing big tents and marquees. (Abbasi, 1371: p. 137)

- Dynamic

  • Street, pathway and lane: The procession, from departure point (the district's mosque, shrine, *hussainia* or square) to the destination (Masuma's Holy Shrine) and then back to the district, goes through alleys, lanes and squares of the districts.

  • Bazaar: The main lane of any district leads to a Bazaar, whose main route continues from old Bazaar to New Bazaar (Saidi Nia, 1986). Bazaars in many of the old cities of Iran used to be the traditional direction for *Dastehs* to go through.

  • Plazas and urban spaces: These are open spaces in important parts of the city structure, that are used for re-organizing *Dastehs* on the way to the destination (Holy Shrine) or on the way back to their districts (after finishing the mourning). *Salam-gaah* and *Astaneh* Squares are some of the well-known places of this kind.

---

8   Brownfield sites

Behavioral Patterns

Based on the type of mourning, a series of activities is carried out in different places/spaces. Any place/space, according to its characteristics, potential, qualification, condition, limitations or restrictions, interacts with its contained type of mourning, shaping its behavioral aspects. On the other hand, social context in any mourning type influences the formal and functional features of its containing environment. In other words, we can see an interactive co-existence of "content" (mourning) and "container" (environment) based on the requirements, necessities, activities, relations and others.

Here is the list of behavior observed in different types of mourning:

- Static Permanent:

  • Private houses
    • Telling *Mas'aleh* (legal issues), delivering lectures (on faith, history, ethics and others), lamentation, singing elegies, entrance and exit of the *Dastehs* (in big and important houses) and feeding the congregation. (Abbasi, 1992: p. 17)
    • Mourning customs: High discipline (in the session), taking off hat or turban in respect for the occasion and visiting *Ulama* and *Maraje*[9] (theologians)

  • Mosque ,*Hussainia* and *Tekieh*
    • Singing elegies, *Sineh-zani* (chest beating), *Be-Sar-zani* (head beating), *Shabih-Khan*i or *Ta'zieh* (open-space play) and *Sar-dam* (spontaneously singing poems composed by a *Darwish* or ascetic)
    • Mourning customs: Sitting on rough earth (not on a carpet or rug), separated and designated space for men and women[10] (sex segregation), considering VIP status for nobles (officials, government agents, scientists and well-known people such as merchants), reception (serving tea, *hooka* (water pipes), lunch or dinner) and votive food offering (usually in the form of snacks such as *Tar-e-Halva*, *Aash-jo*, *Shole-Zard* and others). (Abbasi, 1992, p. 46)

---

9 They are the educated class of Muslim scholars, theologians and religious scientists. The high class and high-ranking ones who are well educated and famous are called *Marja'* (pl.: *Maraje'*)

10 Hanging curtains to separate men from women is a contemporary custom that became common after "women unveiling" (Abbasi, 1992). This goes back to the Pahlavi Dynasty 1st (King Reza) in the 1930s, when based on a cultural renovating program, wearing a veil (*Hijab*) was banned for women.

- • Holy Shrine and its courts
  - • Delivering lectures, lamentation, singing elegies, *Sineh-zani*, *Be-sar-zani*, *Shour* (frenzy: state of ultimate excitement), and *Shabih-khani* (drama)

- • Religious schools
  - • *Shabih-khani* and *Ta'zieh*

- Static Temporary:

  - • *Sangaab-khane* or *Saghaa-khaneh*:
    - • Drinking water, offering, mourning[11] , *Shabih-khani* and *Ta'zieh*

  - • District open space
    - • *Shabih-khani* (usually an outdoor, amateur theater), departure for visiting *Atabat* (Muslim holy shrines)

- Dynamic

  - • Street, pathway, Bazaar and Plaza
    - • *Dasteh* (pedestrians) movement and mourning, third day *Dasteh*, *Shaam-e-Gharibaan*[12] *Dasteh*, *Shabih-khani*, bystanding and onlooking citizens or foreigners as visitors and travelers, and pilgrimage

Note-1: The *Dasteh* (procession) is one of the most complicated and extended parts of mourning rituals. It includes different activities and is made up of a variety of components. Many activities and types of behavior can be seen **before**, **parallel** to, **apart** from and **after** the movement and demonstration of *Dasteh*. During a one-day long procession, an interaction between different groups of people happens in a live environment, while a *Dasteh* goes to the Holy Shrine and returns. (Fig. 5)

---

11 It should be mentioned that the Water Station had a *Dasteh* for itself, including its staff, which was named "Dasteh-ye- Sangaab-Khaneh".

12 Lonesome night, that is, the supper of the day of Imam Husayn's (PBUH) martyrdom.

The movement of Dasteh includes a variety of activities within its route [13] (Fig. 6): taking a turn [14], visiting a few houses, water spraying the walkways, refrain and chorus, mobile orchestra (including: drum, timpani, horn, cymbal), mobile *Ta'zieh*, carrying candlesticks (on a leveled tray), burning *harmal*, singing elegies, mourning and lamentation, *Sineh-zani* (chest beating), *Be-sar-zani* (head beating), *Zanjir-zani* (chain beating), *Sang-zani* (stone clapping) (Abbasi, 1992: p. 208), *Qame-zani* (sword beating), mobile water stall, sprinkling rosewater, sacrificing (sheep, cattle, camel and other animals) and *Komaki-Raftan* (attending other *dastehs* as a guest).

Note-2: Pilgrimage is an action in which people gather to escort or to welcome pilgrim caravans.[15] The escort is done for the ones who depart to visit a holy shrine (that is, Imam Husayn's (PBUH)) and the welcome is done on their arrival in the city as a traditional custom.

Pilgrimage includes rituals such as: *Chavoosh-khani* (singing), *gharar-gah* (gathering in a meeting place to start the journey), spreading table cloth (feeding the travelers), Dome-Sight (revealing the destination), caravan route (with midway caravansaries and water reservoirs) (Abbasi: 1992: p. 190), visiting citizens (who live at the destination), returning, welcoming, sacrificing and visiting the returned pilgrims (in the mosque or in their houses).

All the mentioned activities and their related rituals are performed either by individuals or by groups of people mostly on foot.[16] They are all carried out in man-made environments (barring some specific natural cases) such as buildings, streets and pathways, plazas and open spaces in the city that we call "architectural and urban" spaces. Over decades and centuries, rituals commute between culture and environment to create a "ritualistic setting". The social context of mourning has affected its physical container (the built environment) and has been influenced by it. Consequently, in a cultural context we

---

13 It is the main part of a *Heiat* or *Dasteh* movement in the form of walking that contains two parts: departure and arrival. The departure point is the district (its mosque or *Tekieh*) and the destination is the Holy Shrine of Fatima that is the climax of the procession. After that, the *Dasteh* returns to the district and the ceremony ends and the people disperse. Sometimes a *Dasteh*, on its way back to the district, goes to some other places (such as the house of an important person).

14 On busy days, "taking a turn" is a challenging argument that sometimes leads to a struggle or quarrel.

15 A pilgrim is someone who leaves his/her city to visit a holy place or to attend a holy rite and ceremony (that is, visiting Imam Husayn's (PBUH) Shrine or attending Hadj)

16 These activities are sometimes accompanied by the presence of a few accessories and machines.

would have a socio-physical space with determinate characteristics, reflecting its cohesive background.
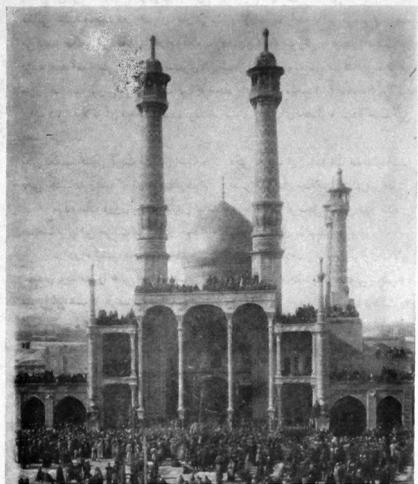

Figure 5

The climax of the mourning by the processions.
Left: Holy Shrine in 1310's H. or 1320's H. *Reference: Abbasi, 1371: 1992;*
Right: Holy Shrine in 1389 H. (2009 C.E.) *Photo by: M. Omidvarian*
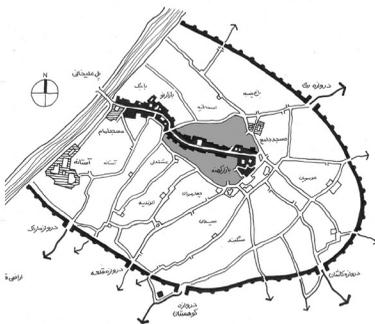

Figure 6

Procession route.
Left: A simplified pictogram that shows the Qom downtown urban structure. All the district lanes (in a radial orientation) lead to the Bazaar (the black figure) and its supporting urban area (grey).
Reference: Saidi-Nia, 1365 H., 1986 C.E.;
Right: District's *Tekiehs* (red points) that go through the lanes (dotted line) and end in the Bazaar main lane (red line). The Bazaar reaches the *Salam-gah* (the big circle) in which *Dastehs* take turns to go through the communal lane (direct red line) to Fatima Masuma's Holy Shrine: the climax of the mourning.
Reference: Kariman, 1328 H., 1949 C.E.

Mourning Social Roles

Any of the mentioned activities, are divided into sub-activities and the rituals that make it. Then we have a series of "social roles", each of which can be defined as a duty or job that is done by an individual. These social roles are components of the social context of any traditional mourning. In other words, any type of mourning rite is carried out with the help of a variety of active volunteers. Any person in charge of

a social role is qualified for it based on his/her talents, skills, abilities and of course enthusiasm. According to the mourning type and based on the kind of "behavioral settings", introduced beforehand, there are corresponding "social roles".

- Static Permanent:

  • Private houses
    • *Mas'aleh-goo* (legal issue teller), lecturer, lamenter, elegy singer, pulpit adjacent[17] and audience (which listens and cries)

  • Convent
    • Ascetic, ascetic's hierarch, ascetic's Dasteh

  • Mosque, *Hussainia*, *Tekieh* and *Hei'at*
    • *Jarookesh* (administrator)[18], lecturer, lamenter, elegy singer, pulpit adjacent, audience (who listens and cries), *Ta'zieh* team[19], poet, valiant champions[20] *Sine-zan* (chest beater), *Zanjir-Zan* (chain hitter), *Qame-zan* (sword hitter), *Taagh-Azin* or "decoration arc"[21] team (setting up the arc, accessory installation, observation, protection, visitor reception), "Yazid's Throne" team (Yazid[22], two assistants), *Hooka* or "water pipe" serving (chief, hooka distributer, charcoal operator, *hooka-refresh man*), tea serving (teahouse chief, tea distributer, sugar distributer) and *Sar-dam* team[23] (*Darwish* or poem singer, his escorting fans, on-looking people) (Abbasi, 1992: 69-72)

  • Holy Shrine and its courts

  • Religious schools

---

17 The ones who have this role sit near the pulpit, react based on the speech content and the sense of the session and help to emphasize the atmosphere of the ceremony.

18 *Jarookesh* means sweeper. This is a sign of modesty and shows that he devoted himself to the services of the mourners but in fact, he is the chief-man of this community.

19 See "Fixed. Temporary: *Shabih-khani* or *Ta'zieh*" places for full list of the team roles.

20 They are physically and mentally strong men that carry heavy loads and things (such as *Alamaat*). They are usually the guards of the *Tekieh* and its *Dasteh* who protect their community from thieves, evil and wicked persons. They help the *Dasteh* in any case of inconvenience and are the assets of the community they belong to.

21 For more details see 34th footnote.

22 Yazīd ibn Mu'āwiya ibn Abī Sufyān was the 2nd Calif of the Umayyads, who ordered Husayn (PBUH) to be killed.

23 *Sar-dam* is an activity in which a *Darwish* (poet), who is accompanied by a group of his fans and other people, goes to another *Tekieh*. In a competition of composing spontaneous poems (between himself and the *Darwish* of the other Tekieh), the winners take some accessories of others. A variety of men from different professions and guilds belong to the *Sar-dam* team. So the utilities and equipments that represent their profession are used in decorating the *Tekiehs*.

- Static Temporary:

  - *Sangaab-khane* or *Saghaa-khaneh*:
    - Founder and sponsor, water distributer, poet, night watchman and *Dasteh*

  - District open space
    - *Shabih-Khani* and *Ta'zieh*[24] : *Ta'zieh-gardan* (chief: producer and director), *Ta'zieh-khan* (singing performers[25], text composer), common audience (ordinary people), noble audience (officials, government and military agents), *Ulama* (theologians), Holy Shrine Trustees, well-known citizens, merchants, *Khans* (landowners), foreigners or political guests.

- Dynamic

  - Street, Pathway, Bazaar and Plaza
    - *Dasteh*: *Sar-dasteh* or administrator and leader, *Mian-daar* or active persons, *tak-zan* (an important individual mourner), *Alamaat* carrier, torch carrier, tray carrier, *Saqaa* (water distributer), drummer, vanguards (*haram* burner, drummer, timpanist, trumpeter (on foot or riding on a horse), cymbalist, flag carrier, speciality agents (strewing chaff or ash or soil, rosewater sprinkling, mud daubing), servant (doing public services such as transportation, messenger and others), *Tugh* or blade team (operators and responsible, carrier, decorator) and common mourner[26] (as ordinary members sometimes with bare head or foot).

    - Pilgrimage: *Chavoosh-khan* (singer), caravan chief (tour leader), camel-rider or horseman, guide (tour guide, the one who knows the way), security guard, pilgrim and servant.

