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HISTORIOGRAPHY OF ARCHITECTURE
of Pakistan and the Region

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Contents

Introduction
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Architecture, without a philosophical base, is a rudderless ship. A credible philosophical base can only emerge through a dispassionate and objective study of history; historiography thus becomes the key to any meaningful discussion on trends of architecture in Pakistan, a country that emerged out of the partition of the British Colonial subcontinent, laden with the biases, prejudices, divisions, confusions and the smothering effect of an autocratic system. The colonial rule did bring some fruits of technology to the subcontinent such as the railways, codified law, a west-based watered down education system, English as the official, hence dominant, language, a culture of the elite that looked to the west and understood progress only in terms of industrialization and therefore westernization, fitting perfectly with the post- colonial road map laid out by the ex-rulers and the developed countries.[1] Local culture, customs, habits, social organizations, crafts, building standards and measures of energy saving etc. were ignored in the drive to modernization by the newly powerful inheritors of the colonial government. Standards of governance, as manifested by the new 'sahibs', on the one hand, provided a continuity, yet on the other, failed to meet the needs and demands of a self-governing society leading to a rapid decay of the inherited standards of government, law, justice, culture and architecture.

Philosophical base for architecture in the country, without the steadying influence of well understood history, has lurched, from one end to another, depending upon the particular penchant of the ruler of the time. Thus, in this discussion, changes in architecture are referred to by the name of the ruler, however inappropriate that may sound to a serious scholar. The arbitrary power, and its various legal instruments and codes, over the people of India that the colonials usurped,has been passed onto the successor states.

Democracy in name only, the rule of the police and the revenue collector has continued unchecked. Architecture is dictated, rather than allowed to organically evolve, in the post-partition, ex-colonial officer dominated society; like the *Kammee* of the village, the architect only seeks the pleasure and handouts of the rulers. It is no wonder then that, barring the solitary example of 'Archimes' magazine from Karachi, there is an absence of serious architectural discourse or dialogue among the professional circles

In the larger cities of Pakistan - Karachi, Lahore, Multan, Faisalabad, Peshawar and Islamabad - structures have been built since the partition,which seem more suited for the colder climates of the higher latitudes rather than the hot climate of the country. For centuries people of the region have built in response to the prevalent conditions of climate and culture, yet for the last sixty years all the previous wisdom was set aside to produce climatically ill-suited and culturally inappropriate structures. Understanding of history and the experiences embedded in it have been ignored. Cultural maturity, high esthetic considerations so evident in contemporary architecture of Turkey, Egypt, Iran, Sri Lanka, is, with very few exceptions, missing in Pakistan. Here we are still trying to discover our identity in the maelstrom of racial, ethnic and religious conflicts, which, rather than resolving, are becoming sharper with every passing decade. Historiography, the science of reading, writing and understanding history has never been seriously addressed, and without that understanding and the development of a resilient philosophy, our architecture is indeed a rudderless ship. In this background Thaap decided to organize the Thaap-Conference 2010, the results of which are in your hands.

Since time immemorial, people of the subcontinent have lived life based on precepts evolved over centuries of thought and strife, with long timespans of peace followed by periods of upheaval and chaos to again settle down with a more sophisticated basis of social organization. This evolution, progressing like an ever-expanding spiral in time, has given the huge population, spread over a vast area, a life with sets of commonalities and diversities, which make a bouquet of multitude of colors and fragrances. India, a place of many beliefs, old and those newly proclaimed, over time,

by a string of seers, has always addressed the issues of life, death, purpose and meaning of life and developed a common philosophical bond, despite the numerous political and economic subdivisions. Since the development of human settlements along the rivers of the Punjab and Sindh, from as early as ca5000 BCE through the Vedic Period ca1500 BCE, the region, comprising the present day Kashmir, and North Western India, was the acknowledged center of world learning with outposts as far as Egypt and the Greek islands and on the shores of present day Turkey. Although somewhat ignored today, that long tradition of profound thinking and analysis continues to the present day.[2]

The brilliant outburst of Islam, carried by the Arabs, rejuvenated the stagnant waters of learning in the 7th and 8th century and led the world onto the scientific development that was then continued by the Europeans.[3] The Islamic people also, despite the immense diversity of ethnicity, geography, economics, language and cultural values, respond to an underlying ethos, a fundamental belief, which brings and holds them together. The knowledge centers of Damascus and Baghdad developed a strong and vibrant output that generated a wide sphere of cultural influence. These two strong systems of values, Islamic and Indian, have interacted in India since 800 AD starting from Sindh and, overtime, spreading to the entire subcontinent.Into this mix a further strong flavor was added when Humayun came back to India to recapture his throne with the help of the Persian King, Shah Tahmasp (1514-1574).A large entourage of scholars in various fields, such as history, architecture, philosophy and literature, accompanied his forces.[4] Ever since, the cultural life of the royal court and its outputs in philosophy, history and architecture began to exhibit what was later called the Mughal Style.

Areas today comprising Pakistan are at the interface of these historic traditions. Genetically imbibing the two, Persian and Indian, people in the region have generated a unique culture visible in their crafts, music, dance, sufi beliefs, daily customs and rituals at the time of birth, death, and marriage. In architecture this amalgamation, fusion, is most evident in domestic and non-religious architecture. The Persian Islamic tradition in fusion with

the Indian produced the marvels of the Mughal Period. Royal architecture of forts and the residential quarters of the royalty, created walled-off existence with an ambience entirely removed from the hot and dusty climate of the plains of northern India. Set in gardens of fruit trees, fragrant exuberance of shrubbery, water channels that cooled the breeze and provided visual delight, the living and sleeping spaces created levels of comfort that allowed the mountain-dwellers of Central Asia to make a home in India. In the process the spatial concepts and the esthetic values of the new comers and the natives interacted to create a synthesis that was different from either source and raised the level of architecture to new heights. The royal court, particularly during the period of Akbar, became the center of philosophical debates ranging from religious practices to architectural forms.[5] The philosophical basis was discussed and debated at the courts of rulers, at the academic forums, and among designers and architects of the period. These ideas, in material and metaphysical form and content, were then disseminated among the public who, according to their particular proclivities, adopted, adapted, and further enriched the ritual and practice of building. These were then carried by pilgrims as they moved from one place to another, from one tradition to another, from one temple to another and from one political state to another to spread over a vast area. The '*march of the pilgrims*', a very living and vibrant tradition, is found among all people of the subcontinent and was the chain that held the necklace together, invisible in itself, yet strong and vital.

Colonial Period

Although the first contact of India with colonial European forces began with the Portuguese in 1498, the areas that today comprise Pakistan experienced it for only about a hundred years. It has fundamentally affected the cultural life in all these areas. From the use of English as the official language which led to the learning of English for anyone wanting to progress in life, to adopting British mannerism and styles as the role model for the upper classes. Railways, telegraph, telephone shrank distances which changed forever the concept of travel and communication in the subcontinent. Most important the State in a new way became

the *Mai Baap*, in keeping with the British strategy of rule, providing education, health, jobs, and housing for its employees and a few other dependents. In the allotment of land in new colonies in the Punjab and Sindh,it developed a loyal comprador class that prided in having modern taste in architecture. In architecture, too, the examples of the colonial structures ranging from the lowly dak-bungalow to the grand New Delhi project set new standards for the country. The shopping areas of the Mall, in Lahore, and Saddar in Karachi, became the model. It affected and changed the architecture of bazaars, shops, housing and commercial buildings.

The house typology introduced through government schemes such as the Houses for Officers in the Military Cantonment, Government Officers Housing, Officers Housing for Railways, and others, changed the concept of living and house design. Local elite, particularly the local employees of the government who reached senior positions, gave up the comforts of traditional house-design, which had an internal courtyard and rooms arranged to be used as per climate changes and needs, for the bungalow. Their sentiment was best summed up by Diwan Khem Chand, the Originator of the Model Town in Lahore, 'each house would be detached from the others and would be built Bungalow-like [colonial proto-type] with some garden around it'. Such a house, despite its lesser suitability to local climate and culture as compared with the traditional walled city house, has become the accepted model today for the upper and upper middle classes. Such is the force of culture that, even in villages sometimes, one comes across a solitary two story multi-colored bungalow proclaiming the wealth of the owner.

Some excellent colonial period buildings have been bequeathed to the country in that century of colonial rule. The most important lesson of the colonial period was how to learn from the scientifically advanced West to enrich our own knowledge and not to just abandon our century old wisdom of building. Praiseworthy efforts were made by British architects like George Scott, Robert Chisolm, Col. Swinton Jacob, John Begg, and others[6] to achieve fusion of the local motifs with the European traditions, culminating in the remarkable success achieved in this direction by Bhai Ram Singh in the Punjab.[7] His work represents that coming of two

traditions and amalgamation to create a high level of synthesis. He and his work need to be studied more closely as a model of what could be achieved in the country.

Independence and Modernity

August of 1947 brought independence and horror to the subcontinent. Millions were forced to move from one country to the other and a million were killed in the process. Horror was particularly brutal and tragic in Punjab. Karachi, the new capital of Pakistan and Lahore, the major city of the time, bore the brunt of the millions of people driven out of India as part of the greatest movement of forced migration.

Karachi being a small city at the time of partition, with a population of only about 400,000 in 1947 expanded, literally overnight, into a metropolis of millions, needing the infrastructure to house the migrants and to start the industrialization process to provide employment, and thus it became the hub of new investments. Buildings were built for offices and new housing colonies were planned and laid out. State initiatives in setting up industrial estates, housing colonies for the poor and promotion of commerce to create new jobs were launched. The simplest way to accommodate the hordes of new comers was to give them government jobs. Bureaucracy swelled and soon the mantra was that government must provide jobs – and politicians obliged. Bloated government offices only meant inefficiency, wastage and corruption. Offices of the new government were accommodated in premises vacated by the departing non-Muslims and also a large number of simple barracks were built. These were simple structures of brick or stone with iron roofing. For the new country thrift was the key word. Nevertheless as the capital and main port of the country, Karachi, began to sprout new construction and the Pakistan PWD, with Mehdi Ali Mirza, as the Chief Architect, became the center of production of a new architecture. Mirza, newly returned from England with British mannerisms, cut a dashing figure with his sartorial taste, in the diplomatic and higher echelons of the state and dominated the new thinking of the government setting the course for modernism in Pakistan.

New structures of Karachi became the role model for the rest of the country. As the doyen of the department of architecture, he took the visionary step of starting a school of architecture to develop his immediate staff and also to attract new talent. That was to become the foundation stone for the present day edifice of architectural education in Karachi.

After the formation of the country, in late 40's and early 50's, the emphasis was to make Pakistan a 'Modern' country to 'stand proudly among the comities of nations'. The over-riding ambition was modernization which translated into industrialization and thus westernisation. Leaders of both India and Pakistan spelled out these goals which led to adoption of modern art, modern architecture, and modern painting, with the concomitant neglect of the local tradition. India, via Nehru, adopted the French architect Le Corbusier, and Pakistan, via the Ford Foundation, the Greek planner/architect Doxiades. Both impacted heavily on the modernist trend in the countries. Another step that both countries took was to send students, in large numbers, to the west for education. Western education became a key to success, starting from civil service of the two countries, to the engineering and technology with great emphasis on science being the leading vehicle of progress and modernity. This drive to eulogize everything Western, impacted on the rest of the cultural components, such as music, literature, both poetry and prose, crafts, furniture and therefore also architecture.

In the post-war period of 1950's -1960's, as America emerged as the strongest military power on earth, its culture, consumerism, automobile based urban development, in short, the International Style or Modernism, with its many variations, was planted all over the world. To be modern was to look like American, eat fast food, and enjoy western music and art. A number of countries, the ex-colonies, gained independence and all wanted to be modern and adopted the modern style as pushed by the rising global trends led by USA and Europe. Modernization, industrialization, westernization became synonymous. Modern Architecture was adopted as the ruling style and received applause from the returning experts, engineers, architects who studied in the West and sympathized with the wave of modernity sweeping the country. Tradition, old

style, age-old wisdom, became synonymous with stagnation, lack of knowledge and not being aware of the modern.

The pluralism of the society of Pakistan, a cause for celebration rather than negation, generates various cultural traditions and centers as it expands at an ever-increasing rate. The declining rural and the ascendant urban living styles, with their particular regional colors, interact at their junctions evolving new patterns which sometimes lead to strife. The impact of global consumerism, spread in this shrinking world through the media, the experience of the diaspora of the people of Pakistan, and the *visiting cousins*, is evident in the food outlets, fashion houses, transportation modes and, most prominently, music. The uneven development within the country and the resulting ever-widening gap between the rich and the poor has created a myriad of tensions among people based on ethnicity, faith, geography, income and spending. Ever since the 1950's, when the rulers decided to mortgage the country for loans in name of development, the people have been paying back the interest (the repayment of the principal being too remote to even contemplate) through rising prices, shortages of energy, increasing poverty, and, at the same time, with a zeal to import goods of all kind. Cities have become the show-piece of the peculiar modernist development paradigm in the country and Karachi leads the way with economic growth, physical horizontal expansion, and murder. The profession of architecture, with miniscule presence in the 1950's, responded to the country's needs with expanding numbers, those trained locally in the new schools and a substantial input from those trained abroad. The quality of architecture, not surprisingly, reflects the uneven development. Among large numbers of buildings of questionable architectural merit some stand, loud and clear, with outstanding value. The question for the profession and the students is what makes quality? Unfortunately it is never asked and answered seriously.

The perpetual response is to turn the eyes to the West and emulate it.The new Capital city of Islamabad was launched with Doxiades attempting to find a modern idiom for the country. Foreign architects were invited to design the important buildings and their stamp was seen on all new construction throughout the

country in both the wings, East Pakistan and the Western half. Local talent, as they say, was conspicuous by its absence.

Internationally, serious questions were raised in the decade of 60's and 70's about the philosophical footings of the International Style or the Modern Architecture Movement that had held sway since the 30's. Rapaport (1969)[8] conclusively proved that form is primarily a product of culture and not function alone, bringing into question the mottos of 'Form follows Function' [Sullivan] or 'A house is a machine to live in' [Corbusier]. Finally Charles Jencks the Post Modern Historian buried it with,'Happily, we can date the death of Modern Architecture to a precise moment in time... It expired finally and completely in 1972'. Fundamental questions of identity were raised anew, with a tentative move towards regional expressions of architecture. The next logical step was to revisit written history. Inspired by Edward Said's seminal works, thinkers became aware of the importance of the "viewpoint" as it shaped perception. In India the Subaltern Group began a scientific project to understand events from views other than the royal, feudal, colonial official version and the 'conventional wisdom'. In Pakistan Dr. Mubarak Ali initiated a campaign to understand history as a relative phenomenon dependent on the viewpoint. He vividly illustrated that the terms 'hero' and 'villain' changed places when seen from different perspectives.

The war of 1965 shook the ruling classes, for they found that they had no ready slogan, based on modernity, with which to rally the country. Islam was the rallying focus. In Architecture also, search was launched for 'Islam-based appropriate architecture' for Pakistan.

The Government of Pakistan organized three seminars in Murree (1965), Islamabad (1966) and Dhaka (1968) on the subject which were well attended but left no clear results. It was also the time when separatist tendencies had begun to take shape in East Pakistan and a re-interpretation of history, denying the forces of regional identity, was imposed on society and architecture. Buildings in Islamabad by the Western Masters of Architecture, Robert Mathews et al, who had been invited with such fanfare,

were modified without any reference to the authors. Addition of arabesque surface decoration, introduction of arches and domes, relevant or not, made a building Islamic. The superficiality of the facades matched the professing of faith through the visual symbols on a person; clothing, facial features, and mannerism became the measure of a person. Bhutto's period saw a slight re-emergence of the liberal viewpoint and architecture began to look Westward again with Turkish architect Dalokey contributing the Summit Minar in Lahore and the Faisal Mosque in Islamabad. However the coup carried out by ZiaulHaq reversed Bhutto's liberalism with a vengeance and reinvigorated the trend started by Ayub Khan after the 1965 war. Zia wrought fundamental changes in society, above all, by altering the education system, introducing uniform syllabus from primary to the high school level attuned to his version of Islamic philosophy. His personal peccadillos influenced architecture at all levels. From his peculiar interpretation of Islamic Architecture emerged the new design for the Data Sahib Mosque, the banning of urinals as being un-Islamic, a heightened emphasis on the use of arches and domes and the use of Octagon in plans and facades as surface decoration. The emphasis shifted from content to surface treatment. Western dress of shirt and trouser disappeared and *shalwar,kamiz*, was ordained as the official dress. Some architects, erstwhile liberals, modified their living, dress and professions of faith to attract the state's attention and were duly rewarded. Zia's lasting contribution, thanks to MrsYasmeenLari, was the promulgation of the Pakistan Council for Architects and Planners (PCATP) that gave a legal cover to the professions of Architecture and Town Planning.

Dubai changed the viewpoint of the ruling classes in Pakistan; its illogical modernity, glass towers in a sun-drenched country, ice-skating rinks in a desert, were replicated albeit in a grotesque manner in Karachi and Lahore and a sort of Pakistan post modernism took shape. Lacking philosophical mooring, architecture styles in Pakistan swung from distorted replication of arches and domes in the name of Islamic architecture, to different shapes in facades in the name of modernity; thus the cacophony of architecture, which is witnessed in all the major cities of the country.

In Pakistan today there is no avenue for serious discourse on architecture. Other than the valiant effort by Murtuza Shikoh in Karachi with the start of the Architimes, which initiated the practice of reporting on building activities and the happenings in the Profession, there is no media avenue devoted to architectural criticism. The tabloid format Archtimes has matured, engendering an additional magazine, Architecture +Interiors, which has become the leading spokes-piece for the profession; however there is yet no systematic evaluation of architectural works. An inhibiting factor is that the architects are very intolerant of any comments passed on their buildings.

Educational Institutions are the vanguard of a society. Architectural criticism could and should have been part of the teaching of history which could be reflected in the publications etc., of the universities. Unfortunately even here the progress is very little. History of Architecture continues to be taught with emphasis on the descriptive, with a Banister Fletcher West-based approach, leading to boring interpretations. Students are, unsurprisingly, put off by such history and find it irrelevant especially when it is only Euro-Centric. There is little effort develop a curriculum of History with a Sub-continental focus.

The educated public, generally, in Pakistan has, thanks to the colonial experience, a West-based appreciation of arts. From painting, drama and architecture the effort is generally to emulate and 'catch-up' with the west. The judgment of the elite, potential clients of architects, is to evoke their visits to Europe, UK and USA in judging architecture. Educational institutions failed to formulate theory, students were left floundering in the magazines or the internet to seek inspiration for their new designs.

Thaap, a not-for-profit trust established in 2006, is a forum of academics and professionals dedicated to improving the state of education, particularly in the fields of the Art, Architecture and Culture, where multidisciplinary discourses take place and diversity thrives; our particular focus is on teachers for they will, and can, lead the way and give us hope for a richer future. To achieve this goal, International Conferences are held on an annual basis, while

Seminars, Colloquiums, Consultative meetings are organized throughout the year. The objective remains – development of art and architectural education in Pakistan. All education, undoubtedly, depends on the quality of the teaching faculty. It is our belief that the key to the art of architecture is the philosophy that an architect brings to the solutions he/she generates.

The First International Thaap Conference 2010 on "Historiography of Architecture of Pakistan and the Region" was held on November 26-27, 2010 at Lahore. Sixteen scholars have contributed to this book with thoughtful, provocative, insightful, incisive, and sometimes surprising views.

Dr. Mubarak Ali and Dr. Ahmed Zaib K Mahsud set out the theoretical foundation of historiography for the conference. 'History is a double – edged sword,' says Mubarak, its impact can vary depending on the conditions in which it is written, 'on the one hand it creates political and social consciousness and tolerance, and on the other, it can turn a society prejudiced, narrow-minded and intolerant'. A narrow religion based interpretation of Pakistan, ignoring the social, economic and cultural layers, with anti-India as the main plank of its policy, is 'an effort to reject the reality of the subcontinent adding to our ideological and political confusion'. Mahsud, referring to the ambivalence created by linear and narrow view of history (geographical or period subdivisions), points out that, 'the role or autonomy of design and the capacity of the context in mitigating the ambivalence hardly surfaces in these ways of writing history'. He adds that,'In order to operationalize the framework of [revisiting] architectural historiography we seek the cultural method … through the specifically defined concepts of design and context', and that 'multi-cultural quality and dialogic dimensions as the analytical apparatus are necessary to shift the focus from passive to dynamic exchange'.

