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***The Economic Life of a Punjabi Village* (1961) by Zekiye Eglar**

Introduction by Beena Sarwar

“The history of Mohla goes back to over a century ago, when a man named Vanj, a Vrech by caste came with his cattle from the village Kunja, five miles away down the river Chanab and settled in the wasteland on the right bank of the river...”

This is how Zekiye Eglar, a protégé of the iconic American anthropologist Margaret Mead, begins the manuscript intended as a sequel to her award-winning book *A Punjabi Village in Pakistan* (Columbia University Press, 1960). The book was originally her Ph.D. thesis at Columbia University, based on extensive fieldwork in Pakistan. The review committee liked it immensely and Mead thought it was so “beautifully written” that she recommended it for the prestigious Clarke F. Ansley Award of the Columbia University Press. Eglar’s thesis won the award, which also meant that Columbia University Press published it. Mead persuaded her close friend, the well known anthropologist Rhoda Metraux, to edit the thesis for publication. A seminal work, *A Punjabi Village in Pakistan* is now out of print, available only at major libraries or in private collections. Anthropologists continue to refer to it for its still relevant insights into Pakistani society, particularly women.

The sequel to this book, *The Economic Life of a Punjabi Village* is now being published for the first time, thanks to the efforts of Mead’s daughter Mary Catherine Bateson and

Fazal Ahmad Chowdhry¹, Eglar's long-time friend and originally her 'principal informant', the Chowdhry of Mohla village. Together the published book and its sequel present an in-depth outsider-insider perspective into the social and economic patterns of a village in Pakistan prior to the Green Revolution of 1958 which heralded the beginnings of change in village agriculture and land ownership.

Eglar wrote in her preface that Pakistan appealed to her because of her childhood background as a Muslim in Czarist Russia. She was born in 1910 in the Georgian capital Tiflis, to Suleyman Pasha, an Azerbaijani general in the Czar's army, and Lalendar, daughter of a Georgian prince. As she explains, various ethnic groups of the southern Caucasus felt their cultural identity intensely but the Muslims identified themselves with their religious rather than their ethnic backgrounds – with “the world of Islam in general and with the Turks of the Ottoman Empire in particular.”² Eglar's family spoke Russian and had Russian friends but had an essentially Muslim home. They stressed values like respect for elders, hospitality, charity, and distance between the sexes. Muslim religious holidays and rituals like prayer and fasting were integral to their life.

Eglar continued with the established anthropological tradition of focusing on a fairly bounded community, or kind of 'closed' unit. However, in choosing a partly familiar culture for her study, she broke from the tendency to focus on preliterate, 'primitive' cultures alien to the anthropologist's own background, like tribes of indigenous peoples in the Americas or in far flung Pacific islands. Mead in her preface commented that studying a society that follows one of the great religions could test the field worker's own beliefs and loyalties. This study, she added, “is unique because it has been made by a woman anthropologist among a group of people who share the religious faith in which she was reared but who live far away – in Pakistan. Here the empathy provided by a common religious background and the entrée given her, because she is a Muslim woman, into the closed aspects (of) the lives of the women could be combined with the distance

¹ As Eglar explains, 'chowdhri' is an honorific title bestowed on landowning families, but everyone knows who 'the Chowdhry' or headman is. Fazal took 'Chowdhry' as his last name when he started living in America.

² Eglar, 1960: xii

contributed by her different background in the Caucasus and Turkey and the role accorded her as a scholar with Western training.”³

Had it not been for the Russian Revolution of 1917, Eglar’s story would have been very different. Her father Suleyman Pasha took his family to the relative safety of Baku, Azerbaijan and raised an army to fight the advancing Communists. Following his death, his younger brother, a doctor in Turkey, paid a considerable sum of money to get the family across Soviet Russia to Turkey.⁴ In Turkey, Eglar became very aware of the cultural differences between her family and the Turkish culture she found there, “differences which we felt all the more keenly because of our earlier identification with the Turks” (1960: xii). Kemal Ataturk, the founder of modern Turkey, in trying to westernize the new republic ushered in the era of “rapid cultural change” that Eglar lived through and observed. She attributed her interest in becoming a student of culture to the changes in the lives of her own family and their experience with ongoing transitions in Turkey. Pakistan offered her an opportunity “to study both the traditional culture and the effect of changes as they took place.” She decided to focus on the Punjab, the heart of West Pakistan, which had been settled for a longer time than Pakistan’s other provinces. She felt that being a woman in this Muslim society would be an advantage in gaining acceptance by both men and women (1960: xiii).

