

Indigenous or Foreign: The Metamorphosis of Fabric Types in Urban Settlements

MANU P. SOBTI

Georgia Institute of Technology

INTRODUCTION

This paper focuses on how migrations and mass-movements of communities and people - to and from geographically-distant lands - effect growing cities. While the modern age has provided a marked impetus to long-distance travel, and consequently migrations, historical evidence shows that such processes also occurred in the past. Within the medieval Islamic world (1400-1800), the Timurid, Ottoman, Safavid and Mughal empires created distinct geographical domains with comparable levels of travel and cultural assimilation. The capital cities of these great empires at Samarqand, Istanbul, Isfahan and Shahjahanabad respectively, displayed a cosmopolitan character at par with the bustling metropolises of present-day, absorbing the influx of travelers and migrants frequently passing through.

While the larger institutions within the civic infrastructure of these cities such as *serais*, *hammams* and *bazaars*, dealt with the growing traffic of temporary visitors, the arrival of migrants in unprecedented numbers, and their accommodation, was an entirely different issue. Most among them chose to reside with, or in close proximity to members of their own clan, extended-families, community or ethnic origins, within specific residential *mohallas* or residential blocks in the city. In addition to the sense of security this process initially presented to the migrants in an unfamiliar habitat, it provided them a place or plot of land to settle down on a permanent basis. Since sectors in these cities grew largely by the process of organic accretion within delineated boundaries, incoming populations continually built on available pockets of land in specific sectors, appreciably increasing the urban density. Such accretive growth also produced the typical character of the residential tissue within the city, wherein physical patterns of space reflected the inherent social organization of the resident community. This was the first important change to occur in the urban character of the city owing to the inflow of migrants.

The second phenomenon was the gradual modification of the city's built-character, with specific reference to the residential building type that existed within these sectors. Migrant populations accommodated themselves in dwell-

ing-types and structures largely based on memories of their previous hometowns. Their social structure and customs, tenaciously preserved through the long and arduous migrations, were now accentuated by their acceptance into sub-communities within the city, thereby preserving their identity. When confronted with the task of building their homes in new surroundings, the 'house-types' familiar to them became the first models to be emulated and copied. Though this 'imported' type was replicated and adapted to suit regional conditions, its contrasting schema, spatial and formal characteristics, caused it to remain largely 'foreign' in many respects. Therefore, capital cities and provincial centers which served as destinations for migrants, demonstrated a varied mix of house-types, where these 'foreign' models vied for attention with 'local' ones.

Within the Indian subcontinent, the arrival of migrants from Afghanistan, Central Asia and Iran gained systematic impetus under the Mughals between 1526 and 1850. In its heyday, there existed an increasing demand for armed, trained mercenaries to fill the ranks of the Mughal armies on their frequent campaigns.¹ An administrative policy regarding recruitment was therefore devised, favoring the selection of mercenaries from these regions over the local ones. Mass migrations of entire sub-communities, clans and ethnic groups to urban areas, especially imperial capitals, were strongly encouraged. Entire villages and *qasbahs* of homogenous populations were moved, usually consisting of families affiliated by ethnic or clan origins, across large geographical distances. Thereafter, the adult men from these numbers joined the armed ranks, while the remaining population settled down, establishing themselves in ways remarkably similar to their original habitats.²

The city of Bhopal, located in Central India, was a result of the processes described above. It was founded in 1722 by Sardar Dost Mohammed Khan, an armed recruit who deserted the Mughal army after the death of emperor Aurangzeb in 1707. Dost Mohammad and his *Pathan* clansmen hailed from the *Mirazi-Khail* family of the *Karar* tribe in Afghanistan, some of whom had migrated to India in the wake of employment opportunities in the imperial forces.³ The *Shahr-i Khas*

or city proper at Bhopal, was established as a four-quadrant core with two intersecting bazaar streets, reminiscent of the urban layouts at Herat and Quandahar.⁴ A large majority of the migrant *Pathan* administrative and military elite settled in two *mohallas* or quarters of the city. These still-extant quarters display a remarkable contrast in terms of their spatial organization and fabric pattern from the adjoining quarters inhabited by local populations. More significantly, the house-type within the *Pathan* quarters is different from that of the local populace, and in its spatial and formal properties, bears distinct resemblance to the *Qala* house native to rural Afghanistan.⁵