On the city and regional planning plane, views range from an analysis of the urban forms in Sindh by Dr.Anila Naeem, elaboration of the dialectics of planning, negotiating between modernity and relevance of context, of Islamabad by Dr. Ahmed Zaib K. Mahsud, to a history-based reinterpretation of the origins of Lahore by Dr.

Khalid Bajwa, thereby removing many a cobweb from the minds of planners and students, and shedding new light in the erstwhile dark corners. Kaiwan Mehta points out the myriad of social, economic, and cultural factors that define a piece of architecture where people live with examples from Bombay. With the heuristic study of the architecture of Turkish architects in Islamabad and Turkey Dr. Banu Pekol gives a fresh look to the international exchanges in cultures and architecture. Dr. Priyaleen Singh peers through the thick veil laid over our landscape sensibilities during the colonial period, illustrating with the interventions in the gardens of the Taj, and brings to life the aroma of the Mughal Gardens rejuvenating, literally, our olfactory senses. In the same sense Linus Strothman illustrates how official management with a different agenda covers up and smothers the true meaning of the sufi message. Varda Nisar brings to light a dying community of stone carvers living in Karachi, whose great contribution is being sidelined in this era of consumerism and quick-fix solutions to spirituality. Dr. Aisha Imdad examines the motif of the 'tree of life' and its manifestations in monuments during the Mughal period and also how it has been continued to be used in the *havelis* and important residential buildings. Ayesha Siddiqui studies the use of Swastika in ancient India as a symbol of good luck and its usage in the different periods. Her illustration of the left hand and right hand swastika with their particular mythic symbolism, and the usage in Wazir Khan mosque in Lahore is insightful. Dr. Ghafer Shahzad, in examining extent and restraint of conjecture, says that conjecture in the writing of history creates confusion; however Dr. Anis Siddiqui summing his analysis of the basic mind processes concludes that 'all knowledge, whether scientific or otherwise, stems from imaginative and conjectural thinking'. Such debates give the book liveliness, stimulating thinking on the part of the reader himself. Dr. Neelum Naz makes a detailed, innovative and an interesting case of teaching history according to a system proposed by her and Saba Samee recounts the accounts of Lahore by travellers and how they interpreted it according to their own agenda and bias.

Endnotes

1. For a fuller exposition on imperialism and culture see the works of, among others, Michel Foucault, Edward Said, and Jacques Derrida.

2. The development of Indian Philosophy has been elucidated at great length by a number of Indian Scholars such as SarvepalliRadhakrishnan, SurendranathDasgupta, Mysore Hiriyanna; Karen Armstrong gives a provocative linkage between regional philosophies in her *The Great Transformation*, Atlantic Books , London, 2006.

3. Contribution to Philosophy and Science by Arabs and Muslims is widely acknowledged; Saliba, George (2007), Deen, S M (2007), Suter, Heinrich (1900), Huff, Toby E.,(1993)

4. As narrated in 'Ahwal-i-Humayun Padshah' by Gulbadan Begum: *HumayunNama, A History of Humayun,* translated Annette S Beveridge (1902)

5. Qaisar, Ahsan Jan, *Building Construction in Mughal India,* Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1988.

6. In the early colonial period most of the buildings were designed by military engineers who consulted pattern books then widely available in England, later architects came out to serve in the colonies, however their tenures were relatively short and their understanding of Indian architecture limited to a few motifs.

7. Vandal, Sajida&Pervaiz, *The Raj, Lahore and Bhai Ram Singh*, NCA publications, Lahore, 2006.

8. Rapaport, Amos, 1969 - *House, Form & Culture, et al*

Historiography Interpreted

Mubarak Ali, Ph.D.

History is a double edged sword; on the one hand it creates political and social consciousness and tolerance, on the other, it can turn a society into a prejudiced, narrow minded and intolerant entity. Interpreted with a political, social, religious and economic perspective, its impact can vary depending on the conditions in which it is written and the interests it represents.

In the religious historiography, the task of history is to fulfill the divine mission. According to it, man has no power to interfere in the process; he is just a passive actor having no choice of his own. Following this method attempts are made to find an ideal period in history, pristine and virtuous enough to be presented as a model. In fact, according to this point of view, historical forces have exhausted their energy and vitality in shaping and building such a society, and while man moved from this ideal period, he polluted and distorted its purity and simplicity and made progress impossible by damaging and disfiguring traditions and values.

Consequently, according to the religious interpretation, the salvation of humankind lies in reviving the past and revitalizing its purity. Naturally, this type of history is written with religious passion and devotion leaving no space for criticism or analysis. It paints the past as romantic and the present is portrayed as dark, ugly and sinful.

The other angle is that progress plays a vital role in shaping historical thoughts and human society is continuously changing for the better in spite of obstacles and hindrances. It is evident from history that society has moved from savagery to intellectual maturity; history is not an uninterrupted process and there are changes and jerks which reshape and reconstruct it. When history is written with a progressive point of view, it makes the past look dark and unromantic which cannot be revived and replicated. It rejects any ideal or golden period in history. However, this concept of history is used as a tool by imperial powers to subdue and enslave the weaker nations in the name of progress and civilization.

Muslim scholars writing on the history of the Indian subcontinent adopt religious point of view and mention historical events as they happened without analyzing them, believing that everything comes from God and man has no choice in changing the course of history. As most of the historians of the Saltanat and the Mughal periods were religious scholars, they eulogized those rulers who observed religious practices and those who avoided religious rituals were severely criticized and condemned. Ziauddin Barani, a contemporary historian of the Saltanat period and the writer of *Tarikh- i- Firuzshahi* condemns Alauddin Khilji and Muhammad Tughluq because of their non religious policies while admiring, Iltutmish, Nasiruddin Mahmud, Balban and Firuz Shah as devoted Muslims. Abdul Qadir Badayuni blames Akbar for violation of Islamic teachings without mentioning his achievements as a ruler.

Moreover, the focus of their historical interpretation is to describe the contribution of rulers, nobility and sufi saints only. Ziauddin Barani writes that it is the task of history to provide information and knowledge about prophets, saints, and the ulema because they are the people who achieved fame as a result of their

virtuous character and their personal qualities. On the other hand, those who are considered low-caste, upstart, impure, common, wretched, nameless, and worthless should have no place in history and study of history is of no use to them because it is beyond their understanding. He argues that history is useful only to rulers and great religious scholars and only they have the intellectual capacity to learn from it. Barani's exclusion of common people from history is significant; they do not contribute to it so why should they study it?

The historians of the medieval period confined the knowledge of history only to the ruling classes who could learn lessons from past politics and improve their methods of governance. To warn the rulers, such historians also discussed the rise and fall of ruling dynasties and nations of the past to show why they disappeared into oblivion. In fact, their argument was that the rulers should be just if only with the aim of being remembered positively by the future generations.

As most of the historians were employed by rulers to record their history, the focus of their narratives was kings, nobles and their political and military exploits. Other classes and their role were either marginalized or ignored altogether.

However, the Indian historiography radically changed in the 18th Century when the Mughal dynasty declined and the royal court failed to patronize historians and scholars. This liberated them from the court and its restrictions. They moved from royal circle to common people and started to write a different kind of history which was not only one of political chaos but also of the social and cultural life of the society. They also traveled extensively throughout the country to discover the life and conditions of the people. The result was a rich history containing colorful varieties of social life. Murshid Quli Khan's *Murraqa' Dehli* is one o the examples of this type of history. It is a charming portrayal of the city during the declining period of the Mughal Empire. There are graphic details of moral decadence of the ruling classes, who, unaware of political disintegration, were busy in amusement and festivities.

During this period the power of the Mughals was decentralized and provincial states were emerging as resourceful powers .The history of these states was not one of decline but of successes and achievements. Historians, poets, and scholars sought their patronage and produced local histories and also history of cities which enriched the historiography.

Decadence and decline are no obstacles for those writing history. Historians, as a matter of fact, get more material to write of a society that is morally, culturally and politically in the process of decay. In this case, they have to find out the causes of change and analyze them in order to understand the process of decline. History, in this case, becomes a tool that helps understand the past of a society, and recommend restructuring.

The British conquest and occupation of India resulted in a colonial interpretation of history with a motive to legitimize its rule. The victories against the Indians were attributed to the blessings of God in the quest to fulfill the divine mission. Once the British power was consolidated, the mission was redefined as an effort to civilize the uncivilized Indians whose past was portrayed as dark and their form of government as despotic. Following the policy of divide and rule, the history was periodised as the Hindu and the Muslim rule. Sometimes the Muslim rule was declared better advanced than the ancient Hindu past as interpreted in James Mills' *History of British India*; often the Muslim rule was even portrayed as despotic and anti Hindu as in Elliot and Dowson's *History of India as Told by its Own Historians.*

The modern educated Indian historians responded to the colonial historiography and interpreted it from the nationalist point of view, thus rejecting any religious divisions and presenting the concept of a single nationhood. They owned the cultural heritage of the Muslim rule and highlighted the Hindu-Muslim unity and shared history and culture.

In 1920's, when the Indian politics was communalized, historiography suffered. Muslim historians resurrected the conquerors from the pages of history who had defeated the Hindus and glorified their rules. Wars against the Hindus were declared as

jihad or holy wars. These conquerors were referred to as the holy warriors or *Mujahids* or *Ghazis*, their rules transformed into Islamic rules. The contribution of the Hindus was either totally ignored or ridiculously marginalized.

Hindu historians, on the other hand, admired rulers and individuals who had resisted the Muslim invaders; under such an ambiance it became difficult for neutral historians to work with total sincerity.

When Rajwade wanted to work on Shewaji, the Hindus of Maharashtra protested and historiography became a battleground among communal Hindu and Muslim historians. When Jadunath Sarkar published *Auranzeb*, and *Shewaji the Great,* it was contested by Farooqui who defended Aurangzeb, and Tafazzul Daud and criticized Shewaji. Communalization of Indian history was born!

In Pakistan historiography always faithfully served the interests of the ruling class. In its early stage, just after the partition, its main objective was to break off all possible liens with the Indian Subcontinent, historically and culturally. The ruling class wanted a separate identity for the new-born country and historians were asked to concoct a brand new fable. Mortimer Wheeler, a British archaeologist and historian, was asked to fulfill this role. He published his book *Five Thousand Years of Pakistan* in 1950. As he had worked on the Indus valley Civilization, he argued that Pakistan was closer to the Mesopotamian civilization of antiquity, meaning thereby that we were more a part of the Middle Eastern rather than the Indian civilization. Interestingly, this approach was at the same time quite secular with no involvement in religion in an effort to determine Pakistan's historical identity.

Then we had another problem; East Pakistan was closely linked with West Bengal, linguistically and culturally. To determine its separate identity, the partition of Bengal in 1905 was invoked in an effort to prove that East Bengal, as a Muslim majority province, was different than West Bengal. But these also created differences between what turned out to be the West Pakistani and East Pakistani identities. While the one was based on religion the other had a secular concept.

This anomaly was removed in the second approach to write the history of Pakistan. I. H. Qureshi, the ideologue of the new historiography, in his writings which included *Muslim Community of Indian Subcontinent, Ulema and Politics*, argued that from the very beginning of the Muslim arrival in India there was consciousness of religious identity, as the new Muslim immigrants who came in phases to India had absorbed themselves into the Muslim community, forgetting their ethnic or national identities. According to his argument, there emerged a monolithic Muslim community in India which was culturally and socially different from the Hindu community.

Qureshi's thesis of a monolithic Muslim community was based on a weak foundation. Historically, there is enough evidence that there was no such thing as a Muslim community in the medieval period. The ethnic identity was predominant and determined the status of the individual. The Turk, the Mughal, the Afghan, and the Iranian identities were recognized to determine the status of a group or an individual. The sharp division between the Hindus and the Muslims came about during the British period. The contribution of James Mills towards this process has already been mentioned and James Fergusson classified the architectural monuments as Hindu and Muslim. In the first census of 1801, the Indian population was identified on the basis of religion. The colonial officials looked at everything from the religious perspective. The Two Nation theory emerged from the womb of this colonial approach and later became the major cause of the partition

I. H. Qureshi paid great tribute to the *ulema* who had preserved and conserved the religious identity of the Muslim community in India. He eulogized the role of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi (1614) who struggled against Akbar's syncretic ideas and tried to restore the purity of religion. It made Akbar a villain and Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi a hero in the historiography of Pakistan.

I. H. Qureshi's writing provided a sound basis for the Pakistan ideology. Subsequently, the trends were to ignore ancient India as it was pre Islamic and did not fit into the ideological framework. Instead, history was linked to the Islamic period via the conquest of Sindh. The communalist trends which were the product

of the communalization of the Indian politics in the 1920s and '30s were followed ; Muhammad bin Qasim recognized as the conqueror of Sindh, and Mahmud of Ghazna given the title of idol-breaker and both elevated to the status of heroes. The new-formulated history covered the medieval period only partially. It disowned Akbar, who was accused of inducting Hindus into his empire and making the Muslim community weaker and vulnerable. Aurangzeb became the symbol of a new Islamic purity.

In the grand national narrative of the Freedom Struggle, or the Pakistan Movement, Muslim leaders and parties who had joined the nationalist movement and had opposed the Muslim League were excluded from history. All achievements were attributed to the All India Muslim League and its leaders. Muhammad Iqbal and Muhammad Ali Jinnah became the founding fathers of the new-born nation; evidently, these narratives were more anti Hindu than anti British.

The writing of history drastically changed after the 1971 war and the emergence of Bangladesh. The Pakistan People's Party then in power decided to reinvent the history of a new Pakistan. The Cultural Department of government began publishing a magazine *Saqafat* in which historians and writers published articles trying to prove that the present territorial area of Pakistan was an entirely separate entity than the Indian Subcontinent save for the past 500 years when it was seized by imperial powers such as the Maurayans, the Mughals, and the British. Some textbook writers tried to find the cultural roots in the Indus valley civilization. Others repeated the old argument of the Middle Eastern link and the ancient contacts with the Mesopotamian civilization.

As anti Indian feelings intensified as a result of our chequered relationship, the anti-Indian trends were widely inculcated in academic as well as in history textbooks. Such a prominent historian as A. H. Dani argued in a number of his articles and interviews that Pakistan is more closely related to Iran and Central Asia rather than to India. In one of his interviews, he claimed that 60% of Pakistanis originally belonged to the Central Asian stock. He also proposed that if the government adopted Persian as the official language, we could easily become a part of Central Asia. All this in an effort to reject the reality of the Subcontinent and adding to our ideological and political confusion!

Architecture of the subcontinent is fully reflected in its historiography. When the grandeur of the Mughal Empire declined, its architecture also lost its refinement and sophistication and was reduced to meaningless imitations of the past or a set of shapeless and formless buildings attempting to portray the existing conditions. The confused and unstable state of society was reflected in its architectural manifestations. The arrival of the British brought a new type of architecture which changed the landscape of cites by imposing European based architecture in buildings of judicial courts, post offices, universities and colleges, libraries, cathedrals, markets, and public gardens. After partition, the significant aspect of Pakistani architecture is the emergence of mosque and shrine forms, applied to secular building in an attempt to Islamicize them. Confusions of the social, political and economic fields are truly reflected in the architecture of the time and show the intellectual bankruptcy in society. There is neither innovation nor creativity. The new architecture has not only disfigured cities, but created discomfort to people. Therefore, history of architecture should be analyzed in the context of social and political changes and not in isolation.

When History Becomes the Corpus for Designerly Way of Thinking

On Historiography of Architecture of Pakistan and the Region

Ahmed Zaib K. Mahsud, Ph.D.

The word 'historiography' is commonly referred to as *the writing of history - written history*. Its earliest known occurrence in English language dates from 1569, whereas its older Greek roots are from history [*narrative*], and *to write*, which makes the phrase understandable that *'historians recreate the course of history'*. While passing from Latin into Italian, French and German, its use has remained analogous. In recent years, its meaning has developed along two complimentary lines: historiographer the person, and historiography the object i.e. the work of history. Since 19th century, the word has been used to refer to both the writing of history and, more importantly, the **corpus** of written history i.e. describing fully constituted sets of historical works: the historiography of a particular period [Byzantium, Renaissance or Gothic] for instance, the historiography of the reign of monarchs, or the historiography of modern architecture. Thus, it could be inferred that **historiography denotes the total number of the histories written about a specific period or thematic unit, and, by extension, it is applied to knowledge about or the broader study of such set of works.**[1] In

other words, historiography makes history itself as a corpus for investigation, analysis and developing 'theory'–a way of thinking, a set of point of views and normative reflections. It is this particular sense of historiography that relates to theory building, and becomes relevant for the architectural academe as an important tool for the field of architecture and its development, which forms the point of departure for formulating my reflections. My reflections are mainly concerned with **the role of 'design' and the capacity of the 'context' in [re]writing historiography, which implies using history as a corpus for designerly way of thinking to construct theory**.

On one side, if architectural history is about narrating the transformation of space and time, imagining its historiography has largely been conditioned by what I call '**the myth of the Indus**'. From Sir Mortimeer Wheeler's '5000 years of Pakistan' [1948] to Kamil Khan Mumtaz's 'Architecture in Pakistan' [1985] and 'Modernity & tradition: Contemporary Architecture in Pakistan' [1999], and Aitzaz Ahsan's 'The Indus Saga and the making of Pakistan' [1996] are just few cases to illuminate that conditioning. What 'the myth of the Indus' does remarkably is that it creates **ambivalence**; suspending history in a tension and creates polarities, such as between '*new state and old nation', 'modernity and tradition', 'historical and progressive*,' and so on. However, such ambivalence is subsumed by attempts at **periodisation** [ancient to sultanate, Mughal to post-colonial, etc.], **stylization** and a **chronological account** of history. **The role or autonomy of 'design' and the capacity of the 'context' in mitigating the ambivalence hardly surfaces in these ways of writing history.**

On the other side, the building-up of post-colonial architecture & urban theory in an international context has been based on challenging and contesting the simplistic notions of viewing the exchange [of ideas] through analytical categories, such as *export - import, planting, core – periphery* etc. Discernable from such categories of theorizing is the notion of reducing the '**context**' and '**design**' to *passive / inactive recipients* and mere *application of theories*, respectively. Moreover, there has been an emerging scholarly line of enquiry that attempts to [re-]theorize the **cultural dimension of architectural conception** in post-colonial discourse through

local-global, east-west, tradition-modern polarities. Furthermore, formulations, such as *Orientalism as the image of the west* [Edward Said], *Englishness invented abroad* [Panayiota Pyla], the 'subaltern' as *a space of difference* and 'subaltern studies' as an *intervention in South Asian historiography* [Gramsci, Spivak and Bhabha, etc.] have provided the intellectual ferment for unfolding a new era of historiographical developments. They have yielded discourses, such as *alternative* modernities to *indigenous* and *multiple* modernities, and *another* and *hybrid* modernities, which characterize the range from the continuation of reactionary attitude to apologetic formulations. **They are formulations of the other, by the other and for the other as hyper-texts, which run the danger of reducing both the design and the context as de-contextualised patterns**. My reflections are based on an attempt to transcend these formulations through the framework of '*re-visioning / re-inventing history by deconstructing the process of making*' as a way of historiography for building theory. This framework implies that both the **context** [*the culture of the place, time and geography*] and **design** [*the culture of making*] plays an active role in [re]writing historiography for building theory. This framework is to facilitate a designerly way of research on history [using it as a corpus], and a testimony to the concern for avoiding the use of historical buildings [projects, cities, etc.] as de-contextualized patterns.

