Chapter 3
The Indo-Islamic Garden: Conflict, Conservation, and Conciliation in Gujarat, India

James L. Wescoat, Jr.

Introduction

I begin with the passage from Rajmohan Gandhi's *Revenge and Reconciliation: Understanding South Asian History* that inspires this chapter: "A word, finally, on Delhi, for we started this study by noting Delhi's *djinns*, its great load of unrepented cruelty and unshared sorrow. . . . Can Delhi's accumulated offences be washed away? Can some atonement or penance – or some God-sent blessing or grace – expiate the guilt of centuries, and generate a breeze of forgiveness that blows away the smells of torture and revenge?" (Gandhi 1999: 410). A paragraph later, Gandhi suggests an answer, "Every tree planted, or cubic foot of water conserved, is a celebration of life, a proclamation of the worth of the future, and a garden or a river may calm sad or angry hearts. Every caring act – of fellowship, considerateness, nursing, apology, forgiveness, greening, or flowering – perhaps heals something of Delhi's torment, maybe calms one of its djinns, and a healing process in Delhi might speak to all of South Asia" (Gandhi 1999: 410) – and the world beyond.

This chapter on planting trees and conserving water at the newly designated World Heritage Site of Champaner–Pavagadh in the state of Gujarat, which was shaken by violent cultural conflict in 2002, strives to envision new linkages between cultural landscape conservation and conciliation (Fig. 1).

It employs a logic of *design inquiry* that aims to generate landscape solutions to an ill-defined suite of jointly social and environmental problems (cf. Schon 1990). As one who has interpreted Mughal paradise gardens as places of social conquest and control, I have a strong interest in landscape criticism (Wescoat 1991, 1997, 1999). However, I am increasingly concerned that the sophisticated power of critique in landscape scholarship is beginning to surpass skills in generative inquiry that broaden the range of choice among alternatives worthy of critique (Wescoat 1992, 1997). I know that this landscape design approach to cultural heritage conflict faces pitfalls, including naïve interventions that may do more harm than good. Conservation designers have a mixed record of working with factious stakeholder groups; we argue among ourselves; how can we begin to think about

H. Silverman and D. F. Ruggles (eds.), *Cultural Heritage and Human Rights*.

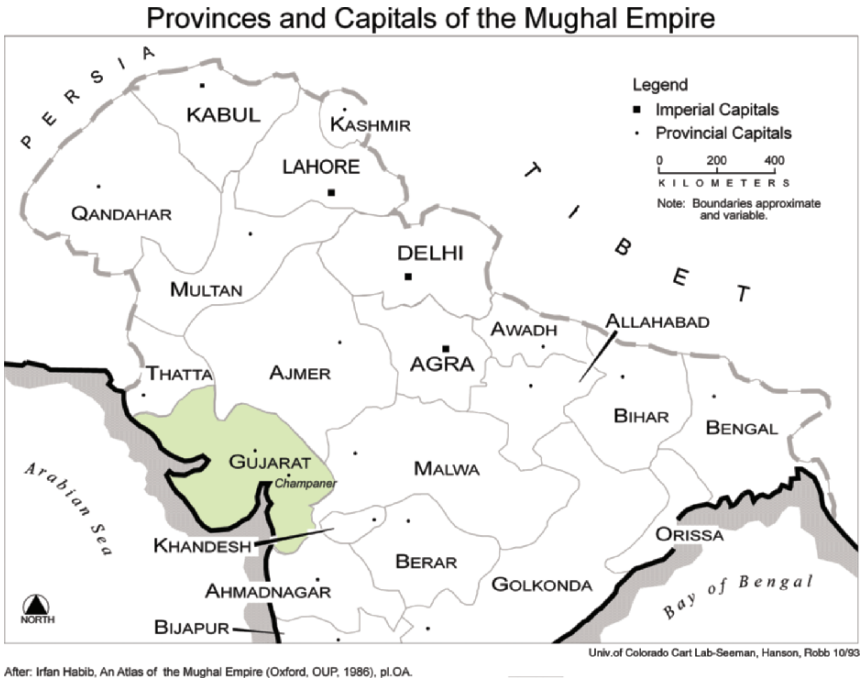

Fig. 1 Map of Gujarat during the Mughal period (base map created by the University of Colorado Cartography Lab for the author)

addressing issues of violent cultural conflict through design? That is the question I want to address.

I will first introduce the Champaner–Pavagadh Project led by the Baroda Heritage Trust in collaboration with People for Heritage Concern and the Department of Landscape Architecture at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, and briefly describe the landscape approach to cultural heritage conservation. I then turn to a topic neglected in that project, which involves cultural violence of the sort that occurred in Gujarat in 2002, noting its historical roots and theoretical explanations for it. It is important to note that while hundreds of religious structures – mainly mosques and shrines – were destroyed in 2002, cultural sites at Champaner–Pavagadh experienced less physical destruction. It seems important to understand why, and to ask how conservation can address the spectrum of heritage conflicts, including those that involve human rights abuses. The main section of this chapter situates violent cultural conflicts within this broader spectrum of heritage conflicts, and presents landscape design alternatives that attempt to address those conflicts at Champaner–Pavagadh.

The Advent of Landscape Heritage Conservation at Champaner–Pavagadh

The cultural heritage project at Champaner–Pavagadh was conceived and organized by Architect Karan Grover of the Baroda Heritage Trust (Vadodara). In 2001, he invited Professor Amita Sinha of the University of Illinois, Department of Landscape Architecture to organize the first design studio in May 2001 at this magnificent site, which is briefly introduced below.

Pavagadh Hill is a dramatic volcanic cone, an outlier of the southern Aravalli range that rises 700 m above the surrounding cultivated plains. It has long served as a regional pilgrimage center in western India (Fig. 2).

A pilgrim's path ascends the hill through medieval Rajput and Sultanate fortifications and gateways, past Jain and Hindu temples, shops, and rest areas, culminating at the goddess temple complex of *Kalika Mata* on the summit. Strong breezes, which by one account gave Pavagadh Hill its name, drive monsoon winds up the steep hillslopes, feeding a chain of reservoirs (*talao*s) perched on each plateau (Fig. 3).

The names of these reservoirs reflect the water's descent from pure milk (*Dudhiya talao*) to yoghurt and oil (*Chassiya* and *Teliya talaos*). The water system feeds the residential settlements of Champaner before discharging into a large irrigation tank and channel.

The fifteenth century Sultanate ruler Mahmud Begada established Champaner as his capital, symbolically constructing its dramatic Jami Masjid (Friday Mosque) when besieging a local Rajput ruler encamped on Pavagadh Hill in 1484 CE.

Fig. 2 Pavagadh Hill with Kalika Mata temple on the summit. (Photo by author, January 2005)

Fig. 3 Water collection reservoir at Naulakha Kothar. (Photo by author, January 2005)

Situated on a strategic route between the rival provinces of Gujarat and Malwa, Champaner grew in size and architectural patronage until its sack by the Mughal ruler Humayun in 1534 CE, after which the capital of Gujarat shifted back to Ahmedabad, and the medieval complex of Champaner–Pavagadh returned to its frontier situation for roughly four centuries (Goetz 1949). As regional pilgrimage expanded during the twentieth century to hundreds of thousands of pilgrims annually, archeological excavations led by Mehta (1977, 1986) revealed the extensive urban settlement pattern that had been covered by scrub vegetation centuries ago. Tourism has grown at a slow rate that will accelerate as the Champaner–Pavagadh becomes known as a World Heritage Site.