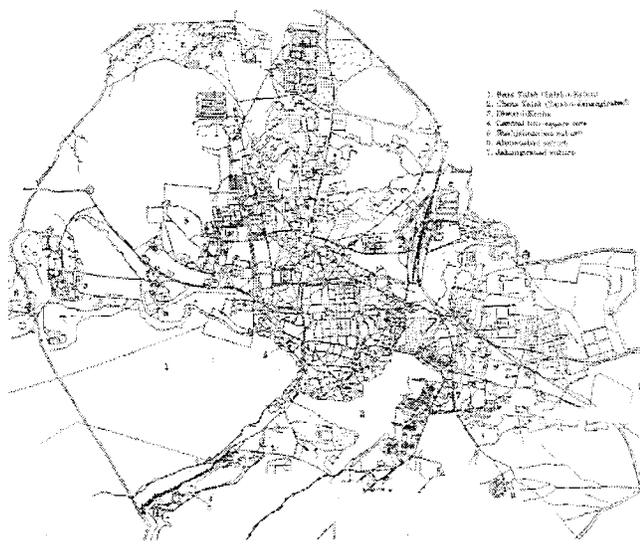


Fig. 1. Plan of Bhopal, Central India (dated 1860)

This paper examines these two *Pathan* quarters and the house-types constituting them, with reference to issues of migration, community and identity in the urban built environment of the growing city. It delineates formal and spatial characteristics of the '*mohalla*' organization and the house types, which causes them to be perceived as 'foreign imports' in a new urban environment. The specific case of Bhopal is used to demonstrate that the exodus of Afghan mercenaries from Afghanistan, to North India and subsequently the Deccan, retained the notions of a highly specific social structure and the conception of the house within the larger *mohalla*/neighborhood community. It hence provided a distinct character to the urban setting in terms of physical structure and fabric morphology, which have logical connections with the socio-cultural origins of the migrating communities. Three important questions form the focus of this discussion. Firstly, how did migrating populations such as the *Jalalabadi* Afghans, re-establish identity in their new physical settings. Secondly, why did culture-specific neighborhoods with distinct physical properties develop in urban environments such as Bhopal, and thirdly, whether elements

of material culture could have 'moved' or 'traveled' with migrating populations, in order to strongly influence urban patterns in growing cities.

BHOPAL AND ITS EARLY FORMATION

In 1722, the rampart walls of the *Shahr-i-Khas* Bhopal stretched across a territory of substantial size, encompassing land between Dost Mohammad's new citadel of *Fatehgarh* and the remains of an older city/village site of *Bhopal Taul*.⁶ *Fatehgarh* and *Bhopal Taul* existed as individual entities - double cities - each surrounded by defensive walls and institutions within.⁷ An east-west trade route running across the separating distance connected these double cities, until the gradual growth of urban tissue created a physical link of sorts.⁸

Socially the *Mirazai-Khails* were a tightly-knit tribe, organized into sub-tribes, each under their tribes' leader, and owning a piece of land or *khitta* - which was further subdivided between individual members. The orthogonal nature of the four-quadrant core within the walls possibly developed due to the divisions of these *khittas*. While these formative urban divisions were geometrical and pre-conceived, subsequent developments were organic-accretive in nature.⁹ The *Pathan* migrations from *Jalalabad* increased after the first group of successful settlers in the city, though a clear distinction developed between those who had already settled down and 'sedentarized', and the others who still retained their tribal traits. Groups of Afghan wanderers seeking military service with the *Nawab* of Bhopal were still arriving in the city as late as 1777, with clearly no intentions of settling down permanently. While for the former group of settled/urbanized individuals, the city walls represented security and prosperity, for the latter, temporary *ad-hoc* dwellings beyond the urban precincts sufficed.¹⁰

As a direct consequence of the increase in urban population, and the addition of new suburbs beyond the original scheme of the city, the urban walls were rebuilt and extended repeatedly.¹¹ The urban structure and fabric also modified, displaying a mix of three systems towards the final phases of its *Nawabi* period around 1929. A cardinal oriented four-quadrant core occupied the city's original center, incorporating organic-accretive and grid-iron tissue in its western and eastern halves respectively. An organic-accretive tissue of varying thickness enveloped this core. As a third step, independent developments emanated from this last layer, occupying prominent positions in the undulating landscape, developing around cores of institutions. Finally, two substantial water bodies, created by the construction of stone dams across natural depressions, completed the cityscape.¹² The city was hence witness to the presence of a dense residential tissue in parts of its old core, which made it resemble a number of other contemporary late-Mughal cities in terms of morphology. On the other hand, the developments at some of the primary urban spaces, such as the *Khirni Wala Maidan* Quadrangles and the suburb of *Shahjahanabad*,