The framework of 're-visioning / re-inventing through making' for historiography of architecture, with the active role of design and the context, implies specific meanings, which needs to be elaborated. In this framework, **Design** is not simply application of theory rather it is rethinking and reformulation of theory. In this sense, the autonomy of design is in the reformulation of agendas – reflection happens in design – and not in the application of agendas and theories, rather the reformulation unfolds new [reinvented / revisioned] theories and agendas in the process of design. Such a process of design is one part of constituting the '*making*'. Moreover, design in the sense of making [a continuous process of making, unmaking and re-making] is the articulation of a framework for change. Such a notion of design is to deal with the *incompleteness of the work of architecture*; the life of the building and designed urban space beyond the completion of building works

– the inhabitation, adaptation, alteration in response to changing cultural & technological conditions – when architecture begins to respond to change, people and place over time i.e. it becomes *a cultural construct*. Thus, through such a notion of design in the sense of making, we do not only discern through historiography the moments of incompleteness, appropriateness and change, but we also endow the theory of design as always in the process of making and an ongoing concern from one generation to the next.

Theorizing design as a framework for change is meaningless without the complementary capacity of the **context** in constructing a cultural process of making. Context creates conditions that allow dealing with the real process of building a house, garden or a city, and dealing with individual, economic, political, ideological and developmental agendas. Re-visioning the process of making in a particular context implies a designerly way of thinking about reformulating development and other agendas. Context is shaped by culture and geography as the chief elements. Including agendas in a designerly way of thinking is what constitutes reinventing / revisioning in a particular context. Thus, *context defines the modalities for unfolding the process of making*.

In order to operationalize the framework of 'revisioning / reinventing through making' for architectural historiography, we seek the **cultural method** of studying history as a corpus through the specifically defined concepts of design and the context. On one side, this approach aims to transcend the canonical theory & methods of history – *the antiquarian, the archeological and the orientalist* - and embraces the cultural method with architecture as its freshly realized old home i.e. as architecture culture. On the other side, it is part of the three patterns of social organization that are study-able: psychological, social and cultural.[2] Thus, to complement the 'revisioning / reinventing through making' as a '**dynamic historical fram**ework' for architectural historiography, the '**multi-cultural quality'** and the **'dialogic dimension'**[3] as the analytical apparatus are necessary to shift the focus from passive to dynamic exchange [of ideas over time]. Transcending the reactionary and apologetic attitudes in theory building, such an approach makes a plea for 'dispassionate rationality'. It makes a case for opening

up the field of historiography for the development of architectural theory, and thereby, the field of architecture in Pakistan and the region. Rigorous efforts at enlarging the scope of historiography are necessary for unfolding a Pakistani architecture-culture that is an active [in reformulation of its trajectory] and contributive part of world architecture.

Endnotes

1. Panayotis Tournikiotis, [1999], *The Historiography of Modern Architecture*, Cambridge [Massachusetts]: The MIT Press.

2. Samer Akkach, [2000], 'The burden of difference: Rethinking the role of culture in architectural education,' *Architectural Theory Review*, Volume 5, Issue 1.

3. For the use of 'multi-cultural quality' and 'dialogic dimension' as analytical apparatus, I am indebted to prof. Nasser Rabbat (AKPIA, MIT). For more detail on this, see: Nasser Rabbat, 'The dialogic dimension in Umayyad Art', *RES* 43. (Spring 2003): 78-94.

Understanding Urban Built form Traditions; Using Methodical Study of Historic Sources
A Case Study of Sindh, Pakistan

Anila Naeem, Ph.D.

Introduction

Since late 19th century efforts are being made to develop systematic methods of research and analysis of the historic past and its link to the present. Outcomes of these debates provide scientific methods of research on built environments and their impact on human development. The major contributions being from two distinct groups of professionals - firstly, the historians and geographers who developed methods of 'urban historical geography' linking history and geography with socio-economics, politics, and other related areas of human history and environment, and secondly, the urban planners and urban designers who developed the methodological approach of 'urban morphology' for studying and understanding the context of built environments and historic urban fabric through an analysis of city plans. Both have their strengths and weaknesses: historians, criticized for their preoccupation with social, economic, religious, cultural and political aspects of a town's history (Gauthiez, 2004); whereas

urban planners/ designers' reprimanded for their emphasis on morphological analysis, ignoring the social aspects (Billinge, 1982). The two approaches initially having evolved rather separately, eventually expanded as interdisciplinary fields combining their strengths to enrich the research outcomes.

Sindh, the south-eastern province of Pakistan is an under-researched area, especially in terms of its historic environments. This research seeks to consolidate the available fragmented information from primary and secondary sources, and review these to gain a holistic understanding on the region's historic built form traditions and urban fabric in reference to their present state. The research methodology involves a literature review of historical sources on Sindh, aiming to put together the existing knowledge on its historic environments, and build on it through updated field data, addressing issues of deficient scientific exploration on Sindh – particularly in defining significance and identities for historic urban places, their regional level mapping and classification of historic towns. The method uses, as a starting point, predefined and well established definitions of towns and urban centers (Carter, 1983; Garnier and Chabot, 1967) and applying these to review Sindh in its historic perspective to short-list towns of historic significance. These were then studied in detail to identify the core factors shaping their traditional built form.

Sindh has a deep rooted history based on ethnic, cultural and linguistic lines, unique to the area, thus seeking definition of its urban historic built form traditions requires consideration of not only tangible observables but also customs, religious beliefs/ practices and socio-cultural norms of society.

Many of Sindh's cities that once served as centers of learning, hubs of trade/ commerce, and seats of administrative power, today suffer a declined existence due to various political, administrative and social changes resulting from Sindh's annexation (1843) by the British and, later, due to the provincially polarized administrative approaches of post-Independence (1947) Pakistan. Their urban fabric, having undergone many changes, continues to suffer major

transformations due to lack of appreciation as valuable historic and cultural national assets, and an absence of political support to promote policies encouraging their conservation.

Damages to historic environments go unchecked, leaving them vulnerable to pressures threatening their existence. There is thus an urgent need to identify important historic towns of the region, build awareness and appreciation for their unique values, and recognize their significance/ potentials through viable in-depth understanding of their typo-morphological patterns and built form traditions.

Urban Historical Geography, Methods of Research and Analysis

Urban historical geography as a field of research helps establish a continuous link of the present with the historic past, giving a sense of permanence and continuity to built environments. Methods of research in this field involve an analysis of built environments in their historic context by using surviving evidences of the past. The objective is to encourage an appreciation and pride in the reminiscences of the historic past by the present society, and promote an approach that seeks to integrate and incorporate historic environments within the present day. Applying methods of historico-geographical research allow interpretations and analysis of human activities over long periods of time, in association with the environment, and its resources, helping build a connection on the basis of changing socio-economic and political trends with the changes in pattern of human behaviour and, thus, the preferential developments in socio-cultural activities, economic and political inclinations and the built form.

Historical geography as a field took shape in the 1920's[1]. Debates and exchange of ideas during 1920's and 30's (primarily by French scholars) redefined the historian's role as that of a facilitator

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1   Baker (1984) attributes Lucien Fabvre (Paris, 1922), Carl Sauer (California, 1925), Marc Bloch (Oslo and Paris 1931) and Clifford Darby (Cambridge, 1936) as the four pioneering contributors to be 'viewed contextually as intellectual innovators'.

to locate, accumulate, collate and authenticate documents so that history could be written 'as it really was'. In Britain, however, this change was initiated around mid 70's and experimentation with possibilities to combine disciplines external to geography was attempted (Butlin, 1982). With this broadening of scope an interdisciplinary approach developed, making it possible to induct a wide variety of primary data sources. These, however, have their own set of drawbacks and constraints requiring an understanding of the exact nature of source materia , its original purpose, limitations and context (Baker, 1970).

It is thus important to use a range of different sources to make up for the voids/ weaknesses and allow the possibility for cross-referencing the interpretations.

The range of sources commonly employed for research in historical geography include official documents[2] (such as tax records, census enumerator's books, crop returns, wills, government statistics), maps of a region or specific cities,[3] old photographs/ images,[4] private archives (such as diaries, correspondence, business accounts, inventories), etc.

Urban Morphology

Urban morphology is defined as the 'study of city forms' (Gauthier, 2006) or the 'study of the city as a human habitat' (Moudon, 1997); a method for studying the built environment using plans as a source of history and geography, and as data for urban

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2 Compiled for purposes of government and administration prove useful due to sheer weight of detailed information they contain. Their drawback being a stress on official points of view, while unofficial opinions and perceptions are unrecorded. In addition they overlook topics peripheral to official administration but could be of interest to historical geographers (Hall, 1982).

3 Usually produced through government survey departments; provide valuable information on trade and communication links and directions of growth; in addition containing information on sociological clusters and boundaries reflected by old street/ sector names. Comparison and analysis of topographical, cadastral or survey maps of any region or city prepared at different periods gives a clear view on growth and development patterns (Harley, 1982).

4 Use of images as a source to understand the past is called '**geosophy**'. Its drawback being the fact that researchers tend to disregard actual behaviour of people in the past, reducing geosophical studies to only catalogues of images. Advocated as the most human level of providing a link with past –it must not be kept separate from historical geography; but becomes meaningful only if used with adequate cross referencing from other contemporary sources (Chambers, 1982).

planning. The key concepts in today's urban morphology initially developed during and before 1940's, were made fully explicit during 1950's and early 1960's (Gauthiez, 2004).

Elements of morphological analysis include plot, buildings/ constructed space open space/ gardens/ parks, streets and monuments, considered as having organic qualities that transform through time.

Among urban morphologists there, generally, is a consensus regarding what they study, but considerable debate is generated over how to study the urban forms. Summarizing the philosophical contributions in urban morphology Mugavin (1999) identifies Michel Foucault and Henry Lefebvre as pioneers. Moudon (1997) identifies three main schools of thought in urban morphological research:

- The **Italian (Muratorian) school** primarily focused on study of urban form for prescriptive purposes, with the aim of developing a theory of city design; concentrating on how cities should be built.
- The **Birmingham (Conzenian) school**, dominated by geographers, focuses on the study of urban form for descriptive and explanatory purposes, with the aim of developing a theory of city building, concerned with how cities are built and why.
- The **French school** studied urban form to assess the impact of past design theories on city building, assessing differences or similarities between stated directives about what should be built, and what has actually been built.

Contributions from other origins are also acknowledged but the Italian and British schools are considered as most impactful in developing of distinct approaches, the most important being the understanding of built environment as a system of relations submitted to rules of transformation - further enriched by capturing cultural occurrences as part of the process to better understand their complexity. In 1996, the expansion of urban morphology beyond

its original confines in geography, was officially acknowledged, and its emergence as an interdisciplinary field (Moudon, 1997), initiating establishment of a domain spanning geography, history, archaeology, architecture and planning, hence the humanities, social sciences and professions, study and action, knowledge and decision, description and prescription. It was further broadened to incorporate issues of sustainability, environmental values, socio- economics, as well as aspects of culture, multi-ethnicity and religion. These trends have brought the fields of urban historical geography and urban morphology closer in their objective.

Primary and Secondary Sources on Sindh: Identification and Method for Use in Research

Based on a theoretical framework incorporating methods from historical geography and urban morphology, this research involves extensive use of primary and secondary sources on the case study region of Sindh. The literature review incorporates published historical accounts, historical analysis (20th century and more recent research publications), various observations/ experiences documented through travelogues and books (largely 19th century publications written mostly by European travellers, British political agents and officers deputed in the region, prior to and after Sindh's annexation) and official gazetteers.

Regional Mapping and typo-Morphological Analysis of Sindh's Historic Towns

Historical sources on Sindh indicate that its built environment has been influenced by the physiographic features that historically posed severe challenges to human survival and sustenance, determining the pattern and growth of settlements. Of greatest impact has been the River Indus, whose treacherously unstable nature dominated settlement patterns, up till the 19th and 20th century. Few cities have managed a continuous existence; surviving examples having suffered at the hands of insensitive developments, remain jeopardized by inappropriate planning practices resulting in a loss of their unique fabric. The regional

mapping of Sindh's historic urban centres presented here is an outcome of a systematic analytical process that led to identification of surviving historic towns and determining their value in the historic context, in conjunction with present growth and development patterns.

Sindh: Geographic Position - Physiographical and Topographical Composition

Sindh, Pakistan's second largest province (in terms of population), is spread over an area of 140,914km^2 (54,407miles^2), having a population of 30.44 million as of 1998 census records (GoP, 2009; IUCN, 2007). Located at the far western corner of the Indian Sub-continent, Sindh geographically enjoys a strategic position at the crossroad of cultures. Added to this is the advantage of its River (Indus) flowing across its centre along N-S axis, linking to the sea on the south, connecting it both regionally and globally. This connectivity has been the reason for Sindh's economic prosperity and cultural enrichment, but creating vulnerability to territorial occupation from outside forces, even till present times. Sindh's administrative boundaries are largely defined by natural features of the landscape. The western boundary defined by Kirthar Mountain Ranges, the southwest edge marked by the Arabian Sea, the south having Runn of Kutch, the eastern boundaries adjoin Rajasthan Desert, and the north-east having the plains of Punjab (IUCN, 2007; Sorley, 1959; Thornton, 1844). Sindh is categorized as the 'Lower Indus Basin', but due to the varied physiographic features within, it is divided into four distinct sub-regions: Kirthar Mountain Range (*Kohistan*), Desert Belt (Tharparkar), Alluvial Plains and Indus Delta.

The lifeline of Sindh and its only perennial source of water is the River Indus, originating in Tibet some 1800 miles away from the sea, and flowing through Kashmir, NWFP[5] and Punjab, and entering Sindh near Kashmor. Within Sindh its length is about 580 miles, and its width varies from 1/3rd to 1 mile, depending on the season and inundation level. Throughout its course in Sindh, the Indus waterway has only two stable portions (at Sukkur and at Kotri

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5   Since 2010 the province is named as Khyber Pakhtunkhawa.

near Hyderabad), remainder being treacherously unstable and unpredictable. This was especially so before extensive embankment activities commissioned by the British. Prior to this the extent and rapidity with which Indus changed its course contributed immensely to the region's history and shaping of its settlement pattern. Before colonial occupation, Indus also served as the major highway, continuing to serve the purpose till late 19th century when development of extensive roads and railways network took over. The British interest in Sindh originated with their desire to use the Indus as an artery of communication - both for commercial and military purposes.

Evolution of Settlement Pattern in Sindh

Roots of Sindh's urbanization are traced back to 7th millennium BC through a plethora of archaeological evidences that prove the existence of a well developed network of urban centres, indicating a predominant settlement pattern having larger towns of more permanent nature with high population density, located along the river, shifting with changes in the river course. In addition, a considerable degree of habitation existed in areas distant from the river but having natural water reservoir or seasonal torrential streams with settlements of a less permanent nature and nomadic population.

Early 6th century BCE marks the beginning of Sindh's recorded history (Hughes, 1876; Pithawala, 1937). The historic periods (dating 6th – 19th century) show a particularly high rate of urbanization, due to the region's privileged position at the cross roads of major maritime and land trade routes (Mariwalla, 1981). Descriptions of Sindh's cities from the 9th – 10th centuries reflect a well developed network of large and small towns, having a nucleus centre - the seat of the ruling authority. Smaller towns served as feeders to the larger system. More detailed accounts of later centuries reflect upon the existence of multi occupational and socially stratified complex urban centers. Up to early 17th century the urbanization process and the rise and decline of cities depended on hydrology and hydraulics. During the 17th century

Sindh was annexed to the Mughal Empire, initiating the irrigation schemes, further enhanced by Kalhora and Talpur rulers during the 18th - 19th centuries, stabilizing cities and settlements. The pattern of settlements and administrative structure, however, remained similar till the mid 19th century when major transformations occurred as a consequence of British annexation of Sindh in 1843.

Sindh's colonization brought with it a period of major transformations: social structure, traditional institutions, landscape, built environment and urban systems, economies, legislative and administrative frameworks - everything ingrained for centuries was put on a new path of 'reformation'; the changes being rather abrupt and often incompatible (Khuhro, 1999). Progressive developments in physical infrastructure opened up a new era of advancement and growth. Improvements in communication links (road network and railways), development of harbor/ port facilities at Karachi and expansion of irrigation systems all over Sindh, provided new opportunities in commerce and trade, creating economic prospects that encouraged migrations from all over the subcontinent, resulting in rapid growth of towns. New towns emerged with creation of new districts and their administrative centres. Urban centres, however, maintained a close link and dependence on their adjoining rural hinterland, as well as towns and cities of Baluchistan, Punjab, NWFP and Rajasthan (Markovits, 2008). For the British, Sindh remained a military outpost, thus large cantonments were also established throughout the region changing the landscape and scale/ character of Sindh's cities.

Another major turning point in Sindh's urban history is the India-Pakistan Partition resulting in mass migrations that completely changed the demography of the province. Mass exodus of Hindus and Sikhs caused a major shift of communities, taking away a population having cultural and emotional associations. This was replaced by an influx of non-Sindhi Muslims having their own strong cultural ideals – detached from the norms of Sindhi culture. A conflict of interests thus developed (Ansari, 2005); Sindhi Muslims struggling to retain the regions' ethnic and linguistic identity, whereas non-Sindhi Muslim migrants fighting to carve out a place for themselves as an emergent community and a political

power in their newly acquired homeland. The post-Independence society of Sindh thus has complexities of ethnicity, power, religion and language. Its urban centres, mainly Karachi, Hyderabad and Sukkur, are strongholds of Urdu speaking immigrant *Mohajirs*, the provincial political power, however, remains with the agrarian elite or Sindhi *waderos*, having large land holdings and unquestioned influence on Sindhi middle class majority.

The pre-Partition urbanization process in Sindh was planned and well organized, but mass migrations during the first decade after Partition resulted in rapid urbanization of unprecedented scale and magnitude. Sindh was profoundly affected because of its limited natural resources, added to which was the drastic cut in its revenues due to Karachi being taken over by the central government as the capital. Conflicts in political structure and an increasing polarity with the centre have left the province in a crisis that remains unresolved.

Sindh's Historic Towns of Significance

The identification of important historic towns of Sindh, and attempting their typo-morphological analysis is carried out in a two stepped process; the first stage incorporates short-listing of important historic towns from a list of Sindh's cities having a population >20,000. The second stage involves detailed study of ten shortlisted cases. This two staged analysis indicates four key parameters (function, topography, geographical importance and period contributions) as the main contributing factors shaping the historic built environments in the region. These factors are briefly explained as follows:

Function: Through well established definitions two main factors - size and function - are identified as the most important determinants of urbanization and designation of town status. These were taken as the starting point of research; the aspect of size dealt through information from census records, and that of historic functions was identified through a literature review on urban centres combined with Sindh's urban history.

A tabulation of Sindh's cities (Table 1) for identified historic functions indicates that all urban centres of present times are tied with one common factor, their link with the modern communications network - the railways and highways. The table also indicates that cities with a population of >100,000, in addition to being well connected also served either as district headquarters or important British cantonments, meaning that historic towns grew only when given administrative or military importance. Among cities being associated with historic functions, presently seven have a population >50,000; others come within the range of medium and smaller cities. Sifting through this information on size of towns and their historically important functions, fifteen surviving urban centres emerge as towns of significant historical value that contributed to urban traditions in the region - specific function/s or value of significance for each identified town is also indicated. In order of highest number of historic pre-colonial functions these include: **Thatta** (seven functions), **Hyderabad** and **Sukkur** (six functions), **Karachi** (five functions), **Rohri, Mirpurkhas** and **Sehwan** (four functions), **Hala** and **Shikarpur** (three functions), **Jacobabad**, **Kotdiji** and **Khairpur** (two functions) and **Umerkot, Jhimpir, Jherruk** (one function)

To develop a typo-morphological classification, ten cases from the above shortlisted cases were studied in detail. The process included developing a historic profile for each case, in conjunction with close examination of maps to analyse the morphological development and growth pattern of the built form. The analysis helped identify three further contributing parameters shaping the built environment. Following is a brief explanation on these:

Topography: In Sindh the choice for location of towns was from the viewpoint of defense as well as the possibilities for agriculture, trade and settlement. The four types of locations used are: firstly, the hilly terrain providing the possibility of natural defenses, either set within the central alluvial region (Sukkur, Hyderabad, Thatta) or on the periphery of the arid zone (Kotdiji); secondly, the flat alluvial plains within the zone covered by natural inundation of the Indus (Khairpur, Shikarpoor, Jacobabad); thirdly,

the plains of the arid zone located on the periphery and fed by the outreach canals (Mirpurkhas, Umerkot); and lastly, the deltaic plains along the mouths of the Indus (Karachi).