Given the paucity of published information about Eglar, finding mention of a paper about her on the Middle East Studies Association website was like striking gold⁵. The author, Faith Childress, Associate Professor at the Department of History, Rockhurst University in Kansas City generously provided a copy. Titled A Foreigner at Home and Abroad: Education, Nationalism, and Zekiye Eglar (Childress: 2004), the paper provides a useful background, particularly about Eglar’s life in Turkey. Childress first came across Eglar during her own dissertation research when she found Eglar’s masters thesis at Smith College. Later, while researching at an education office in Turkey, Childress found a decision that approved financing for Eglar’s further graduate study in America. She

³ Mead, in Eglar: 1960, p. ix-x.

⁴ Any information for which no source is cited is based on interviews with Fazal Ahmed Chowdhry in Cambridge, MA, between September 2006 and July 2007.

⁵ <http://mesa.wns.ccit.arizona.edu/>

became “absolutely fascinated with her (Eglar) because she seems to be in the middle of historical excitement in almost every stage of her life: fled Azerbaijan under Soviet pressure; arrives in Turkey the first year of the Republic; is one of the first women to participate in study abroad from Turkey; studies anthropology at Columbia at nearly its zenith with Ruth Benedict and associating with Margaret Mead; does fieldwork in Pakistan just a year or so after its creation; teaches at Ankara University at a time (the final year or so) when ultra-nationalism raises its head.”⁶

Suleyman Pasha’s family, which escaped to Turkey around 1923, included his widow Lalendar (whose parents had been killed at their family home in Georgia by a marauding band), Zekiye, then about thirteen and her younger brother Hasan; Zekiye’s older, married daughter was already settled in Turkey. Learning that the family of Suleyman Pasha – a hero in Turkey for his anti-Communist stand -- was in his country, Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, the new republic’s founding father, provided them with a house in Izmir by the sea. Ataturk’s drive to modernize Turkey included getting the populace to adopt European-style surnames. He bestowed the last name ‘Eglar’ (intelligence) upon the family of Suleyman Pasha.

Zekiye attended the American Collegiate Institute in Izmir (now *Izmir Amerikan Koleji*), graduating in 1928. After teaching English, mathematics and manual arts there for three years, she earned her Bachelor of Arts degree at the American College for Girls (later Roberts College) in Istanbul, graduating Magna Cum Laude in 1933⁷. Ataturk’s educational reforms included a study abroad program administered by the Ministry of Education’s Instruction and Pedagogy Committee, the IPC (*Talim ve Terbiye Kurulu*). Under this program, promising students received government funding to study abroad, on the understanding that they would return to Turkey and teach⁸. Zekiye Eglar to America under this program in 1932 and completed her masters in education from Smith College for Women in just a year⁹. The IPC then approved her for a further grant and she studied

⁶ Email to the writer, July 18, 2006

⁷ Eglar, CV, 1949

⁸ Childress, 2004

⁹ Her MA thesis, ‘A study of the history and development of education in Turkey: with special emphasis upon the influence of American education’, directed by Seth Wakeman and Elizabeth Collins, is available

race relations and anthropology at Yale University -- an all-male institution where she convinced an anthropology professor to let her attend his classes.