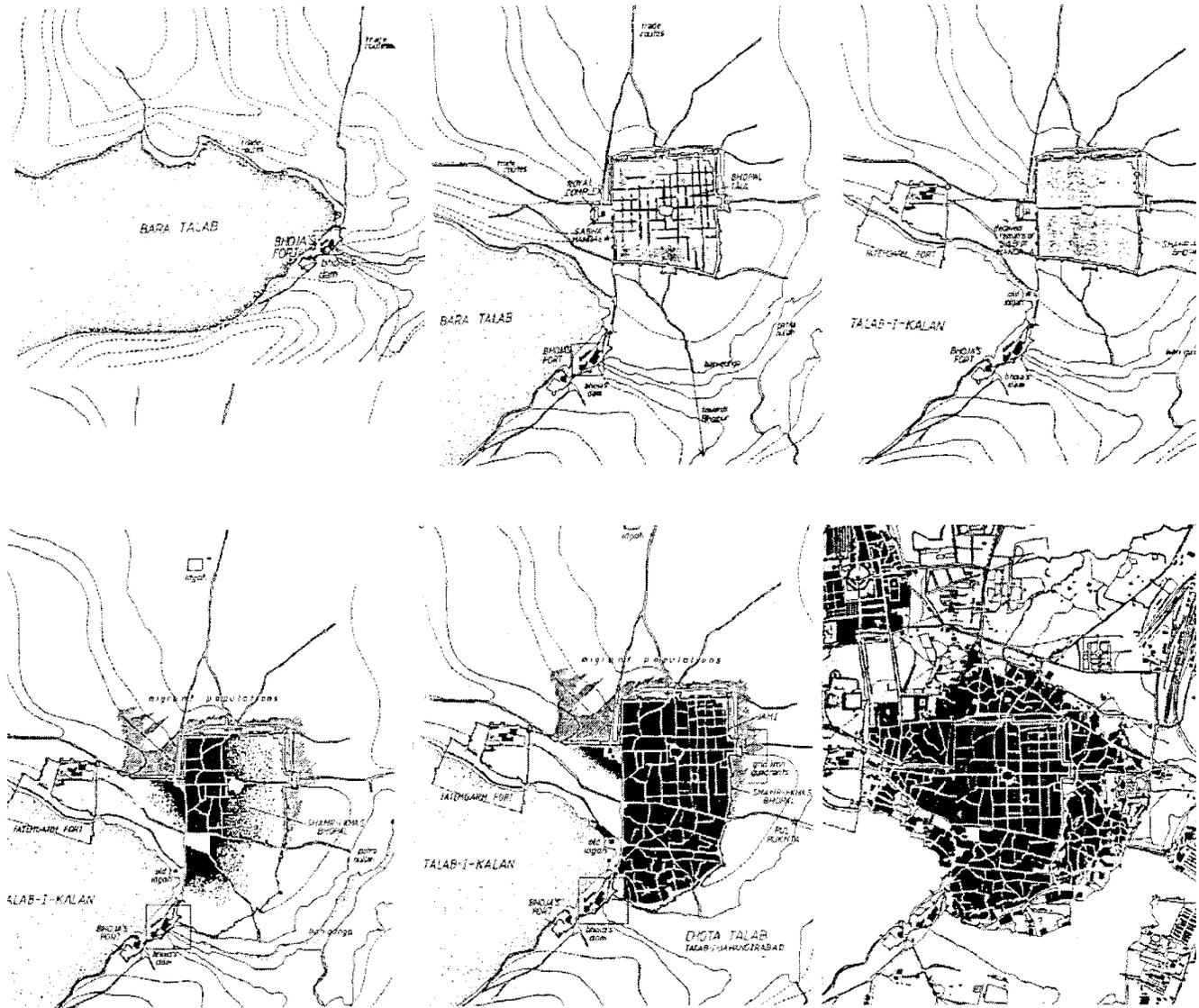


Fig. 2. Growth of Bhopal between the 10th and 19th century. Stages 1, 2 and 3 are conjectural; 4, 5 and 6 are documented.

resembled the characteristic garden estates associated with the Mughal city.¹³

While the city's original structure and geometry seems to have been constantly modified by vicissitudes of time, two particular residential neighborhoods in present-day Bhopal are exemplary for the sheer extent of surviving residences dating back to the city's formative stages. These are the *Pathan* elite quarters- located adjacent to each other, beginning in the south-western quadrant of the core and extending into the northern half of the *Khirmi Wala Maidan* Royal Quadrants. For the first two centuries in the city's evolution these neighborhoods were occupied by the military and political elite of the city. Even today, a large number of properties are owned by their descendants. Other than the schema of the residential units, the 'foreign' house types identified therein, and the spatial complexity of the neigh-

borhood sector within which these buildings are arranged, there is one other reason why these *Pathan* quarters are unique. This is the effective combination of two kinds of fabric types within their physical configurations and arrangements - namely, the orthogonal, rectilinear grid-iron type and the organic-accretive fabric type. While residences within these *mohallas* are arranged as in an organic-accretive sector, their plan form inherently reflects the building schema in the grid-iron sectors.