Geographical importance: The main indicators for this aspect are existing communication links - the railways, highways and regional road network. Link to railways was an important factor of growth or otherwise, of cities during the 20th century. Towns not connected to it (Thatta, Umerkot, Kotdiji) show little or practically no economic growth. In Sindh, development of an extensive highways network with modern standards is a more recent phenomenon (1990s); prior to this, intercity road links merged into the local road network. The major national highway along N-S axis bypasses most cities on their periphery, except for Karachi which serves as a terminus of all highways. Other cities through which the highway runs (Jacobabad, Mirpukhas, Umerkot) do not lie directly on the main N-S grid, thus having less traffic pressure, and still functioning with older intercity roads. The last indicator of geographic importance is the pattern of regional roads. Cities lying on the regional and sub-regional cross roads (Shikarpur, Mirpurkhas) have a radial pattern, with intercity roads from different directions, resulting in a concentric growth pattern. Other cities have a more linear road network, dictated either by topographical constraints or by their geographic location on a linear communication grid.

Period contributions: Based on an understanding of the regional history three primary sub-groups are defined - pre-colonial, colonial and post-independence periods. The pre-colonial period has further distinguishable subdivisions within, representing dynastic periods that contributed in various developments. But due to a lack of research based information they are grouped together, and their detailed parameters developed on the basis of a brief analysis of the fabric of case study towns. For colonial and post-Independence periods a better understanding of built form is achieved through existing literature and published sources. However, the exact extent, magnitude and impact of even these on specific towns, can only be gained through detailed documentation of existing built fabric.

The four identified key parameters tabulated (Table 4) for the ten case studies indicate a diverse variety, each town having a different set of elements or factors contributing to the development of its urban form. It thus seems appropriate to suggest that instead of attempting a standard pre-defined typological classification of towns, a better suited approach would be to follow an inductive process that allows incorporation of the diversity and variety existing within the region. If all contributing identified factors are taken into consideration it is unlikely to achieve a standardized typology; but these four key parameters can be a binding factor for any typo-morphological analysis, on basis of which commonalities in growth patterns or morphological forms or dissimilarities and uniqueness, for specific cases can be recognized (Naeem, 2009).

An Overview and Conclusions

Sindh indicates a pattern of settlements historically prone to the vagaries of nature. Even more permanent places could not survive the destructive effects of hydrology or that of abandonment due to shift of population. The entire region is thus filled with archaeological sites left as evidences of lost cities and urban centres, only a few historic towns managing to survive till present times. The historic timeline of Sindh indicates the oldest surviving cities being those placed at stable locations of the Indus; i.e. Sukkur-Bukkur-Rohri, Sehwan, Hala and Hyderabad (first two being strategic island fortifications). From the 14th century, local Dynasties were established in Sindh, bringing in more stability and prosperity to the region. But the singular element of primary significance up till the mid 19th century remained the River Indus - the highway of communications, thus the main contributor to economic prosperity and urban growth. Between 14th – 17th centuries settlements concentrated along the main river channel, and the concept of a large capital town emerged (Thatta being the earliest example was a hub of all activities, fed in by a system of smaller supportive towns having specific crafts or agriculture based expertise). In addition, regional boundaries were guarded by fortified locations at strategic entry points from neighbouring lands; examples being Ranikot, Umarkot, Manora (Bukkur and Sehwan continuing to

serve as central strongholds). Some border forts developed into small cities during 19th - 20th century (Kotdiji and Umerkot), whereas others lost their significance surviving today as abandoned ruins (Ranikot). By 18th century a degree of control over natural resources gained through introduction of canal irrigation practices, further expanded the sphere of settled areas. Hyderabad superseded Thatta as the 18th century capital. Establishment of Talpur Dynasty towards the end of this century, brought with it a newer concept of decentralized and multi-centred form of administration with three capital towns (Hyderabad, Khairpur, Mirpurkhas) and two main centres of trade and commerce (Karachi and Shikarpur). The scale of cities, the pattern of their settlements and the administrative systems up till these times, however, remained very similar. Mid-19th century colonization of Sindh brought a change in administrative pattern and scale of developments. Growth and economic prosperity of towns became tied to communication links and mode of transportation revolutionized during this period. The 20th century's legacy of industrialization and capitalization has also contributed in shaping the built environment, but their impact in Sindh remains concentrated in and around Karachi resulting in an overexploitation of its natural resources, adversely affecting the region's ecosystem.

The strategic geographic location of Sindh – serving as an entry point into the Sub-continent - played an important role in the development of cultural and political trends. The winds of change brought with them different representations; new expressions in built form were adopted, previous traditions were sometimes ignored, but, mostly, finding a niche within. Although much of the built environment has undergone radical changes at different times, there still remains substantial evidence that enables us to read the multilayered historic traditions of the region.

The regional level mapping of Sindh's urban centres, presented here, provides a comprehensive picture of its urbanization pattern, helps identify key factors contributing to the process, and defines characteristics of significance for surviving historic places. By consolidating existing information, a holistic regional perspective

is developed that accentuates the importance of different factors as determinants of the typo-morphological form of cities. The regional map helps reinstate the significance of historic towns that no longer hold importance in today's economy and development trends (eg. Thatta and Umerkot), thus re-affirming their place as important historic centres and national heritage assets. The analytical process points towards a need for detailed documentation of identified historic towns, acknowledging each case as having a degree of uniqueness. In addition, the inclusion of archaeological sites in the regional mapping process emphasizes their importance in development of urban traditions, giving a comprehensive picture of settlement patterns that evolved over centuries, in Sindh. These historic towns are thus an invaluable resource for which there is an urgent need to seek a niche within present development plans, ensuring protection of their inherent values. This analytical research primarily contributes towards developing recognition for concepts of urban/ historic town conservation as the required professional approach; giving a frame of reference for linking planning policies and development processes visualized at a regional level; advocating for strategies geared towards recognition and protection of historic environments.

T. 1

Evaluation for determining significance in terms of contributing historic functions of cities in Sindh (all towns having population of >20,000 inhabitants are taken into consideration).

Centre of Traditional Crafts and Industry	Archaeological Importance	Religious Center (Shrine/Pilgrimage Place)	Administrative Center			Defence/ Military Importance			Important Nodes of Trade or Transit					Cities of Sindh	1998v Census Figures
			District Headquarter	Prov./National Capital	Native Rulers' Capital	Walled City	Fort	British Cantonment	Caravan Route	River Port	Sea Port	Railway	Highways/ Roads		
	♦			●		♦	♦	●	♦		♦	●	●	Karachi	92,04,480
♦	♦		●	●	♦	♦	♦	●		●		●	●	Hyderabad	11,66,894
♦	♦	♦	●		♦		♦	●		●		●	●	Sukkur/ Bukkur	3,35,551
			●									●	●	Larkana	2,70,283
♦	♦		●		♦		♦					●	●	Mirpurkhas	1,89,671
			●									●	●	Nawabshah	1,89,244
			●				♦	●	♦			●	●	Jacobabad	1,38,780
			●			♦	♦	●	♦			●	●	Shikarpoor	1,34,883
♦					♦							●	●	Khairpur	1,05,637
												●	●	Tando Adam	103,363
			●									●	●	Dadu	1,02,550
												●	●	Tando Allahyar	86,056
												●	●	Khandhkot	66,727
												●	●	Tando M. Khan	62,087
			●									●	●	Badin	61,302
												●	●	Kotri	61,130
												●	●	Shahdadkot	59,836
												●	●	Moro	59,321
												●	●	Shahdadpur	58,802
												●	●	Qambar	57,230
												●	●	Ghotki	51,401
												●	●	Sanghar	50,259
♦	♦	♦							♦			●	●	Rohri	44,143
♦	♦	♦										●	●	Hala	39,926
♦	♦		●		♦		♦		♦	♦	♦		●	Thatta	36,915
				●			♦						●	Umerkot	35,059
	♦	♦			♦		♦					●	●	Sehwan	34,289
	♦						♦						●	Kotdiji	21,345
	♦												●	Jherruk	
	♦											●		Jhimpir	

Population group labels (right margin): >100,000 (Karachi–Dadu); >50,000 up to 100,000 (Tando Allahyar–Sanghar); >25,000 - 50,000 (Rohri–Sehwan); <25,000 (Kotdiji–Jhimpir)

Androon Shaher (Lahore's Inner City): Revisiting the Mystified Origins

Khalid Bajwa, Ph.D.

Divine Planning and Vedic City

Archaeology of Sacred

The case of Lahore is a thematic entry for exploring the ancient metamorphosis of urban civilisation in the northern subcontinent (Figure 1). The Walled City of Lahore, according to the popular conceptions (Keay 2001; Baqir 1952, 1962, 1985; Khan M. W. 1973) referred to and inferred from the sacred Vedic scripts, originated in 1000 BC as a Vedic settlement based on Vedic Knowledge.

Described as a large Brahmanical city by the Chinese Buddhist Monk Hiuen Tsiang in 630s and a province in Persian scientist/historian/traveller Al-Biruni's Chronicles of India in 1030s, Lahore's earlier history both as a city and a region has been claimed as Lohawarana of Lava, the son of Rama, and Labokla of Ptolemy's Geography. However, Strabo's Geographica, Pliny's Encyclopaedia and Al-Masudi's World History did not record it.

F. 1

Cities of the Indus Valley Civilisation: Harappa in the northeast and Mohenjo Daro in the southwest were the twin-capitals.
Source:
www.harappa.com
(Downloaded Apr 2007)

The present exploration dwells on testing this popular theory in the light of the research on the ancient Indus Civilisation (also called Harappan Civilisation after the name of the first city discovered in 1920s). Demystifying the legendary claim about Lahore requires investigating its earliest physical settings and urban forms. It also requires exploring empirical marks of any persisting physical archaeological correlation by drawing parallels between Lahore (and its Vedic origins) and Indus (Harappan) cities discovered until date.

It is imperative to look into, at one hand, the Vedic (Brahminic) principles of city planning, and on the other hand, the wealth of information made available through the various archaeological excavations and studies by the Department of Archaeology and Museums (DOAM)[1] and others. It involves making use of the rich body of contemporary exploratory and critical works in the fields of experimental and contested local histories in South West Asia, Vedic writings, Aryan culture and comparative philology. The updated knowledge in these fields suggests an opportunity to reflect on the ancient urban realities in the region and revisiting the popular focus on its mystified origins.

City of Rig-Veda

Concerning the substantiation of the Vedic origins of Lahore, interestingly, it is an important fact that the three Vedas – Vedanga[2], Aranyakas[3] and Brahmanas[4] – and the other religious books of Vedism[5] such as Upanishads[6], Shastras and the two epics of Ramayana[7] and Mahabharata[8] etc., to which its historical social and cultural systems refer, were written in the centuries long after the Rig-Veda[9] when the Vedic culture centred geographically in the valley of Ganges (Keay 2001). It follows that if the ancient city of Lahore (the Walled City), as popularly claimed, was shaped by the sacred Vedic scripts, then it was based on the Vedic knowledge and city-planning principles articulated in the Rig-Veda.

A critical study of the Rig-Veda elucidates that the principles of Veda architecture[10] are used to design and build a Vedic city. It is a city believed to be in harmony with the laws of nature and connected to its cosmic source. Likewise, a design order that conforms to the

laws of nature is believed to be in harmony with the order of the universe. This planning system acknowledges the influence of the sun, moon and planets, and most importantly, makes explicit references to the north and south poles. The planning translation of this Vedic framework generates a centralised geometric city form (Figure 2) that extroverts the microcosm of a Vedic house. In this urban form, the centrally placed city temple becomes an exterior Brahmasthan[11] – a core that maintains the structure of the whole city. All functions are arranged around it and the wholeness of the city is marked by it. The holy neighbourhoods of the priests (referring to the meditation room in a Vedic house) make the northeast quarter. The eastern neighbourhoods are considered as an auspicious environment for thinkers, teachers and students (referring to the room for reflection and wisdom). The western and southern quarters are for other social and religious classes. All streets are aligned as corridors of natural light and crossing winds. A strict alignment with the geographic North, stressed in the Vedic city planning principles, alienates the proposed urban forms from the local topographical realities on which they are laid. Eventually, it invites site layout adjustments though, the global Vedic urban form, however, attempts reformatting microcosm of the site according to the Vedic understanding of macrocosm.
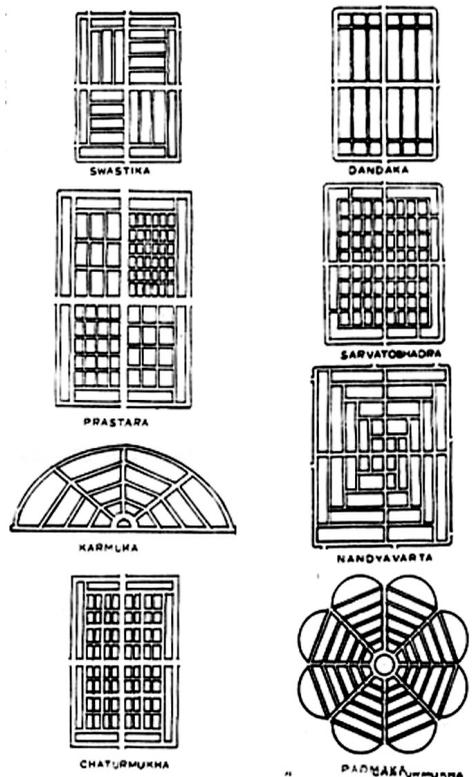
F. 2

Generic Vedic settlement patterns: geometric form, central axes and precisely defined neighbourhoods
Source: Encyclopedia of Urban Planning (1974)

History and Polemics

Compared with the pristine image of a Vedic City, the historicity of Lahore stands disputed. The urban form of the Walled City does not corroborate explicit or implied correlation with the planning principles referred to. Except for the proclaimed temple of Loh[12], which is believed to have existed somewhere in the foundations of the Lahore Fort (the citadel of Lahore),

- the organic patterns of the Walled City,

- the profound absence of any marks, whatsoever, pertaining to a monumental temple site at or around the geometric centre of the two or any of its two historical mounds and

- the inadmissibility of north-south alignment

make the popular claim of Lahore's Vedic origins polemical.

Nevertheless, the Vedic knowledge in the Rig-Veda remains central for expanding the argument as the text is believed to be 'the earliest and most important of the Aryan compositions. [Though, essentially, it is] a collection of hymns dedicated to the power residing in the sacrificial ritual' (Tagdill 1990, p.3).

The Rig-Veda is received

> as the most ancient literature and the key to Sanskrit and to Hindu civilisation. [Most importantly] its references to the aryas [Aryans] and to their hostility to the dasas, [indigenous races of the sub-continent], are considered in line with the ideas of monogenesis, which is linked to a [yet to be proved] theory that a clan of Aryans migrated from central Asia, invaded northern India enslaving the indigenous people […] and settled in India (Thapar 1999, p.16).

It, therefore, offers an opportunity to revisit the linear history of the region that rests on one grand event – the Aryan Invasion.

Theory of Aryans

Inflating Monogenesis

The theory of Aryan Invasion has its basis in the notion of Indo-Aryans being part of a larger Indo-European family having same ancestral language. Before the research on the Vedic writings became popular, the earlier efforts for reconstructing the historic events of the South Asian subcontinent owe to the works of the early Orientalists. They focused on Puranic[13] chronology and lists of the descent groups for validating ancient events in their historical and cultural contexts.

Later, comparative works on the Sanskrit took momentum – such as William Jones's[14] (Jones 1771, 1786) discussion of Sanskrit as a cognate of Greek and Latin. The studies in comparative philology, concerning the monogenesis, remained in focus in the 19th century among the European researchers who in their linguistic analysis of Vedic Sanskrit attempted 'establishing it as part of the wider Indo-European family with cognates in Old Iranian' (Thapar 1999, p.26).

Increasingly monogenesis came to be applied to the speakers of these languages as well. Shortly after these early speculative findings, the theory of Aryan race came to be viewed as foundational to the sub-continental history. Extending further, the racial superiority of the Aryans was equated with the racial distinctiveness of the upper cast Hindus (Brahmins[15]) and that with Sanskrit as an ancestral language of the Indo-European languages. The works of British Sanskritists and ethnographers and

especially that of Max Muller, anchored on the claims about Aryans in Rgveda [Rig-Veda], as the exponent of Aryan invasion. Both language and race, therefore, have an important status in this theory (Thapar 1999, p.16).

Though seriously questioned as early as 1970s, the mythical conceptions about Aryans continuously (re)appeared in various narratives. However, it is important to note that the

theory of Aryan Invasion led to disputed perspectives about the early sub-continental history as early as mid nineteenth century.

Interestingly, a few researchers[16] maintained that the Aryans were a race that was indigenous in the northern subcontinent (Leopold 1970). Notwithstanding, the conception rendered by the supporters of the Invasion Theory (Muir 1917, Wilson 1858) that the lower casts were the indigenous inhabitants who had been conquered and oppressed by the Brahmins who represented the Aryan conquest popularised. Phule's Golden Age (Omvedt 1991), for instance, refers to the Pre-Aryan Invasion period. It draws from

> well-known myths to emphasise [the] point […] Repeated reference is made to the […] legends [that] are not found in the Vedas but in the Mahabharata and the Purnas [Puranas] (Thapar 1999, p.18).

Nonetheless, Phule treats them as early history.

Consequently, the popular version (Leach 1990, Poliakov 1974), based on the 19th century European works, remained that

> in one of the major upheavals of ancient Eurasia which is hardly likely to have been merely coincidental, diverse fair-skinned tribes originating from the steppes of Central Asia began to enter India from Iran through the passes of the north-west. Related to the hordes who invaded the Aegean area at much the same time, they are known as Indo Aryans – their language, Sanskrit, belonging to the Aryan group like the classical languages of Europe (Tadgell 1990, p.2).

Return of Aryans

The ideas that the local people and cultures were primitive and the Aryans were racially superior aliens from the North framed the later as the civilising agents. It had two highly engrossed developments. The British historians projected the arrival of the British in the subcontinent as the return of the

Aryans, and the introduction of the western civilisation as critical for progress. The upper-cast Hindus (Brahmins) celebrated it as a proof of their kinship ties with the British.

The Invasion Theory thus has its genesis in the attempts, during the colonial times, to (re)discover the sub-continental past – a discovery that was rooted in the colonial present. It has been, since then, used in a variety of ways to structure the knowledge about the past (and perhaps more directly to give legitimacy to the racial and communal conflicts of the present). Starting from its official inclusion in the school syllabi during colonial times to its wider public admissibility later through local publications, the story of Aryans, which seeks to explain the beginnings of the sub-continental history, has sustained its buoyancy and certainty to a considerable degree.

Proto-Indo-Aryan

However, the contemporary literature now critically challenges the Invasion Theory. Its legendary notions are evaluated in the light of the archaeological excavations as well as the recent research in the fields of post-Harappan and Aryan culture.

More recently, non-Aryan components in the Indo-Aryan language, even as early as the Rig-Veda, have been established. Furthermore

> there has been the discovery of occasional words close to Indo-Aryan in documents from northern Mesopotamia […] These collection of words has been labelled Proto-Indo-Aryan (Thapar 1999, p.30).

These findings weaken the argument for Indo-Aryans as distinct invading Eurasian tribes spatially and temporally specific to the Aegean area and northern subcontinent. Especially the discovery of non-Aryan words in the language of Vedic Aryans rather suggests an iterating intermingling of diverse cultures and peoples. However, most importantly, the discovery of the Indus Civilisation has shaken up the earlier linear historical narrative.