She does not appear to have taught English on her return to Turkey, but she did teach psychology and mathematics at the American Collegiate Institute in Izmir. The following year, she went back to America to study anthropology at the University of Minnesota in Minneapolis and then Columbia University. Anthropology was an exciting new field – and the only science that then admitted women practitioners on nearly equal terms. Franz Boas who founded Columbia University’s Anthropology Department in 1898 and still headed it, was “exceptional” in the number of graduate women students he accepted¹⁰. The passionately egalitarian and anti-racist Boas had a practical motive: field studies needed to record cultural practices like child-rearing and traditions of which women are the primary custodians. Boas’ students included the brilliant anthropologists Ruth Benedict and Margaret Mead¹¹. But regular appointments went to men “with families to support”.

In 1938, lack of funding forced Eglar to return to Turkey. She taught at the University of Ankara for the next eight years and made anthropological field trips to Turkey’s western and central provinces. In addition, she did occasional translations for the American Embassy, where she also privately taught Turkish and Russian. “Considering her education and her early career, Zekiye Hanım seems to have been a veritable poster child of the Republican ideal as a student, a woman, and a citizen,” writes Childress. “She accomplished a master’s degree in education, and then did additional graduate study in anthropology in the United States. Even before completing college, she embarked on a teaching career at the high school/junior college level that encompassed subjects as diverse as English, manual arts, mathematics, and later, psychology.” In addition, she was among Turkey’s pioneering anthropologists whose research shaped Turkish anthropology and ethnology during its “heyday” of the 1940s and 1950s. “Though in 1946 her PhD

in the stacks of the William A. Neilson Library at Smith College. It is interesting to note that the American influence in Turkish education came primarily from Protestant missionaries.

¹⁰ No other anthropology department in the country “had such a large proportion of women among those to whom degrees were awarded” (Mead: 1974 [2005] p. 29).

¹¹ Benedict and Mead had been friends since 1922 when Benedict, Boas’s teaching assistant at Barnard College, convinced Mead to switch her undergraduate major to anthropology.

studies lay in the near future, Zekiye Hanım's early career seemed to parallel the career trajectory of her anthropology colleagues at the Ankara University. Ultimately, however, her path took a decidedly different turn than the more crowded path of her Turkish colleagues, starting with her return to the US to continue her studies in anthropology at Columbia." (Childress: 2004)

A major reason behind her decision appears to have been the realization that the promotions went to male colleagues with doctorates. This time, the University of Ankara supported Eglar's return to Columbia for her PhD in anthropology¹². The tense anti-communist atmosphere in Turkey after World War I may have contributed to her decision – an American diplomat felt that her Russian background counted "heavily" against her¹³. She set off in 1946 on a freighter, the only form of transport available due to the war. Boas still officially headed the anthropology department, but given his age and ill health, it was Ruth Benedict who basically ran the department despite the gender biases that kept her from being formally promoted (Having joined the faculty at Columbia in 1923 after completing her Ph.D¹⁴, Benedict was appointed acting executive director after Boas retired in 1936 and Associate Professor in 1937).

Eglar worked in the enormous Contemporary Cultures project¹⁵ that Benedict had initiated, focusing on Turkish and Circassian groups and Syrian Arabs. She was noted for being outstanding in the "detail" and "sensitivity" of her work¹⁶. She planned for her field work in Pakistan, guided by Benedict. After Benedict's sudden death in 1948¹⁷, Mead "inherited" Eglar – she and Benedict had always looked after each other's students when either was absent. Eglar later dedicated her thesis to Ruth Benedict.

¹² Her stipend was probably quite meager, but a letter from Cezmi Berktin, Turkish Educational Attache, to Mead, May 10, 1949, refers to this support. (Margaret Mead Collection at the Library of Congress, [C20] 1949)

¹³ United States Cultural Attaché Donald E. Webster, Ankara, Letter of Recommendation dated August 4, 1945 (Papers of Ruth Benedict, Box 28, Folder 28.7, "Eglar, Zekiye Suleyman," Special Collections, Vassar College Archives).

¹⁴ Benedict: *The Concept of the Guardian Spirit in North America* (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1922)

¹⁵ The project started in 1947 and involved over 120 participants working on seven different cultures. Mead ran the project after Benedict's sudden death in 1948. It was completed in 1951.