The Baroda Heritage Trust sponsored three cultural landscape heritage workshops between 2001 and 2005. These design workshops developed a landscape approach that embraces the complex pressures of pilgrimage, tourism, economic development, forest management, and archeological protection. The landscape approach has five guiding principles:

1. It extends beyond monuments and sites to the rich topographic sense of place.
2. It focuses on relationships between environmental and social processes.
3. It encompasses multiple historical layers from the medieval to the postmodern.
4. It operates on multiple geographic scales from the site to the region.
5. It uses these lines of landscape analysis to generate design alternatives that harmoniously reconnect people and places.

Using this approach the conservation design teams mapped relationships among historical features, contemporary landscape experiences, and complex cultural meanings. They developed master plans for an archeological park that focused on Champaner City (People for Heritage Concern 2001; Thakur 2000, 2002, 2004), a cultural sanctuary focused on Pavagadh hill (Sinha et al. 2003), and a system of five trails that link Champaner and Pavagadh (Sinha et al. 2004). During the course of these studies, the Archeological Survey of India (ASI) and Baroda Heritage Trust nominated Champaner–Pavagadh for the World Heritage List. In July 2004, UNESCO added Champaner–Pavagadh to the World Heritage List for its joint significance as a living Hindu pilgrimage center, its cluster of Jain temples, its remarkably preserved medieval urban fabric, its exquisite sandstone-carved mosques and tombs, and its intangible heritage values (Fig. 4).

While this chapter could focus entirely on local heritage management challenges at Champaner–Pavagadh, the Gujarat riots of 2002 raise broader and deeper heritage problems that have not been directly addressed to date.

Fig. 4 Outstanding sandstone architectural heritage at the Friday Mosque. (Photo by author, January 2005)

Social Conflict and Cultural Heritage in Gujarat

Widespread violence broke out in Gujarat on 27 February 2002 after a train car of 57 passengers was set ablaze allegedly by Muslims on the railway station platform at Godhra, the capital of Panchmahals District. Some passengers were Hindu nationalist volunteers (*kar sevaks*) returning from the contested historic site known as the Babri Masjid–Ramjanmabhoomi (Babur's Mosque – Rama's Birthplace) in the city of Ayodhya, Uttar Pradesh state (some 1,000 km northeast of Godhra) where preparations were underway to build a new temple on the site of the sixteenth-century mosque demolished by Hindu nationalists in 1992 – torn down by the mob because that mosque was purportedly built on the ruins of an earlier temple marking Rama's birthplace.

Retaliation to the carnage at Godhra began almost immediately in nearby towns in Panchmahals district. Attacks against Muslim neighborhoods were carried out in the urban centers of Ahmedabad and Vadodara, as well as smaller cities. An estimated 1,000–2,000 Muslims were killed and hundreds of thousands were rendered homeless in 17 of the 24 districts of Gujarat. Mobs destroyed some 270 dargahs, shrines, and mosques in 3 days – heritage sites as well as people and livelihoods were objects of violence (Communalism Combat 2003). Backlash occurred against a number of Hindu neighborhoods and religious sites, notably the Akshardham temple in Gandhinagar where 30 people were killed and 100 wounded. Subsequent reports estimated that as many as 650 mosques, shrines, and tombs were destroyed (Sreenivas 2004a,b).

Champaner and Pavagadh were affected, though not as violently as the nearby towns of Halol and Lunawada or the *mohallas* of larger cities, where murders and human rights violations hearkening back to the horrors of partition were reported. Newspapers reported that Muslims in Champaner were threatened, driven out of town, and their shops damaged and looted (Waldman 2002; Bunsha 2006). Most local Muslim families (reportedly 49 in number) fled for their safety, and when several tried to return in December 2002 they were reportedly again driven off (Kotwal 2002). Threats at polling places occurred in December 2002 (Bunsha 2002, 2003). Two years later, only eight Muslim families had returned to Champaner–Pavagadh. They remained fearful of attacks and avoided public visibility by wearing non-Muslim types of clothing; some reported being forced to utter the Hindu pilgrim's cry of "Jai, Mataji!" (Vora 2004). Others reported economic boycotts and forcible exclusion from their work as van drivers, telephone booth operators, and shopkeepers, especially on Pavagadh Hill (Bunsha 2006; Taneja 2004; *Times of India* 2004). Some towns in Gujarat avoided even these types of conflicts through intercommunal peace tactics (Bhatt 2002). One report from Champaner suggested that Muslims would be permitted back if they retracted police charges against 52 men accused of looting (Waldman 2002; charges were ultimately dismissed in 2006 for lack of sufficient evidence). The boycott of Muslim residents' economic and social rights in Champaner–Pavagadh continues (Bunsha 2006).

Politicians of various parties have manipulated these events. An opposition Congress Party leader took out a political procession beginning on Pavagadh hill to appeal across communal lines (Midday 2004). The Government of Gujarat staged Navratri festivals in October 2004 that made ambivalent symbolic gestures to Muslim heritage sites in Gujarat (Sreenivas 2004a,b). A year later, the Government of Gujarat launched a Year of Tourism at Champaner–Pavagadh, in part to draw tourists back to the state. But violent episodes continued especially in the major urban centers of Vadodara and Ahmedabad where temples as well as mosques have been targeted, with more extensive yet less widely reported incidents in the countryside. Most recently, Vadodara municipal authorities destroyed structures encroaching on public land, including the *dargah* of one of the city's most prominent medieval Sufi saints, Syed Rashiduddin Chishti, failing to consider thoughtfully how a medieval grave can encroach on a modern roadway right-of-way or the social consequences of demolishing it.

A host of journalistic accounts, academic panels, public inquiries, and criminal charges followed the 2002 riots (e.g., Social Science Research Council 2002). A Concerned Citizens' Tribunal (2003) chaired by former Supreme Court justice Krishna Iyer compiled detailed accounts of incidents. Early reports by nongovernmental organizations such as Communalism Combat (2003), Forum Against Oppression of Women (2002), and People's Union for Democratic Rights (2002) asserted state and police collusion during the initial days of killing. International organizations such as Human Rights Watch (2002, 2003a,b, 2004) protested government's subsequent failures to halt the violence, arrest those reported, prosecute those arrested, or protect witnesses.

The Gujarat–Ayodhya connection in 2002 was anything but new. Twelve years earlier, in 1990, L.K. Advani, then president of the BJP party, led a *rath yatra* (chariot procession) from Somnath in western Gujarat toward Ayodhya. Why Somnath? In 1024 CE, the Muslim general Mahmud of Ghazni destroyed the temple at Somnath during his ninth expedition into India – an event invoked by Hindu nationalist parties to mobilize political support almost a millennium later. While one source reports that Mahmud destroyed the idol for treasure it contained and while others state that he destroyed it for ideological reasons, historical research is eclipsed by historicist renderings of the heritage destruction at Somnath (Amin 2002; Elliott 1976 reprint, pp. 434–478).

After the abortive rath yatra of 1990, a conclusive assault on the Babri mosque occurred in 1992. Immediately following its destruction, riots broke out in Bombay, Delhi, and many other towns in northern India. I was in Lahore, Pakistan, known today as the Mughal "city of gardens." Mobs came out in the streets and, not having lived with Hindus since 1947, tore down structures like Sikh gurudwaras and a school that had a temple-like ornament that had been attended by only Muslim children for decades. The Mughal gardens of Lahore like Shalamar, by contrast, were quietly beautiful in those days with a few picnickers, tourists, and no rioters. Fourteen years later, inquiry into the destruction at Ayodhya continues (Rediff 2006). And then in 2002, *kar sevaks* returning from a temple reconstruction rally in

Ayodhya were killed at Godhra, transforming the context, history, and challenges of landscape heritage conservation at places like Champaner–Pavagadh.