FABRIC TYPES IN THE URBAN STRUCTURE

The three distinct fabric-types observed in the city of Bhopal were the grid-iron type - occurring in the two eastern quadrants and composed of regularly-shaped blocks or sectors; the organic-accretive type - enveloping the grid-iron and existing beyond the core limits, composed of relatively

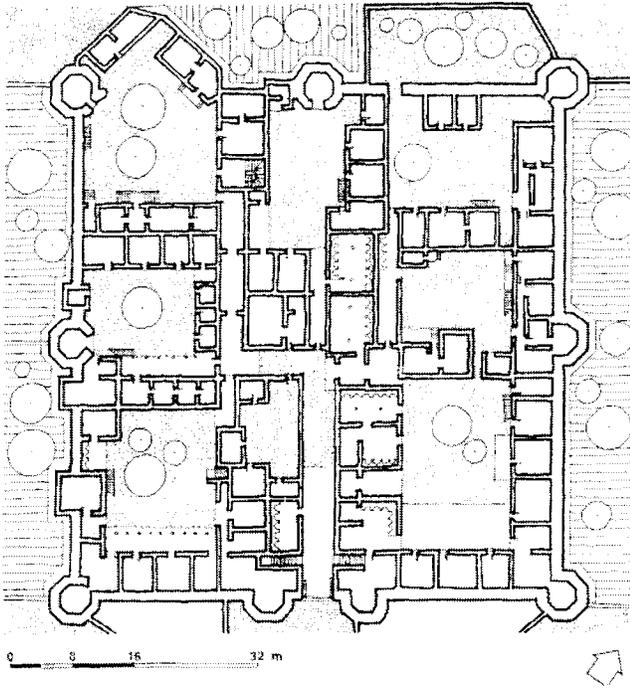


Fig. 3. The *Qala House*, Afghanistan (from Hallet and Samizay, *Traditional Architecture of Afghanistan*).

loose, unequal subdivisions, and bounded by peripheral roads and linkages; and thirdly, the “independent-development” type - found in the new suburbs of *Shahjahanabad* and the *Khirni Wala Maidan* compound, which largely depended on groups/cores of institutions as precursors for inception and growth.

Three neighborhoods of differing character and morphology, therefore resulted. The ‘block or sector’, existing in the central core was their first variation, produced by the regular, cross-grid of roads laid out in 1840.¹⁴ The layout of these largely orthogonal blocks preceded the *Jami*’s construction at the junction of the east-west *sarafa* bazaar streets, consequently giving rise to the north-south axis of the city. In contrast to the more organic and homogenous fabric found outside the core, these blocks or sectors were discernible as independent entities, wherein parts of the same neighborhood were not necessarily inter-connected, and a neighborhood could comprise of two distinct blocks separated by a street.

The typical dwelling here was characterized by a generous courtyard, with a water-body or fountain at its center, as well as a *chahar-bagh*. A semi-open arched *porch* or verandah ran along the this courtyard’s perimeter, serving as a transition to the living spaces behind, which opened to the street by means of modest windows. An arched, *iwan*-like gateway with elaborate parapets, and raised on a high plinth, marked the entrance to the court from the street - characteristics possibly incorporated from the rich, *Pathan* elite dwellings in the western quadrants of the core and in the royal compounds. Frequently, a single dwelling unit comprised of an



Fig. 4. The core of Bhopal showing the two *Pathan Mohallas* (hatched pattern).

entire block or a large part thereof, in terms of its total area. Smaller structures in the *Jami Square* and along the two *bazaar* streets, were on the contrary, built either as a ‘wrap-

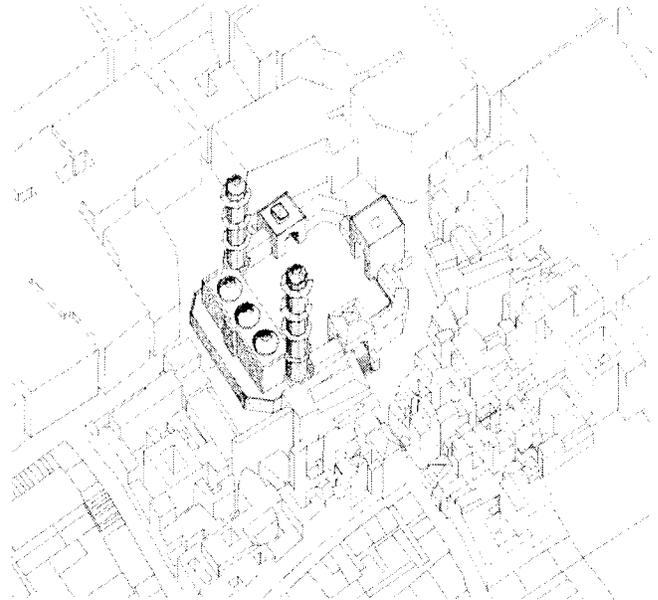


Fig. 5. The *Jami Mosque Square* at Bhopal, at the center of the four-quadrant core - showing the grid-iron organization, and differentiation of the fabric into discrete blocks.

up' around the edges of the exposed tissue, following demolitions for the *Jami's* construction, or else were large properties effected by repeated divisions owing to commercial pressures. These, therefore, displayed a relatively smaller grain.