¹⁶ Mead, recommendation to Ford Foundation, Dec 13, 1955 (Mead papers at LOC, [C31] 1955)

¹⁷ She had only just been made full professor, but died before being able to use the influence or means that came with the position to benefit her students.

In some ways Pakistani society was like the Japan that Benedict had studied “from a distance”¹⁸. Both societies contained interdependent social systems where notions of family and community honor primarily determined individual behaviors and choices. Both were societies in flux, taking on new beginnings. The Cold War had begun, and nation-states were aligning themselves with the US or the USSR. Pakistan aligned with Washington, on the other side of the fence from India’s alliance with the USSR. Eglar’s close association with Benedict and Mead placed her within the circle of pioneering American anthropologists who stressed fieldwork and meticulous, verbatim recording of the people whose culture they studied, immersion into these cultures, learning the language and participating in the routines of daily life, without sentimentality, judging, or stereotyping. Following in Mead’s footsteps, Eglar chose to be a ‘participant observer’, as opposed to Benedict who disliked field work and preferred analyzing data “from a distance”, perhaps because of her partial deafness.

Eglar arrived in Pakistan in late 1949, barely two years after its birth following the independence and Partition of India in August, 1947. For the purpose of her work, she needed to find a village not too close to the city, with a predominantly Muslim population that had not been seriously disturbed by the political upheavals¹⁹. This proved more difficult than she had expected. In the turmoil following Partition there were few government officials with knowledge of the rural areas as well as the bureaucratic chain of command. Eglar also had difficulty finding someone who was local, and fluent in English as well as Punjabi. Finally, in February 1950, a Public Relations official introduced her to his cousin Fazal Ahmad, then a young college graduate and Chowdhry (hereditary headman) of Mohla. He went with Eglar to several villages, all of which she found unsuitable for one reason or another. Finally, he offered to take her to his own village, which met her requirements. Their collaboration led to *A Punjabi Village*, the first ethnographic study of a Muslim village in the Punjab. Previous writings on the region tended to be reports by British officers for administrative purposes, or travelers who viewed the people as exotic and strange.

¹⁸ Benedict, *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword: Patterns of Japanese Culture*, first published by Houghton-Mifflin, 1946

¹⁹ Eglar, 1960: xiv

In Mohla, Eglar made an important finding. Rather than religion, the customs of the village were governed by traditions linked to the land and to the seasons, both crucial aspects of life in this agrarian community. For contemporary reviewers, more significant were Eglar's groundbreaking insights into the patterns of reciprocity and ritual gift (or service) giving and receiving that the villagers engaged in – her analysis of gift-giving and receiving patterns and her insights into the lives of women in a Muslim society that had never been studied anthropologically. The prominent social anthropologist David Mandelbaum, the first American to undertake ethnographic research in India (southern India 1937-1938), called *A Punjabi Village* “a remarkable piece of research” which should be rated “among the very best village studies made anywhere.” Anthropologists, sociologists and political scientists continue to refer to this seminal work that, in the words of one, “allows other researchers to provide a more holistic account of Pakistani society” (Lyon, 2002).

There was some criticism of *A Punjabi Village* for its lack of attention to “political activity” and “religious life”, criticisms that reflected the deep-rooted gender biases of the time. It was not until much later that anthropological studies by women would sink into intellectual consciousness and pave the way for another understanding of scientific studies – a more holistic and humanistic view than previously allowed.

Eglar's studies do not mention any suppressed hostility and economic exploitation such as that which her contemporaries like Oscar Lewis (1914-1970) or Allison Davis (1902-1983) made the cornerstone of their studies. Economic exploitation also emerges through the more Marxist lens of contemporary Pakistani anthropologists and sociologists like Saghir Ahmad (1936-71) and Hamza Alavi (1921-2003), who additionally broke away from the kind of ethnography of a ‘closed’ unit that anthropologists of the time veered towards. However, what Eglar's study is useful for is precisely what she focused on – the patterns of ritual service and gift exchange which underlay every facet of life in the village.