Most of the named roles are still active but in a new form and pattern of behavior based on contemporary conditions and circumstances. This shows that the essence of any ritual continues from the past until

---

24 *Ta'zieh* is an outdoor play or theater that could be called a poetic drama. It is performed in open spaces (on horse, stage and foot) by amateur performers from different social classes. It retells *Ashoora* tragedy and its related events.

25 They play different roles (Imam, Ali-Akbar, Horr, sacred people, enemies, children and women) in different situations.

26 Who do *Sineh-Zani* or *Zanjir-Zani* (see behavioral patterns).

now. Not only the socio-cultural contexts of mourning rituals have been preserved but also their parallel, related contexts (in society) have survived beside and alongside them but according to the new spirit of the Age.

Mourning Equipment

The above-mentioned social roles used different equipment, instruments, objects and accessories to perform the mourning rites in a proper way. There was (and still is) a correspondence between these items and their use and utilization. The design and production process of these items of equipment in Art and Industry is a response to their function and consumption. This integrated association resulted in a developing cultural and mid-cultural context relying on fundamental sub-structures in society. Consequently, the tradition of performing the mourning rites has survived from generation to generation and its relevant social life remains active in urban communities and among different social classes. The more rites and traditions stay alive, the more productive would be the social context expected.

Figure 8

Mourning rituals face
different aspects of
a community's life.
(Jalal Mohaddesi)
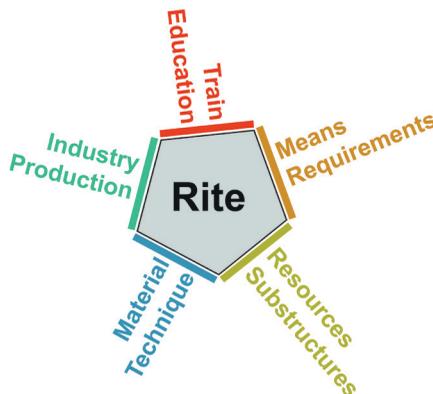
Reviewing the list of equipment, it is obvious how deeply mourning rituals have penetrated into the cultural layers of the community. These rites could be considered a polygonal phenomenon with each side gaining a means and source of livelihood. (Fig. 8)

- Static Permanent:

  - Private houses
    - *Minbar* or pulpit (recently enriched by audio systems), black cloth, poem inscription, marquee and other necessities for a public reception.

  - Mosque, *Hussainia*, *Tekieh* and *Hei'at*
    - Marquee[27] (wooden post, tent fabric, sewing system, rope, hook, ring and bracket, decorative Persian and Islamic patterns [28]), black cloth, curtain paintings (storytelling), reception utilities (huge *Hooka* or *Samovar*[29]), decorative objects (for Decoration Arch installation), *Sar-dam* equipment and throne equipment[30] (for Yazid's throne).

  - *Shabih-Khani* and *Ta'zieh*[31]
    - Marquee (sometimes[32]), stage (usually wooden), any kind of armor, horse, basin, orchestra (drum, cymbal and horn), decoration arch equipment [33] and all the equipment used in houses and *Dastehs*.

  - Holy Shrine and its courts

  - Religious schools

- Static Temporary:

  - *Sangaab-khane* or *Saghaa-khaneh*:
    - *Sangaab*[34] (stone basin), *waterskin*[35], decoration (inscription, picture, painting, icon), chandelier, tent or marquee and reception desk.

---

27 It is a large tent or tent-like shelter with open sides, especially one for temporary use in outdoor entertainment, receptions, and others.

28 They are usually silk printed and sewed on the fabrics.

29 It is a large metal container (originating in Russia) that is widely used in Iran to boil water for making tea.

30 See 23rd footnote on *Sar-dam*.

31 See 25th footnote.

32 *Ta'zieh* is performed in indoor/outdoor spaces or sometimes under a big temporary tent.

33 The decoration arch has different types such as: Happiness Arch (including chandelier, huge mirrors, candlestick, flowers), War Arch (including war implements: shield, sword, armor, helmet, arrow and bow) and Masters' Arch (representing honored and heroic characters in Ashoora epic such as Ali-Akbar, Abal-fazl, Qasim and others)

34 A big deep basin carved out of stone that contains lots of water. (Mohaddesi, 1996, p 250)

35 A waterskin is a receptacle used for holding water. Normally it is made of sheep or cow bladder.

- • District open space

  - Dynamic

    - • Street, Pathway, Bazaar and Plaza
      - • Musical instruments (drum, timpani, horn, cymbal), candlestick, multi-leveled tray, incense burner, *Zanjir* (a bunch of chains), sword and dagger, wooden stick, wooden drinking fountain, shovel and pickaxe, sprinkler, pulpit, cart, flag, banner, *Tooq* (Blade) and its scarf.

    - • Pilgrimage
      - • Travel equipment and necessities (for long or short journeys), palanquin/*howdah*, chariot/stagecoach, riding equipment and necessities.

Among the named objects, some have become cultural or religious symbols and even more; they have evolved into icons. Therefore, they act as media that expresses a concept, represent a theme or conveys a meaning. In this case, they recall and support an idea in society. These iconic features help reveal the background ideals of the mourning traditions. Why and wherefore the aspects of rituals crystallize themselves in the form of artwork, tools or accessories. Hence, they have passed their objective (even subjective) expressions and reached new eras of implication.

Conclusion

Hence, two kinds of contexts may be defined: "That" and "This". "That" refers to the contexts belonging to the recent mourning traditions mentioned in the article, which are going to fade away with time. "This" refers to contemporary contexts that are characterized by disorder and chaos. By investigating the interaction between the behavioral settings of "That" context, we can find new approaches to make environments more responsive to rituals and activities in "This" context.

The changes in the "behavior patterns" (in form and in the way of doing) are not prompted by the built environment and achievements of contemporary architecture and urban design. This proves that the environment designers are not aware of new behavior and its required

environment. In other words, there is a lack of a Behavioral Science approach in Environmental Design, in method and process. This is more visible in "small towns" that are still deeply influenced by their traditions.

According to contemporary urban metamorphosis, the districts and neighborhoods are changing into regions and zones; it is necessary to reconnect citizens to their new living environments. Thus, in the age of modernity and non-determinism, searching for socio-cultural potentials such as mourning rituals that are rooted deeply in the environment and behavior interactions, would help new communities to reorganize their disturbed and confused "Identity".

Today, we are involved in developing cities that are inevitably changing both in structure and form every day. In such circumstances looking for ideal "Identity" fundamentals and their factors is strongly needed and surely depends on the "revival" of values of contexts and their reflecting environments. We should note the relationship between "Content" (behavior) and "Container" (environment) as a criterion for reorganizing urban and architectural spaces and as the key to responsive environments for the ideal "Identity".

The integration of "mourning rituals" with civic culture and their dependence on social context proves their potential in improving the quality of human life and its corresponding urban and architectural spaces. The recent efforts of people who live in districts confirm that they want to re-identify themselves through some means which originates in their religious culture such as their *Dasteh*[36] (Abbasi, 1992: p. 159). They try to express this "obtained identity" in their "civic realms".

Accordingly, religious rituals and their corresponding behavior is one of the fundamental factors in reinforcing "Public Identity". Reinforcing common civic potential, encouraging voluntary activities and supporting NGOs would make a more "Sustainable Environment". These environments gain their sustainability through the help of its survived and continuing Cultural Heritage which, like a string, connects generations together. The religious, social and cultural contexts would ensure their accompanied environments are accepted by the people. Therefore, the mourning rituals would play a distinctive role in introducing these contexts to the new community and keep

---

36   Mourning pedestrian group

them up with the help of urban and architectural spaces beside Art as an intermediary interface.

Finally, to define a perspective in order to achieve a more cohesive environment the following concerns are recounted:

- Neighborhood and district community role in identity formation, especially in small towns,

- Reflected social and cultural context in urban and architectural space, its physical expression and mental conception,

- Behavioral Setting that embraces community activities, is influenced by and influences them and creates social memory and determines the quality of life,

- Concept and meaning permeation into daily life with the help of functional, symbolic and artistic aspects of physical environment.

References

• Abbasi, Mahdi. 1992 (1371). History of Mourning and Takiehs in Qom, Amir Printing Office, Qom.

• Mohaddesi, Javad. 1996 (1375). Ashoora Encyclopedia, Ma'roof Press, Qom, 15th Print: 2011(1390).

• Dehkhoda, Ali-Akbar. Dehkhoda Dictionary CD, 3rd Edition, Tehran University Press, Tehran.

• Saidi-Nia, Ahmad. 1986 (1365). Qom Urban Physical Structure, Iran Cities, Volume 2, Mohammad Yusof Kiani, Jahad Daneshgahi, Tehran.

• The writer's experiences and observations, from 2001 to 2012.

In A Place Called Martos

Saba Samee

The title for this THAAP Conference 2012 attracted me because of the presence of the word 'Life' which for me stands for 'Residents' of a town, not living beings, humans or people but just simply the residents. Somehow, this word brings a sense of ownership to a person residing in a livable place, a sense which we as a society neither appreciate nor possess. It haunted me because, as an architect, I am capable of losing myself in the architecture of a town. The town I am going to describe helped me keep a grip on my architectural senses and for 6 weeks, I was made conscious of the overwhelming sense of residentship that existed in a place called Martos.

I was among the eleven chosen participants for a workshop which was arranged by an organization known as Diadrasis, a Greek word meaning 'Interaction'. It is a newly-founded non-profit organization based on the idea of progressing and developing conservation sciences through the meeting and interaction of different cultures and specializations. The name 'Diadrasis' represents the main philosophy of the organization, underlining the need for inter-disciplinary research in Archaeological and Architectural Conservation. These workshops are conducted in collaboration with the University of York, ICOMOS, ICCROM, Commission for the World Heritage Sites and through engaging the governmental and municipal bodies of the host country. In April, Diadrasis announced that the 2012 Project would be held in Martos.

Project Martos 2012 began on 20th August in southern Spain, in the region of Andalusia; its eight provinces included Sevilla, Granada, Cordoba, Malaga and Jaen. It is in the province of Jaen that the small roman city of Martos is located, having approximately 30,000 residents. Through archaeological findings, the settlement is dated back to the Neolithic period, whilst the origins of a town can be traced back to the 7th century BC during which it is recorded as 'Tucci'. This city flourished around the peak of a hill called, *la Peña*, simply, 'the Rock'. The area is surrounded by hills covered with olive trees and many natural springs. A major stream, *de la Fuente*, crosses right through the valley of Martos, providing the only cross-link between the north and the south of Spain. During the Roman conquest of Hispania, the town was called, 'Tuccila'.

It was during this period that the settlement expanded downhill and the town began to spread along the foot of the rock. Under Muslim rule, the province of Jaen, including Martos, constituted the border between Muslim and Christian Spain.

After the re-conquest of Spain, Fernando el Santo III gave Martos and its surrounding territories to the Calatrava Order. The population decreased due to the prevailing insecurity. Once the entire province of Jaen was re-conquered by the Spanish monarchy, the city of Martos, called Tuss at the time, experienced rapid economic growth, resulting from its once-again-thriving olive industry. In mid 13th century, the town was given the name of Martus, which through time became Martos. The town was awarded its own coat of arms summarizing its history.

Rapid urban growth and consolidation occurred and the town grew westwards and southwards, although major residential parts remained on the rock. Salvaged Roman remains were used as the outer walls of houses. It was not until the 16th century that the downhill region of the town developed. Main streets and squares were formed and monumental public fountains were constructed. These fountains were normally located at the entrance gates of the city or near municipal or religious buildings. They were usually attached to a structure or a decorated wall.

These fountains had a dual role, to bring water to the city and to beautify an urban space.

One such monumental public fountain, four storeys high, was commissioned by the then governor of Martos, Pedro Abozy Enriquez, to satisfy the water requirements of the town. The water source for the fountain came from the *Plazuela de la Villa*, a natural water spring inside the old Roman convent of San Francisco. The fountain was placed outside the convent across a public square which later became the *Plaza de la Fuente Nueva*, 'The Square of the New Fountain'.

Figure 2

The grid plan and the original location of Pillar de la Fuente Neuva.
*Source: Google Images*

The fountain is still known as the *Pillar de la Fuente Neuva*. The word Pillar comes from the Latin word *Pilon*, meaning 'a public fountain sometimes attached to a wall,[i] whilst the word *Nueva* means 'new'. Hence, it was a new public fountain with a wall. The structure of the fountain does suggest that it was probably meant to be attached to the façade of a building as the rear of the fountain is devoid of any ornamentation, whilst the front is highly adorned with commemorative shields and symbolic decorations. Two water basins project from the base of the front façade providing three-dimensionality to the structure. There are two inscriptions on the fountain indicating the possible dates of its completion. One is located on the west side along the top inscription frieze, stating the date as 1584. The second is located inside the central shield, stating the date as 1586.