The period of Indus Civilisation, now safely estimated beyond 3000 BC, and the absence of archaeological evidences of any large-scale invasions during that period are the two pertinent issues highlighted, that have disputed the Aryan Invasion as the beginning of the history in the subcontinent. At the least, the conventional unanimity about the conception of Aryan Invasion has been questioned[17] decisively. The new archaeological evidences do not validate the Invasion Theory and the current interpretations of the Vedic writings (in the Rig-Veda). They are mutually incompatible and even contradictory (Ratnagar 1981).

Archaeological Findings and Indus Civilisation

Ancient Urban Society

Regarding reconstructing the ancient reality of Lahore (region), the renewed understanding of the sub-continental history asks to reinterpret and realign Aryanism within the factual knowledge of the Indus (Harappan) Civilisation (and its excavated cities). The identified antinomies of the Invasion Theory take profound dimensions by considering the geographical scale as well as the content of the Harappan sites in question. (Figure 1, 2)

In becoming an urban society, the Harappan

> agriculturists […] had pioneered a highly productive economy based on growing cereals in the fine soil alongside the river. Managing the river's seasonal rise so as to enrich and irrigate their fields was the key to their success. An annual surplus had generated wealth, encouraged craft industries and fostered trade. Settlements had become cities (Keay 2001, p.5).

The Harappan urban centres were distinctively similar as compared to an observed diversity of the pre-Harappan regional cultures (Allchin 1995). Likewise, in contrast to the hunting culture depicted in the Rig-Veda, the Indus Civilisation had

> widespread trading contacts with the Gulf, Mesopotamia

and Elam [far west and southwest of modern-day Iran], apart from sites extending from Badakshan in the Pamirs to Gujarat and northern Maharashtra in the sub-continent. These places, with the possible exception of Afghanistan, were not familiar to the Rgveda [Rig-Veda]. The urban commercial culture of the Indus cities is again not reflected in the Vedas where there is little evidence of sophisticated exchange or concern with the organisation of resources and production or description of granaries or craft workshops. Nor is there a familiarity with the complex lay-out of the cities and the structures constructed on brick platforms, or even something as basic as script (Thapar 1999, p.26).

Harappan Urban Prototype

It is now known that Harappan culture characterized urbanisation, metalwork, agriculture, trading and pictographic writing.

The Harappan finds included buildings, tools, artifacts, jewellery and sculpture and some intimate details about Harappan housing, diet and waste disposal came to light (Keay 2001, p.6).

Its centres (Figure 1) were

several cities on the banks of the Indus and its tributaries, notable Mohenjo-daro and Harappa, but related sites have been discovered across the vast area from western Pakistan to the Ganges valley and from northern Afghanistan to Kathiawar […] picture has emerged of an efficient, centralized, agrarian economy with a highly ordered urban culture (Tadgell 1990, p.1).

It suggests an opportunity to attempt reflecting on Lahore's ancient city-form by analysing the findings about the Indus cities in the immediate region. Their prototypal features have been established already. They are laid with grid layout of streets (Figure 4, 5), a semblance that adverts to generic Vedic settlement patterns, and built right on the shores of the rivers. These (walled) cities have markedly distinguished citadels, often in the northwest and west-

northwest, containing the public buildings including granaries, and the mounds of the lower city towards the southeast and east-southeast. Their fired-bricks constructions and huge granaries are indicative of the agrarian economy of the Indus civilisation. The presence of drains, sewers and even latrines are evidences of a mature urban-agrarian culture (Figure 4). The stark absence of buildings or places related to public worship is hallmark of the Indus cities.

Early Lahore

F. 3
Artist's reconstruction of Harappa based on archaeo-logical evidences: river to the north, northwest and west, citadel on the north-west, lower city on the east and southeast, city-walls and gates, etc.
Source:
www.harappa.com
(Downloaded Apr 2007)
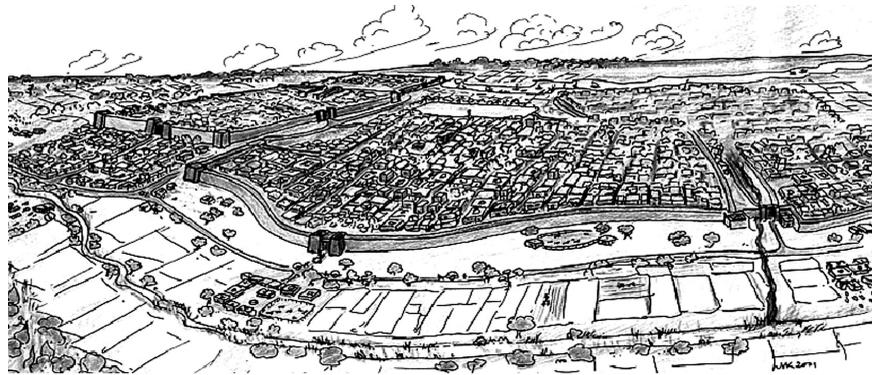
The most relevant case for drawing parallels between Lahore and Indus cities – a comparative study that can potentially inform about Lahore's historic reality and its earliest urban forms – is that of Harappa. At a distance of hundred kilometres from Lahore, it was one of the twin capitals of the Indus civilisation (other being Mohenjo-Daro). It is laid according to acknowledgeable planning principals with its protected citadel towering above the rest of the city (Figure 3, 4). The planning of Harappa is

> based on a rectangular grid […] and standardized brick was the main building material. A high proportion of the population lived in substantial, well-drained courtyard houses (Tadgell 1990, p.2).

The citadel has 'a carefully constructed bath or tank, a granary, pillared halls and the residence of a high official' (Whittick 1974, p.518).

The urban setting and form of the Lahore's Walled City

F. 4

Harappa Site Plan
Source: U.C. Berkeley
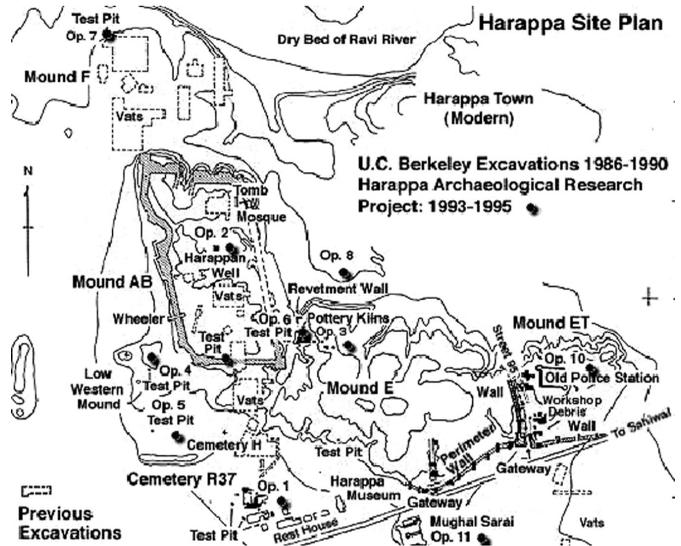
has a striking homogeny with that of Harappa (Figure 5). Lahore would have been one of the more modest agrarian settlements in the wider regional trade network of Indus cities of which Harappa was the central focus. Riverine links between Lahore and Harappa are therefore highly probable.

The Walled City is spread on two mounds, the northwestern and the southeastern. The first mound appears to be the location for the primitive settlement of Harappan period in circa 2000 BC (Figure 6). The choice location of the northwest and southeast

F. 5

Harappa is on the left of river Ravi, The distinctive characteristics of Harappan urban form: river circum-ambulating the citadel on three sides – northeast, north and northwest, citadel in the northwest towering above the lower (walled) city and expansion possibilities towards southeast.
Source: Author

HARAPPA
(Schematic Reconstruction)
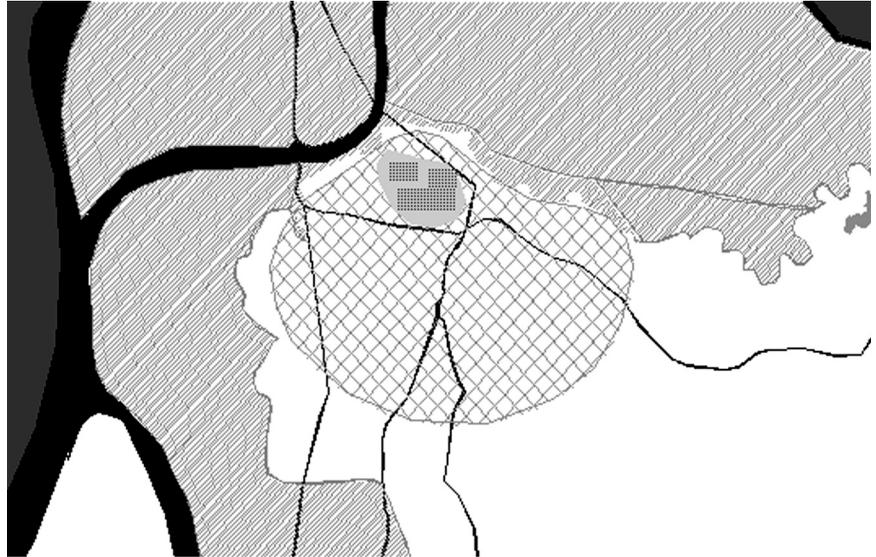
slopes of the historical mound towards the river is permitted and
attested by:

- the climatic settings (predominant northwest wind
  direction) of the slopping terrain,

- the geographical settings of low land and river course,

- the natural topographic settings (slopes and floodplains) of
  the historic high mounds on the left bank of the river Ravi
  (later on which the Lahore Fort is constructed),

- the arc of the river bed and

- the two ancient trade axes

In a distinctive Harappan way, the mound was guarded
naturally by the river on three sides (until river Ravi moved almost
two kilometres further north).

The mentioning of the Temple of Loh as an archaeological
evidence is controversial though, the presence of ancient layers
of foundations found during the subsurface excavations by the
DOAM, and results of the examination of the ancient subsurface
debris until date, point towards the citadel as the actual location on
which the ancient Harappan settlement of Lahore originated. This

is affirmative of the historical building activity on the citadel. The expansion of the Harappan Lahore in the southeastern side of the mound and on the second mound happened much later. (Figure 6)

Post-Harappan Enclave

Lahore's hierarchical divergence and its relative economic autonomy in the Indus urban network, however, provided significant prospects for sustaining through the late-Harappan era (also called Ravi phase). It is therefore not out of question that Lahore continued even though it is known now that the Harappan cities

> declined by the mid-second millennium B.C. [It was one of those] smaller settlements [that] continued and then petered out or elsewhere mutated through contact with other locally evolved cultures […] [The startling facts that] new archaeological cultures emerged at various places by the end of the second millennium as in the Swat valley, Baluchistan, Gujarat, Punjab, Rajistan and the Ganges valley (Thapar 1999, p.29, 33)

strengthen the prospects that when other Indus cities of higher hierarchical order declined, Lahore, along with other such settlements, transcended and emerged in the post-Harappan era (Kuiper 1991, Emeneau 1974 and Burrow 1973, 1965) as an urban enclave in its own agrarian hinterland and a trading node of riverine and land routes.

The fissioning-off of the original communities resulted in far more mixed cultural groups. The recent finding of continued ancient activities in the Indo-Iranian borderlands and the presence of artefacts in the different areas in the region stresses on the small-scale migrations of the Proto-Indo-Aryan speakers from the north of Iran and branching off to the northern Mesopotamia and northern subcontinent. The widespread notion and terminology of Aryan Invasion thus dissolves and instead a rather well founded scenario of Aryan Migration emerges.

It advances and strengthens a series of seminal events during which the eastwardly migrations to Lahore region and further in the subcontinent, motivated by pastoralism and incipient trade, were followed by the amalgamation of the migrant culture of the Proto-Indo-Aryan speakers with that of local post-Harappan cultures. There are no evidences that the migrant culture was able to overpower the local. Instead, it is certain that the migrant culture absorbed more and more of the local cultures as its geographical location moved further eastwards in the valley of Ganges.

The later developments of the Vedic culture in the Ganges valley conferred divinity on a wide range of natural phenomena – especially those of the sky which effected their flocks. Their tradition ultimately enshrined in a great series of compositions called Vedas […] the synthesis of the [migrant] Vedic and native traditions. [In] particular the substitution by Bhuddists and Jains of worship for sacrifice generated the change from Brahmanism – as the evolved Vedic religion is sometimes called – to Hinduism (Tadgell 1990, p.2).

In this context 'the aryas emerge not as a distinctive people, physically different from others and known as the Aryans but as persons of status in many of the [Vedic] societies' (Thapar 1999, p.34).

These exciting developments must be viewed as a parallel to the survival of the settlements of Indus river system in which the post-Harappan urban centre at Lahore witnessed arrival of the nomadic herdsmen from the west. Although there might have been a long period of bilingualism in Lahore, the mixing of cultures was by no means equal and it becomes important to believe in the Harappan roots of Lahore's historic urban form.

Endnotes

1. Formerly Archaeological Survey of India (ASI)

2. Vedic texts dealing with phonetics and ritual injunctions and linguistics and grammar and etymology and lexicography and prosody and astronomy and astrology (Motilal Barnarsidass 1985)

3. A treatise resembling a Brahmana but to be read or expounded by anchorites in the quiet of the forest (A. B. Keith 1909)

4. Prose works attached to the Samhitas instructing the Brahmins to perform the very elaborate sacrificial rituals (Julius Eggeling 1882, 1885, 1894, 1897, 1900)

5. The form of Hinduism that revolves primarily around the mythic version and ritual ideologies in the Vedas

6. A later sacred text of Hinduism of a mystical nature dealing with metaphysical questions (Max Muller 1879, 1884; Charles Johnston 1889)

7. One of two classical Hindu epics telling of the banishment of Rama from his kingdom and the abduction of his wife by a demon and Rama's restoration to the throne (Ralph Griffith 1870)

8. A sacred epic Sanskrit poem of India dealing in many episodes with the struggle between two rival families (Kisari Mohan Ganguli 1883)

9. One of four collections of sacred texts collectively known as Samhitas, the other three are Atharva-Veda (A collection of mantras and formulas), Sama-Veda (A collection of mantras and tunes for use with the Rig-Veda), and Yajur-Veda (A collection of sacrificial formulas and prayers) (Max Muller 1891; Ralph Griffith 1896; Hermann Oldenberg 1897; A. A. Macdonell 1917)

10. Veda means natural law. It is considered to be the oldest system of architecture in the Hindu literature. It intends to connect individual life with Cosmic Life and individual intelligence with Cosmic Intelligence. All individual structures are said to be sustained by the Cosmic Intelligence. Persons who reside in homes built in accord with Vedic principles are said to be happy, healthy, and successful. They also benefit from nourishing family relationships.

11. The central element of a Vedic house is Brahmasthan. It is an unobstructed central area usually open to the sky. One does not walk on or in the Brahmasthan.

12. Son of Vedic Avatar Ramachandra in Hindu Folklore

13.   A body of 18 Vedic works written between the first and 11th centuries and incorporating Vedic legends and speculative histories of the universe and myths and customary observances

14.   Sir William Jones (1746 - 1794), a British philologist, is particularly known for his discovery of the Indo-European language family. Jones is known for being the first to notice that Sanskrit bore a certain resemblance to Greek and Latin. He suggested that all three languages had a common root, and that further they might all be related in turn to Gothic and Celtic languages, and to Persian.

15.   A member of the highest of the four original social divisions of Vedic people – Varnas The second group is Rajanyas (the noble or warrior category), the third group is Vaisyas (the commoners or yeoman farmers or mercantile and professional category), and the lowest group is Shudras (the servants and workers).

16.   See writings of the Theosophists and particularly those of Colonel Olcott in the late nineteenth century.

17.   Aryanism as a fact of the historical past is not contested, but what creates divergent views is the question of whether it was alien or indigenous.

Urban Design of Islamabad:
Historiographical Legacy of the Framework for a Sustainable Metropolis of the Future

Ahmed Zaib K. Mahsud, Ph.D.

Fifty years ago the main lines of the master plan for Islamabad prepared by the Greek architect and urbanist C. A. Doxiadis [1913–1975] were being laid out on the landscape that has today become the symbolic focus of national life. Over the last fifty years, the city has not been static. It has been dynamic; constantly changing, growing and evolving in its architecture, urban spaces, socio-cultural, economic and political life as well as the citizen's discourse about the city. The extra-ordinary achievement of the plan is that it provided a framework for this gradual evolution towards becoming a metropolis of the future. This framework for growth and change is the illustration of Doxiadis' ideal 'city of the future'. Historiographically, the framework represents a tremendously important episode of Pakistani architecture and urbanism. Embedded in the framework is the idea that size and scale of the city cannot be fixed. Rather it is the trajectory of growth and change and its relation to the surrounding landscape [Margalla Hills and National Park in the case of Islamabad] that can be designed. Such an understanding of design did not exist at the outset, rather it developed and evolved in the process of the making of the plan that spanned over four years [1959-63]. This understanding of design is what constitutes the historiographical legacy of the plan – the transformation of the modernist ideas about the city - that led Doxiadis to stretch the notions of *City* and *Future* beyond their previous limits.[1]

In historiographical terms [see the introductory article], the plan of Islamabad is important for two main reasons: 1] the reflections and reformulations in the making of the plan for Islamabad led to the transformation of the modernist's ideas about the city and urbanity, besides unfolding significant spatial concepts that acted as precursors to ecological urbanism and

sustainable urban development; and 2] the nature of the plan as a flexible framework facilitated the unfolding of a peculiarly national style of Pakistani architecture and urbanism.[2] In the scope of this paper, the making of the framework is analyzed for identifying the ideas and distinctive features that marks its departure from mainstream modernism and allows us to comprehend and theorise the historiographical legacy of the plan.