When Eglar first went to Pakistan in 1949, she had planned to stay for a year. Due to delays in obtaining a visa to return to the US as an immigrant, her stay stretched into over

five years (November 1949 to March 1955). Despite the aggravation that the delay caused, she gained from her extended time in Pakistan in more ways than one. Within a few months she had become conversant in the local language, Punjabi, and was able to really immerse herself in the culture she studied. At the same time, she virtually became part of the Chowdhry family. These factors combined to yield an unusually extensive study that provides a record, as Mead wrote notes, which “would never have been obtained during the more usual brief field trip. In the pace and depth of the writing the reader and student are given a dimension seldom present, that of time.”

Mead went out of her way to facilitate Eglar’s return to America and helped her to get an immigration visa to America. Eglar was always grateful to her “guardian angel” as Fazal calls her, but in the end, her lack of personal ambition combined with failing eyesight kept her from fulfilling the professional potential that her mentors saw in her.

As a Muslim majority country, Eglar expected Pakistan to be a society similar to the Muslim Caucasus where she spent her childhood. She believed that her gender, cultural and religious affinity would offer her certain advantages, as she felt she “would be accepted by both men and women” (1960: p. xiii). This proved to be so. As a result, her sources of information were not limited to one or the other gender. As a guest of the Chowdhry family she could initially stay in the *baithak* (guest house), traditionally an all-male preserve situated close to the main house where villagers would gather over a smoke and chat after their day’s work. In addition, as a woman, she could freely enter the women’s domain and participate in and observe their daily activities.

Some months after her arrival, there was a flood in Mohla. Many of the mud houses were destroyed, and with water in the guest house rising to four feet, Eglar moved into the main house along with some of the other village women and children. The Chowdhry wanted to send his family and Eglar away to safety but his mother refused to leave because that would dishearten the villagers. Eglar’s insistence on staying cemented her ties with the villagers. “People felt this action was proof that I was a ‘noble’ person – *sheriff*, as the old *chowdhrani*, the mother of the *chowdhri*, said.” After the flood subsided, she continued to live for several weeks with the women. People started calling

her *Apaji*, older sister, which gave her a place in the family circle. “After that, I lived as it was convenient for my work – sometimes in the guest house and sometimes with the women” (1960: p. xvii).

Eglar dealt with the idea of exchange as a social ritual before the concept became fashionable in the 1960s. Marcel Mauss, ‘the father of modern French anthropology’, had focused on the patterns of reciprocity in his book ‘The Gift’, published in French in 1924 and in English in 1954. The concept really caught on after Levi Strauss, the French structuralist, popularized the idea of exchange. In Mohla, Eglar found, unwritten social contracts and relationships known as *vartan bhanji* that bound the community at different levels. The well-established networking patterns of *vartan bhanji* cemented relationships within the family. These patterns then extended beyond the family to the wider village community and further, to other villages in the area. The unwritten code also sustained professional relationships between the landowning *zamindars*, the tenant farmers and the *kammis* (literally, ‘those who work’, people in service professions). *Vartan bhanji* in the male domain revolved around farming and its associated trades, with various reciprocal exchanges moving the economy along, rather than cash payments. However, women played a central role. It is this dual aspect that Eglar details in the sequel.

After Eglar obtained her PhD in 1958, Harvard’s Center for Middle Eastern Studies offered her a year-long fellowship (later extended for another year) to continue her research on Pakistan. During these fellowships, Eglar worked on the sequel to her published book and applied for grants for further fieldwork. She got some money for this purpose in 1961, and traveled to Japan and other Far Eastern countries before going to Pakistan. She arrived in there in early 1962 but found it difficult to continue without Fazal Ahmad, her principle informant whom she had been instrumental in getting over to America, initially to help her with her thesis. She cut short her planned year-long stay to a few months -- despite frantic cables and letters from Mead urging her to re-consider -- and returned to the US. She later completed the sequel to *A Punjabi Village*, updating it with the fresh material she had collected. She then turned to teaching Turkish at Harvard to undergraduate and graduate students, among the relatively few women in academia -- and a Muslim at that.