How are we to understand this unfolding situation in which multicultural heritage has acquired world heritage status, while the Muslim cultural group has fled, and the wider region has suffered gross human rights abuses? Most scholarly writing on the 2002 Gujarat pogrom employs explanations drawn from comparable communal and ethnic violence in northern India. Table 1 lists some of the major lines of interpretation, building upon Paul Brass' (2003) review of the literature in *The Production of Hindu–Muslim Violence in Contemporary India*, and adding several additional lines of inquiry that set the stage for a landscape approach.

Although the shorthand list in Table 1 does not do justice to the subtleties of the works cited, it does indicate the wide range of frameworks used to interpret communal violence in India (cf. also Asher 2004; Ruggles 2000). These general approaches are useful but not sufficient for understanding heritage sites that become the focus of violence, such as Ayodhya and Somnath, which have their own case-specific literatures.

Champaner–Pavagadh lies somewhere in between these situations where heritage becomes an object and context of conflict, and it thus requires a contemporary as well as historical perspective. In contemporary terms, it has been affected by recent regional violence and continuing local economic violence, but not direct physical human rights violations. At the same time, in historical terms, it has a record of armed violence that is part of its "heritage."

Table 1 Interpretations of communal conflict in India

Contemporary approaches

1. Descriptive analyses of political, economic, and nationalist determinants of postindependence riots (Engineer 1984)
2. Comparative analysis of effective and ineffective civil society institutions (Varshney 2002 on Ahmedabad vis-à-vis Surat)
3. Ethnographic accounts of violence and recovery (Das 1990)
4. Breakdown of justice institutions (Baxi 2002)
5. Psychoanalytic diagnoses of narcissistic anxiety and rage (Kakar 1996)
6. Detailed political analyses of an "institutionalized riot machine" that operates from the mohalla to state scale (Brass 2003)

Historical perspectives

7. Origins in an agonistic culture suppressed by millennia of ritual tradition, released by stresses of modernization (Heesterman 1985)
8. Colonial imputations of irreconcilable cultural differences and historical injustices that erupt in irrational spontaneous ways and that cannot be contained without the intervention of a third (colonial) party
9. Postcolonial critique of British and early nationalist constructions of communalism (Freitag 1989; Gossman 1999; Pandey 1990)
10. Postcolonial perspectives on precolonial conflict and coexistence (e.g., Bayly 1985; Gaborieau 1985)

All heritage conservation is a historicist project, i.e., a selective interpretation of the evidence that addresses modern concerns, especially when it involves environmental design that features some artifacts while transforming, sacrificing, or ignoring others (Lowenthal 1998). Delineating the heritage to be preserved, restored, or changed; designing facilities and spaces for accomplishing those aims; emphasizing some events and sites over others; inferring and inscribing selected landscape meanings and anticipating a wide range of inferences and inscriptions by others – all of these activities recast the landscape heritage of a place. They require an approach that is both contemporary and historical, in this case dating back to the medieval era, and an approach that in modern terminology spans from human rights violations to other spheres of cultural heritage conflict (cf. Gaborieau 1985).

The Spectrum of Cultural Heritage Conflict

Violent cultural conflict, even the hint of it, can put a halt to cultural heritage conservation. It is such a sensitive subject that it is rarely explicitly discussed during conservation projects. At the same time, we know that some heritage conservation actions purposely or unwittingly aggravate cultural conflict while others ameliorate it.

One approach to this dilemma is to widen the scope of discussion to encompass six broad relationships between cultural conflict and heritage conservation (see Table 2).

Relationship 1. Cultural Heritage in the Context of Armed Conflict
Concern about cultural heritage sites has arisen in many wars, including recent examples in Bosnia and Iraq, as archeologists alert the state and defense departments to impacts of war on cultural resources. The UN *Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict*, in force since 1956 does not apply to internal civil strife of the sort that occurred in Gujarat (United Nations 1954a,b, 1956, 1999; Toman 1996). Indeed, no international or national protocols address this situation, even when it involves strategic use of cultural sites in armed conflict, such as the siege of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre (Jerusalem) in 2003, the stand-off between US and Iraqi militia at the tomb of Ali in Najaf in 2004, and numerous instances where mosques, temples, churches, etc. are strategically used

Table 2 Varieties of heritage conflict

1. Cultural heritage in the context of armed conflict
2. Places of violence as cultural heritage
3. Heritage as the object of conflict, destruction, and desecration
4. Conflict between proposals for economic development and heritage conservation
5. Conflict among heritage stakeholders over material control and symbolic interpretation of a site
6. Conflict among heritage professionals over different concepts and methods of conservation

in warfare. The price of strategic miscalculation can be huge as evidenced by the assassination of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and subsequent anti-Sikh pogrom in Delhi in 1984 following Operation Bluestar at the Sikh Golden Temple in Amritsar (Das 1990). In the larger context of warfare, historic sites are casualties of larger territorial struggles in which the land itself is the primary heritage at stake.

Partition of India and Pakistan in 1947 is the great regional design conflict in South Asia. It may sound odd to refer to it as design, but that is what it was, complete with cartographers, civil engineers, and constitutional lawyers as a first wave, followed by redesign of the Indus River system, the largest river basin project ever financed by the World Bank. Partition cost over one million lives and unfathomable suffering for tens of millions. The connection with Gujarat is tenuous but real: some actors in 2002 blamed the attack on Hindu travelers at Godhra on Pakistani agents, while others blamed the subsequent pogrom on Hindu nationalists striving to drive Muslims out of India (and they succeeded as some Gujarati Muslims fled not to Pakistan but to the Gulf, Europe, the US, and safer parts of India).

Relationship 2. Places of Violence as Cultural Heritage

Some sites of collective violence, such as battlefields and places of tragedy, become cultural heritage. Geographer Kenneth Foote (2003) distinguishes four processes of cultural response to places of tragedy that he terms sanctification, designation or listing, rectification through rebuilding, and obliteration. At Champaner–Pavagadh, pilgrimage and World Heritage listing contribute to sanctification and designation but the full story remains somewhat veiled. For example, many of the protected archeological remnants were built as military fortifications or in the course of military campaigns. The *Mirat-i Sikandari* reports that Sultan Mahmud Begara built the great Friday Mosque of Champaner town while besieging Rajput rivals in hillslope forts, with the aim of communicating his resolve (Sikander bin Muhammad [1611] 1886). The "pilgrim's path" winds its way up Pavagadh hill through a series of Rajput and Sultanate fortifications. In addition to stone ramparts, these structures include sophisticated gateways designed to enable defenders to survey, regulate access, and drop stones on attackers; catapults; and fortified passages to waterworks designed to withstand long periods of siege. Vegetation has overtaken these fortifications, which now seem powerless to the ascending pilgrim, tourist, and vendor.