The second variation of the urban tissue - the organic-accretive fabric - began along the peripheries of the core, spreading in all directions. Its growth was limited to some extent by a lake lying on its south and south-east, and by the low-lying marshy land of the *Patra nullah* on its east.¹⁵ A substantial part of it lay outside the enclosure of the city walls and its organic character was ascribed to the lack of civic regulations. The change of fabric character from the previously discussed grid-iron to the organic-accretive was particularly dramatic to the south of the core - the *Ibrahimipura Bazaar* running east-west - serving as an 'interstice' between the grid-iron fabric to its north and the organic-accretive system to its south.

The neighborhood quarters within this area were criss-crossed by labyrinthine lanes emanating from the principal streets. Many were further subdivided into still smaller lanes, some no bigger than a man's shoulder-width, while others passed through hidden courtyards of a semi-public nature and some became *cul de sacs*. Each quarter had its own mosque or *musalla*, around which it grew spontaneously, regulated by bye-laws ingrained within the social system. These quarters were in large majority inhabited by the common Muslim populace, consisting of the lower economic classes. Gradations of privacy and interiorized open-spaces, which such arrangements made possible, compensated for their humble dwellings, consisting of a single, multi-purpose space. The typical house was single-storied, with a tiled-roof resting on wooden rafters, constructed in sandstone with mud plaster and in some cases, with a modest decorative stone cornice supporting the roof. Houses along the edges of this tissue, especially those facing the royal compounds, were large and palatial, with beautiful sunken or raised courtyards. This part of the city was essentially an urban agglomeration of settlements, brought together within the confines of an overall administration.

The third variation of *mohalla* was the planned, "independent development". Its physical form was more on the lines of a "super-block", including institutions, institutional-cores, urban spaces and residential districts within its organization. A pre-conceived layout in effect, the notion of center and focus, order, arrangement, hierarchy and inter-relationship between the various parts were its distinctive characteristics. These qualities also facilitated large-scale developments in the city structure, such as those in the *Khirmi Wala Maidan* and the new suburb of *Shahjahanabad*.

At the *Khirmi Wala Maidan*, the institutional core or royal compound evolved over time, causing the gradual development of the tissue in the surrounding sector. The agglomeration of individual palaces first created the first and second quadrangles, which was followed by the infill of residential buildings to the north. Since the area was reserved for the



Fig. 6. The *Khirmi Wala Maidan* Ensemble, showing the accretion of large buildings to form two distinct quadrangles.

Pathan military elite of the city and the members of the royal family, the dwellings were palatial and 'large-grain' and, curiously enough, had the same orientation of the courtyards of the main buildings which lined the square. In fact, it was only the six to seven mosques within the infill, which were oriented towards Mecca, and at a skew to the general orientation of the houses. Other building controls which produced a more or less graded fabric in the royal quadrant are also evident, and included ordinances restricting building heights to two floors, so as to make the main buildings of the composition appear higher in contrast. Others required building facades within these quadrangles to have similar vertical sub-divisions and elements, such as fenestrations and arches, even though buildings were added over large spans of time.

In addition to these two quadrangles, another large open space, a public *maidan*, possibly existed to the north of the grand *Nakkar Khana* entrance - the main entry to the royal compound. This *maidan* would have been bordered to the north by the city wall and the junction of trade routes which came into the city through the *Peer Gate*. This probably explains the monumental character of the building facades even on the northern side of the royal quadrant, in streets which are otherwise too narrow. The palace of *Yasin Mohammed Khan* (1777, still existing)¹⁶ and *Miyan Fauzdar Mohammed Khan* (1844-8, now demolished) would have surrounded the junction of the cross-roads near the *Peer Gate* in a fashion similar to the buildings at the *Registan Square* at Samarqand.¹⁷

The *Shahjahanabad* Suburb was the second example of

these planned, “independent developments”. Its central complex comprised of numerous palaces arranged around the three, cascading water bodies - the *Motia Talab*, the *Noor Mahal Talab* and the *Munshi Hussain Talab*. A number of other large buildings such as the *serai* and mosque of *Munshi Hussain* came to the east of this composition, and the *Mina*