The architect designer of this fountain, as recorded in preserved archival documents, was Francisco del Castillo, a flourishing Spanish architect during the Italian Renaissance, although his favored style was
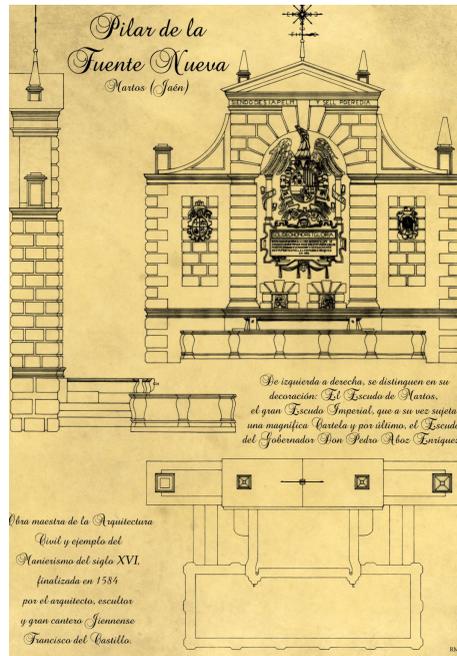
Mannerism. This style in art and architecture originated around the 1520s and proceeded well into the 1600s as a reaction against the Italian Renaissance. However, the important fact was that he was one of the residents of Martos. Born in Jaen in 1528, into a family of stonemasons and architects, he began working within this field very early in his life. In 1545 he travelled to Italy to study architecture and remained there for nine years. Historic documents describe him as a "sculptor of ornamental elements and human figures" and rated his work as "outstanding". In the 1560s, upon his return to Spain, he became a resident of Martos. He died in 1586, the same year the *Fuente Nueva* was completed.

The fountain played a prominent role in the economic and cultural life of the town till the beginning of the 20th century when the residential water supply system was introduced to the region. Prior to this, the fountain was used as the main water supply not only for the residents but also for the cattle and domesticated animals. Three important events were arranged within the Fuente Nueva Square: the Annual Cattle Market, the Bull Fight and the Festival of San Bartolome. The Cattle Market was held here because of the easy availability of water for the animals and the bull fighting for the same reason. The Festival of San Bartolome, celebrated on the 24th of August, is held in honor of one of the apostles of Christ, Saint Bartholomew. He was the patron saint of animals, skin tanners, shoemakers and water carriers. The common relationship between all these festivities and the venue of the public square in front of the fountain, in time, gave rise to a new cultural festival, the *Fuente Nueva Fair*. Our arrival was scheduled four days ahead of the festival.

Upon our arrival in Martos, we were informed that the present location of the Fuente Nueva was not the original location, and the festival had also moved its venue according to the placement of the fountain. The

fountain had been removed from the *Plaza de la Fuente Nueva* and had been re-installed in its current location in the late 1970s. Through archival research, our group realized that the fountain had been removed not once but twice. These movements were categorized into different phases. These phases could not have been identified if certain images had not been found by Diadrasis. This was the task in which the Martos Radio Station helped the project. An announcement was made during our first week which focused on conservation introduction, establishment of definitions for different concepts for better communication and identification of general methodologies and approach. It was announced that,

> "The town of Martos welcomes the 11 international participants of the Diadrasis workshop in their town. The participants are from Australia, Britian, Greece, Israel, Italy, Mexico, Pakistan, Spain and the United States. They have come to our town to save our fountain and it is our responsibility to make this experience worth remembering for them."

'Well and good', 'nicely stated', 'much appreciated', were the general comments from all of us after hearing this announcement. However, our co-ordinator, Laura Tapini, stressed, "they mean what they say", and we should not take this only as a formal statement. At the end of the week, there was another announcement on Radio Martos requesting the residents of the town to help search for the

Figure 4

Archival images of the fountain received from the residents of Martos.
Source: Diadrasis

archival images of the fountain. If any resident had such an image, he or she was requested to email the digital image to the Diadrasis address. By the end of the day, we had received more than 500 images belonging to different time periods in the history of the fountain and the town. Through these images and from the archival resources, our team was able to generate the story of the fountain and could observe the urban development around this structure. This was only possible through the co-operation of the residents. The movement phases were termed, the 'De-contextualization of the Fountain' and divided into three phases.

- Phase 1
- Phase 2
- Phase 3

Week 2 focused on the architectural survey of the fountain through laser scanning, photo rectification, tachi-o-meter and GIS positioning system. Around the end of the week, the Mayor of Martos (*Custodia Martos*) visited our work site. She inquired about the availability of the equipment and manual support the Martos municipality was providing and showed her gratitude towards our help. We thanked her for the town's support, especially for the contribution towards the archival research. Someone suggested that these images should be exhibited for the people who contributed them. In 2 hours time we had an exhibition hall at our disposal, a local printing shop volunteered to print the images at a 10% discount and there was an audio video system and lighting technician for the exhibition display. The next day, day one of Week 3, we put up the exhibition and opened the halls for the residents of Martos. One of the residents, 94 years of age, recognized himself in one of the pictures; he was then only 24. From this day onwards, we saw him often sitting around the fountain while we conserved it.

It was Week 4 when we actually started conservation work on the fountain and it lasted till Week 5. The local Crafts School had volunteered their support for the project. This was also the week when we saw crowds gathering around the fountain to see what was happening to their fountain. There was an ice-cream shop around the corner from where we used to boost our sugar levels after a long day of work and the sales girl gave us a 10% discount on each cup. The residents of Martos began to call us Team *de la Faunte Neuva* and we began to call them *Martians*, due to their extra-ordinary excitement over the conservation of a piece of heritage they still called their 'New Fountain' 500 years after its construction. Our official backpacks had the logo of one of the lions on the fountain and this became our symbol. Wherever we carried this bag, people recognized us, inquired about the condition of 'their fountain' and made recommendations of what we should do. It seemed we were holding stakeholders' meetings at every turn and corner of the city.

Figure 7

Phase 1 of the 'De-contextualization of the Fountain'. *Source: Candido Villar Castro and Juan Luis Valverde, Resident, Martos*

Figure 8

Phase 3 of the 'De-contextualization of the Fountain'. *Source: Diadrasis*

It was during this project that I experienced the part of conservation which we only talk and write about but do not implement: involvement of the stakeholders or community, the 'residents'. The residents had taken it upon themselves to be the 'custodians' of their town's heritage. They managed to retain all the layers of history that occurred in their town.

i Real Academia Espanola Dictionary – The real (only, royal) academic Spanish Dictionary Online

Figure 9

Residents of Martos.
Source: Diadrasis

This involvement was so intense that we as experts felt the emotional warmth of the local community and hence, wanted to perform to the best of our abilities for them. It is the story of a town which changed my perception of conservation and made me understand that the residents of a city are the only stakeholders by whom the cultural assets of a city can be safeguarded.

Making Small Towns '*Matter*' for Development:
A Study of Bangladesh

Sabikun Naher

Introduction

Most of the area of Bangladesh is rural. Almost 77% of the total population lives in rural areas[1] and is involved with agriculture. They are the root contributors to the country's GDP, GNP, per capita income and growth rate because most of the primary production is in the rural areas as well as in small towns. Small towns have inextricable linkages with the production of a country like Bangladesh, especially primary production for a developing country where an agriculture-based economy exists. Today, due to urbanization, the arable lands for production are decreasing at an alarming rate. On average, Bangladesh is losing 1% arable land every year. Different national policies have been adopted for protecting these lands from unplanned urbanization, unplanned industrialization and environmentally unsound productive fields. A large number of the labor force is migrating from rural to urban. This monopolistic flow of the labor force is creating a lack in the small towns. Moreover, displacement of the labor force affects the primary production which is becoming a huge challenge for Bangladesh to ensure the stability of its economy. The labor force will stay in a rural area if their requirements are met. Though the government has some policies regarding the development of small towns they are inadequate.

Terminologies

Small Town: From Bangladesh's Perspective

The criteria for defining a small town vary significantly from country to country. It is usually based on the population size of the primary city or cities. In some instances, small towns are categorized as those with a population between 5,000 and 50,000.[2] Definitions purely based on their population size fail to adequately capture their dynamism and

---

1   World Food Program, *Rural Bangladesh Socio-Economic Profile Of WFP Operational Areas and Beneficiaries*, (WFP: October, 2006), p. 10
2   At the national level, the danger of not understanding this diversity could result in a generic policy, finance and technological approaches that burden small towns of 20,000 people with inappropriate or unsustainable service delivery systems that are more appropriate for towns of 200,000.

diversity. Most small towns exhibit both rural and urban characteristics. Rural characteristics relate to the agro-based economy while on the other hand urban characteristics may relate to the role of light industry in the economy but are more often linked to living conditions as a function of density and changing social systems as a reflection of increased diversity.

Typically, small town settlements in low-income countries, that are not satellite towns in close proximity to a major urban center, are characterized by a core trading center and relatively scattered settlements around a densely populated commercial zone or core. The areas on the periphery tend to be more rural in nature with mainly residential houses widely spaced from each other as compared to the core. The main source of income for the population in these areas is small scale trade followed by peasant farming and a few, generally agro-based, industries. In many developing countries small towns have been found to act as centers of demand (markets) for agricultural produce from the surrounding rural areas and as centers for the production and distribution of non-farm goods and services for the surrounding rural areas through the development of small and medium-sized enterprises.[3]

In the context of Bangladesh, small towns have predominantly rural characteristics which relate to the drivers of the economy through agricultural linkages. Here, the definition of small towns is mostly emphasized by administrative determinants rather than the local population or other characteristics where most of the population is engaged in pursuit of agriculture as well as an agro-based economy. *Table 1* shows the characteristics considered by Bangladesh to define small towns broadly.

Table 1

Characteristics of small towns of Bangladesh Source: What's the issue about small towns? *Small Towns*. Available at <http://small-towns.org/findings/issue/> Accessed on 10 January 2013

Existing Classification of Small Towns	Population Range	Other Considerations
A range of different classifications – based on administrative determinations rather than local population or other characteristics.	5,000-50,000	Urban (as opposed to specifically small towns) criteria: (a) Majority of the male working population engaged in non-agricultural pursuits (75%); (b) An identifiable central place where amenities and infrastructure services are provided; and (c) Density of population

3　Caplan, Ken and Harvey, Erik, *Water Aid Report, December 2010*. Available at <http://small-towns.org> Accessed on 7 January 2013.

Since the density of population is high in Bangladesh, it is quite impossible to define small towns on the basis of population only. Though the above table described the population size as 5,000-50,000 but considering other criteria of small towns, a *Thana/Upazila* (Police Station) could be counted as a small town where the maximum of *Upazilas* are rural. There are 508 *Upazilas* and every *Upazila* contains 2,44,800 people.[4] Even the Union Council[5] contains on average 2,44,800 people. Some of them are in urban areas which could be termed as small towns. Most of the *Upazilas* and some of Union Councils are small towns in Bangladesh. With the above criteria, Bangladesh has almost 500 small towns all over the country, though there is no policy mentioning the small towns in Bangladesh.

Primary Production

Primary production is defined as the phase of the production process within an enterprise during which primary materials are converted into finished products.[6] Its nature and structure depends on the particular product being produced, the type of production and the technology employed. In machine building, for example, primary production includes (a) semi-finished phase, (b) processing phase and (c) assembly phase. A primary production could be synthetic, analytic, continuous or discontinuous and could be aggregated or narrowly specialized.[7] In economics, primary production means the raw materials which are the major components of finished goods. In this sense, primary production is the major ingredient of industrial finished goods. UNESCO defined primary production, in 1973, as "the formation of organic particular material at the primary stage of the food chain".[8] Kelvin J. Flynn also described the multiple use of primary production based on different subjects.[9] In this article, primary productions are defined as those which come from agricultural resource extraction, manufacturing, agricultural-food sector and service sectors, especially in small towns.

---

4   Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics, *Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics*, 2009. Also available in Hossain, Md. Motaher, *Consumption in Rural Bangladesh: Households, Lifestyles, and Identities* (Academic Dissertation), University of Helsinki, (March, 2011), p. 15

5   Union Council is the smallest administrative Unit of Administration in Bangladesh. There are 4,466 Union Councils in Bangladesh (in 2010).

6   Kamenitser, S. E. and Mel'nik, M. V., *The Great Soviet Encyclopedia, 3rd Edition (1970-1979)*. Available at <http://encyclopedia2.thefreedictionary.com/Primary+Production> Accessed on 7 January 2013.

7   Ibid

8   Flynn, Kevin J., "The concept of "primary production" in aquatic ecology" in *Limnol Oceanogr*, 33(5), 1988, p. 1215 [It is a comment against an article.]

9   Ibid., pp. 1215-1216

Labor Displacement

Labor displacement or labor shifting is a process where the flow or the concentration of labor occurs from one place to another place. It can be caused by labor devaluation, poverty or influenced by the pull factors, or more importantly, the flow of capital. In this article, labor displacement depicts the flow of labor from small towns to big cities. Labor shifting is influenced by the forces of globalization like modern amenities, technological advancement, job availability and living standards broadly influenced by better life quality of the globalized world. People migrate to big cities, especially the younger generation as well as the active labor force. The notable causes are: (a) population pressure, adverse person-land ratio, landlessness and poverty; (b) frequent and severe natural disasters (particularly river bank erosion); (c) lack of social and cultural opportunities; (d) income disparity; (e) *newly* created unfulfilled demands; (f) landlessness; (g) loss of income source(s); (h) lack of electricity; and (i) seasonal unemployment (*Manga*[10]).[11] However, due to rural-urban migration, the rural sector becomes laborless and impacts the overall economy.[12] In 2007, 4.5 million individuals migrated internally of which 75% moved from rural to urban areas. Over 840,000 people migrated in 2010.[13] Rural to urban labor displacement takes place in all the districts of Bangladesh but some districts or areas are more displacement prone. These districts are generally the ones with poor economic conditions, high vulnerability to natural disasters and having easy transportation linkages with the destination city, particularly metropolitan cities like Dhaka, Chittagong and Khulna.[14]

Small Towns, Primary Production and Development

Smaller urban centres are the fastest growing centres.[15] As previously mentioned, Bangladesh is predominantly a rural country where 72

---

10 *Manga* is one of them and affects millions of people, especially in the Northern part of Bangladesh. *Manga* is a cyclical food insecurity which occurs during the lean season, and it directly affects those who are involved in agricultural activities. The agriculture in 'the *manga* regions' is mainly based on paddy cultivation.