Relationship 3. Heritage as an Object of Conflict, Destruction, and Desecration

A Draft UN Convention addresses intentional destruction of heritage (UNESCO 2003). Destruction ranges from vandalism of the sort that every designer now anticipates and strives to minimize through materials and surveillance, to massive damage such as the Taliban destruction of Buddhist statues; heritage "cleansing" of the sort documented in Bosnia; and complete leveling as occurred at the Babri mosque at Ayodhya in 1992. The important point here is that while hundreds of religious sites were desecrated in Gujarat during the 2002 riots, the destruction of religious sites at Champaner–Pavagadh was limited. A modern village mosque was damaged but historic mosques were not: was this because they were deemed "monuments," economically valuable as a source of tourism, or culturally valuable to the

wider community? Pilgrimage routes also can become paths of conflict when they pass through rival territories and heritage sites, but the pilgrimage routes and religious places related to Champaner–Pavagadh had no reported violence.

Relationship 4. Conflict, Economic Development and Heritage Conservation
Far more widespread are conflicts between infrastructure development, economic competition, and tourism development that contribute to site destruction. Fragmentation of bureaucratic authority aggravates the inherent tensions between past and future landscapes. Examples in South Asia are legion: colonial mining of Harappan sites in the Indus Valley for railway ballast; clearance of settlements for roads, parks, and other infrastructure; more recent construction of religious and cultural theme parks; and unauthorized development near historic sites. At Champaner–Pavagadh, there are intense development pressures to construct Dharamsalas for pilgrims, a new ropeway up the mountain for tourists and pilgrims, highway construction through the site, along with roadside vending and hawking (Sinha et al. 2002; Thakur 1987). Competition across economic sectors involves diverse socioeconomic and elite constituencies, which makes these struggles political and economic as well as cultural, as the next section elaborates.

Relationship 5. Conflict among Heritage Stakeholders over Material and Symbolic Control
Throughout the world, there are conflicts over the uses and meanings of World Heritage Sites, whether the Grand Canyon in the US where tribes and agencies disagree over appropriate behaviors, or the Taj Mahal which is overseen by several disparate offices of the ASI. Struggles over the control, succession, rituals, and funds at shrines and temples are common.

Champaner–Pavagadh faces institutional fragmentation among national, state, local, and private organizations whose efforts are not well coordinated. At the national level there are ASI protected sites but little ASI presence compared with state archeology, forest, and irrigation districts. The Panchmahals district headquarters in Godhra has jurisdiction over local roads, schools, and public finance. Champaner town is a separate entity from settlements on the hill. The Ropeway coalition and Champaner Hotel have concessions to operate and make a profit on the site. And temple trusts and various NGOs on Pavagadh hill organize to maximize their interests while protecting against some forms of site impacts, e.g., NGO programs of tree planting and reservoir desilting. The 2002 riots exposed the links between economic interests and cultural conflict at Champaner–Pavagadh.

Relationship 6. Conflict Among Heritage Conservationists
Conflicts arise among heritage conservationists about the appropriate concepts, methods, and techniques for conservation. Historic landscapes are inherently dynamic, and they change over time in ways that invite debates, e.g., at Humayun's tomb in Delhi where debates have focused on what historical levels should be restored with what plants, materials, and meanings. Similarly, at Champaner–Pavagadh there are intense debates about conserving different strata of archeological, historical, and

living cultural resources. Some argue that policies must be established first, while others argue for master plans and/or prototype designs, and for greater or lesser emphasis on pilgrimage heritage relative to architectural and archeological heritage; natural heritage has received less attention to date.

These six types of heritage conflict may occur in any situation, but they come together dynamically and sometimes tragically at Indo-Islamic sites in India as exemplified by the riots in Gujarat in 2002. The next section describes how we have approached some of those conflicts at Champaner–Pavagadh.

Landscape Heritage Conflict, Conservation, and Design

As noted earlier, the Baroda Heritage Trust advocates a landscape approach to heritage conservation that strives to reconnect people and places. This means reconnecting Champaner City and Pavagadh Hill through its historical paths, waterworks, vegetation, and settlements. The guiding hypothesis for these conservation design proposals is that they can help harmonize contemporary tourist and pilgrim interests; illuminate the manifold historical contributions of Sultanate, Rajput, Jain, and tribal groups; and thereby deepen contemporary appreciation of the pluralistic cultural legacy at Champaner–Pavagadh. The following four design proposals develop this hypothesis.

Proposal 1. Redesign the Transportation System to Reconnect Champaner and Pavagadh

At present, travelers approach the site on an east–west highway that bisects the site with "Champaner" to the north and "Pavagadh" to the south (Fig. 5).

Increasing truck traffic, roadway paving, fencing, widening, and commercial development have accentuated this spatial and cultural divide – degrading the core of the site and the entry to both the Pilgrim's Path to the south along which the historic Hindu temples are located, and the Champaner Royal Enclosure to the north where most of the Muslim architecture is located. Before the highway, travelers approached the city from the west, north, and northeast through a more varied network of primary and secondary roads than that of the present East–West highway. Indeed, in a modern folk painting depicting the historical continuity of Champaner and Pavagadh, the current highway is absent and a series of gates leads through the city and up the hill. The proposed transportation redesign has three main components that strive to reestablish those historical relationships:

1. *A highway bypass around the site to the north*. The proposed bypass would divert thru-traffic around Champaner–Pavagadh. It would begin between Halol and the buffer zone on the west, swing north of the site around the outer walls of the old city, following existing smaller roads, and rejoin the highway east of the buffer zone.

Fig. 5 East–west highway entry to Champaner city. (Photo by author, January 2005)

2. *Off-site multimodal transportation centers*. Major transportation centers would be located where the new bypass road takes off from the existing highway on the east and west sides of the site. Smaller transportation nodes would be built near the old gateways and entry roads on the north and northeastern sides of Champaner. Private vehicles would be parked at these transportation nodes, and visitors would be conveyed to the site by battery-powered vehicles, bicycles, or on foot as now occurs at the Taj Mahal and other World Heritage Sites. These off-site facilities would offer new economic opportunities that, in a postconflict situation, could aim to provide restitution for lost opportunities in town and on the hill. At the same time, restricting vehicular access to the site would shift some automobile-based businesses from Pavagadh Hill to the lower slopes and outlying areas, which may generate new social and economic conflict. Those lost opportunities would have to be matched by new opportunities on the hill and off.
3. *A low-traffic "medieval thoroughfare."* The road through the site could then be converted to a thoroughfare akin to that of the medieval era in width, surfacing, and planted edges. At each of the gates, an original stone road surfacing based on remnants found on Pavagadh Hill would be reestablished for a distance of 10 m or more to transform the initial experience of the walled city.

Proposal 2. Improve Interpretive Trails that Reconnect Champaner with Pavagadh

The main trails presently take off from the state highway up Pavagadh Hill or through the historic city of Champaner. No modern trails connect the two areas as they did

Fig. 6 Improved trail along the Old Pilgrim's Path. (Photo by author, January 2005)

during the medieval era. The one exception from the Royal Enclosure gate to the pilgrim's path is unsafe and environmentally degraded by a busy intersection.

Design of a new interpretive trail system would link Champaner and Pavagadh at historical north–south connections. These connections include paths that approach and ascend the hill via passages used by hill defenders, the old pilgrim's path, and an old path from the Friday Mosque (Jami Masjid) along the northeast hillslope (Fig. 6).

These trails would clarify the spatial structure of the city's gates, walls, and forts. Historically, urban streets proceeded through a series of internal gates of Rajput and Sultanate fortifications on the lower slopes of Pavagadh hill. Identifying these thresholds would communicate the spatial logic of the site during the medieval era.