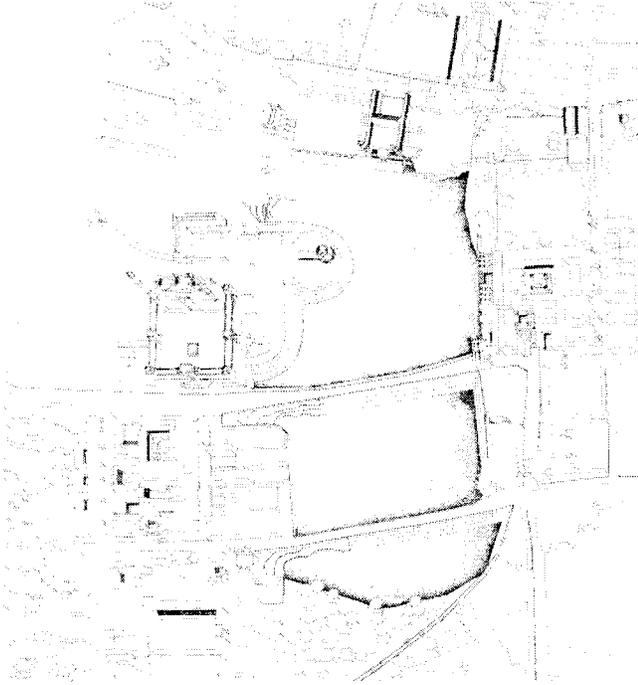


Fig. 7. The royal suburb of *Shahjahanabad*, showing large precursor elements and small-grain fabric, accumulating around three water bodies.

Bazaar and cotton mills came to the west of the main palaces. Seventeen other *mohallas* developed around this central core of institutions, some of them around specific buildings in the suburb.

MORPHOLOGY OF THE *PATHAN* MOHALLAS

The location of the two *Pathan* *mohallas* in the southwestern quadrant of the core and along the northern half of the *Khirni Wala Maidan* generates important characteristics at the level of block morphology. The first is related to the notion of the *mohalla* as a “super-block”. This is in sharp contrast to the organic-accretive tissue where different parts of the block are contiguous with each other and physically connected, enclosing open interstitial spaces between them. The *Pathan mohallas* on the contrary, do not contain any interstitial spaces. The block is completely built-up and different properties abut one another along their boundaries. The only open spaces within the block *per se* are enclosed courtyards. Therefore, the only public access into these properties, were the two main urban spaces, i.e. the eastern quadrant of the *Khirni Wala Maidan* and the public square which once lay west of the *Peer Gate* (now built-up).

Despite this seemingly insular nature of the units, there

did exist planned connections between all dwellings. In effect, the entire “super-block” functioned as a single complex - containing an intricate distribution of residential and institutional spaces, connected by streets passing along carefully-controlled areas of the house. Privacy gradients were systematically maintained by using transitional spaces along courtyards. Corners of interior courts are modulated to create skewed spaces which connected to the next public space. Since not all dwellings faced the public access, such connections were of prime importance to properties positioned deep within the block interior, more so since individual units could be conveniently shut off from adjoining neighbors whenever required.

The second observation on *mohalla* morphology is regarding their manner of accretion. Similar to the formation of organic-accretive blocks in the city around neighborhood mosques and *musalla* spaces, residential units of the *Pathan mohallas* were organized using the largest of the palaces as precursor elements. These palaces fronted the public spaces lying to the south and north, and elite residences clustered around them. As another contrast with the organic-accretive sectors, these *mohallas* did not use mosques as organizational devices. Instead, the majority of the structures followed the rectilinear orientation of the precursor elements, while the ten odd mosques were the only skewed buildings.

The grain size of dwellings within the *Pathan mohallas* is the third important morphological characteristic. In comparison to the majority of dwellings found in the organic-accretive and grid-iron sectors of the city, the grain size of structures found here was substantially large. Of course, the affluent dwellings of Hindu merchants observed in the grid-iron fabric were exceptions. Therefore, not only were the average dimensions of *Pathan* properties larger, but so were the sizes of the enclosed courtyards. A preliminary comparison of these neighborhoods with those around the *Jami Square* and the cardinal *bazaars* of the core reveals that the variation in grain size was indeed limited only to these areas. Since the two *mohallas* were predominantly inhabited by the *Pathan* elite, since their arrival in the city in 1722, till the end of the *Nawabi* period in 1925, it may be reasonable to assume that their present form and spatial organization, was a specific component of the original culture of these migrants. Within the *Pathan mohalla*, most importantly, a strong orthogonal basis governed the plan form of the dwelling. Numerous examples were organized along two intersecting and unequal axes, although cases organized on square plans also existed. In the former case, the attenuated, rectangular form of the courtyard corresponded to the configuration of spaces within the house, its longer sides running parallel to the principal axis of organization, and shorter sides perpendicular to it. A single square or rectangular courtyard, or sequence of courtyards appeared at the center of the schema. One of the shorter courtyard facades invariably demarcated entry into a ceremonial space, which was the guest room, reached by steps ascending to a raised plinth, and preceded by a covered cloth canopy, *iwan* or archway. While some