11 Ullah, AKM Ahsan, *Bright City Lights and Slums of Dhaka City: Determinants of Rural-Urban Migration in Bangladesh*, p. 10

12 Ahmed, Salhuddin, "Rural-Urban Migration: Policy Stimulations in a Dual Economy Model of Bangladesh", in *The Developing Economics*, No. XXVI-1, (March, 1986), pp. 26-31

13 Terms of Reference-12, (A research proposal on) *Rural-Urban Migration and its Implications for Food Security in Bangladesh* (National Food Policy Capacity Strengthening Programme), p.1

14 Islam, Nazrul, *Urbanisation, Migration and Development in Bangladesh: Recent Trends And Emerging Issues*, (Dhaka: Centre for Policy Dialogue, 1999), p. 11

15 International Fund for Agricultural Development, *Proceedings of the Round Table on Migration and Rural Employment*, (IFAD, February, 2007), p. 6

million people live in rural areas and are mostly engaged in agriculture. Rural areas account for approximately 60% of GDP of the overall economy which is a significant indicator of the development of a country. This sector provides employment to around 48% of the total labor force. In 1999-2000, total contributions of different sub-sectors *viz* crops, livestock and forests of agriculture to the GDP were 19.49% and the crops sub-sector itself contributed around 14.59% of the GDP. Of the total labor force of the country, 63% were engaged in agriculture while 57% were engaged in the single crops sub-sector.[16] Moreover, in 1950, the agricultural sector contributed almost 70% but in 2009 it decreased by 20.6%.[17] The National Food Policy Plan of Action (2008-2015) also shows concerns about rural-urban migration and overall food security of the country.[18] Nurun Nabi described the relationship between land and internal migration saying that more concentration on land forced more migration.[19] The monopolistic flow of labor from rural to urban, basically (see Figure 1), is internal labor migration. The work force of a region is brain-drained from a rural to an urban area. Any type of labor force scarcity in rural areas, including the government ignorance of small towns, impacts on overall primary production as well as rural development. This process can be explained by the following figure.[20]
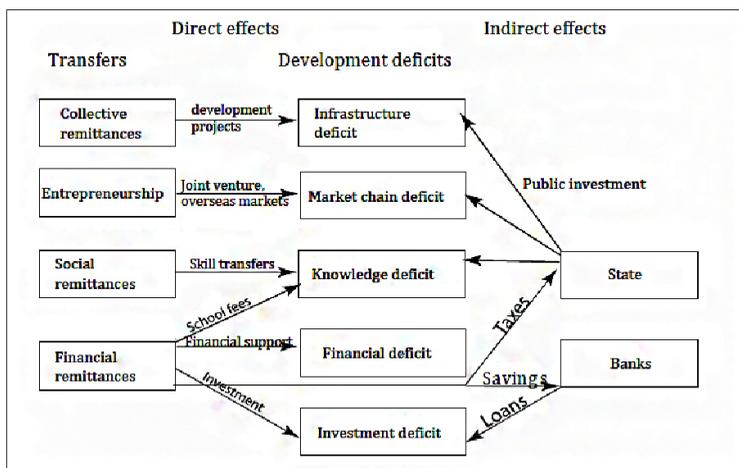

Figure 1

Linkage between rural to urban migration and development

---

16 Rural Development and Cooperatives Division, *National Rural Development Policy -2001*, Rural Development and Cooperatives Division Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh.

17 Anam, Sayedul and Hossain, Mina Mahbub, "Time Series Modeling of the Contribution of Agriculture to GDP of Bangladesh" in *European Journal of Business and Management*, Vol. 4, No.5, 2012, p. 111

18 Terms of Reference (12), *Op.cit*, p. 2

19 Nabi, Nurun A. K. M., "Dynamics of Internal Migration in Bangladesh" in *Canadian Studies in Population*, Vol.19, No. 1, 1992, p. 89

20 Lacroix, Thomas, *Migration, Rural Development, Poverty and Food Security: A Comparative Perspective*, International Migration Institute, University of Oxford, p. 27

In the figure, there are some sources from rural to development sectors, like infrastructure, market, knowledge, financial deficit, investment and others. Those sectors are ignored by the government and as a result, the development deficit occurs. This figure also depicts the overall migration impact on the development of a small town. In Bangladesh, the same process could be applied to explain the impact on the monopolistic flow of labor in small towns. Due to the lack of government focus, the people of small towns feel that there is a gap between their demand and supply. As a result, they migrate to urban areas. Though, there are other causes for migration.

Globalization and Changes in Small Towns

In the 21st century, a profound socio-economic transformation is taking place due to the wave of globalization. Globalization and its major factors, that is, advanced technology, communication facilities, increased trade and corporations, and a western way of life are changing the fundamental nature of a small town. Most of the industries are made in big cities where the forces of globalization are mostly affected. Consequently, most of the people are moving to the big cities for a better standard of life to fulfill their demands; they seek jobs in the city areas where all modern facilities and resources are available. Today, the small towns continue to decline; the traditional lifestyle is becoming non-existent.[21] Anthony Giddens used The Structuration Theory that purports social structure is the result of recursive interaction among human agents, institutionalized rules and material resources.[22]

Figure 2

Structuration of Technology (Source: Dey, Bidit L., *The Use and Appropriation of the Mobile Telephony Technologies by the Rural Bangladeshi Farmers*, p. 7)

---
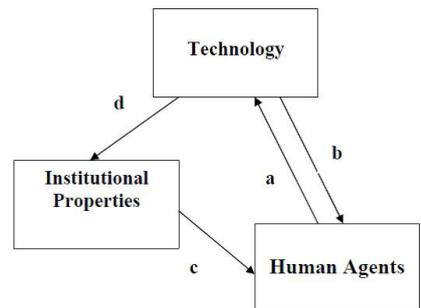
21 See, David and Goliath: Small Town America vs Globalization and Big Business (05 December 2012), *WordPress*. Available at <http://mjo002.wordpress.com/2012/12/05/david-vs-goliath-small-town-america-vs-globalization-and-large-enterprises/> Accessed on 05 January 2013.

22 Dey, Bidit L. The *Use and Appropriation of the Mobile Telephony Technologies by the Rural Bangladeshi Farmers,* (AIUB Business and Economics Working Paper Series (Working Paper No. AIUB-BUS-ECON-2009-02)) (February, 2009), p. 6

One of the major economic changes in the rural areas is the decline of arable land. The farm sector in the small towns continues to face long-term adjustment pressures and an uncertain trading environment. The monopolistic exchange system of labor forces has decreased farm profitability and labor efficiencies from agricultural technology and mechanization has changed rural employment. For example, the proportion of the Bangladesh workforce in agriculture has decreased from over 5% in the 1960s to 35% in 2009 and 55% today.[23] Once, in the past, the rural economy was a dynamic source of economic growth. Jobs were available in the natural resource extraction, manufacturing, agri-food and service sectors. The agri-food sector seeks new ways to deal with heightened competitive pressures and unstable commodity prices, in part by securing a relatively inexpensive and reliable labor force.[24]

Changes to the rural agricultural sector have threatened the survival of rural communities. The projected future of small towns is based on the long-term projections and predictions that the population is decimated, people are moving out in swarms, services are closing down, the economic output is at a point of no return, ecological environment is suffering and mainstream politicians are not interested in developing the outback.[25]

Moreover, the factors of globalization have a massive impact on the general structure of the economy which changes the meaning of life among the people of rural areas especially the young community. The following chart depicts a simple flow of labor from small towns to big cities. (*See Figure 3*)
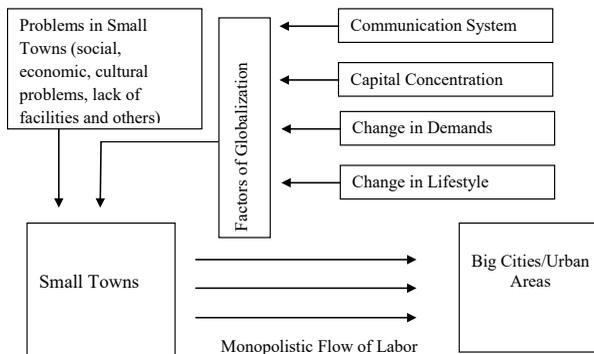
Figure 3

Monopolistic flow of labor from small towns to big cities and its causes.

23 Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics, *Statistical Pocket Book, 2010*
24 Sousa, João-Paulo Bola, "Chapter 4:The Changing Character of Small Town Ontario: Transnational Capital/Labour Flows in a Not So Globalized World", in *Globalization and the Time–Space Reorganization (Research in Rural Sociology and Development, Volume 17)*, Alessandro Bonanno, Josefa Salete Barbosa Cavalcanti (eds.) (Emerald Group Publishing Limited, 2011), pp.109-145
25 Bandaranaike, Suniti, *Small Towns Can Make A Difference*, School of Tropical Environment Studies and Geography, University, Townsville, Q. 4814

In the figure, the factors of globalization, that is, communication technology, fast food culture, pop music, modern amenities, job availability, single family planning, economic linearization and capital concentration create an impact on the small towns by changing the meaning of cities to the inhabitants of the towns. Moreover, economic, social, cultural and other problems push the surplus labor force to migrate to urban areas.

Making Small Towns Matter: Responses and Challenges

Although there are no specific policies related to the small towns in Bangladesh there are some policies which address the small towns' development, like the rural development policy, local development policy, agricultural development policy and others. These policies handle the problems of rural areas and prospective solutions. By these policies, we can find out what initiatives the government has taken to make small towns matter and to highlight the challenges faced.

Responses from the Government

The National Rural Development Policy

The National Rural Development Policy has several issues to focus on for making a better place for their citizens.[26] Moreover, there are seven folds of policy actions besides the subsections.[27] To make rural areas better, they have set 17 objectives. Since the small towns of Bangladesh are made up of both the combination of rural and urban areas, the rural development policy will help small towns.

National Agricultural Policy

The agricultural development activities of the country are being run in the light of specific and clear policies regarding crop production,

---

26 The basic focus issues are poverty alleviation, agro-based rural economy, education for rural areas, rural health services and nutrition development, rural population control, rural industries development, empowerment of rural women, co-operatives for rural development, rural environment promotion, power and fuel energy.

27 The seven-fold policy actions are: a) Integration of all activities in rural development with a view to alleviating poverty; b) Improving the quality of life of women and the poor; c) Economic development of landless and marginal farmers; d) Expansion of education, health, nutrition and family welfare activities; e) Creation of opportunities for rural people to become self-reliant economically; f) Ensuring proper utilization of all existing resources of each house and each village; g) Development of the handicapped, tribal people, ethnic minorities, and so on.

seeds, fertilizers, agriculture mechanization and agricultural research, extension and marketing. Growth in agriculture is crucial not only for economic development but also for ensuring social justice. The surplus production of agriculture ensures enough supply of food for the rural poor and helps to maintain stable prices of commodities. By ensuring the farmers' demands are met it could be possible to stop the monopolistic labor flow from rural areas to urban areas.

Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP)

PRSP tries to diversify the rural economy. They have rightly identified rural development as a priority for rapid poverty reduction. This can be achieved through accelerated agricultural and non-farm-sector growth. The major source of productivity growth in rice has been largely exhausted and further breakthroughs are far more challenging. Agricultural diversification and rural nonfarm activities constitute the more promising sources of rural growth and employment in Bangladesh.[28]

Sixth Five Year Plan (2011-2015)

In 2011 the government decided to implement the Sixth Five Year Plan whose motto is 'accelerating growth and reducing poverty'.[29] The plan adopted a policy for the development of the rural township. "The Government will take up projects for the development of rural townships where specific areas are to be earmarked for housing, marketplaces, industries and infrastructure."[30] On the basis of the Town Improvement Act-1953, the government wants to move ahead.

Challenges Faced by the Government

The government has often failed and faced challenges from the different sectors which are lagging behind in development. These challenges have become the main issues of development. They are sometimes legal, sometimes policy related and sometimes institutional and issue-centric as well. Among many challenges, the notable ones are:

---

28 World Bank, *Op.cit.*
29 Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh, *Sixth Five Year Plan: FY-2011-FY2015 (part-I)*, Planning Commission, Ministry of Planning, Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh, July, 2011
30 Ibid. p. 6

• The government has no clear-cut parameter to define small towns in Bangladesh. Currently, the government has adopted policies regarding the small towns under economic and social aspects. As a result, the specific focus on small towns and their lifestyle is not addressed by the government.

• Resource constraint is another problem. The inhabitants of small towns demand all the amenities of life. However, the government often fails to provide these amenities, as it has to share the resources among all the sectors of the country.

• Bangladesh is losing 1% arable land every year but there is no coherent legal instrument to tackle the issue. Moreover, the available legal instruments are yet to be implemented. As a result, the labor force of a small town has to migrate to urban areas, which further creates labor scarcity in the primary production (agriculture) of the country.

• Economic diversification is almost non-existent in the small towns of Bangladesh. Agriculture is the only economic sector. To keep the labor force in a small town, the government should diversify its economy but it has so far failed to do so.

• Sustainability is the basic condition for development. Rapid and massive unsustainable industrialization is turning back conventional unsustainable development policies. For sustainable development, Bangladesh needs sophisticated technology.

Concluding Remarks

Recommendations

• *Labor displacement rules and regulations should be implemented:* Bangladesh should immediately adopt policies related to stopping labor displacement to protect its labor concentration in every sector of the economy.