It could also provide guided and open-ended walking narratives. On the one hand, trails would guide tourists through historical routes and places within the overall complex, i.e., sequences of gates, baths, markets, mosques, residences, forts, tanks, temples, etc. Community members would be recruited for these new economic opportunities as guides. Even when destinations are crystal clear, such as the pilgrim's path to the Kalika Mata temple, pilgrims would be invited to consider features constructed for travelers by other patrons, gates that controlled access, and topographic progressions that have shaped the pilgrimage experience. These experiences are currently short-circuited by buses, jeeps, and ropeways that accelerate pilgrims' journey up the hill.

Some connective trails could also provide what Mehta and Chatterjee (2001) call "walking narratives" of former conflicts, suffering, and hopefully rehabilitation.

Some experiences can only be uttered or recalled silently in transit, passing by sites of historical conflict and conciliation and through disputed public spaces that are renegotiated in postconflict community life, in part through acts of therapeutic walking that range from individual safe passage, to friends walking together, to consciously peaceful processions.

Proposal 3. Conserve Culturally Hybrid Sites

Sites at Champaner and Pavagadh have acquired a cultural complexity that should neither be reduced to a single historical layer nor represented as intrinsically syncretic features. Two examples illustrate this design concept. The first is the great Friday Mosque. The second is the pilgrimage summit composition.

The Friday mosque at Champaner is one of the finest examples of medieval Gujarati architecture, a tradition distinguished by its exquisite sandstone-carved screens, panels, ceilings, and *mihrab* – stone carving that grew in part out of temple architecture in Gujarat. It has a large octagonal ablution pool reached by flights of steps similar to those in Gujarati stepwells built by Hindu as well as Muslim patrons. The pool has also served as a site for evening festivals with oil lamps. Gottschalk (2000: 173) describes an analogous situation at a large village well known to Hindu villagers as the *hathi kua* (elephant well) and to Muslim villagers as the *hath kua* (hand well, implying its use for ablution before prayers). The mosque courtyard includes a small grave (*qabr*) of an unknown saint, a common yet doctrinally ambiguous feature found in mosque architecture across South Asia. Today, the mosque courtyard (*sahn*) is also graced with grass lawns and plants laid out in what originally was an area for rest and overflow from the prayer hall. It exhibits horticultural tastes dating to the early twentieth century. These conjunctions of mosque, shrine, pool, and garden give the site an intriguing, well-tended hybrid character. Conserving these diverse cultural facets of the Friday Mosque area today could cultivate an appreciation for the hybrid heritage of Champaner–Pavagadh.

The best example of joint heritage occurs at the pilgrimage summit itself (Fig. 7). The courtyard has a Champa tree, reminding one of the city of Champaner below. After taking *darshan* from the mother goddess, one can ascend to the roof where a small grave exists for a Sufi saint known as *Pir Baba*. The goddess' power (*sakti*), experienced visually, is augmented by the saint's power (*barakat*), experienced by physical proximity and prayers. The reverence shown on both levels of the building underscores communal continuities rather than oppositions.

Proposal 4. Conserve Historical Water Systems from the Summit to the Plains

Standing on Pavagadh summit, one keenly senses the passage of clouds and action of monsoon rains cascading through steep ravines in all directions. Returning from the summit, one appreciates the sophisticated systems of water catchment carved into each plateau, wells that filter drinking water from those catchments, small ghats for bathing and washing, and channels that convey runoff to the tanks and excess water to overflow drains. These fascinating water systems suffer from increasing

Fig. 7 Kalika Mata temple complex. (Photo by author, January 2005)

pollutant loading, solid waste disposal, accelerated erosion and sedimentation, and poorly constructed public-works-style concrete repairs (Fig. 8).

Community groups have organized to address some of these problems, e.g., slope revegetation and tank desilting projects on the Mauliya plateau. Sumesh Modi (2002) has documented historical water systems, but there has as yet been no systematic effort to examine water conservation measures from the summit to the plains that may improve human well-being. Just as trails lead from the plains up the hill, connecting Champaner and Pavagadh, the water system progresses downslope from a rock-cut water tank near the Pavagadh summit to an earthen irrigation reservoir on the plains beyond Champaner.

Conserving traditional waterworks requires both systems and site-specific approaches (Agarwal and Narain 1999). At the system level, Modi's (2002) survey locates extant water features on a digital base map and identifies hydraulic connections

Fig. 8 Dudhiya talao on a cliff edge near the top of Pavagadh Hill. (Photo by author, January 2005)

among these features. A University of Illinois workshop mapped the watersheds that supply each feature (Sinha et al. 2003). Joint efforts are planned to estimate hydroclimatic water budgets for different orientations on the hill; rainfall–runoff relations on the complex, thin-soiled terrain; water quality conditions in tanks; water use behaviors that explain water quantity and quality conditions; and the volumes, seepage and flows for different hydraulic features and social uses.

Beyond these scientific studies, the waterworks from summit to plains must be understood as a sociocultural system, as indicated by their *names* (e.g., tanks named for a milk→curd→oil series; and the familiar Ganga, Yamuna, and Saraswati river goddesses); *water uses* (ritual, as well as functional and historically strategic purposes); *technologies* (which include filtration wells, flood control channels, water warming channels, and dry-season lotus plant pools); and as yet to be discerned *cultural relationships* that guide who can use different types of waters for what purposes and with what technologies and ascribed meanings. These investigations would help generate system-wide plans that link the historical dimensions of water management with future needs, mitigate water conflicts, and set parameters for historic waterworks conservation.

Some waterworks at Champaner–Pavagadh are protected monuments, which means they must be treated as archeological features with the minimum intervention necessary to conserve their heritage values. Failure to follow this principle would aggravate professional conflict among designers, conservationists, archeologists, and tourism developers of the sort discussed earlier in the chapter, not to mention local social conflicts.

These four lines of integrative landscape design illustrate how conservation could help address the long history of social tension at sites like Champaner–Pavagadh up to the present day. The final question for this chapter is how design inquiry might also be extended to related processes of social conciliation.

Cultural Heritage Conservation and Conciliation

What difference can conservation design make for peoples and places that face various types of social conflict? Returning to the opening quotation of this chapter, can it "calm sad or angry hearts"? Many heritage projects aspire implicitly for conciliation (Aga Khan Trust for Culture 2002; Wescoat 1999; http://www.mughalgardens.org). They recognize that heritage conservation can aggravate conflict through misinterpretation, stereotyping, mythmaking, and naïve interventions that aggravate conflict focused on heritage sites and associated communities. The risks of not engaging these questions are also substantial (Das and Kleinman 2001). Social conflict contributes to the identity of places; evasion of it can perpetuate misunderstanding and leave society less prepared for recurring conflicts, especially those that invoke or appropriate cultural heritage. Evasion can also result in missed opportunities for conciliation. To identify such opportunities at Champaner–Pavagadh, it is useful to step through the six types of conflict introduced at the beginning of the chapter, in reverse order from most to least tractable, starting with conflict among professionals and concluding with violent human rights abuses.

1. *Conflict Resolution Skills for Heritage Conservationists*
As noted earlier, conflict among heritage conservationists in India is intense. These conflicts could be constructively channeled through several types of institutional development. A system of peer-review for conservation plans, comparable to procedures employed in the sciences, could help channel professional disagreement in constructive directions (Seminar 2004: 20). Publication of peer-reviewed conservation studies and critiques would focus professional conflict on substantive issues. Development of advanced professional education and certification programs would ensure that qualified specialists, e.g., archeobotanists to determine historic plantings, are engaged on heritage sites (see Conservation Architects Meet 2004). Efforts are underway to articulate heritage conservation principles that build explicitly upon inclusive provisions in the Indian Constitution (1976) and address social concerns (INTACH 2004; INTACH-AusHeritage 2004).