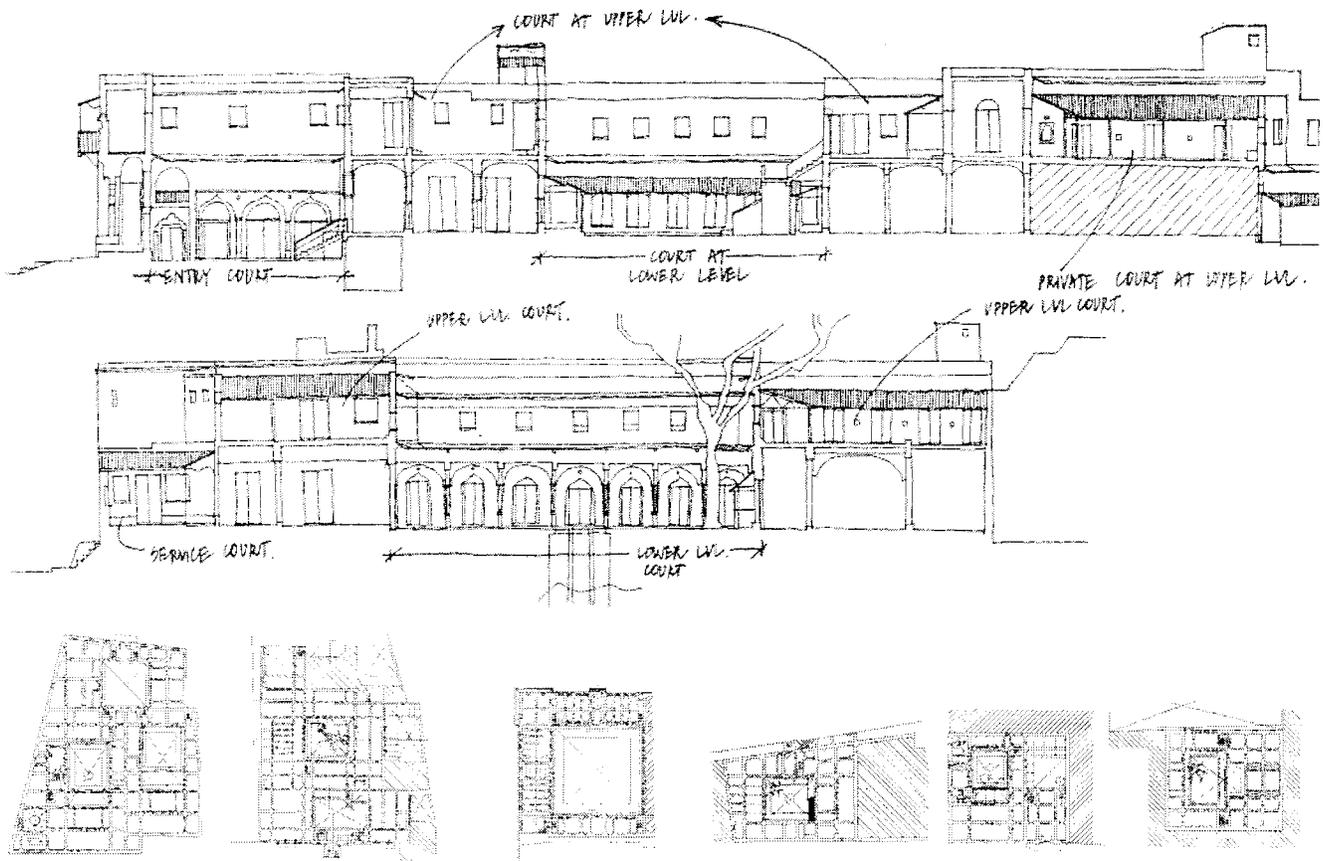


Fig. 8. An analysis of house-types in the *Pathan mohallas*. Typical sections through a large dwelling with multiple courtyards (top); house-plans in comparison (bottom).

other important spaces were organized behind the principal court facades, service areas such as toilets, stores and staircases were accommodated at the corners. Arched colonnades supported on timber or masonry columns ran along the perimeter of this courtyard, or at least on two of its four sides. These semi-open colonnaded spaces acted as transitions for sets of functional spaces organized behind them, which begin along the uneven property borders and extend towards the central open spaces. Owing to the repetitive nature of structural elements, which supported this vast covered expanse of space, it resembled a *pilotis* of sorts. In effect, the partitions or separations between parallel layers of spaces organized between the outside and inside were thin and temporary, consisting of wooden panels, cane screens or curtains. Most spaces were multi-functional and extendible, and public spaces used by day may revert to private use by night. In addition, since most of the dwelling units in the *Pathan mohallas* originally accommodated large extended families, the proximity between individual family members caused the interior spaces to be organized in a relatively more flexible and interconnected fashion than the isolation or separation associated with areas dedicated to public access. Several of the dwellings in the two *mohallas* examined contained more than a single courtyard. Here the first courtyard functioned as a public space, with adjoining spaces

entertaining visitors and male guests. The relatively more private, and discreet second courtyard was located within the confines of the family quarter. Some examples incorporated as many as five courtyards at the street level, and an equal number at the upper level - with varying degrees of privacy.