Reflections and reformulations in the making of the plan for Islamabad unfolded Doxiadis' spatial concepts of *Ecumenopolis* (representing the future city of the inhabited globe) and *Ecumenokepos* (the natural environment as a global garden). Their harmonious coexistence at various scales is his vision for global urban organization and urbanism [Figure 1]. His vision includes an unusual combination of theory and practice named *Ekistics* [the science of Human Settlements], which aimed at addressing issues of sustainability in a way that does not negate development.[3] Such an aim is fuelled by the ideological underpinnings of his vision; he assumed, without specifying just how it would happen, that stimulating growth-based development through urbanism would diminish the gaps between developing and developed countries, and that their economic integration would transform the differences between East and West, capitalism and communism into some form of a global federalism.[4]
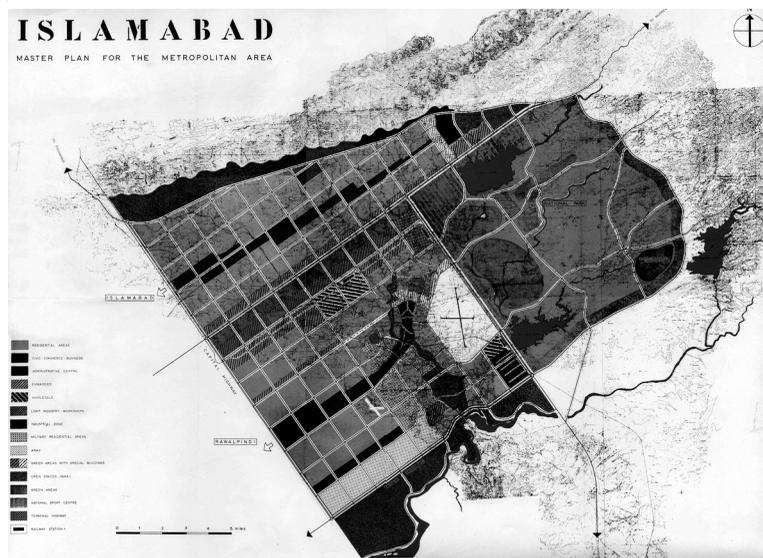
F. 1

The urbanism that he promoted is a curious mix of pragmatism and idealism, a vision of what he called an anthropocentric *Entopia*. Neither successful practice, nor utopia, nor dystopia, Entopia (in place) was the benign face of his urbanism.[5] Entopia is thus a middle ground promoting what Doxiadis believed was feasible: a universal democratic society consisting of communities that are not aggregations of structures and infrastructures but rather organic human settlements capable of growth and change.[6] Such a society ought to have freedom of choice. This implies replacing the production of definitive plans for cities all at once by flexible and adaptable frameworks whose designs are informed by a more-complex understanding of the interrelationships of the elements, forces and processes involved in urban development.[7] In the construction of such a vision of urbanism, Doxiadis' encounter with the then Pakistani context and the political regime in the making of Islamabad's plan, played a central role.[8]

Islamabad provided the opportunity for Doxiadis' ambition to develop ideas for a *city of the future*. Behind this ambition was the intention to reform the theory and practice of modern architecture and urbanism through outlining a scientific, interdisciplinary and global urbanism meant to combine development with environmental protection.[9] In such an urbanism, the concepts of 'scale' and 'time' are central for dealing with issues of growth and change. While Ebenezer Howard and Le Corbusier [inventors of the *Garden city* and the *Modernist city* ideas, respectively] focused on *Tomorrow*, Doxiadis focused on the dynamics of growth and change, incorporating them each into the design problems of 'scale' and 'time', which, in turn, led to his concept of *Dynapolis* [a dynamically growing city]. This concept is both descriptive and prescriptive—as are most of his other concepts—showing his peculiar blend of theory and practice. Considering a city's growing organisms, Dynapolis qualifies "the optimum speed of growth" of the city and its "relationship to the total space around it" as the central questions for development and design practice i.e. plan-making.[10] While devising a certain metropolitan framework, the development of the Dynapolis concept in the making of the plan for Islamabad unfolds a synthesis based approach to urban design.[11] Reflection and reformulation in the iteration of such a synthesis-

based approach for dealing with urban sprawl is what generated the theoretical elaboration of Ekistics (1968) and the vision of Entopia (1974).[12]

The Making of an Urban Design Framework

Islamabad was conceived as a metropolis for 3 million inhabitants by the year 2000, based on the integration of the new capital, a national park, the existing city of Rawalpindi and several villages in the surrounding area.[13] Their integration was achieved by devising a framework through enlarging the scope of the system of orthogonal axes to the metropolitan scale. The two central axes — one (southeast-northwest) derived from the pre-existing Grand Trunk Road and crowned by the grand mosque [Faisal mosque], and the other (southwest-northeast) reflecting the physical structure of the landscape, with the capital complex at its end — form what Doxiadis called the urban nucleus [Figure 2]. Adjusting the external boundaries to the natural landscape features generated two more axes. The four axes formed a skeletal frame [Figure 2.1] that contained the existing city of Rawalpindi, the new capital area located in the north, and the large national park in the north-northeast section. [14]

F. 2

For cohesion in the early stages of development, both the new (capital complex) and the old (Rawalpindi) become

F. 2.1
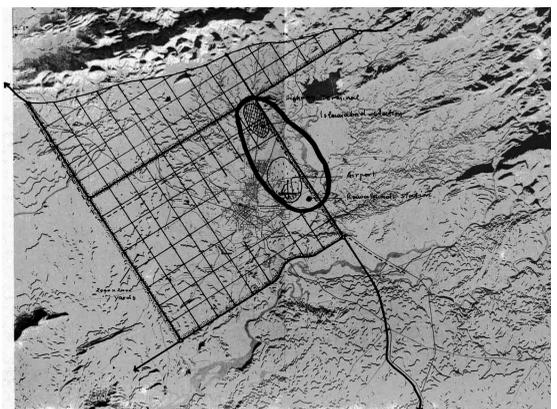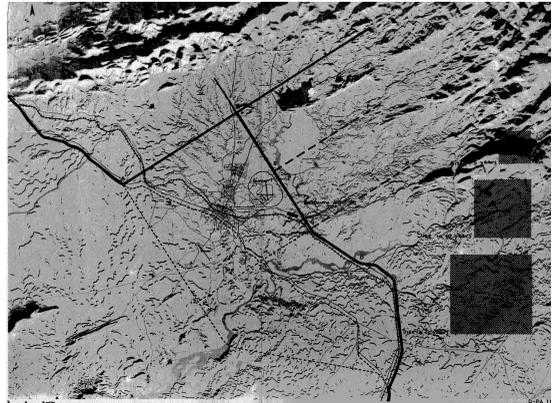
F. 3

the starting points for the expandable linear cores of Doxiadis' twin-foci Dynapolis. Over the skeletal frame and the cores, a grid of 2,100 by 2,100 yards was laid out as the "modulus" and "building block" of the metropolis.[15] This oversized grid— marking Doxiadis' sector for 30,000 to 60,000 inhabitants is derived from an analysis of the average size of historic cities—is intended to provide historic continuity in the modern metropolis.[16] The distinctive design feature of this sector is the spatial variety achieved through integration and overlapping of the civic amenities and housing with the natural ravine [naalas] system (Figure 3).[17] All the city-wide functions—commercial, residential, industrial, administrative, and even recreational—are grouped together at various scales in multiple linear spines capable of gradual extension, with their programmatic complexity regulated by the fixed size of the sector. The size and scale of the sector was meant to rationalize the movement of both pedestrian (within) and vehicular (outside) traffic in terms of time, generating a different conception of "centre" and "periphery"; both the sector (polis) and the city (metropolis) are traversable from their respective centre and periphery in the same amount of time (ten to twelve minutes) on foot or by car, due to the size of the sector and the design of highways without traffic lights or level crossings, enabling automobiles to travel at a speed of 100 miles per hour.[18]

Re-conceptualization of the relationship of centre to periphery in the organization of urban areas is at the heart of developing the framework. In both Howard's garden city and Le Corbusier's modernist city, centre and periphery are organized in the classical sense.[19] In Doxiadis' plan, the centre and periphery are meant to grow interdependently in a linear and specific direction.

That is the premise of his Dynapolis model, which advances an urbanism that neither adheres exclusively to the logic of the conservative garden city and neighbourhood-unit paradigms, nor to the radical kind of CIAM / modernist urbanism with its strict separation of functions and zoning based on isolated towers in the parks. It also rejects the notion of a linear city. Designed as a framework, the Islamabad plan illustrates the active unfolding of a city's development, and promotes an urbanism that is low-rise, high-density, and mixed-use in a thick mesh continually extended into, but in a dynamic relationship with, the surrounding landscape.

Analogously, Islamabad's plan can be seen as a typological enlargement of the idea of a house and a garden: it is the combination of two opposites—a city and national park of almost equal size, one solid and the other void—in which a dynamic relationship is promoted through a dual strategy of juxtaposition and layering. Iteration of this relationship led to the conception of Ecumenopolis and Ecumenokepos and a distinctive form of urbanism that Doxiadis succinctly presented as his ideal in the illustration of Entopia (1974, Figure 4).[20]

Here is a future metropolitan Athens, a vast agglomeration structured by the penetration of nature into a variety of sectors. The old parts of the city are preserved, the new parts are kept in scale with the old, industry is located under a large park, and transportation is routed into conduits below greenways. Entopia

has transcended capitalism's cathedrals of commerce and has become a thick mesh with only community centres, in the midst of the sector, soaring above everything else. Obedient to Aristotelian tenets, the city is humane, comprehensible, and in harmony with nature, a place where difference is celebrated and a variety of social and religious groups can coexist. According to Doxiadis, "In this city we can hope that man, relieved of all [the] stresses that arise from his conflict with the machine, will allow his body to dance, his senses to express themselves through the arts, his mind to dedicate itself to philosophy or mathematics, and his soul to love and to dream."[21]

Historiographical Legacy of the Plan: Distinctive Aspects of the Synthesis in the Framework

The distinctive aspects of Doxiadis' plan are embedded in his synthesis for developing a framework aimed at guiding coherent metropolitan growth over a period spanning as many as four to six generations. This framework is informed by a four-fold synthesis of: 1) the historic and the modern city, generating the notion of the "historic city as a body of design knowledge"; 2) various scales of human association, producing the notion of "multiple scalarity"; 3) nature and the city, breaking apart classical notions of urbanity; and 4) process design and open space system.

By eliminating isolated high-rise structures and allowing the coexistence of old [Rawalpindi] and new [Islamabad] parts of the city, Doxiadis' urbanism brings the historic city (Figure 5) to the fore as the context for modern urbanism. Attempts to preserve human scale and recover the intimacy of life in the sprawling metropolis are reflected in his design of new sectors that mimic the historic city in scale. The historic city's attributes contribute to the design of public space and the relationship of solids to voids in the sector. Public space is conceptualized and designed as a system, composed of interconnected paths, streets, courts, squares, plazas, esplanades, and other open spaces, all separated from vehicular traffic and charged with a range of housing types. Variety in the closely-knit public spaces and their scale correspond to that of the building volumes, and their coordinated interaction

residential areas · community centers · civil — commerce — business · administrative center · light industry — workshops · railway terminals · railway stations · green areas with special buildings · green areas · national sports center · open spaces — parks · embassies · 1. classical Athens · 2. London · 3. Paris · 4. Renaissance Florence
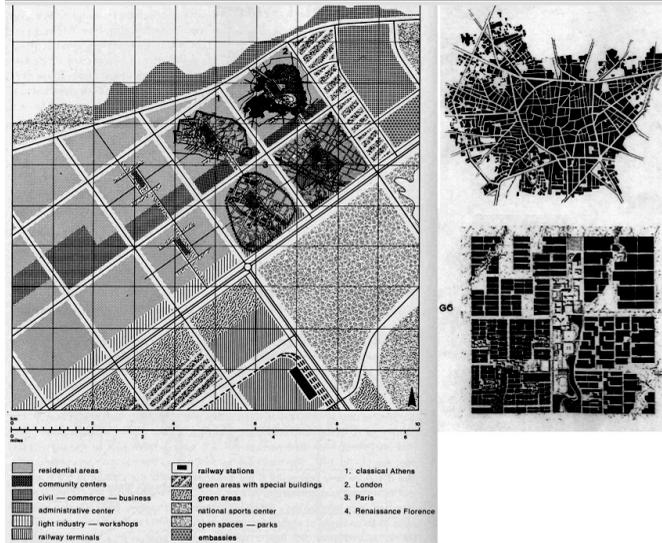
gives a fuller, more-satisfying articulation to the architectural space of the city. Unlike the modernist city, where void prevails, Doxiadis articulates a balance between solids and voids, favouring a low-rise city—but not a low-density city. This notion of design is derived from an analysis of the historic city—which mainstream modernism considered irrelevant, an anti-model. It obviously retains its relevance, exhibiting concerns that Doxiadis shared with some of his contemporaries (such as Sert, Bacon, and Kahn) and anticipating the return of "history" as championed by Aldo Rossi and Colin Rowe. [22]

Conceptualizing a system by which to vary scales in settlement design is another hallmark of Doxiadis' urbanism. In the case of Islamabad, this is demonstrated through the integration of three infrastructures as spatial design grids (Figure 6): *Eco* (the preserved natural ravines forming the diagonal open space
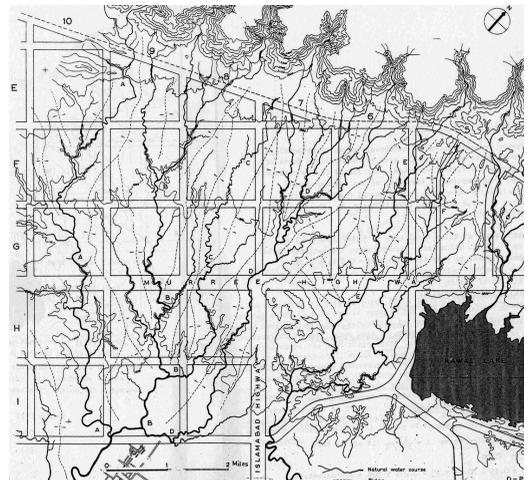
system), *Social* (the pedestrian network across the city), and *Formal* (the 2,100-yards grid as mobility, utility, and green corridors). Their three-way integration (Figure 6.1) allows the overlapping of multiple scales (differing in function and size) of the metropolis, correlating the ordinary (housing) and extraordinary (civic, monumental) elements of the city, resulting in a kind of urban system that displays considerable coherence. Unlike the modernist city, in which zoning dominates, Doxiadis' urbanism correlates different housing types through variation of size and texture of the building fabric. For example, the central core in Islamabad becomes more finely grained as it penetrates the residential sector. Moreover, each building type is correlated with the others through the provision of common features such as courts, patios, and semi-covered areas, and their volumes correspond to the incremental increase in scale from the residential to the civic and monumental parts of the city (Figure 6.2). A precise system of sizes and dimensions, determined through the use of a modulus, regulates the production of scale
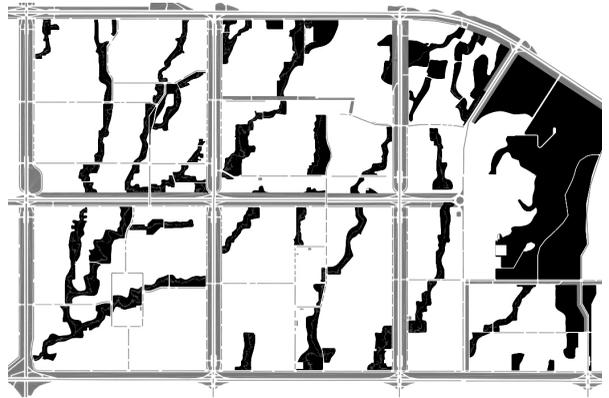
in both built-up and open spaces. Their coordination through the synthesis of levels of scale results in an enlarged design vocabulary, which is needed to ensure coherence at the metropolitan scale and in its regional setting.[23]

Owing to his belief that the "integration of nature and city enhances the citizen's sense of well-being," Doxiadis' urbanism promotes their systematic integration. In the case of Islamabad, the use of an eco-grid as part of the public open-space system adds certain positive attributes: it brings nature into close proximity to the residential areas; produces ventilation corridors; adds variety to the architectural treatment of the metropolitan area; makes nature omnipresent and accessible within the city; and establishes a system of urbanization in which nature and infrastructure are interlocked in a framework that avoids garden suburbs and satellite towns. Combining the natural landscape's topographical and ecological elements in a way that complements the system of open public spaces harmonizes landscape and townscape and yields the amelioration of local climatic conditions. Doxiadis contended that all this would also help to secure the city's economic future in an ecological way. Adhering neither to the earlier notion of green belts nor to the idea of skyscrapers situated in unarticulated open green spaces, this way of conceiving the city within the framework of nature and, more specifically, bringing nature inside the city, also breaks with classical notions of urbanity. [24]

Doxiadis' urbanism reconceived city/urban design through its premises of the "plan as a process" and the "open space system as the focus of design."[25] These are necessary to achieve spatial coherence in the projected development of the metropolis, so that the aesthetic balance achieved in the early stages is not destroyed when additions are made. Doxiadis provided for the internal expansion of each element of the city (and for the addition of new elements) along separate axes (Figure 7). The central axes, sector grids, and linear spines for specific housing types are the constant elements, while the content of the grid, degree of overlapping, and interpenetration of housing types are continuously subjected to feedback from the development of the previous sectors.[26] This feedback process is complemented by the focus of design on the open-space system

F. 7
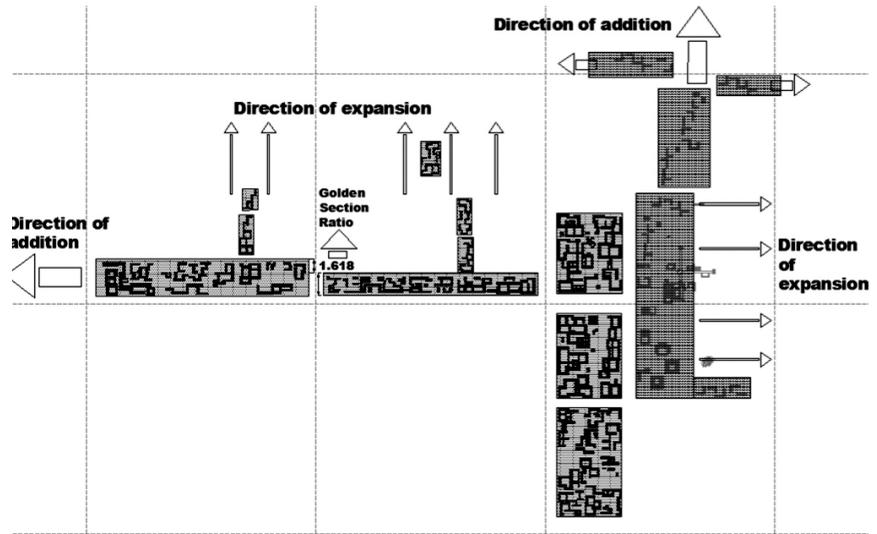
embedded in the interlocking of formal, ecological and social grids. Their interlocking creates island-like spaces that are the sites of building volumes, and are the locale of a range of programs and housings types, which create a flexible framework for the coherent development of the metropolis. Such a framework based on process design and the precise articulation of the pattern of movement throughout the city—of people, machines, power, water, and other networks—within and in between buildings, and at various scales, allows absorbing change and transformations in a coherent way (Figure 7.1). That is to say, the framework takes into account socio-spatial dynamics together with environmental concerns as integral parts of the process of urban development.

On the one hand, Doxiadis' urbanism attempts to link process design (feedback and local knowledge) and infrastructure (economic, social, and formal) as local socio-spatial and environmental concerns—sustainability *avant la lettre*. On the other hand, his urbanism is a vehicle for structuring urbanization and fostering urban development in the interest of stimulating global socio-economic growth and development. Doxiadis' urbanism, then, resolves the often mutually incompatible impulses of sustainability and globalization into a dialectical framework that informs his design practice. Such a framework, even if it takes the form of a "master" master plan, produces a provisional synthesis of

F. 7.1

MARGALLA Green

CBD Islamabad

inter-URBAN Green

CBD Rawalpindi

SOAN Green

NATIONAL PARK
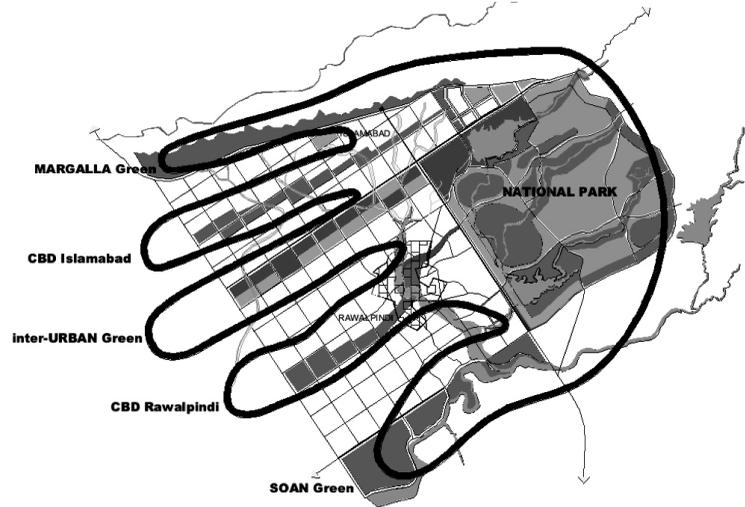
nature and infrastructure within which the building volumes and open spaces develop in a way that attempts to ensure the dynamic coexistence of nature, culture, and ecology. This is a synthesis in which open space and the built environment, the local and the global, the historic and the modern, the process and the end state are all continuously interacting. In short, this synthesis deals simultaneously and coherently with the speed of development and the ease of development.