Eglar's Mohla studies together make an important contribution to the understanding of women's role in this predominantly Muslim, agrarian society. *A Punjabi Village* records women as being central to the interdependent process. Women continued the traditions of *vartan bhanji* that bound the social fabric of the village together, with the *vartan bhanji* primarily taking place through the daughter of the house. In the community-managed pattern of resolving disputes, they were also in a key position as married daughters or "daughters of the village" who linked two households or villages and could mediate in quarrels. These findings countered the prevailing wisdom about women's roles particularly in such a rural, predominantly Muslim setting. *The Economic Life of a Punjabi Village* takes this observation further.

Women were central not just to the social relationships of the village culture but also to the village economy and to the economic well-being of their families. While men were responsible for whatever was produced outside in the fields, women took care of it after the harvest. This kept them busier than the men working in the field – they were responsible for drying, storing, and preserving the produce to ensure that it would not spoil over the next six months or year. In addition, women were responsible for producing *ghi*, or clarified butter, that they churned after milking the water-buffalo that most families owned. *Ghi* was a precious commodity with cash value that could be collected and stored. It was an important source of income, its price being the "barometer of the general trends of prices". In a society where the economy still ran on a barter system, *ghi* was a prized medium of exchange along with rice, millet and maize – each grain had its own place in the 'hierarchy' of the different grains. Every family owned at least one buffalo and even the *kammis*, landless workmen, had buffalo and grazing rights on the common grazing grounds of the village and on fields of fodder owned by their *seypis*, other villagers with whom they had *vartan bhanji*. Although much has changed, women today still retain their positions as managers of the house and family and social relationships in the village and beyond. It is they who determine what staples are needed - like salt or maize --and when. Some take care of these purchases themselves, going into town if needed. This role remains an active rather than a passive one, and counters the stereotype of Muslim women as submissive or irrelevant as decision makers.

Village life was organized around access to or ownership or the use of land, from which income was derived in different ways. Eglar observed that everyone had a role to play in this process, ranging from the elderly men and women to the children. After land, the economic life of the village revolved around cattle – water-buffalo prized for their milk as well as the oxen that ploughed fields and turned the Persian wheels for irrigation. The importance of cattle, observed Eglar, was evident in the many words the villagers used to describe cattle of various types and at different stages of life. Activities connected with cattle set the tempo of village life and punctuated it with their presence and movement. Eglar found that cattle were not just an economic asset. Events like birth and death that provided occasions for the villagers to share the joy or sorrow of the affected family included the birth and death of cattle. There was also much excitement around cattle thefts and disputes.

“People always pray for the protection of the cattle. In their prayer man and cattle are inseparable. When people pray upon seeing the new moon for the first time, they add to their prayer: ‘God be merciful to the cattle and the man’. To them there is a continuity between human beings and cattle. In their treatment of certain minor ailments they use the same preparations for the cattle as they would for the people. They believe that cattle have a soul and are affected by and feel hunger, thirst, heat and cold the same way as human beings. However, cattle have no way to express their needs. They are ‘without speech.’ Man has to attend to the needs of the cattle; to do otherwise is a sin. Man feeds his cattle before he eats himself.” (scanned MS p. 126)

One of her most lyrical passages describes the home-coming of the cattle at sundown, brought home from grazing.