• *Leadership quality among the young generations should be inculcated:* In every sector, Bangladesh suffers lack of leadership. In small towns, enthusiastic leadership can change the dynamics and increase the sectors of economics.

• *Need to develop economic diversification strategies:* In Canada, many

rural communities face the same kinds of challenges as Bangladesh. They have coped with this problem by developing economic diversification strategies. We can adopt this policy to maintain and increase our employment. We should create opportunities that help attract and retain youth, young families, immigrants and highly skilled professionals in their own areas.[31]

• *Need for effective co-ordination between small town representatives and government officials:* Both small town representatives and government officials recognize that in order to provide better services there is a need for effective co-ordination between small town representatives and government officials both at the *Upazila* level as well as at the field level. Various *Upazila* level committees of the respective line agencies need to be activated under the supervision of the *Upazila Parishad*.

• *Disbursement of funds:* It is now evident that the delivery of services at the local level is severely affected by the late delivery of funds from the central level. Installments of funds should be given in time.

• *Poverty alleviation:* Population explosion, resource scarcity, severe environmental constraints and lack of technology are some of the factors responsible for such slow rates of economic growth and increasing poverty. While the government monitors and promotes urbanization and spatial development like the allocation of resources, the slow rate of urbanization and wide spatial inequalities are well-documented in the country.[32]

• *Agricultural development:* This would require further input and output market deregulation, public investment in and better management of irrigation and flood control, intensification of agricultural research and extension, improvements in the functioning of the land market, including legal reforms to facilitate land transactions and agricultural credit delivery in partnership with NGOs and CBOs.[33]

• *Economic opportunities for rural development:* Creating more opportunity for the people of a small town can stop internal migration and can protect agricultural economy.[34]

---

31 *Rural and Small Town Canada – Rural Employment in the Culture Sector* – Vol. 6, No 8, p. 5

32 Rahman, M. Mizanur, "Regionalization of Urbanization and Spatial Development: Planning Regions in Bangladesh" in *The Journal of Geo-Environment,* Vol. 4, 2004, pp. 31-46

33 World Bank, *Op.cit.*

34 Ahmed, Salehuddin, Op.cit, p. 40

Conclusion

Factors of globalization are penetrating the closed doors of human choices. From rural to urban, rich to poor, far to near, these factors are creating demands among people. The meaning of life is changing. How people perceive their towns and how they (want to) portray their life are big questions in the modern city agglomeration. Small towns are inextricably linked with this economy, especially in an agriculture-based economy. Bangladesh is almost wholly dependent on the primary production of its small towns. However, the labor force migration to the urban areas has impacted the economy of the country. To keep the labor force intact in small towns, the facilities of a small town should be increased immediately. More important, the government should understand the changing definitions of life in small towns. Despite different constraints, a comprehensive policy regarding small towns with rapid implementation can ensure the development of the small towns of Bangladesh as well as the development of the economy of Bangladesh.

Sheikhupura Fort: A Forgotten Monument

Mariam Saleem Farooqi

Introduction

Grand relics of empires of the past lie scattered across Pakistan in the form of palaces, forts, tombs, *havelis*[1] and others. Unfortunately, few, if any, of these relics are well preserved. There is a lack of ownership of the heritage by the public and the government. Most of the ones that remain have been reduced to becoming favorite haunts of students playing truant from school, a handful of picnicking families and the occasional tourist. One such relic of the past is the Sheikhupura Fort, located in the small city of Sheikhupura, Punjab. Though less known than many of its larger and more imposing cousins, it is nonetheless an intriguing piece of the past that echoes the grandeur of the great Mughal and Sikh rulers of the Punjab. Today, it lies deserted and dilapidated in the heart of the bustling city – closed to the public and on the verge of total collapse. Few realize that there exist the scattered remains of rich and elaborate fresco artwork dating back to the Sikh period. Though much of the fresco work has been damaged beyond recovery, enough remains to allow a glimpse into the society and culture that existed in Sheikhupura under Sikh rule.

History of Sheikhupura Fort

Mughal

The town of Sheikhupura, located some 35 kilometres north-west of Lahore, was founded by Jahangir during the reign of Akbar. Its original name as recorded by the royal court chronicler Abul Fazal was "*Shaikhupur*". It was then a small village near Sahu Malli in the suburbs of Jahangir's hunting grounds. When Jahangir ascended the throne in 1605, he turned the village into a *pargana*[2] and renamed it *Jahangirabad*, or *Jahangirpura*. The city was so named because Akbar used to call his son 'Sheikhu' – in reverence to Sheikh Saleem Chisti of Fatehpur Sikri,

---

1   *Haveli:* Term used for a private mansion in India and Pakistan, usually containing a courtyard, often with a fountain in the center.

2   *Pargana:* Former administrative unit of the Indian subcontinent, used primarily, but not exclusively, by the Mughals.

a holy man whose blessings Akbar sought when he yearned for the birth of a son.

The Fort stands nearly merged with the houses of the town. It stands on level but artificially made ground, nearly 3.5 metres above the swampy depressions skirting the site on the western, southern and eastern sides, which in the remote past might have been the course of some meandering stream. Most of what we know about Sheikhupura Fort comes from the information recorded in *Tuzk-i-Jahangiri*,[3] in which it was noted that the construction of a "strong fortress" was an essential part of the plan for developing a royal hunting resort in the town. Jahangir assigned this task to Sikander Moeen on his visit to the Hiran Minar[4] in 1607 – the second year of his reign.[5]

Sikh

When Mughal rule declined, chaos and disorder prevailed in the land. In an atmosphere of war and bloodshed, Ranjit Singh came to power as a result of his strategic planning and a well-organized political movement[6] that restored peace. Agricultural production as well as manufacture and the consequent trade increased. Cities and towns expanded with the expansion of the Maharaja's dominion. The socio-political situation created by the establishment of a large state was conducive to new developments of great cultural significance. New styles of painting and architecture emerged as a result of patronage by the rulers and nobles.[7]

In 1808, Ranjit Singh took over the Fort without meeting any resistance from the Sikh lords who had taken it over. Maharaja Ranjit bestowed it as a *jagir*[8] on his queen Raj Kauran, commonly known as Rani Nikayan, mother of the Crown Prince Kharak Singh. The queen, after falling from the Maharaja's favor, lived here to her last day. She is also credited with building a palace here.

---

3 *Tuzk-i-Jahangiri:* Autobiography of Mughal Emperor Noor-ud-Din Muhammad Jahangir (1569 – 1609)
4 Hiran Minar: Literally, minaret of the antelope.
5 Tariq Masud. *History and Archaeology of Sheikhupura District*, p. 2
6 Khushwant Singh. *A History of Sikhs – Volume 1.* (New Delhi 1999). p. 233-237
7 J. S. Grewal. *The Sikhs of the Punjab.* (Wltshire 1990), p. 111
8 *Jagir*: A type of feudal land grant in South Asia.

British and Post-Independence

After the Sikhs, the British used the Fort for a brief interval as a prison to encamp the Maharaja's last queen, Mai Jindan. It was then used as the administrative headquarters of Gujranwala district from 1849 to 1851. Following independence from the British in 1947, it was largely used by encroachers and squatters until it finally came under the possession of the Department of Archaeology of the Government of Pakistan. In 1964, the Fort was declared a Protected Monument via Notification No. F. 5-1/63-A&M, dated 11th April, 1967, in category I, for its proper preservation and maintenance. The total protected area of the Fort by the Department of Archaeology and Museums is 64 *Kanals*[9] and 13 *Marlas*.[10]

Figure 1

Sheikhupura Fort. *Source: Archives of the Punjab Department of Archaeology*

Ornamental Program of the Fort

Development of the Sikh Artistic Tradition

The Punjab has been the cradle of the ancient civilizations of the world. Diverse ethnic groups came together, joining ideas, cultures and even bloodlines through inter-racial marriages. The composite culture of the region manifested itself in the art that adorned the walls of shrines, houses, palaces and forts. It can be said that the 15th century reformation,
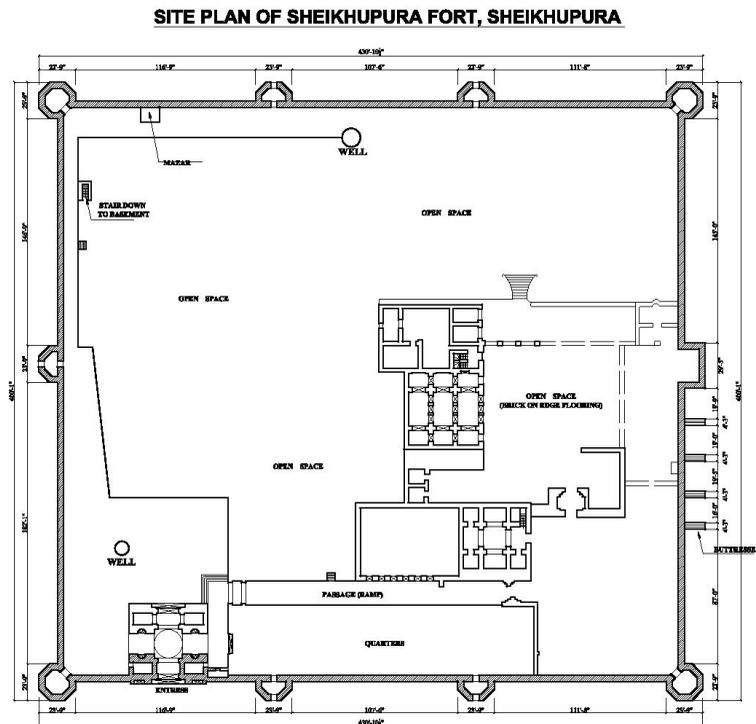
---

9 *Kanal:* A kanal is a unit of area, equivalent to 505.857 square meters or one-eighth of an acre. It is used in parts of northern India and in Pakistan.
  Marla: The marla is a traditional unit of area that was used in Pakistan, India and Bangladesh, equal to 160th of an acre.

10 From the records of the Punjab Directorate of Archaeology.

SITE PLAN OF SHEIKHUPURA FORT, SHEIKHUPURA

brought about by Guru Nanak and the Sikh belief system, synthesized the deepest truths of the then quarrelling religions, Hinduism and Islam. As a result, new folk energies were born in art as artists and craftsmen of different faiths merged ideas.[11] Each emerging ruler in the region absorbed the culture and tradition of his predecessor, assimilated them into his own and produced a new form and style that was instantly recognizable and at the same time unique. The Mughals did this with existing folk techniques, and in turn, the Sikhs transformed the style to their own when the practice of wall-painting soared under Maharaja Ranjit Singh's patronage.

The increased popularity of wall-paintings in 19th century Punjab makes it reasonable to suggest that it was no longer exclusively for the royal and the elite but was gaining influence among the common folk as well. Despite this, it was a period when the vitality of the tradition to which it belonged had become astonishingly low.[12] Nevertheless, this period left behind ample evidence of the beauty, finesse and variety of thematic design that existed then. Sikh paintings often portray people and events

---

11   Kanwarjit Singh Kang, *Wall Paintings of Punjab and Haryana,* (Delhi 1985), p. i
12   Kanwarjit Singh Kang, *Wall Paintings of Punjab and Haryana,* (Delhi 1985), p. i

with raw realism and express emotions in an unabashed, expressive manner – so different from the classical Mughal and the sedate art of *Kangra*[13] – which further enlarged the scope of the subject and the style of painting.

Rani Nikayan, the patron of the Sikh *havelis* at the Sheikhupura Fort was a great patron of the arts. The Fort was under her command and the living quarters were all heavily adorned with floral, pictorial and decorative imagery. It must be noted that it was not just the nobility that patronized art. Those in a lower stratum of society like *zamindars*[14] and even common peasants received their share of adornment on the walls of their modest homes. While murals on brick walls in the houses of the nobility were painted on fine lime plaster by professional painters, the murals on the mud walls of peasant homes were painted by women using plaster composed of clay and cow dung. The themes also differed with portraits of Gurus and Hindu mythology prevailing in noble homes, while decorative designs and animal and bird motifs were favored among the peasants.[15] Some artisan groups like *tarkhans*[16] and *sunars*[17] carried on the tradition of rustic ornamentation and favored

Figure 3

Haveli within Sheikhupura Fort. *Source: Archives of the Punjab Department of Archaeology*

Figure 4

Haveli within Sheikhupura Fort (Present Day View). *Photo credits: Author*

13 *Kangra* painting is the pictorial art of Kangra, named after Kangra, Himachal Pradesh, a former princely state, which patronized the art. It became prevalent with the fading of Basohli school of painting in mid-18th century, and soon produced such a magnitude in paintings both in content as well as volume, that the Pahari painting school came to be known as Kangra paintings.

14 *Zamindar:* An aristocrat in the Indian subcontinent, typically hereditary, who held land and the right to collect taxes from peasants on the land.

15 Kanwarjit Singh Kang, *Wall Paintings of Punjab and Haryana,* (Delhi 1985), p. 7.

16 *Tarkhans:* Considered a Punjabi tribe in Pakistani Punjab and a Hindu caste in Indian Punjab. They are carpenters by occupation.

17 *Sunars:* A Hindu caste referring to the community of people who work as goldsmiths

bird and animal motifs, as well as geometrical and abstract designs. The Sikh Rani's *havelis* in the Sheikhupura Fort boast of all of these diverse patterns and design elements.
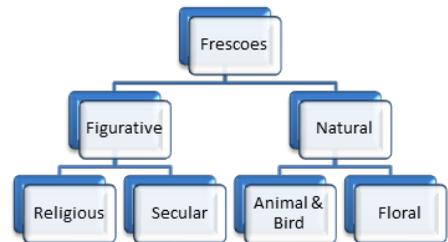
The themes prevalent in 19th century wall-paintings were very diverse. The theme rather than the style marked a painting as Sikh.[18] Hindu mythology and traditions are extensively reflected in Sikh artistic traditions, as well as the strikingly Muslim tradition of exquisite floral patterns in artwork.