Rethinking Doxiadis' urbanism through this dialectical framework potentially offers insights into how to deal with "spontaneous" urbanization and urban sprawl, and in how to build a greater awareness of environmental and development concerns. The interdisciplinarity—combining architecture, landscape, ecology, land use, urban and regional planning— and spatial logic based precisely articulated framework for urban design synthesis is a response to facilitate a coherent urbanization process. In its attempts to reconcile global development and local cultures, Doxiadis' urbanism unfolds an awareness of sustainability as a major factor, not just an afterthought. Such awareness is different from mainstream modernism and the contemporary "bio-centric polemics" and from "corporate brand" notions of sustainability governed by economic criteria.[27] Rather, Doxiadis' urbanism analyzes the spatial dimension of development and environmental

protection in a way that leads to the vision of a parallel coexistence of Ecumenopolis and Ecumenokepos and their coordinated action. This pairing, besides stimulating significant ideas such as global ecological balance and the carrying capacity of systems, brought the global ecosystem to the forefront as the ultimate framework for urbanism.[28] Renewed optimism in the possibilities of such a framework resonates in current trends such as landscape urbanism, New Urbanism, and other green design agendas. Simultaneously ameliorative, reconciliatory, and regenerative, Doxiadis' complex and dynamic framework offers many more urban and environmental design strategies to generate alternative yet broadly relevant forms of development.

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12.   Mahsud, [2010], "Rethinking,"

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16.   Mahsud, [2008], "Constantinos," 220-223, 244-266.

17.   Mahsud, [2008], "Constantinos," 229-266.

18.   DA, "Preliminary," 323.

19.   One represents the horizontal spread-out center city surrounded by six garden cities; see Ebenezer Howard, Garden Cities of To-morrow, F. J. Osborn, ed. (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1965, originally published 1898 and 1902), 52, 143. The other proposed the "vertical garden city"; see Ludwig Hilberseimer, "City Architecture: The trend toward Openness" (1960), in Modernism and the Posthumanist subject Michael Hays, ed. (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1992), 111. However, both visions remain classical in their conception of center surrounded by periphery; see James Holston, The Modernist City: An Anthropological Critique of Brasilia (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), 32; and James Dunnett, "Le Corbusier and the city without streets," in The Modern City Revisited, Thomas Deckker, ed. (London: Taylor & Francis, 2000), 56-58.

20.   C. A. Doxiadis, Building Entopia (Athens: Athens Center for Ekistics, 1975).

21.   C. A. Doxiadis, Ekistics: An introduction to the Science of Human
       Settlements (London: Hutchinson, 1968), 317.

22.   Mahsud, [2010], "Rethinking,"; and Mahsud, [2008],
       "Constantinos," 244-266.

23.   Mahsud, [2008], "Constantinos," 420-425.

24.   Mahsud, [2008], "Constantinos," 343-387, 445-447; and [2007],
       "Representing."
25.   Mahsud, "Constantinos," 447-448.

26.   DA, "Islamabad" and Dusan Botka, "Islamabad after 33 years,"
       EKISTICS 373-375, (July–Dec. 1995), 212.

27.   Pyla, "Ekistics," 153.

28.   For global ecological balance and carrying capacity of systems,
       see Lawrence Roderick, "Human ecology," in Our Fragile World:
       Challenges and Opportunities for Sustainable Development, M. K.
       Tolba, ed. (Oxford: Eolss Publishers, 2001), 680; and M. Wackernagel et
       al., eds., Our Ecological Footprint: Reducing Human Impact on Earth
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Architectural Impressions Between Turkey and Pakistan
A Hermeneutic Tightrope from Objects to the Historian

Banu Pekol, Ph.D.

Formal studies of architecture, which solely focus on subjective analyses of architecture, encompass and reflect only half of reality. Whether in the fields of applied arts, cinema, creative industries or elsewhere, architectural historians and theorists now have turned their attention to meaning in architecture. The effect of architecture, rather than the architectural object itself, becomes the new method of study. The built environment is a collection of signs, and this paper studies how Turkish architects of a certain period in Turkish history have interpreted signs existing in Pakistan.

Based on the theory that experience (and thus impressions) is produced in relation to dominant discourses, the paper studies examples of impressions of architecture in Pakistan or relating to Pakistan, from the viewpoints of two specific Turkish architects. It will position this thesis within the concept of hospitality, with examples from both the host and the guest's viewpoint. The two main cases to be studied are in the capital cities of Turkey and Pakistan: the Pakistan Embassy in Ankara, designed by legendary Turkish architect Sedad Hakki Eldem, and the Shah Faisal Mosque in Islamabad by Turkish architect Vedat Dalokay. These architects are analyzed as both an experiencing subject and an impartial inquirer who must use and shift between both these roles.

The idea of the 'other' in hermeneutics, rather than sociology, where confronting the object as a subject allows for deeper interpretation, forms the basis for the analysis in the paper. Aldo Rossi's statement that 'architecture is autobiographical' is still valid, even if just at the outset of any creation or analysis. Just as every architectural production is unique to its creator, the interpretation of these creations is also unique, and provides especially interesting insights when seen in international architectural exchanges, such as those existing between Turkey and Pakistan in the 1960-70's.

Introduction

The earliest written usage of the word for *misafir*, Turkish for guest, can be traced back to the *Kutadgu Bilig*, one of the written examples of Turkish-Islamic cultural history, including belief in arts, penned in the 11th century during the Karahanid empire (Hacib, 2006). *Misafir* comes from the Arabic root *safar*, meaning voyage, or travel. It is also the root of the word *sefaret*, meaning embassy, and is part of the word *misafirperverlik* meaning hospitality in Turkish. This paper is also rooted in the word *safar*, and aims to study Turkish architectural production of the 1960-70's, in or related to Pakistan, within the framework of architecture as a guest in foreign countries, as well as providing a hospitable environment for guests through embassy buildings.

The two Asian cultures of Turkey and Pakistan share, among many other similarities, the virtue of hospitality where guests, being met with delicate courtesy, are given utmost importance during their stay in a foreign setting.

Pakistan gained its independence in 1947, Turkey in 1923, which gives a difference of twenty-five years[6]. The P-CATP (Pakistan Council of Architects and Town Planning) was founded in 1983, and its Turkish counterpart TMMOB (Turkish Union of Engineers and Architects' Chambers) in 1953. This can be taken to mean that modern Turkish architectural practice can be considered an 'older brother' to that of Pakistan. However, this position of an older brother has not always implied maturity, and the younger brother has been more open to architectural innovation, as this research shall examine.

Besides this fact, Turkey and Pakistan share the common ground of having their first generation of architects educated abroad.

The pioneering 'architects' of the young Turkish republic had gained their expertise in Germany as engineers, even if this education had its considerable share of architecture within it.

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[6] In the same year that Pakistan gained independence, it was represented at the Izmir International Expo. The Pakistan Pavilion was designed by the Turkish architects Riza Askan and Harbi Hotan (Arkitekt, 1947). In contrast with Eldem's ideas for the modern Turkish Pavilions of the 1930's in international Expo's, the Pakistan Pavilion copied forms that were explicitly reminiscent of historic architecture in Pakistan. Its historicist decorations, architectural forms and motifs were complete with a sculpture of an elephant in its garden.

The same is valid for architect-turned-engineers in Pakistan, who had been trained in England (Gürel, 2004). The architectural representation of Turkey in relation to Pakistan, whether in expositions, diplomatic mission buildings or mosques, has always been an intriguing and delicate matter. Using this case of representation as a departure point, and, focusing on two pioneering Turkish architects who have created buildings relevant to the subject, the particular motivations of design can be studied in depth.

Hermeneutics and Architectural History

Architectural historians must be able to read and analyze buildings, as if they were written text. It is inevitable that they consider and concretely describe objective factors in a building, such as its length, width, why and in which circumstances such a shape is formed, construction materials and techniques, etc. However, this can only be a prelude to research, as it only scrapes the surface of meaning in buildings. This meaning is the main focus of this paper and the levels to pass through for such a research are twofold. The first is the perspective of an architectural historian living in Istanbul in the 21st century, which I acknowledge by consciously avoiding the reading of current socio-political and cultural debates into the buildings. The second is the perspective of the two architects whom I regard also as architectural historians in their own right, since they both actively reckon with the architecture of past ages.

If one considers architectural history as a sister discipline to the humanities, then the elements it links together, and their relationship to one another must also be studied. This is possible through hermeneutics, which is a strong tool that reveals the meaning and purpose of the object of study. Hermeneutics is rightly considered not to be a method by certain fields, for the sole reason that it refuses to follow a strict system, in favour of finding an alternative resolution. This very lack of strictness allows this paper the leeway for questioning the objects of study, the buildings which the architects built for an 'other'. The 'other' of hermeneutics is understood through overcoming the separation between subject and object (Risser, 1997) In the framework of this paper, hermeneutic alterity for architecture is considered as architectural designs made

by an architect which are aimed at a nationality other than his own.

Sedad Hakki Eldem's Pakistan Embassy

The hermeneutic mode of thought can be traced in Sedad Hakki Eldem's work for foreign embassies, specifically the Pakistan Embassy in the Turkish capital, Ankara. Eldem is considered to be the pioneering architect responsible for giving modern Turkey its visual shape. Born in 1908, in the final years of the Ottoman Empire, Eldem was educated in Geneva and Munich, and he returned to his homeland (now a young republic) in 1930 to teach at the Fine Arts Academy in Istanbul, as well as to set up his practice. His timing was impeccable, as it coincided with nation building activities that were underway in both Istanbul and Ankara. His first structure abroad was the Turkish Pavilion in the 1931 International Exhibition in Budapest followed by the 1939 New York Expo. Eldem considered the earlier Turkish Pavilion of 1925 in Paris to be a failure due to its being designed by a foreigner and thus in a 'wrongly understood Turkish mosque style', contradicting the image of new Turkey (Eldem, 1931).

Eldem's research on the history of Turkish vernacular architecture, that spanned over decades, was conducted in order to produce a modern Turkish architectural language and form the basis of the current context-based and regionalist ideas. Through a careful analysis of both the vernacular Turkish house and native design conventions, he aimed to produce a style that was both modern and traditional. Like all innovative architects, his style kept evolving through time. His era in question for this paper is the 1960's, a time when he had brought to fruition his style which prioritized structural expression while combining Turkish vernacular elements with modern materials (seen especially in his facades) and functionalist principles.

Eldem's works are considered 'classics' because he did not seek to produce non-reproducible, incomprehensible structures, which were products of a creative mind. On the contrary, the architectural rhetoric used in his works is definable, reproducible and readily comprehensible. They are classics for just this reason, being ideal, notable buildings worth analyzing in the future (Bozdogan, 2005).

The plan for The Pakistan Embassy was drawn-out during the time of ambassador Rabb when the Turkish Republic was just forty-one years old, and finalized in 1972 with the support of ambassador Istikhar Al, and its construction was completed in 1974 with renovation continuing until 1976 (Eldem, 1982). It is the first among the three embassies he built in the capital and shows significant divergence from his other works, which represent modern Turkey, in context with recognizable references to traditional forms.

Built on a triangular and sloped plot, the embassy comprises two separate buildings with terracing so that both have a clear view of the surroundings. The lower structure houses the chancery with its offices, while the upper is the residence of the ambassador. (Fig. 1) The chancery, although less detailed than the residence, is accessed through an unconventional monumental portal, which has no direct reference in the history of architecture. Made of exposed concrete, like the rest of the building, it towers three storeys high and finishes with a barrel vault.[7] (Fig. 2) Above the wooden door that allows entry into the building is the state emblem of Pakistan, in low-relief on ceramic tiles. Behind this portal, the building is a uniform, horizontal mass characterized by regularly spaced windows with yellow-coloured ceramic tiled paneling beneath them. (Fig. 3)
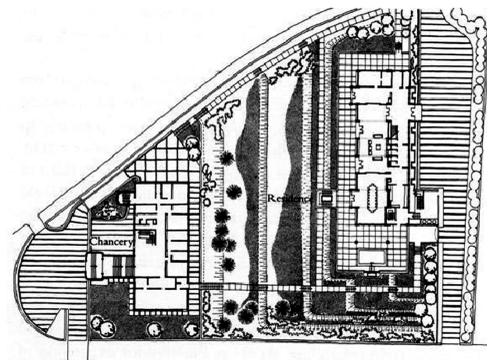
The residence is characterized by a roof with wide eaves shaped

F. 1

The layout of the Pakistan Embassy and a model of the residency building (Eldem, 1982)

7   In 2006, a glass and aluminum panel was added directly in front of this portal, in order to install security gates as well as protect the information desk clerk (who had her kiosk on the steps of the portal) from the cold and dry climate of Ankara. This addition has eliminated the monumental effect of the portal although plans are underway to remove it with the arrival of the new ambassador in 2010.

into barrel vaults as well as its horizontal emphasis with series of modular windows. The parapets of these windows have rectangular, yellow-coloured ceramic tiled panelling.

The lower floor houses the state dining room, reception hall, study and guest room, lined up lengthwise with service spaces (kitchen, pantry, staff room) behind them. The upper floor is reserved for private spaces including the family sitting room, family hall, family kitchen and bedrooms.

The planning of this upper floor is so that all subsidiary

F. 2

Details from the Pakistan Embassy (Banu Pekol, 2010)

F. 3

The entrance portal to the chancery in 1990 (Arredamento Mimarlik, 1990) and 2010 (Banu Pekol, 2010)

spaces are accessed through the family hall, a layout that echoes the traditional Turkish house in which private rooms are accessed from a public hall called the *hayat*. Eldem has commented that this building "attempts to apply the architectural principles of Islam to the climatic conditions of Ankara". (Eldem, 1980).

Both structures on the grounds play on the concept of the embassy as a continuation of a culture into that of another, while simultaneously acting as a localized *misafir*. As the 'host', Eldem needed to provide a design that did not overtly hold one culture above the other, but also utilized this inevitable partiality in order to achieve a creative result. The way he interpreted Pakistan in this embassy is through understanding the contemporary perspective of the country itself, which strongly emphasized a modernist approach in all new ventures.

Vedat Dalokay's Shah Faisal Mosque

During the 1950's in Turkey, a project to construct a modern mosque in the nation's capital was begun. It is useful to note that for the past decade Western architectural practice had been going through a similar phase, in which they were redefining church design, and this naturally had its echoes in political and artistic debates. The predominant consensus was that any house of worship to be designed must reflect the arts and innovations of its age (Ozkan, 1991).

Vedat Dalokay was a fervent supporter of this modernist architectural ethic, both in his work as an architect and as a politician. Born in 1927, Dalokay studied architecture first at the Istanbul Technical University and later at Sorbonne University in Paris in urban studies. Returning to Turkey to open his own practice, he was also one of the founders of the Turkish Chamber of Architects in 1956, which, between 1964-68, he presided over, both as the Secretary General and as Head of the Ankara Office. In 1973 he was elected as Mayor of Ankara, a position he was to hold until 1977.[◦]

In the 1950s, the ruling party in Turkey had tendencies that conflicted with those of the earlier with particularly strong secular tendencies. This party turned the call for prayer back into Arabic,

reopened thousands of dormant mosques and also developed previously neglected relations with Muslim states. In 1957, an architectural competition was organized, supported by the prime minister of the time, Adnan Menderes. Dalokay prepared a project for the competition for the 'Country Mosque', which consequently became known as the Kocatepe mosque. The plan was highly innovative and unique as it did not copy any earlier mosques and was a proud reflection of its modern age; it was selected as the winning design.⁸ However, due to certain political maneuvers by conservative groups, Dalokay's project was dynamited in 1965 when only its foundations had been laid. The official reason given was that its design was contrary to the traditional image of mosques, and the innovative dome structure carried a risk of collapsing (Hasol, 1987).⁹

In its place, a new eclectic mosque was erected (still standing today) which visually resembles Ottoman Mosques, especially the Sultanahmet Mosque in Istanbul, but is built in concrete. The loss of Dalokay's Kocatepe Mosque project shadowed a simultaneous victory: he had won an international competition, with a more seasoned version of his Kocatepe Mosque design.

In 1966, the Saudi Arabian King Faisal visited Pakistan, and expressed his wish to build and finance a mosque complex in the capital city as a gift to the people of Islamabad. Consequently, in 1969 an international competition was organized via the International Union of Architects (UIA). Among 43 projects spanning 17 countries, the project by Turkish architect Vedat Dalokay was awarded the winning prize. Due to the separation of East Pakistan from West Pakistan in the 1970s, the Indo-Pakistani war of 1971, the assassination of King Faisal and numerous political and military crises, the construction could not begin until 1977 and it was completed a decade later.

The mosque's white, marble-covered pyramidal dome and its four rocket-like minarets stand against the green backdrop of the Margalla Hills. Dalokay himself stressed the importance of landscape for this design saying that these hills were the most important factor in the outer form of the mosque. "The sharp peaks, pyramidal formations and continuous triangles on the surface

of the hills are projected into the tent-like façade of this temple" (Dalokay, 1969). (Fig 4)

The length and width of the mosque are situated on a perfect square, in which all details and the overall proportions are geometrically related to one another. (Fig 5) Earlier mosque designs were inevitably in Dalokay's mind as significant references, and the thin, towering minarets of the Shah Faisal Mosque may be said to resemble those of the Selimiye Mosque in Edirne designed by master architect Sinan. However, that is where similarities end.

It is also useful to note the absence of local materials such as stone and brick, in favour of concrete with its overtly modernist character, at the time of construction. Holod and Khan state that it is a "tour de force of engineering" akin to the Sydney Opera House or Eiffel Tower. They comment that regional signs were not included in the structure because this was a state mosque and it did not acquire its individuality from any local reference but rather, the "undefeated and untouched" Ottoman Empire and its 16th century mosques with a central dome and thin minarets placed around it (Holod and Khan, 1997). This comment furthers the thesis that Dalokay did not interpret a sign or adopt traditional references that readily existed in Pakistan, but rather understood the need by the state for the mosque to conform to a modernist paradigm.

Eldem, naturally knew of this mosque and wrote that it was "both modern and Islamic. The design is Turkish in origin, with four minarets and a central dome. Its decisive form was not accepted in Ankara, but the structure is now rising in Islamabad. I hope this most modern and most important creation of Islam will soon be completed" (Eldem, 1980).

The Shah Faisal Mosque has become an effective and strong symbol of Islamabad as well as the whole nation, frequently gracing posters and publicity material. In 1988, Dalokay was awarded the Sitara-e-Pakistan, the 'Star of Pakistan' for his services to the nation of Pakistan (Hasol, 1987).