On a final note, the notion of a large 'grain size' as one of the distinguishing features of the *Pathan* house was reinforced upon examination of the house type. Since most dwellings within the *mohallas* have a substantial spread in terms of total ground area, the vertical heights of these buildings extended at most two, three or four floors above ground level. The amount of built mass reduced with vertical ascension and the dimensions and frequency of a terrace courtyard increased. All the courtyards - regardless of their public or private nature - worked as important social spaces beyond their function as circulation elements. In contrast, the dense, built-up *mohallas* in the grid-iron fabric of the city were characterized by dwelling units established on small property subdivisions. Functional spaces within such dwellings were vertically stacked, and the courtyard was more a shaft for light and ventilation than an effective social space.

CONCLUSIONS

The *Pathan* migrations to the city of Bhopal, therefore, modified the urban structure and morphology of the city in

radical ways. From a pre-existing, highly-concentrated urban core, based on a four-quadrant scheme, it evolved into an explosive organism, comprising a dense core, a looser periphery, and far-flung arms. Since all parts evolved over varying periods of time and socio-economic conditions, the city did not possess a homogenous fabric. It was differentiated into three types of fabric patterns - the grid-iron tissue type, the organic-accretive tissue type, and the loosely-segregated fabric - a unique phenomenon for an Islamic city in the subcontinent.

This order of description of tissue types, also reveals the order in which the variants developed. The core evolved first, reinforcing the lines of its pre-existing grid-iron urban pattern. Within constraints allowed by its compact orthogonal organization, the process of "urban infill or replacement", appears to have been the only logical procedure of growth and change, implying the demolition of older structures and their gradual replacement by newer ones on the same site. Surrounded by a strong defensive wall and cardinally arranged gates in its early stages, this core had strong affinities with the urban forms of cities the migrants had originated from. No wonder, therefore, that the core first underwent densification - a process gradually filling up the left-over plots in the sectors; and then metamorphosis - wherein the left-hand quadrants began to modify and differ from the geometry of the grid-iron. However, not all of the pre-existing system broke down and modified in this process. While the grid-iron evidently succumbed to the pressures of socio-ethnic affinity which kept the large groups of migrants together, the orthogonal configurations of the indigenous house-type remained, adapting to the addition of new functional needs, spaces, and scales of the *Pathan* dwelling.

The building of the second, new and larger wall to contain the suburbs beyond this core, was the necessary impetus for the development of the organic-accretive envelope around the core. This phase of growth may be likened to similar developments in a number of Mughal and post-Mughal urban centers in the Indian subcontinent, wherein the urban fabric essentially expanded beyond the city gates, arranging itself along the roads that connected to the urban hinterland. As if accounting and responding to the wide array of plot configurations in this zone, a mix of building types resulted, consisting of simple vernacular structures in local materials, a selection of orthogonally-configured palaces, and most commonly, *Pathan-haveli* structures, which combined the complex issues of uneven plot shapes, and orthogonal spatial arrangements. Within this setting, "extra-muros" additions to the urban fabric was the prevalent urban attitude at work,

and meant that elite buildings complexes and ensembles, or extensive garden estates, were now attached at certain locations on the urban periphery, near or beyond the city walls.

These urban devices were radically different in their effects on the growth of the fabric, the first causing the accentuation or polarization of isolated points within the urban structure, by its typical action of demolition and rebuilding parts of the city - therefore playing a largely centripetal role. The second process caused the urban fabric to actually loosen up or 'scatter' and develop directions or emanations of growth on the urban periphery, playing a more centrifugal role in the urban process. The "urban-infill" was characterized by the construction of large monuments at prominent locations within the dense surrounding tissue. The majority of such additions had well-defined, regular (often symmetrical) with decorated exteriors, thereby providing an unimpeded passage for the spectator all around the building, and causing the building to be appreciated in the round, almost as a piece of sculpture. Influential patrons comprising of the royalty and the nobility obviously gave the architect a free hand in designing almost exactly as he pleased in the available space provided to him. These projects also meant that space and residential tissue around important complexes such as the *Jami* were actually cleared or demolished in the process. Conversely, the "extra-muros" additions created as many as seventy-five garden estates on the city peripheries, beyond its walls. These ensembles displayed the characteristic symmetry of composition evident in the larger monuments in the city.

At Bhopal, this process of intermixing between indigenous and foreign influences still continues. Differences or variations between the Hindu and the Muslim/*Pathan* dwelling units in the city in terms of schema and grain size are still apparent, creating distinct Hindu and Muslim blocks, which display differing characteristics. Even today, the center of the four quadrants is occupied by small-grained fabric and mainly belongs to the Hindu populace, while the western quadrants are occupied by the Muslims and display a relatively larger grain. Migrants still flock to the urban fringe in significant numbers, though their social ties are now replaced by class and economic affiliations. Most can no longer decide the nature of their dwellings, nor dictate the economics of the processes involved. Governmental whims and fancies, and idiosyncratic architects now appear to know better, and decide how the new city ought to look. Simultaneously, old-timers in the urban core and around, still find the Bhopal of yester-years and its *Pathan mohallas* a great place to stay!

NOTES

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