The nobility often chose to portray significant events such as wars, battles and political meetings, on the walls of their buildings. In other instances, themes were based on the patron's personal interests. Often it seemed that patrons simply chose themes with the intent of décor, rather than to portray any particular message. This is evidenced by the diverse, seemingly unconnected range of themes that often appear in a single building – such as at Rani Nikayan's *haveli*. The art of the *haveli* encompasses a range of themes – from religion to folklore and beyond.

Figure 5

Outline Map of first
Haveli
Blue Region – Extant
Frescoes
Purple Region - Ruins
© *Archives of the
Punjab Department of
Archaeology*

Figure 6

Themes of the
Frescoes
© *Author*

HAVELI INSIDE SHEIKHUPURA FORT, SHEIKHUPURA (WEST SIDE)

GROUND FLOOR PLAN

Frescoes · Figurative · Natural · Religious · Secular · Animal & Bird · Floral

Frescoes within the Fort

Upon entering the first *haveli*, the focus is immediately on the copious amounts of natural imagery in every corner. Birds of a wide range of species are depicted all over the walls. Furthermore, these birds are depicted in a variety of positions – some feeding, some stationary, and some in flight. Plate 1 and similar plates depict frescoes of birds from this section of the *haveli*. It is evident that the birds are from varying species,

---

18   Dr. Daljeet, *The Sikh Heritage: A Search for Totality.* (New Delhi 2004), p. 127

with each pair depicting a different level of movement. These paintings of birds are very naturalistic, adhering strictly in likeness to their real life counterparts.

This section of the *haveli* contains multiple panels, each with a single figure within. These figures are not so much a part of any narrative or composition, as they are a depiction of the people of the time – in terms of dress, behavior and ornamentation. Frescoes depict a man dressed in loose pants, a flowing *kameez*[19] belted at the waist with curved *khussas*[20]. It captures the essence of the Punjabi man of that time. The sword at his waist may mark him as a soldier. Though this fresco is extensively damaged, the intricacy of the painting and his facial features are still recognizable in the pointed nose and elaborate eye under a finely-arched eyebrow. Damage to the fresco prevents one from being certain, but the position of the fingers of his raised right hand suggest he may have been depicted holding the stem of a flower. This portrays a man from a society that cherished military strength as much as it appreciated cultural sensitivity. It reveals the brute, strong side of the public image of a Punjabi man, as well as the softer, gentler aura of his private life.

Another is a similar rendering of a man in mid-stride. Dressed almost exactly the same as the figure in the previous fresco, the only difference appears to be in that of color and ornamentation. This man, however, does not have a beard. This is representative of the mix of beliefs that co-existed in Punjabi society at the time – with Sikhs, Mughals and Hindus all finding common ground. This figure appears to be holding a delicate cup in his outstretched hand. Another fresco again depicts a man in similar attire and similar posture. The damage of this fresco, is extensive but it still allows the detail on his *khussas* to shine through. They are painted red with a string of embellishments running across their length. This showcases the attention given to minute details – even for frescoes that did not represent an important historical figure or religious event.

---

19 *Kameez:* A long shirt or tunic – part of a traditional outfit worn by both men and women in South Asia.
20 *Khussas:* South Asian handcrafted footwear, usually made from vegetable-tanned leather with a leather or textile upper section and embellished with beads, bells, embroidery and such.

Plate 2 depicts a man who differs from the rest in terms of attire. He is dressed in shorter pants and a fitted, shorter *kameez*. His feet are adorned with *khussas* similar to those in the earlier mentioned frescoes. A sword hangs at his belt, while his left arm clutches a shield which appears to be decorated with a minimalistic floral pattern. Both arms are encircled with gold bracelets, while strings of beads hang around his neck.

The female figures in frescoes at this level mostly stand in a similar *tribhanga*[21] posture – forming an S-shaped posture with their bodies.

Plate 2

Fresco

Plate 3

Fresco

In Plate 3, the female figure is clad in a *chooridar pajama*[22] with a long, flowing *kameez* that reaches her feet. A *dupatta*[23] partially covers her head, while elaborate jewellery adorns her face and hands. Another fresco shows a similar figure, though less damage allows a clearer understanding of the painting. An important addition to this fresco is the bird perched on the woman's hand. This is again a feature of the *salabhanjika* style.

Floral patterns are found on the spandrels of the *haveli*. The differences in design of these stylized flowers represent not only the broad range of design of the artists of the time but also indicate that a number of artists

---

21 *Tribhanga:* A tri-bent standing position or stance used in traditional Indian painting, sculpture and dance. It literally means a three-part break, consisting of three bends in the body; at the neck, waist and knee, hence the body is oppositely curved at waist and neck which gives it a gentle "S" shape.

22 *Chooridar pajama:* Tightly fitting trousers worn by both men and women in South Asia. It is a variant of the *shalwar*, cut wide at the top and narrowing down the leg so as to reveal the contours of the leg.

23 *Dupatta:* A long, multi-purpose scarf that is essential for many female outfits in South Asia and usually matches the rest of the garments. It has long been a symbol of modesty in South Asian dress.

may have been at work in the *haveli*, each painting the flower in his own characteristic way.

From here, the attention shifts to the upper storey of the *haveli.* Initially rising up to a height of at least four storeys, today only two storeys and a part of the basement remain intact. The upper storey is designed in a manner similar to the ground floor, with an open space looking down onto the central room of the level below.

Plate 4 is perhaps the most breath-taking of the bird depictions in the *haveli*. The fresco is high up on the western wall of the upper storey of the *haveli* and

depicts a pair of crows – one with its head bent downwards and the other standing upright. What sets this pair apart from the scores of other bird paintings is the realistic element of their design. The crows are rendered so realistically that for a moment the eye is tricked into thinking it is a real pair of birds.

Another panel shows an interesting shift in the design repertory. While all the birds discussed earlier have been naturalistic, this one is entirely stylized. It is shown standing amidst flowers. Though it is more stylized than natural, the bird maintains a feeling of being three-dimensional – as opposed to just a flat figure painted on the wall. The artist has used bold strokes to bring depth to the neck, wing and feathers of the bird.

This level of the *haveli* contains many depictions of narratives. Plate 5 shows one of the few almost entirely intact frescoes within the Fort. It depicts a terrace scene, showcased in a manner typical of both Mughal and Sikh art. The white marble balustrade that runs on two levels of the fresco was used to indicate a royal setting in a painting. Furthermore, this balustrade reflects the style elements of the artists of the time. The balustrade at the base of the fresco shows a brief angling and therefore, a hint of perspective. The balustrade at the roof of the building, however, disappears vertically into the corner of the painting. Adherence to laws of perspective was not a common feature in the art of the subcontinent. The

pillar at the corner of the rooftop balustrade reflects a chevron design – a common design feature in the Mughal and Sikh repertory. The zig-zag pattern was taken to indicate water – signifying fertility and abundance. It is found in abundance at the Shalimar Gardens of the Mughals. It is also found in other parts of the *havelis* at the Sheikhupura Fort itself. Plate 6 shows pillars depicting the same chevron design, located in the second *haveli* of the Fort. The design pattern on the wall of the building in the fresco is also reflected on a wall of the lower level of the same *haveli*. This indicates that the design patterns the artists used were not just created from memory but were seeking to embody the greater design of the building in which the fresco was housed. Thus, it is reasonable to assume that the design was not the only thing borrowed from the surroundings but also dress, ornamentation and the behavior of the figures in the frescoes.
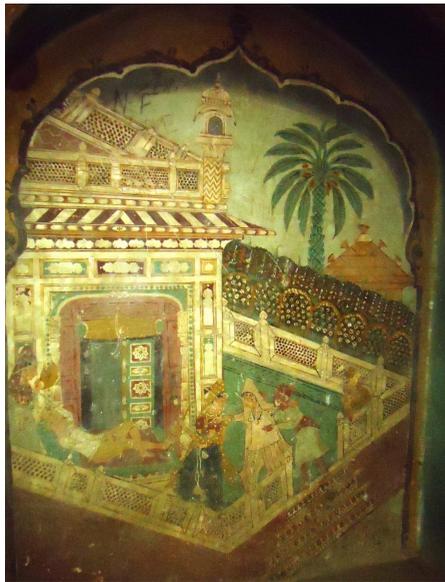
The fresco on Plate 5 appears to be secular in nature. The terrace scene depicts a man reclining on a *charpai*[24], with one leg crossed over the other and one arm extended over the head in a lazy gesture. The figure is dressed in loose pants and a short *kameez*, with a turban wrapped around his head. Heavy jewellery in the form of rings, necklaces and bracelets adorn him. In his right hand he holds what appears to be a cup. This man is likely to be a prince or a high nobleman, owing to the richness of dress and the fact that a female *chauri*[25]-bearer stands behind him with a fan. Traditionally, the appearance of a *chauri* or a *chauri*-bearer is a symbolic indication of royal or sacred presence. The *chauri*-bearer is adorned less lavishly but is wearing long, elevated headgear under her *dupatta* – a fashion statement likely indicating her status as a dancer or performer. In the central portion of the fresco a woman and a man are seen leading a third woman towards the reclining prince. The leading woman is dressed in garb that again indicates her status as a performer. Her shirt is knotted above her waist, below which she appears to be wearing

---

24 *Charpai:* A traditional woven bed in the subcontinent, consisting of a wooden frame bordering a set of knotted ropes.

25 *Chauri*: Whisk – usually made of yak's tail hair or artificial fiber set in a wooden or metal holder.

a loose lower dress. On her head is the same pointed headgear as the *chauri*-bearer. She is adorned with jewellery and is carrying a musical instrument in her hand. Her eyebrow is arched perfectly while her eye is embellished to produce a lovely profile of her face – despite being marred by damage at the nose level. The central figure being led is also dressed and adorned lavishly – though covered more modestly than the musician. Her bent head and closed eyes, as well as the musician's admonishing finger pointed at her seem to indicate that she is being brought here against

her will. Behind the two women is a shorter, older man who appears to be an attendant and is also convincing the woman to go to the prince. He is dressed simply in a *chooridar pajama* and a long *kameez* with a turban on his head. The final section of the fresco shows a woman crouched in the corner, next to the bordering balustrade. Dressed in the similar elaborate garb of a performer, her head is bent and she appears to be wiping her eyes with the corner of her *dupatta*. The likely scenario being depicted here is that she is being replaced in the prince's favor by the new woman in the centre of the fresco. This entire scene is rich with meaning. Though not depicting any religious or historical event, it is likely to be a scene depicting the everyday life of the nobles and princes of the court.

Plate 7 depicts one man riding a horse, while four other similarly garbed men rally around him. All five men are dressed in *chooridar*-style trousers and a flowing *kameez*,

secured with a scarf around the waist and turbans on their heads. The style

of hair and beard indicate that these are Sikh figures. The figure seated on the horse is the central focus of the fresco. His turban is more elaborate than that of the other four men. One of the men on foot is holding a *chauri* towards the horsed figure. Most likely, it is a representation of the sixth guru, Guru Hargobind Singh (1595 – 1694) rallying his followers to take up arms. This would be so because of the presence of a hawk or falcon on the Guru's arm and a hunting dog on the ground, which are symbols of the Guru's fondness for hunting. The four attendants are carrying a flag and all have swords as they march alongside the Guru.

Plate 8

Fresco of the Radha-Krishna tale assimilated into the Punjabi culture

Plate 8 is a depiction of the Radha-Krishna tale – assimilated into the Punjabi culture. Krishna, son of Devaki is briefly mentioned in the '*Chandogya Upanishad*'[26] of 500 B.C. In the '*Mahabharta*'[27] , he is a prominent figure, while in the '*Bhagavad Gita*', he puts forward the doctrine of *bhakti*[28], or loving devotion to him as a means of salvation.[29] The central focus of the fresco is immediately Krishna as he is not only painted right in the centre but also is the largest figure in the frame. His skin is a dark grey hue – which may have once been blue, now ruined due to discoloration. Krishna is typically depicted as a blue-skinned deity. He is draped in a yellow-orange colored outfit and a three-pronged crown sits on his head. Jewellery adorns his ears, neck and arms. Seated on his lap is the smaller, submissive figure of his consort Radha. Dressed in red and draped in a green *dupatta*, her figure is smaller in size than Krishna's. Furthermore, she is shown holding her hands up to him, almost in supplication. All

---

26 *Chandogya Upanishad: Upanishads* are a collection of philosophical texts which form the theoretical basis for the Hindu religion. *Chandogya Upanishad* is one of the oldest of these, most likely dating to the Brahmana period of Vedic Sanskrit (8th to 7th BCE).

27 *Mahabharta*: One of the two major Sanskrit epics of ancient India, the other being the *Ramayana*. Besides its epic narrative of the Kurukshetra War and the fates of the *Kauravas* and the *Pandava* princes, the *Mahabharata* contains much philosophical and devotional material, such as a discussion of the four "goals of life".

28 *Bhakti:* Religious devotion as a means of salvation, in the form of active involvement of a devotee in worship of the divine.

29 Ananda K. Coomaraswamy. *Myths of Hindus and Buddhists.* (New York 1967), p. 217

these elements combine to present her as a submissive, subordinate figure in front of Krishna. Surrounding them are two women on either side, dressed in yellow dresses with red *dupattas*. *Chauris* are borne over both, indicating that though Krishna is more powerful, both seated entities are important figures. The scene appears to be an outdoor one, with trees and clouds shown in the background. Here, it is significant to note that though the design repertory of the artists of the Fort was seemingly limitless, their color palette was somewhat limited. The same few shades of red, yellow and orange show up in several of the intact frescoes where colors are clearly visible.