2. *Conflict Resolution Among Community Stakeholders*
The 1987 *Champaner: Draft Action Plan for Integrated Conservation* took an important step toward surveying community members and their interests in conservation. That study needs intensive follow-up now that the site has World Heritage status, especially as some community members have voiced concern about being displaced by conservation initiatives. Several factors complicate

community-based design. The flight of Muslim community members since 2002 poses special challenges in identifying their conservation interests and, more importantly, determining how conservation projects might create social and physical spaces for or barriers to their return. Some tribal members and grazers from the eastern hills and laborers have only temporary residences at the site that lack adequate water and sanitation. Other residents and workers have religious as well as business and family interests in the site. Visitors range from millions of pilgrims from largely rural areas to international urbane tourists, most of whom stay for short periods of several days. Conducting a fair and discerning survey of the many community interests may require collaboration with social rehabilitation organizations with expertise in postconflict reconstruction, as well as conventional survey research and participatory methods.

3. *Harmonization of Conservation and Economic Development Interests*
At a larger scale, public and private organizations will advance their interests in ways that may aggravate or ameliorate social conflict. At Champaner–Pavagadh the traditional economic sectors have included mining, forestry, agriculture, and pilgrimage services. Today, the pilgrimage economy is booming, and World Heritage status will increase active recreation (e.g., hiking, picnicking, sports events, and entertainment) as well as heritage tourism. Earlier struggles between conservationists and resource extraction industries have given way to an uneasy triad of tourism, recreation, and pilgrimage. The Heritage Trust seeks to harmonize these activities by convening representatives from various groups and striving to harmonize their views through an expanding array of planning and design proposals. Ultimately, broader institutions of civil society will be needed to respond creatively to site-specific conflicts in Champaner town and Pavagadh Hill where Muslim shopkeepers and workers were driven off.

4. *Prevention of the Intentional Destruction of Heritage*
Champaner–Pavagadh had limited architectural heritage destruction during the recent riots. World Heritage status will draw more people and attention to the site, which may increase vandalism and related problems. Training of staff in all economic sectors should include heritage protection and policing. Beyond that, school education programs must cultivate respect for diverse heritage sites and aversion to site desecration. At a time of epic struggles over ideology in education across India, this is not a simple proposition. The recent site desecration in Gujarat and invocations of earlier episodes of historical site destruction dating back a millennium must be countered with examples of expansive patronage, such as the common veneration of Kalika Mata and Pir Baba, crosscultural patronage, and the reconstruction of damaged sites.

5. *Places of Violence, and Sanctuary, as Heritage*
Fortification, siege, and conquest were major themes in the history of Champaner–Pavagadh and Gujarat, and they constitute an important aspect of its heritage. However, we also found that modern editors of medieval histories have deleted less-violent passages about the cultural landscape because these were deemed

"tedious," which supports Elise Boulding's (2000) thesis about nonviolence as the "hidden side of history." Special effort should be made to identify historical people and places that have provided sustenance for diverse culture groups and sanctuary from violence. Champaner–Pavagadh was historically a place of retreat from attacking armies. During recent strife it suffered less human rights violence than nearby towns (cf. Dreze 2003 on this point for other areas of Gujarat). Its hybrid pilgrimage and tourist sites draw together diverse peoples from the region. The dramatic natural landscape of Pavagadh Hill has an equally complex record of environmental degradation and protection.

These complex relationships at Champaner–Pavagadh – its record of violence, sanctuary, and care – may be viewed as components of an expansive approach to heritage conservation. Providing safe places and spaces for people to reflect upon this heritage, advance it collectively, and enable all to participate safely and economically in it, would consciously privilege a heritage of peace over violence.

6. *Building Resilience in Places of Violent Social Conflict*

Recent events in Gujarat remind us that violence can sweep through places that appear at least tenuously stable. Detailed research on patterns of communal violence reveals that some places and states have recurrent, organized violence, while others have effective resistance, resilience, and control (Brass 2003; Varshney 2002; Wilkinson 2004). As Champaner–Pavagadh appears to have a mixed record, it seems important to try to build its social resistance and resilience, along with physical infrastructure, in part through heritage conservation. It would be utterly naïve to think that landscape design could counter the "institutionalized riot machine" led by violence experts colluding with state officials in the political situations that allow extensive human rights abuses to occur. However, during the 2002 riots, some areas coped with violence better than others through peace committees; processes of rehabilitation and restitution; and effective collaboration among local, regional, national, international relief, and human rights organizations (e.g., Ahmed 2004; Bhatt 2002; Bunsha 2006: 98–100). These examples indicate that it is neither too early, nor too delicate, to strive explicitly to build resilient social relationships concurrently with World Heritage conservation.

Conclusion

This chapter has explored ways to understand and navigate the spectrum of cultural conflicts associated with landscape heritage conservation. To link the case of Champaner–Pavagadh with the symposium theme of human rights, the six types of conflict examined here may be viewed as progression from cultural rights (#1 and 2) to socioeconomic rights (#3 and 4) and ultimately to human rights *per se* (#5 and 6) (cf. chapter by William Logan *infra*). Human rights advocacy *per se* must focus on the vortices of violent conflict. However, studying those sites that prove less violent in the context of regional conflict, or whose violence takes

more tractable economic and symbolic forms, can shed light on how design inquiry broadens the range of options that social groups may consider. It builds upon Rajmohan Gandhi's proposition that, "Every tree planted, or cubic foot of water conserved, is a celebration of life, a proclamation of the worth of the future. . .," by asking exactly where those trees might be planted, how water might be conserved to sustain them, and how the resultant garden might calm sad and angry hearts. Everyone can work as a designer, at the very least to do more good than harm at heritage sites, and beyond that to cultivate a vision for the future of Indo-Islamic gardens like Champaner–Pavagadh.

Acknowledgments This chapter was informed by the generous collaboration and scholarship of colleagues in India and the US, especially Karan Grover. However, it represents my personal exploration of conflict and conciliation in landscape heritage conservation, for which I alone am responsible.

References

Aga Khan Trust for Culture, 3 June 2002, *Babur Gardens Rehabilitation Project in Kabul*. Aga Khan Trust for Culture, Geneva.

—, April 2003, *Revitalization of the Gardens of Emperor Humayun's Tomb, Delhi, India*. http://www.akdn.org/aktc/Humayun%20Brief%2004–2003.pdf (12 July 2006).

Agarwal, Arun, and Sunita Narain, 1999, *Dying Wisdom: The Rise, Fall and Potential of India's Traditional Water Harvesting Systems*. Centre for Science and Environment, New Delhi.

Ahmed, Sara, 2004, Sustaining Peace, Re-Building Livelihoods: The Gujarat Harmony Project. *Gender and Development* 12(3): 94–102.

Amin, Shahid, 2002, Sagas of Victory, Memories of Defeat? The Long Afterlife of an Indo-Muslim Warrior Saint, 1033–2000. In *Experiments with Truth: Documenta 11 Platform 2*, edited by Okwui Enwezor, pp. 97–119. Hatje Cantz, Oestfildern-Ruit.

Archaeological Survey of India and Heritage Trust (Baroda), January 2002, *Champaner–Pavagadh World Heritage Site Nomination*. Heritage Trust, Baroda.

Asher, Catherine B., 2004, Uneasy Bedfellows: Islamic Art and the Politics of Indian Nationalism. *Religion and the Arts* 3(1): 37–57.

Baxi, U., 2002, The Second Gujarat Catastrophe. *Economic and Political Weekly* 37: 3519–3531.