“The presence and the movement of the cattle bring change into the village picture during the various seasons and times of day. During the summer months, towards the evening clouds of dust in the distance are a sign of the returning cattle. In the rainy season, towards the sunset, the heavy thumping and splashing is the sound of the cattle coming back and the water which covers the ground

reflects their massive forms against the red lit sky.” (scanned MS, p. 116)

The British established a system of land tax, Eglar noted, which was more equitable than the previous system when “those who were in charge of collecting the revenue extracted as much from the villagers as they could”. The new system was based on the stated principles “that the people should be accustomed to it and that it should be collected with the minimum chance for oppression on the one hand and for the evasion on the other”²⁰. The British-appointed settlement officer who studied the villages in Gujrat district found that besides the recent cultivators or tenants, two classes of people possessed land: the *waris*,²¹ descendants of the original founders of the village and the *malik*, the subsequent owners. There was practically no difference between the two. In the *Economic Life* study Eglar notes:

“The presence of these two classes in the same village seems to be the consequence of the historical conditions in the province. A man founded the village. His descendents inherited the land and would have enjoyed the privileges of ownership had there been any such privileges. Land was abundant, population was sparse and taxes were heavy. Land was not a prized possession and people welcomed outsiders, who would cultivate the land and share the taxes. So, the subsequent comers worked on the land for generations, were treated on the same basis as the descendants of the original founder and with the passage of time no difference was left between the two.” (Scanned MS, p. 2)

As in her published study, Eglar uses human stories to illustrate larger patterns and issues. One of the characters we meet is Khushi, the good natured *musalli*. “A *musalli* who becomes a tenant feels pride, for tilling the soil is an occupation that carries prestige and he regards himself as belonging among those who are connected with the land.” Eglar’s proximity to the chief landowning family in Mohla may have colored her perceptions on this issue, reflecting the landlord’s views rather than the tenant’s as she provides the general background:

²⁰ Baden-Powell, *Land Revenue in British India*, cited in Eglar, 1960: p. 48

²¹ *Waris* is a singular word that literally means original owner.

“A tenant has an approach of his own. He is reluctant to work any more than is absolutely necessary....Much as he is eager to rent the land... once he has rented (it), he is reluctant to till it properly. When the time for ploughing comes he does not plough the fields a sufficient number of times so as to make the soil fine and loose but scatters the seed in the earth which is full of clods; when it comes to irrigating he postpones it week after week hoping for the rain which would spare him and his animals work on the well. Certain crops need turning the soil and careful weeding, but he does not attend to it and lets it go...

“For a tenant it may be hard to find land available for rent because land is in great demand, yet for a landowner it is even harder to get a good tenant.”²²

There were of course reasons for this apparent sloth. The work was labor intensive, hard to undertake with poor ploughs and weak buffaloes. Ill-equipped to get the most out of the rented land, the attitude often was just to make do with what you can get out of it.

However, Khushi was an exceptional tenant because of his ability and personality. He was hard-working and made the most of what he had. To be fair, Eglar did not idealize the landlords as a class either. The sequel to *A Punjabi Village* ends with the detailed story of the landlords Nur and Maulavi Sardar, descendents of two brothers who started with equal amounts of land but were by then in very different circumstances. The events that led them to this, notes Eglar, included the ambitions of Nur’s family that pushed them into inappropriate and ill-conceived choices. As they found out, simply being among the few zamindar families in Mohla was not enough to retain status and respect. It was sound judgment and wise behavior that gained the respect of the villagers, not hereditary status or class alone. A zamindar who had fallen on hard times because of mismanagement of land or produce or because of having overspent in order to show his importance got less respect and would be seen as incapable of giving advice; his status as a decision-maker at village meetings would correspondingly decline. An ordinary villager who was hardworking and demonstrated good sense in his personal and professional

²² *The Economic Life of a Punjabi Village in Pakistan*, unpublished manuscript, p. 109 [Page reference from my copy, not the scanned doc].

dealings would receive more respect. Clearly, status in the village was not static, but allowed upward and downward mobility related to personal behavior.

Some necessary overlaps between Eglar's published study on Mohla and its sequel allow this work to stand on its own, although the situation is best understood if the books are read in the intended sequence. How it was written and why it was never published is another story²³. Here, for now, is the sequel to Eglar's *Punjabi Village* study, being published for the first time – a window into the economic patterns of a little Punjabi village in Pakistan a long time ago.

²³ See Biographical Note