Another fresco is a typical depiction of a secular scene from traditional folklore. The fresco shows a man and a woman dressed in loose flowing garb. The man is wearing a hat instead of a turban, while his hair appears to be long and curling. This indicates that he is a Muslim figure rather than a Sikh. The woman is standing in front of him with her head bent slightly forward, indicating submission to him. She is holding up one arm, around which his hand is clasped – indicating the possibility of love and affection. It is interesting to note that aside from the usual jewellery adorning the woman, her *dupatta* is green in color with a dotted pattern and a bold border at the base. The attention to detail is not only astounding but also showcases the prevalent fashion trends of the time. This is likely to be a depiction of a traditional folktale of star-crossed lovers. It is likely that they are Heer-Ranjha, as scenes from Sohni-Mahiwal usually contain an element of water in them.

Plate 9 is one of the most important frescoes of any Sikh building – a depiction of Guru Nanak. The fresco contains all elements typically found in the imagery of the Guru. He sits in the centre of the frame with a *chadar*[30] draped across one shoulder, a *seli*[31] and a *bairagan*[32]

Plate 9

Fresco of Guru Nanak

---

30 *Chadar:* A large, rectangular cloth used as a covering for the head or for wrapping around the upper body by both men and women of the subcontinent.
31 *Seli:* Cord worn around the neck by beggars.
32 *Bairagan:* Yogi's crutch.

just behind him. The *bairagan* is used to rest the hand on whilst meditating. The Guru is shown seated on a red rug under a tree. On his side sits his Muslim companion, Mardana, holding a *rabab*[33]. Mardana was a Muslim of the *Marasi*[34] caste who used to accompany the Guru on his travels everywhere. He held the Guru in great esteem but never converted to Sikhism. When they used to sit together, Guru Nanak would recite his teachings while Maradana would accompany him with his music. In typical Guru Nanak iconography, the Hindu companion Bala is also depicted, usually holding a *chauri*. However, he is not apparent in this fresco, perhaps owing to the damaged edges of the frame. Surrounding Mardana and the Guru are devotees with their heads bowed and hands clasped together in reverence.

Another panel depicts a woman dressed in red, standing with one foot on a *moora*[35], leaning back with one arm in the air. Above the tree, in the background, flies a white kite, indicating that the woman is engaged in kite flying. It is very interesting to see a woman engaged in such an activity, which is normally associated with boys. It can be seen to be an indicator of the forward thinking of the Rani – who did not see women as a weak and inferior gender. This fresco can be viewed as a social commentary on the gender perception of the time. Though many of the other frescoes depict women in subordinate or submissive gestures, those are scenes taken from religious mythology or established folklore. This, however, is a depiction of everyday life in the *haveli* – indicating a different perception of women altogether.

Another fresco is likely to be a scene taken from the activities of the Sheikhupura Fort itself. It shows a lady seated inside a chamber. We can see her through the windows. Her attendants gather around her, holding a *chauri* over her head. This is likely to be Rani Nikayan herself. Approaching her chamber are three men who are likely to be royal emissaries, while a fourth, seated in a doorway on the left side of the frame, is a *diwarapala*[36] of sorts. This scene shows the everyday workings of the Fort in the charge of the Rani. It shows her power and status as she is the one dealing with royal emissaries, showing that women had a strong standing in Sikh society and were not the meek submissive creatures depicted in folk and mythic imagery.

---

33 *Rabab:* A stringed instrument.
34 *Marasi:* A Muslim caste of South Asia
35 *Moora:* A small woven stool
36 *Diwarapala*: A door or gate guardian often portrayed as a warrior or fearsome giant, usually armed with a weapon.

The most important revelation of the frescoes of the Sheikhupura Fort is the secularization of religious themes that is prevalent in much of the work. These frescoes served a purpose much more important than mere decoration. Though obviously intended to be aesthetically appealing, they are also instrumental in capturing the astonishing blend of cultures, traditions and religions that was taking place at the time between the Hindus, the Muslims and the Sikhs. Furthermore, the frescoes show how this was an open, public culture because the stories they reveal cover everything from folklore to religious tales to the everyday working of the Rani's court. Alongside this, care has been taken to inject a strong Punjabi element into each fresco through the clever use of and attention to detail of the attire and accessories of the figures in the frescoes. This is evident even in frescoes depicting religious imagery. Thus, the artwork of the Fort is an important historical tool to better understand the workings of early 19th century Sheikhupura.

Bibliography

- Aijazuddin, F. S. *Pahari Paintings and Sikh Portraits in the Lahore Museum*. Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1977. Print.

- Chakraverty, Anjan. *Indian Miniature Painting*. Delhi: Lustre, 1996. Print.

- Coomaraswamy, Ananda K. *Rajput Painting*. New York: Hacker Art, 1975. Print. Craven, Roy C. *Indian Art: A Concise History*. New York, NY: Thames and Hudson, 1997. Print.

- Daljeet. *The Sikh Heritage: A Search for Totality*. New Delhi: Prakash Book Depot, 2004. Print.

- Grewal, J. S. *The Sikhs of the Punjab*. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1990. Print.

- Hasan, Shaikh Khurshid. *Historical Forts in Pakistan*. Islamabad: National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research Centre of Excellence, Quaid-i-Azam University, 2005. Print.

- Hassan, Ijaz Ul. *Painting in Pakistan*. Lahore: Ferozsons, 1991. Print.

- Kang, Kanwarjit Singh. *Wall Paintings of Punjab and Haryana*. Delhi: Atma Ram and Sons, 1985. Print.

- Singh, Khushwant. *A History of the Sikhs - Volume 1*. Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1977. Print.

- Masud, Tariq. *History and Archaelogy of Sheikhupura District*

- Noble, Margaret Elizabeth, and Ananda Kentish Coomaraswamy. *Myths of the Hindus and Buddhists*. New York: Dover Publications, 1967. Print.

- Rehman, Abdul. *Historic Towns of Punjab: Ancient and Medieval Period*. Rawalpindi: Ferozsons, 1997. Print.

- Schmitz, Barbara, ed. *Lahore: Paintings, Murals and Calligraphy*. Mumbai: Marg Publications, 2010. Print.

- Srivastava, R. P. *Punjab Painting: A Study in Art and Culture*. New Delhi: Abhinav Publications, 1983. Print.

- Welch, Stuart Cary. *India: Art and Culture (1300-1900).* New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1985. Print.

Contributors

Alireza Golkarieh is a Bachelor of Architecture from the School of Art and Architecture, Yazd University, Iran. He is an architect and has three publications to his credit.

Amina Ejaz is a candidate of Master in Art History at The University of Edinburgh, UK. She has completed her Bachelor in Political Science from Lahore University of Management Sciences, Pakistan. Ms. Amina has also worked as a Teaching and Research Assistant at Lahore University of Management Sciences, Pakistan.

Anila Naeem completed her Ph.D. from Oxford Brookes University, UK, (JCUD, School of Built Environment) in Urban Design – Historic Preservation. She has completed her Master in Conservation and Historic Preservation from Middle East Technical University, Ankara, Turkey, and Bachelor of Architecture from Dawood College of Engineering and Technology, Karachi, Paksitan. Presently, she is Professor and Co-chairperson at Department of Architecture and Planning, N.E.D. University, Karachi, Pakistan, and Editor for NED Journal for Research in Architecture and Planning. Dr. Naeem holds the post of Secretary General – ICOMOS Pakistan and has served as a member in various academic and professional advisory committees, including Technical Sub-committee of Heritage Advisory Committee, Department of Culture – Government of Sindh. She has been a consultant to various conservation and research projects undertaken by DAPNED Heritage Cell, initiated conservation training courses at her department and has numerous national and international publications to her credit.

Ashok Koshy is Master of Arts in English Language and Literature from Madras Christian College, Chennai, India, and has completed Bachelor of Arts in English Language and Literature at Loyola College, Chennai, India. He is a retired Civil Servant of the Indian Administrative Service and was Visiting Fellow at Oxford University. Mr. Koshy has written for many of the leading journals of India like India Today, Swagat, Jet Wings, Namaskar, Inside Outside, Travel Plus and newspapers like The Times of India and The Asian Age. The articles covered culture, music, theatre, films, cuisine, interior design, fashion, travel and human interest stories. He has co-authored a Dorling Kindersley published travel book "India" and authored a coffee table book on The Lawrence School, Lovedale.

Bazla Manzoor is an architect and a candidate of Master in Environmental Design at Allama Iqbal Open University, Islamabad, Pakistan. She completed her Bachelors of Architecture from COMSATS Institute of Information Technology, Islamabad, Pakistan. Presently, she is teaching at Jinnah Polytechnic Institute Faisalabad, Pakistan.

Eesha Thaker is a Ph.D. candidate at The Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda, Vadodara, Gujarat, India. She has completed her Masters in Museology and Bachelors in Archeology from The Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda, Vadodara, Gujarat, India. She qualified the University Grants Commission National Eligibility Test for Lectureship and was awarded the Junior Research Fellowship.

Fareeha Zafar obtained her Ph.D. in Geography from the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, UK. and has taught at the University of the Punjab, Pakistan for 25 years. She has been a Fulbright Post-doctoral Scholar at the Centre for Urban and Regional Development, University of California at Berkeley, USA and a Fulbright Research Scholar at the Department of Geography at Vassar College, NY, USA. Presently, she is Visiting Faculty at the Graduate Institute of Development Studies of the Lahore School of Economics, Pakistan. Dr. Zafar is a founder member and Senior Advisor of the Society for the Advancement of Education (SAHE) Lahore-Pakistan and Women's Action Forum, Lahore. She has been on the governing board of several national bodies such as the Pakistan Poverty Alleviation Fund, Trust for Voluntary Organizations and the National Education Foundation. In addition to a large number of research publications Dr. Zafar has also edited a book on women in Pakistan.

Husain Abdul Rehman Qazi is a Master of Art in English Literature and Linguistics from National University of Modern Languages, Islamabad, Pakistan, and Master of Science in Mass Communication from Allama Iqbal Open University, Islamabad, Pakistan. He has completed his Bachelor of Art from Government College, Lahore, Pakistan. Presently, he is Public Relations Manager at Frontier Works Organization, Lahore, Pakistan. He is a member of various national organizations and has a few publications to his credit.

Imdad Hussain obtained his Ph.D. in Public Policy from National Graduate Institute for Policy Studies, Tokyo, Japan. He has completed his Master in Public Policy from the same institute; Master in Sociology and Post Graduate Diploma in Local Self Government and Rural

Development from the University of the Punjab, Lahore, Pakistan. Presently, he is Assistant Professor at Center for Public Policy and Governance, Forman Christian College University, Lahore, Pakistan, and General Secretary/Director at Punjab Urban Resource Center. He is a member of many national organizations and has several publications and research reports to his credit.

Imran Khan is a GIS specialist who has worked with the Urban Planning Unit of the Punjab Government. He is currently working as a freelance consultant to national and international organizations.

Jalal Mohaddesi is Master in Landscape Architecture from Department of Landscape Architecture, Faculty of Architecture, Fine Arts, Tehran University, Iran. He has completed Bachelor in Architecture from Faculty of Fine Arts, Tehran University. Presently, he is Architecture and Urbanism Consultant, and Head of Architecture Technical Office of Urban Complex Project: Imam Khomeini Square at Renovation and Development Organization for Masuma Holy Shrine, Qom, Iran. He is a member of various national organizations and has several publications to his credit.

Jawaid Haider obtained his Ph.D. in Architecture from Pennsylvania State University, Pennsylvania, U.S.A. He has completed Master of Architecture and Bachelor of Architecture from Middle East Technical University, Ankara, Turkey. Presently Professor at the Pennsylvania State University, Pennsylvania, U.S.A., he has been an educationist/architect since 1977. He has over 40 publications and reports to his credit and has made two documentary films on issues of children and architecture. During his career he has been granted several honors and awards and is a member of various organizations including AIA and FIAP. He has participated in several competitions and has had 6 exhibitions of his works.

Kamil Khan Mumtaz is Diploma in Architecture from the Architectural Association, London and has a Post Graduate Certificate in Tropical Architecture from London. He is an architect, educator, author, and pioneer in the movement for conservation of architectural heritage and has been a leading influence in raising standards of architectural design in general and in the search for a contemporary, appropriate architecture for Pakistan responsive to climate, economy and materials yet rooted in the indigenous culture. Mr. Kamil is a member of various national/international organizations including RIBA, AAI, and Anjuman

Mimaran. He has been a member of several architecture juries and has widely lectured in Europe and Asia. In 1985, he authored 'Architecture in Pakistan', a Concept Media Publication and has several national/ international publications to his credit. The Government of Pakistan awarded him "Tamgha-i-Imtiaz" (1993) for services to architecture.

Kanwal Khalid obtained her Ph.D. in Fine Arts (Miniature Painting) from University of Punjab, Lahore. She has completed Master in Philosophy in Research Methodology, History of Western Art, South Asian Art and Islamic Art; Master in Fine Arts (Graphic Design) and Bachelor in Fine Arts from University of Punjab, Lahore. Being in the profession since 1989, she is currently Assistant Professor at Lahore College for Women University and has been Visiting Faculty at several institutes including University of Punjab, National College of Arts and Beaconhouse National University. She has also made documentaries about the Art and Culture of Lahore with Asian Television Network and has six international publications to her credit.