Bayly, C. A., 1985, The Prehistory of 'Communalism'? Religious Conflict in India 1700–1860. *Modern Asian Studies* 19(2): 177–203.

Bhatt, Sheela, 2002, *When a Town in Gujarat Refused to Burn*. Rediff. http://in.rediff.com/news/2002/jul/31spec.htm (12 July 2006).

Boulding, Elise, 2000, *Cultures of Peace: The Hidden Side of History*. Syracuse University Press, Syracuse.

Brass, Paul R., 2003, *The Production of Hindu-Muslim Violence in Contemporary India*. University of Washington Press, Seattle.

Bunsha, Dionne, 2002, Dazed, but determined: The Muslim victims of the communal violence, though still hounded out of their homes, are determined to vote. *Frontline* 19(25): 7–20 December 2002. http://www.flonnet.com/fl1925/stories/20021220007301300.htm (12 July 2006).

—, 2003, Voting for survival. *Frontline* 19(26): 21 December 2002–3 January 2003. http://www.flonnet.com/fl1926/stories/20030103008012700.htm (12 July 2006).

—, 2006, *Scarred: Experiments with Violence in Gujarat*. Penguin Books, New Delhi.

Commentary on the Hague Convention of 14 May 1954. UNESCO, Paris.
Communalism Combat, April 2003, *Special Issue: Gujarat, A Year Later*. http://www.sabrang.com/cc/archive/2003/apr03/index.html (12 July 2006).
Concerned Citizens' Tribunal, 2003, C*rime Against Humanity* [Iyer commission report], 2 vols. Citizens for Justice and Peace, Mumbai. http://www.sabrang.com/tribunal/tribunal1.pdf (12 July 2006).
Conservation Architects Meet [CAM], 2004, *CAM 2004: First Report*. http://www. intach.org/pdf/report_cam2004.pdf
Das, Veena, ed., 1990, *Mirrors of Violence: Communities, Riots and Survivors in South Asia*. Oxford University Press, Delhi.
Das, Veena, and A. Kleinman, 2001, *Remaking a World: Violence, Social Suffering and Recovery*. University of California Press, Berkeley.
Dreze, Jean, May 2003, Gujarat Revisited. *Lines Magazine*. http://www.lines-magazine.org/textmay03/dreze.htm (12 July 2006).
Elliott, H. M., 1976 reprint, Mahmud's Expeditions to India. In *The History of India as Told by its own Historians*, edited by H. M Elliott and J. Dowson. Islamic Book Service, Lahore.
Engineer, Ashgar A., 1984, *Communal Riots in Post-Independence India*. Sangam, Hyderabad.
Ferishta, Mahomed K., 1977 reprint, *History of the Rise of Mahomedan Power in India*, vol. 4, ch. 4. "History of the Kings of Gujarat," translated by John Briggs. Sang-e-Meel, Lahore.
Foote, Kenneth, 2003, *Shadowed Ground: America's Landscapes of Violence and Tragedy*, 2nd edition. University of Texas Press, Austin.
Forum Against Oppression of Women, 2002, *Genocide in Rural Gujarat: The Experience of Dahod District*. http://www.onlinevolunteers.org/gujarat/reports/rural/rural-gujarat.pdf (12 July 2006).
Freitag, Sandra, 1989, *Collective Action and Community: Public Arenas and the Emergence of Communalism in North India*. University of California Press, Berkeley.
Gaborieau, Marc, 1985, From al-Beruni to Jinnah: Idiom, Ritual and Ideology of the Hindu–Muslim Confrontation in South Asia. *Anthropology Today* 1(3): 7–14.
Gandhi, Rajmohan, 1999, *Revenge and Reconciliation: Understanding South Asian History*. Penguin Books, New Delhi.
Goetz, H., 1949, Pawagadh–Champaner. *Journal of the Gujarat Research Society* XI(2): 1–67.
Gossman, Patricia A., 1999, *Riots and Victims: Violence and the Construction of Communal Identity Among Bengali Muslims, 1905–1947*. Westview, Boulder.
Gottschalk, Peter, 2000, *Beyond Hindu and Muslim: Multiple Identity in Narratives from Village India*. Oxford University Press, New York.
Government of Gujarat, 2004, *Project: Heritage Walk at Champaner Pavagadh (Central Gujarat)*. http://www.gujarattourism.com/opportunities/Proposal_Tourism_14.html (12 July 2006).
Government of India, 1976, *Constitution*, Part IV A. (42nd Amendment 1976) Art. 51 A. "It is the fundamental duty and responsibility of every citizen of India . . . (f) to value and preserve the rich heritage of our composite culture (g) to protect and improve the natural environment including forests, lakes, rivers and wildlife and to have compassion for living creatures."
Gulbadan Begum, 1987 reprint, *Humayun-nama*, translated by A. S. Beveridge. Sang-e Meel, Lahore.
Heesterman, J. C., 1985, *The Inner Conflict of Tradition: Essays in Indian Ritual, Kingship, and Society*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
Heritage Trust and Archaeological Survey of India, 2002, *Champaner–Pavagadh World Heritage Nomination*. Heritage Trust, Vadodara.
Human Rights Watch, April 2002, *We Have No Orders To Save You: State Participation and Complicity in Communal Violence in Gujarat*. Human Rights Watch, New York.
—, July 2003a, *Compounding Injustice: The Government's Failure to Redress Massacres in Gujarat*. Human Rights Watch, New York.
—, 5 September 2003b, *India: Protect Gujarat Activists Now*. Human Rights Watch, New York.
—, 14 April 2004, *India Protect Witnesses in Gujarat, Conduct Investigations*. Human Rights Watch, New York.

Indian Muslim Council – USA, May 2006, *Vadodara 2006: Manufacturing Violence and the Politics of Demolition* [Compilation of articles on violence following demolition of Syed Rashiduddin Chisti Dargah]. http://www.imc-usa.org/digest/special/2006/vadodara.violence.htm (12 July 2006).

INTACH, 4 November 2004, *Charter for Conservation of Unprotected Architectural Heritage and Sites in India*. INTACH, New Delhi. http://www.intach.org/pdf/charter.pdf (12 July 2006).

INTACH-AusHeritage, 2004, *Workshop on Indian Charter for Conservation Held at INTACH, New Delhi, March 24–27, 2004; and Some Aspects of a Charter Drafted During the Aus Heritage – INTACH Workshop*. INTACH, New Delhi.

International Initiative for Justice in Gujarat, December 2002, *Interim Report*. http://www.onlinevolunteers.org/gujarat/reports/iijg/interimreport.htm (12 July 2006).

Kakar, Sudhir, 1996, *The Colors of Violence: Cultural Identities, Religion, and Conflict*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

Khan, Ali Muhammad, 1965, Trans, *Mirat-i-Ahmadi. A Persian History of Gujarat*, translated by M. F. Lokhandwala. Oriental Institute, Baroda.

Kotwal, Navaz, 2002, *Justice For All – Rasoolbhai's Wife*. http://www.humanrightsinitiative.org/artres/justice%20for%20all.pdf (12 July 2006).

Layton, Robert, Peter G. Stone, and Julian Thomas, eds., 2000, *Destruction and Conservation of Cultural Property*. Routledge, London.

Lowenthal, David, 1998, *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Mehta, R. N., 1977, *Prehistoric Champaner: A Report on the Explorations of Prehistoric Sites Around Pavagadh Hill*. Department of Archaeology and Ancient History, Faculty of Arts, M.S. University of Baroda, Vadodara.