Kiran Bashir Ahmad is a Ph.D. candidate in Clinical Psychology from the Institute of Professional Psychology, Bahria University, Karachi. She has completed Post Magistral Diploma in Clinical Psychology; Master of Science in Professional Psychology from Institute of Professional Psychology, Bahria University, Karachi; and Bachelor of Art from University of Karachi. Presently, she is Senior Lecturer at Institute of Professional Psychology, Bahria University, Karachi and a freelance writer for the Daily Dawn Newspaper, Karachi. Her professional involvements include editing and writing for research journals and various newsletters for NGOs.

Madhuri Desai obtained her Ph.D. in History and Theory of Architecture and Urbanism from University of California, Berkeley, U.S.A. She has completed her Master in Landscape Architecture from University of Texas, Arlington, U.S.A.; Master in Architecture, and Bachelor in Architecture from School of Planning and Architecture, New Delhi, India. Presently, she is Associate Professor at Department of Art History, and Faculty member with the Center for Asian Studies at The Pennsylvania State University, Pennsylvania, U.S.A. Dr. Madhuri has received several academic grants and honors, and is a member of College Art Association and Society of Architectural Historians. During her career, she has presented at many symposiums and conferences, and has also organized and chaired a few. She has several peer-reviewed articles, a co-edited anthology, an authored book, and several book and exhibition reviews to her credit.

Mahdi Sadeghahmadi is a Ph.D. candidate in architectural conservation at Conservation Faculty, Isfahan Art University, Iran. He has completed Master in Architecture from Art and Architecture Faculty, Yazd University, Iran. He has authored one book and has several publications to his credit.

Mamoona Khan obtained her Ph.D. in Aesthetics of Islamic Art from College of Art and Design, University of the Punjab, Lahore. She has completed Master of Philosophy in Fine Arts and Master of Arts in Fine Arts from the same institute. Currently, she is Associate Professor and Head of Department at the Department of Art and Design, Postgraduate Government College for Women, Satellite Town, Rawalpindi, Pakistan. A research based book titled 'Wazir Khan Mosque Rediscovered', published in 2011, and several other publications are to her credit. She has participated in a number of group shows of paintings at Pakistan National Council of Arts, Islamabad.

Mariam Saleem Farooqi is a Bachelor of Science in Humanities from Lahore University of Management Sciences, Pakistan. She has conducted various research projects.

Mashallah is Research Coordinator at the Society for the Advancement of Education (SAHE) and has worked with the organization for more than 20 years. His particular skills are in conducting fieldwork at community level using qualitative research methods.

Meagan Schoenfelder is Master of Arts in Medieval Archaeology from University of York, York, U.K. She has completed her Bachelor of Arts in History and Bible from Northwestern College, Roseville, Minnesota, USA. Presently, she is Archaeological Collections Assistant at State Historical Society of North Dakota, Bismarck, North Dakota, U.S.A.

Muhammad Shafique is a candidate of Post Doctorate in British Historical Writings on Muslim India from University College London, U.K. He has completed his Ph.D. in History from Bahauddin Zakariya University, Multan, Pakistan; Master of Philosophy in History from Quaid-e-Azam University, Islamabad, Pakistan; Master of Arts in History and Bachelor of Arts in Political Science from Bahauddin Zakariya University, Multan. Presently, he is Associate Professor at Department of History, Bahauddin Zakariya University, Multan, and has been an educationist/researcher since 1996. Dr. Shafique has numerous publications and a few books to his credit and has presented

his papers at various conferences. He is a member of various academic bodies and has several awards to his credit.

Nadia Anjum obtained her Ph.D. from U.S.A. She has completed her Master of Arts in Teaching English as a Foreign Language from School of Linguistics and Applied Language Studies, University of Reading, U.K; Master of Arts in English Literature and Bachelor of Arts from Kinniard College for Women, Lahore, Pakistan. Presently, she is Associate Professor at the Faculty of English Language and Literature, Kinnaird College for Women, Lahore, Pakistan. Dr. Nadia has been an educationist since 1987 and was awarded the star Laureate Award-South Asia Publication 2008 in recognition of her outstanding achievements in the field of education. She has several publications to her credit and also co-authored the book on 'Human Rights Through Education' 2005-(OUP) which received the highest British Eltech Award.

Priyaleen Singh obtained her Ph.D. in Architecture from the Institute of Advanced Architectural Studies, University of York, U.K. She completed her Master of Arts in Conservation from the same institute; Master in Landscape Architecture and Bachelor of Architecture from School of Planning and Architecture, New Delhi, India. Presently, she is Professor at Department of Architectural Conservation, School of Planning and Architecture, New Delhi, India. Being in the profession since 1981, she is a member of various organizations and has been honored with several awards. She has over twenty-five publications to her credit.

Rao Nadeem Alam is Assistant Professor at Department of Anthropology, Quaid-e-Azam University, Islamabad, Pakistan.

Saba Samee is a Master in the Archaeology of Buildings from University of York, U.K. she completed her Bachelor in Architecture from National College of Arts, Lahore, Pakistan. Presently, she is Conservation Expert at the Heritage Foundation Pakistan and Resource Person on Culture at THAAP. Former Associate Professor at Department of Architecture and Design, COMSATS IIT, Lahore, she has been an educationist/ architect since 1999. She has a number of publications to her credit.

Sabikun Nehar is a candidate of Master of Social Sciences in International Relations at the University of Dhaka, Bangladesh, and has completed Bachelor of Social Sciences in International Relations from the same institute. Presently, he is Research Associate at South Asia Youth for Peace and Prosperity Society (SAYPPS), Dhaka, Bangladesh. He is

Fellow Member of Online Knowledge Society (OKS), Dhaka, and has several publications to his credit.

Sahar Morady is an architect and a candidate of Master in Interior Architecture at University of Tehran, Iran. She has completed her Master of Architecture and Bachelor of Fine Arts from University of British Columbia, Canada.

Sajjad Haider is a Master of Philosophy in Anthropology, Master of Science in Anthropology and Bachelor of Arts in Social Work from Quaid-e-Azam University, Islamabad, Pakistan. Presently, he is a Fieldwork Supervisor at the Department of Anthropolgy, Quaid-e-Azam University, Islamabad, Pakistan. He has conducted various lectures, training workshops, community development projects and has launched an online activism page titled "Urging People to Excel" to build a knowledge-based tolerant society.

Samra Mohsin Khan is a Master of Science in Environmental Design from Allama Iqbal Open University, Islamabad, Pakistan. She has completed her Bachelor of Architecture from National College of Arts, Lahore. Presently, she is Associate Professor at Department of Architecture and Design, COMSATS Institute of Information Technology, Islamabad and has been an architect/educationist since 1987. She has four group shows of painting works and several national and international publications to her credit.

Sarah Afzal is a Bachelor of Science in Humanities from Lahore University of Management Sciences, Pakistan. Presently, she is a Research Officer at Sudhaar, a Non-Government Organization focused on education of marginalized communities, especially children, youth and women, and has a few publications and academic awards to her credit.

Sharieh Hosseini Nasab is a Ph.D. candidate at the Architecture and Design Department, University of Engineering and Technology, Lahore, Pakistan. She has completed her Master of Architecture and Bachelor of Architecture from Yazd school of Art and Architecture, Yazd University, Yazd, Iran. Presently, she is Lecturer at Architecture Department, COMSATS Institute of Information Technology, Lahore, Pakistan and has been an architect/educationist since 2004.

Shera Owlia is Master in Architecture from Art and Architecture Faculty, Yazd University, Iran. She has completed Bachelor in Architecture from the same institute. She has authored two books and has several publications to her credit.

Syed Faisal Sajjad is a Ph.D. candidate at University of Engineering And Technology, Lahore, Pakistan. He has completed Master of Architecture from University of Engineering and Technology, Lahore and Bachelor of Architecture from National College of Arts, Lahore. Currently Associate Professor at Department of Architecture, National College of Arts, Lahore, and Committee member for the development of NCA University Ordinance,

he has been an educationist/architect since 1997. He is a member of various professional bodies including PCATP and IAP and has a number of publications to his credit. He has been a writer, director, performer and set designer in several plays.

Taraneh Yalda obtained her Ph.D. in Architecture from Polytechnic University of Turin, Italy. She completed her Master in Urbanism from University of Paris, France. Currently, she is working as Technical Manager and Co-ordinator for the New Strategic Plan of the City of Tehran and the District Plans of Tehran while planning to work on Kabul's Strategic Plan as well. She has been an architect/city planner since 1983 having membership in various professional institutes in Iran. She has a number of publications to her credit.

Yasmeen 'Mano' Javed is Master in Jourmalism. She is a published author whose novel 'The Flight of the Wingless Mynahs' was published in United States. At present, Mano is working on 'Night Bus to Sialkot, Collection of Poetry'.

THAAP JOURNAL 2013

TH A aP

THAAP (Trust for History, Art & Architecture, Pakistan), a not-for-profit registered private trust established in 2006, is a forum of academics and professionals dedicated to improving the state of education in the country. Its particular area of focus, though not limited to it, is Art and Culture. THAAP recognizes the intrinsic link between history, tradition and culture and acknowledges that our present day beliefs, value systems and world view which constitutes the culture of a society or community is shaped by the historical past. It aims to reassess and revisit history and create scholarship and knowledge of the old and recent history from the people's perspective and disseminate to a wide audience. This knowledge is generated through research followed with a series of talks by eminent and young scholars and an annual conference.

At THAAP, multi-disciplinary discourses take place and diversity thrives. Papers have been written and published by scholars on architecture, music, history, painting, cities, development, theatre, pedagogy and such others. THAAP has reached out in particular to teachers, for they will and can, lead the way and give us hope for a brighter future – a future which is not stagnant with unitary thought but carries the variety of a thousand flowers. To achieve these goals annual international conferences, supported with research, seminars and talks are held throughout the year.

THAAP has been actively involved in Development and Culture at the grass root level in districts of South Punjab. The wealth of data, on tangible and intangible cultural assets, has been put together in digitized form and is available to researchers and students. Cultural assets, their value and thus their sustenance in terms of conservation and preservation, are only possible through an aware community that is willing to make the effort. Recognizing the rich craft traditions of Pakistan, THAAP-CRAFT the sub-section working in the field, seeks to enable the provision of livelihood opportunities for the marginalized craft communities and engender pride in the cultural heritage and expressions of the people. Currently the program is spread out in Bhawalpur, Lodhran, Multan and Dera Ghazi Khan. In the process it has generated a deep value about heritage among the people it has touched.
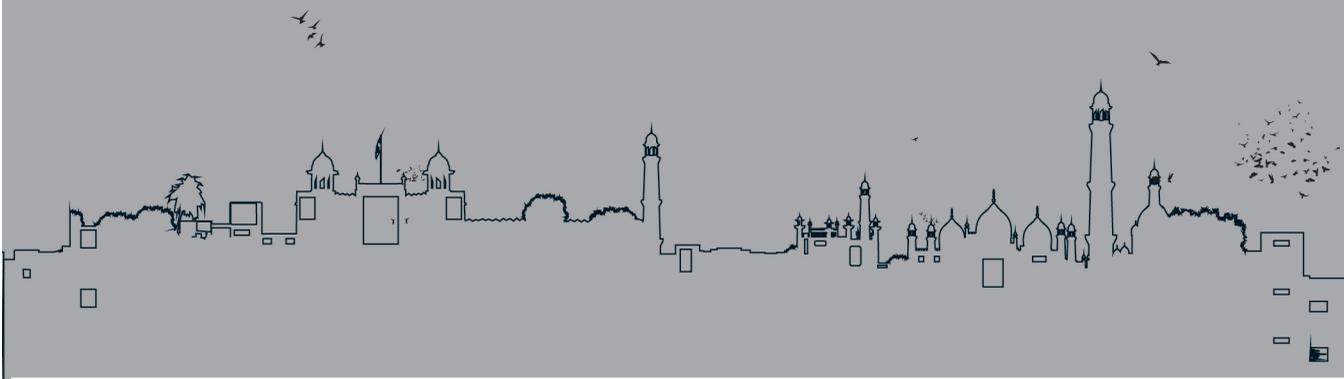
Small towns get neglected as the major effort of the state is directed towards the more glamorous large cities. Politicians and other decision makers continuously talk of making some city or another into a European prototype (Paris is the great favourite) and most of the investment is directed towards the capital cities. Small towns are an integral part of the urbanization process of a society - village, town to city - and they must be placed in the holistic urban context. Also, it is essential to look at the question of what a town is, not only in terms of brick and mortar, but as an arrangement of living and working together that humans have developed in their continuing evolution and development over the millenia. Measure of an urban unit cannot be only the roads and infrastucture, or the housing societies and estates; it is, above all, judged by the quality of life it provides to all its citizens. The basic role of the city is to facilitate the growth of human society towards the next stage of human evolution and realization of human values as applicable to all. A town, therefore, is not just a collection of buildings linked with a network of infrastructure of energy, transport, communications, it is also a people living in a spatial configuration, with its production of arts, crafts and entertainment along with goods and services and their consumption, and consequent generation of waste, its disposal and lack thereof, producing an overall culture of urbanism.

What is life in the small town? What is the quality of education, culture, literature, health and hygiene, and road network? What is the state of ecological balance in view of the use of chemicals in industry and agriculture? What is the nature of disparities among the people? How is the ever increasing pressure of population on the dwindling resources being managed by the people and the policy makers? What of the next generation and their quality of life, education, work opportunity, health and happiness? What are the impacts of the efforts of designers and planners and what fruit do they bear? These are the qusetions that need to be raised and studied.

Price: Rs.0000/-