—, [1986] 2002, *Champaner: A Mediaeval Capital*. Heritage Trust and ASI, Baroda.

Mehta, Deepa, and Roma Chatterjee, 2001, Boundaries, Names, Alterities: A Case Study of a 'Communal Riot' in Dharavi, Bombay. In *Remaking a World: Violence, Social Suffering and Recovery*, edited by Veena Das and A. Kleinman, pp. 201–249. University of California Press, Berkeley.

Midday, 2004, *Congress Takes Out Roadshow in Godhra*. http://sify.com/news/politics/fullstory.php?id=13443930 (12 July 2006).

Modi, Sumesh, 2002, Water Intelligent City: Champaner–Pavagadh. *Landscapes of Water: History, Innovation and Sustainable Design*, vol. 1, 113ff pages, edited by E. A. Fratino et al. Politecnico di Bari, Bari.

Oza, Nandini, 29 February 2004, Godhra is More than a Memory: Two Years have Passed Since the Post-Godhra Riots. The Victims and Their Families have had to Carry on with Their Lives. Today They are Grappling with a Social and Economic Boycott. *Deccan Herald*. http://www.deccanherald.com/deccanherald/feb292004/sl2.asp (12 July 2006).

Pandey, G., 1990, *The Construction of Communalism in Colonial North India*. Oxford University Press, Delhi.

People for Heritage Concern, 2001, *Cultural Resource Information System – Inventory of Built Heritage of Champaner–Pavagadh*. Heritage Trust, Baroda.

People's Union for Democratic Rights, May 2002, *Maaro, Kaapo, Baalo!: State, Society and Communalism in Gujarat*. http://www.pucl.org/Topics/Religion-communalism/2002/maro_kapo_balo.pdf (12 July 2006).

Rediff, 2006, *The Ayodhya Homepage*. http://us.rediff.com/news/ayodhya.htm(12 July 2006).

Ruggles, D. Fairchild, 2000, What's Religion Got To Do With It? A Skeptical Look at Symbolism in Mughal and Rajput Gardens, *Dak: The Newsletter of the American Institute of Indian Studies*. 4: 4–14.

Schon, Donald, 1990, *Educating the Reflective Practitioner: Toward a New Design for Teaching and Learning in the Professions*. Jossey-Bass, San Francisco.

Seminar Education Foundation, 6–9 February 2004, *Marwar Initiative. A Framework for Cooperation for Conservation, Management and Development of India's Heritage*. Sardar Samand, Rajasthan. http://www.india-seminar.com/2004/542/542%20document.htm (12 July 2006).

Sikander bin Muhammad (Manjhu), [1611] 1886 edition, Mirat-i Sikandari. In *The Local Muhammadan Dynasties: Gujarat*, edited by E. C. Bayley based on a translation by J. Dowson. W. H. Allen, London.

Sinha, Amita, 2004, Champaner–Pavagadh Archaeological Park: A Design Approach. *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 10(2): 117–28.

Sinha, Amita, Gary Kesler, and Terence Harkness, 2002, *Champaner–Pavagadh Archaeological Park, Gujarat, India*. Department of Landscape Architecture, University of Illinois, Champaign.

Sinha, Amita, Gary Kesler, D. Fairchild Ruggles, and James L. Wescoat Jr., 2003, *Champaner–Pavagadh Cultural Sanctuary, Gujarat, India*. Department of Landscape Architecture, University of Illinois, Champaign.

—, 2004, Champaner–Pavagadh, Gujarat, India: Challenges and Responses in Cultural Heritage Planning and Design. *Tourism Recreation Research* 29(3): 75–78.

Social Science Research Council, 19 December 2002, The International Initiative for Justice in Gujarat: An Interim Report. http://www.ssrc.org (12 July 2006).

Sreenivas, Janyala, 15 October 2004a, This Navratri, Gujarat does a 'Tolerant' Rewrite: Muslim Shrines . . . Unlike Last Year, Muslim Shrines, or What's Left of Them Post-Riots, Figure in its Spiritual Tourism Package. *Indian Express*. http://www.indianexpress.com/res/web/pIe/full_story.php?content_id=57003 (12 July 2006).

—, 15 October 2004b, Modi Government Goes Secular. *Express India*. http://www.expressindia.com/fullstory.php?newsid=37288 (15 January 2007).

Taneja, Nalini, 14 November 2004, Justice for Gujarat Victims: Whose Responsibility? People's Democracy. *Weekly Organ of the Communist Party of India (Marxist)*. XXVIII: 46.

Thakur, Nalini, 1987, *Champaner: Draft Action Plan for Integrated Conservation*. Heritage Trust, Baroda.

—, 2000, *The Archaeological Park as a Tool for Integrated Protecting Heritage Management with Planning Process: The Case of the Deserted 15th Century Capital Site, Champaner–Pavagadh, Gujarat*. Conference on Simplification of Urban Development Control, Goa.

—, 2002, *Champaner–Pavagadh Archaeological Park: An Integrated Approach with Comprehensive Protection and Management*. Unpublished Paper. Copy on file with author.

—, 2004, *The 'Architectural Knowledge Systems' Approach as a Solution for the Regeneration and Conservation of Indian Built Heritage*. http://www.architexturez.net/+/subject-listing/000065.shtml (12 July 2006).

Times of India, 7 October 2004, *Muslims Still Face Economic Boycott in Pavagadh*. http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/articleshow/877252.cms (12 July 2006).

Toman, J., 1996, *The Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict*.

United Nations, 1954a, *Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict*. Done at The Hague, 14 May 1954. Entered in force 7 August 1956.

—, 1954b, *X. Protocol for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict*. Done at The Hague, 14 May 1954. Entered in force 7 August 1956.

—, 1999, *X. Second Protocol to The Hague Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict*. The Hague, 26 March 1999.

—, 2003, *Draft Declaration Concerning the Intentional Destruction of Cultural Heritage*. UNESCO, Paris.

Varshney, Ashutosh, 2002, *Ethnic Conflict and Civic Life*. Yale University Press, New Haven.

Vora, Batuk, 7 May 2004, Gujarat Relief Camps Being Closed Down. *Milli Gazette*. http://www.milligazette.com/Archives/01072002/0107200291.htm (12 July 2006).

Waldman, Amy, 2002, A Secular India, Or Not? At Strife Scene, Vote is a Test. *The New York Times*. 12 December 2002, p.18.

Wescoat, James L. Jr., 1990, Gardens of Invention and Exile: The Precarious Context of Mughal Garden Design during the Reign of Humayun (1530–1556). *Journal of Garden History* 10: 106–116.

—, 1991, Gardens of Conquest and Transformation: Lessons from the Earliest Mughal Gardens in India. *Landscape Journal* 10(5): 105–114.

—, 1992, Expanding the Range of Choice in Water Resource Geography. *Progress in Human Geography* 11: 41–59.
—, 1997, Mughal Gardens and Geographic Sciences, Then and Now. In *Gardens in the Time of the Great Muslim Empires: Theory and Design*, special issue of *Muqarnas*, edited by A. Petruccioli, pp. 187–202. E. J. Brill, Leiden.
—, 1999, Mughal Gardens: The Re-emergence of Comparative Possibilities and the Wavering of Practical Concerns. In *Perspectives on Garden Histories*, edited by Michel Conan, pp. 107–126. Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Washington, DC.
Wilkinson, Steven I, 2004, *Votes and Violence: Electoral Competition and Ethnic Riots in India*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.