Dalokay later co-designed the Islamic Summit Minar in Lahore (to commemorate the Second Islamic Summit Conference held in February 1974), along with architect Ilhami Ural, and

Exterior view and plan of
the Shah Faisal Mosque
(ArchNet Digital Library)
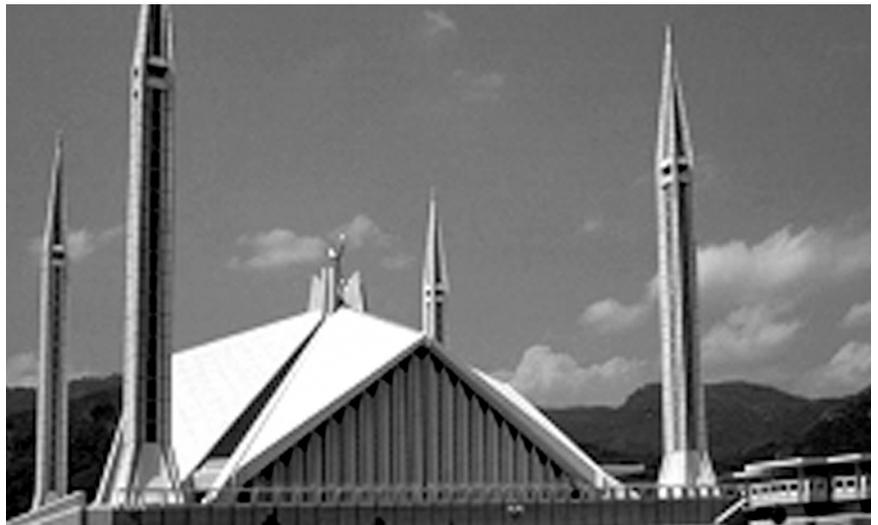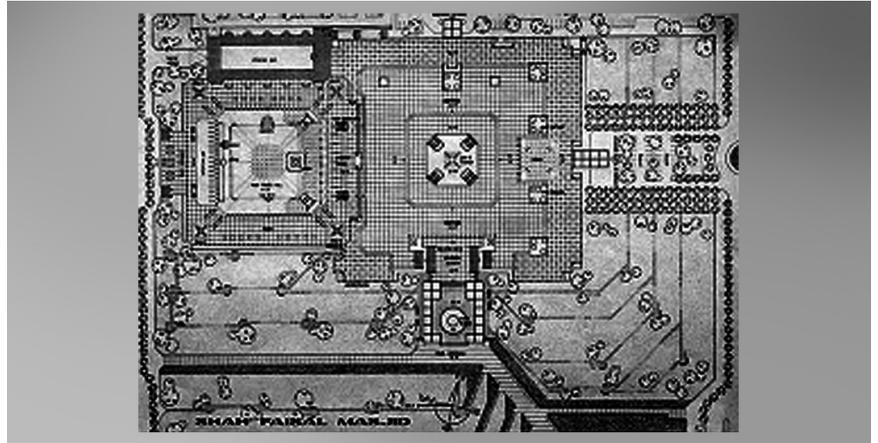
Interior views of the Shah
Faisal Mosque (ArchNet
Digital Library)
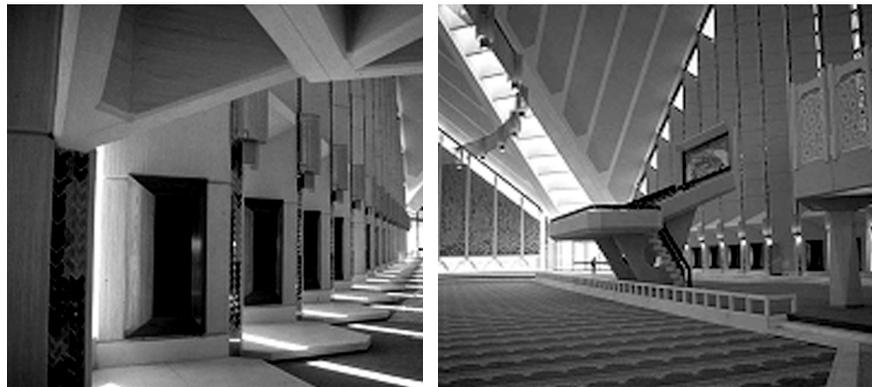
the mosque in the rear garden of the Prime Minister's Palace in Islamabad. Furthermore, it is interesting to note that his design for the Prime Minister's Residence in Islamabad that shared first place with that of NESPAK (although the design of the latter was implemented) incorporates the barrel vaults we come across in Eldem's Residency of the Pakistan Embassy (Fig. 5).

Eldem, Dalokay and Hermeneutics: An Analysis

Aiming to erase all subjective concerns while penetrating into the world of the object, Eldem can be regarded as the embodiment of the phenomenological hermeneutic school of thought, led by Martin Heiddeger and Hans-Georg Gadamer, which made claims that objectively valid knowledge is impossible due to subjectivity being a significant factor in any creative interpretative process (Palmer, 1969). Because understanding is embedded in context, interpretation can only be a manifestation of it, within a particular relationship. We accept *ab initio* that we comprehend something from the past differently than its contemporary expression.

Designed and completed in corresponding decades, the Pakistan Embassy and Islamabad King Faisal Mosque have different functions, but appropriate a similar view of history of architecture. These two projects place their architects in the position of the historian, since they both must reckon with the fetters of architectural traditions of the past. Adapting this concept from historical distances into geographical distances, architects such as Eldem and Dalokay, working between geographies and cultures (real or implied), were not afraid to acknowledge and display this distance in their projects. Both architects treat the Pakistani culture as a subject, even though it is an object and a hermeneutic 'other' to them. In order to fully facilitate this understanding, they listen to it and produce a work of architecture that is a re-interpretation of the customary signs such as those of Pakistan, Islam, and the Ottoman. Through being open to such dialogue, they further understand their own practice and subsequently develop it. This development stems from the fundamental fact that in order to mature, one must stop being self-obsessed and start engaging in the outer world.

Both Eldem and Dalokay's architectural projects do not represent an approach that is obsessed with numerical or material

F. 6

Vedat Dalokay's unbuilt
design for the Prime
Minister's Residence in
Islamabad (Dalokay, 1988)
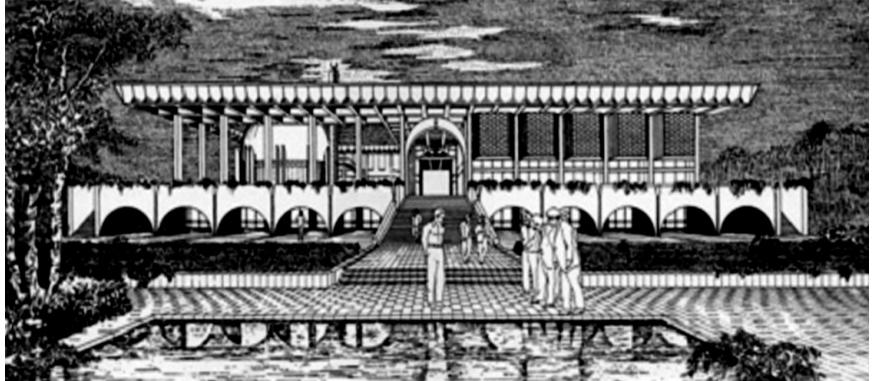
data or openly formulated, reproducible and teachable equations
with absolute results. They are after hermeneutic, non-material
meanings and by articulating their own personal experiences as
well as being prepared for their own design opinions or prejudices
to change, they are content to settle with ambiguous, inconclusive
yet complicated outcomes. These outcomes are a result of both of
them treating their Pakistani projects not as a mere object, but like
another subject. More specifically, they reflect Gadamer's writings
on how one responds to an 'other', by allowing themselves (and
their architectural practice) to be put into question by this alterity,
and adopting particular architectural and cultural requirements of
it, rather than imposing their previous design templates (Gadamer,
1999).

Eldem and Dalokay occupy an esteemed place in the
history of Turkish and Pakistani architecture, as they both had an
idealist nature combined with the never-ending zeal for finding
and devising ways for tradition to be re-evaluated in a modern
architectural context.[8] They did not let any geographical or political
boundaries stand in their way, and benefited from the concept of
misafir in their own manner. Theirs is not a naive fantasy on how
the civil authority will present Turkey to Pakistan. It is a seemingly
bold but inherently delicately thought-out balance, which offers its
innovative design as a gift to its guest country, Pakistan. Considered
as a host, Pakistan may be even said to offer—in the case of the

8   Although the Turkish Republic considers itself to be more modern than other Islamic nations, it is
thought provoking that Turkey could not accommodate a structure as innovative as the Shah Faisal Mosque. This
hypothesis is further strengthened by unique works of Turkish architects in countries such as Iran, Qatar, Lebanon,
United Arab Emirates and Bangladesh.

Shah Faisal Mosque—an exemplary demonstration of hospitality for a structure unjustly expelled from its own country.[9]

These architects are aware of the ways in which the subject (Turkey) and object (Pakistan) are connected to one other, and use this connection as a necessary and creative starting point for their interpretation, which they concretize through their design. Their works stand as examples of how the two architects have understood, via their cultural practice, the mutual inclusion and definition of the Turkey and Pakistan, by incorporating reflective and creative interpretation.

Rather than adapting their works to the mainstream in architecture, they have insisted on a reinterpretation of tradition from their particular viewpoints. This viewpoint does not consider and repeat tradition as an image or embellishment, but accepts it as a basis for stylistic and structural principles. The projects used in these buildings do not function as a connotation of previously used forms; they have their own shapes, which do not restrain creativity. Eldem and Dalokay were critical modernists who did not let history and politics exploit their own practice and, most importantly, they used history and politics in their own designs without exploiting them, and their work concerning Pakistan still stands today as a testimony to such a modest and dignified attitude.

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9   This hospitality is further exemplified even before the construction of the two buildings surveyed in this paper: on the 50th anniversary of the Turkey, a monument designed by Syed Shah Nawaz, in the name of Ataturk, founder of the Turkish Republic was erected in Larkana to commemorate the historic friendship between the two countries (Arkitekt, 1974).

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Eastern Shrines and Western Values
A Subjective (self-) Reflection on why Western and Western Educated Scholars have Neglected State Run Pakistani Shrines.

Linus Strothmann

Introduction

In the beginning of 2008 I was still in search of a suitable topic for my PhD when a Professor of Cultural Anthropology and an adept of Lahore suggested I have a closer look at the shrine of Data Ganj Bukhsh, also called Data Darbar. Soon after, I found myself in a strange position. The shrine it seemed, was not only one of the oldest shrines of Lahore, and the largest of Pakistan in terms of visitors and space, but also one with immense importance for the city and the country at large. And yet, at the same time, there was hardly any academic literature to be found. It was mentioned in a number of works on topics such as the discourse on modernity and Sufism (Ewing, 1997), the nationalization of the countries auqaf-properties (Malik 1996) and a single article had been published on the urs of the shrine (Huda 2000). But considering the numerous monographs on shrines it seemed to me impossible that the western academic world had left this one out.

In time I have realized that the neglect of Data Darbar is closely linked to two characteristics of the shrine, namely its architecture and the fact that it is state run.

This paper therefore centres around one question: Why, with all the interest for Muslim shrines of Pakistan in the West, were state run shrines either completely neglected or, at least, the fact that they are state run was never dealt with? As an Anthropologist and Human Geographer I want to reflect upon what makes shrines interesting for western scholars and how they were viewed during both colonial and postcolonial periods with a distinct set of western values. I will start with a short overview on how shrines were viewed during the colonial period, then passing on to how certain paradigm shifts in the social sciences during the later half of the twentieth century suddenly changed much of the way shrines were seen and valued, and I will end with a description of how they fit into today's picture of South Asia and with what kind of academical baggage western students like myself, enter the study of Muslim shrines.

The Colonial Dichotomy

The British administration, always in search for local authorities to work with, used many of the sajjada nishins (traditional caretakers of the shrines) and pirs at the shrines to control the rural masses. A number of scholars have dealt with the close relationship between religious authority and political power, and this is not part of this paper (Gilmartin 1979, Malik 1996, 1983 and 1997). Besides this however there was a general devaluation especially of wandering Sufis and, subsequently, of the shrines where they could be found. The groups of qalanders and faqirs were viewed as problematic to society since they did not contribute to it in any form (given that their religious practices were viewed as useless and/or criminal). This view reflected the European values about labour that had evolved during the 19th century where

- "...labour for its own sake had taken on a transcendental value beyond any particular material reward that labor

might offer, and conversely, mendicity was regarded as a refusal to labor, a form of willful idleness. Idleness was interpreted as a manifestation of sinful pride, the ultimate rebellion against God." (Ewing 1997: 58-59)

Ewing writes this in her chapter Sadhus and Faqirs: The Sufi Pir as a Colonial Construct (Ewing 1997), which she begins, for our purpose, with a valuable description of a shrine from an article by Flora Davidson published shortly before Independence:

• It goes to one´s heart to see poor women who have trudged wearily miles and miles, with an ailing and perhaps dying baby in their arms, prostrating themselves at one of these shrines. They mutter long prayers, brush themselves down, present little oil lamps or a bit of cloth or food, at the grave of "who-knows-who", while the living Christ, the great Healer, His heart throbbing with love and compassion, stands by unknown and unrecognized. Islam, a religion founded on a Prophet… [now not living]… and buried, on obsolete laws, sterile precepts, customs and practices of the Dark Ages, maintains and even fosters a belief in superstitions and the efficacy of graves and dead men´s bones. (Davidson 1946, in Ewing 1997: 41-42).

The obvious dichotomy between the "living christ" and the "prophet… [not living]", between the "love and compassion" and the "customs and practices of the Dark Ages" is essentially that between the modern Europe and the traditional East. The shrines are seen as a remainder of older times and in the western descriptions negative aspects are highlighted such as corruption and misuse of power. Descriptions completely leave out the communal kitchens or the fact that many of the shrines were centres of Islamic teaching and other forms of knowledge.

But how did western scholars justify their interest in Sufism when it was viewed largely negatively? Ewing finds that in general all the positive aspects of spirituality in the subcontinent were positioned in the ancient times, when Sufi saints were still noble and wise (Eving 1997: 47). Western orientalists were mostly

educated in linguistics and concentrated on scriptures rather than how to deal with the concrete conditions in the colonies they were writing about. This was still the case when Trimmingham wrote his very influential book, The Sufi Orders in Islam, in 1971. While he viewed the early Sufis as creative individuals and a "natural expression of personal religion", through time, the orders (silsila) became more and more institutionalized to a degree where no further development of ideas was possible and thus symbolized the static tradition, par excellence, for Trimmingham (Eving 1997: 48f.). Today narratives about a golden past of honest Sufis versus a modern time of corruption and power misuse, can be found among many Pakistanis, while, in turn, I think a shift has taken place in the West.

Cultural Relativism, Orientalism & the Social Revolution

Two important shifts, one in Anthropology another in History changed the way western scholars wrote about shrines (and Sufism in general). Additionally with a change in values during the 1960s and 70's interest in these topics changed dramatically.

In the early nineteenth century cultural relativism was introduced to anthropology by Franz Boas. The basic idea, to understand every cultural phenomenon (and shrines would fall into this category) from within the "common sense" or logic of the particular culture of which it is a part, is today a doctrine of cultural anthropology. From this point of view, suddenly the shrines were viewed rather in their function to society and their meaning to the followers of a particular saint. A shift occurred from degrading the shrines as places of moral deterioration and corruption towards more interpretative descriptions of rituals at the shrines. Edvard Said´s Orientalism further strengthened reflexions on why and how western scholars used shrines as a way of showing eastern society´s inferiority compared to the West. But maybe the biggest change occurred when many social scientist became part of the general "cultural revolution" in Europe and North America in the late 1960s. More critical towards their own Governments, but also towards authorities in general many hitherto unquestioned

values came under criticism. In general this lead, together with the two mentioned shifts in paradigm, to a more self-reflective attitude towards their objects of study and to generally more problem-oriented studies, concentrating for example on child labor, modernization programs, natural disasters, ecological deterioration, religious conflicts and so on. Research on pilgrimage and sacred places led to more complex theories about these topics including the very influential works of Viktor Turner. Shrines were now viewed as places of liminality, where structural changes in power relations occurred and the egalitarian community at the shrines was seen as an anti-structure to the society surrounding it (Turner 1974). From today's perspective at least part of these theories can be explained as the attempt of explaining the shrines from within the society they were a part of, accepting, at least, on paper a different set of values and a hierarchical social structure as cultural relativism demanded, while at the same time leaving a back door open: even within these societies (eg. within the "cast system") egalitarian structures were possible, and be it just inside the shrines and temples or for specific period of time, for example the time of urs-festivals.

German Particularities and a New Ways of Studying Shrines

In Germany the study of Sufism has taken a slightly different turn. The reason is simple. When German romantic poets and artist discovered eastern philosophy and spirituality in the 19th century nothing stood in the way for an appreciation of these by the masses, unlike Britain where this could have led to a critical discussion about the legitimacy of colonial rule (Ewing 1997: 61). It is, therefore, little surprising that the most eminent scholar of Sufism in Germany, Annemarie Schimmel, had much affection for her topic. This affection has remained a characteristic of many scholars writing about Sufism in Pakistan in particular. The affection is, to a large degree, based on a concept I would call "Sufism as the better Islam". I will explain this in detail.

With the above shift in values in the late 1960's and 70's in Europe, more and more people turned away from religion as a

force defining norms and values and giving them the every day rules for interpersonal relationships. However, even though the church suffered losses and few people in Germany today visit a church on any occasion except maybe for Christmas, a new search for spirituality and mystical experiences had begun. People turned to Yoga, Zen-Buddhism, and various religions and religious practices from all over the world and some to Sufism in the way it was understood by many Europeans, not as one part of Islam, but rather as a religion in itself. This led to an appropriation of classical texts of the east, a revival of what had happened a century earlier. Shrines were now, not only the place where a more egalitarian social structure prevailed, but also where music was played, genders were mixed, people were dancing and drugs were taken. All viewed as positive indicators of a diverse and rich spirituality. Diversity of religion and cultures was also viewed as positive and the shrines and their similarities to Hindu temples was now emphasised in an attempt to show Indian and Pakistani common cultural roots. Much of this was and is the exact negative of the common image of Islam in the West, and in fact most of what is written recently starts with presenting Sufism and the many Muslim shrines of the subcontinent as the exact opposite of the Teleban and Al qaida.

Just to give an example I present the beginning of a recent article in The New York Times:

LAHORE, Pakistan — For those who think Pakistan is all hard-liners, all the time, three activities at an annual festival here may come as a surprise.

> Thousands of Muslim worshipers paid tribute to the patron saint of this eastern Pakistani city this month by dancing, drumming and smoking pot.
> It is not an image one ordinarily associates with Pakistan, a country whose tormented western border region dominates the news. But it is an important part of how Islam is practiced here, a tradition that goes back a thousand years to Islam's roots in South Asia.
> It is Sufism, a mystical form of Islam brought into South

Asia by wandering thinkers who spread the religion east from the Arabian Peninsula. They carried a message of equality that was deeply appealing to indigenous societies riven by caste and poverty. To this day, Sufi shrines stand out in Islam for allowing women free access. (New York Times, 26. Feb. 2010)

The pairs of negative and positive are common: hard liners vs. dancing, drumming and smoking pot; equality vs. caste and poverty, gender segregation vs. free access for women.

State run shrines as a "thorn in the side" for western scholars For those who see shrines in this way, and I would argue that most people today do so in the West, a shrine is a place of equality, where all forms of spirituality and folklore are possible and where no one is in control. Additionally many imagine a shrine to be an ancient place, centuries old and thus this should be reflected in its architecture. Numerous articles, books, cd´s and DVD´s celebrate Sufi shrines as places of tolerance and religious freedom.

Facing the original question put forward in this paper, we can now imagine how badly state run shrines fit in to this picture. First of all the fact that they are state run contradicts the view that there is little to no control, or that the sacred places are in some form "anti-structural". What happens inside a shrine is, in many ways, different to what happens outside it, but the state controls most of the Pakistani shrines to a much larger extent than other public places. This control is for example evident in the fact that numerous practices subsumed under the label "unislamic" have been banned from the shrines. It is exactly these practices that have created the idea of a "tolerant space" and, therefore, these shrines contradict the above picture. From a western point of view, the shrines lose their diversity and tolerant outlook. But for the many that work in the Department for Auqaf in charge of the shrines, or have influence on the Department, diversity has little value in itself. For them, a much more important value is the unity of Muslims, and for many this implies that certain practices that are strongly contested within the Muslim world, like circling a shrine as a compensation for circling

the Kaaba, or bowing in front of the tomb, be forbidden. Similarly the attraction of music, dance and drugs for the westerner seeking an exotic experience, in some cases, strictly contradicts the essential teachings of the saint for whom the shrine has been erected. This is, for example, the case at Data Darbar.

From this perspective it becomes evident why Data Darbar has yet to become a place of academic attention. The all-encompassing architectural changes the shrine has undergone have taken the "ancient look" and inflicted a strong fragmentation of the space. Qawwali sessions now take place in a basement and langar is distributed either outside it or in a specially designed distribution lot, while at many other shrines these activities take place just outside the tomb and make up much of what, for a westerner, is the "traditional atmosphere" of a Muslim shrine. The developments at Data Darbar are regarded by many as particular negative and a shocking example of how the state has "taken away the character of the place". But this negligence is dangerous for a number of reasons. First of all placing Sufism as the opposite of the Taleban and Al-qaida does great injustice to all the Muslims who might be critical of both and, in fact, often puts anyone who is critical of certain aspects of the shrines in a category with radical fundamentalists. Secondly, what happens at many shrines today reflects a wish by many to clean the shrines of corruption from the traditional caretakers, an aspect completely neglected in some of the writings by western academics about the time when the shrines were not in state hands. Anyone who holds the position that the Auqaf is simply making money at Data Darbar should visit one of the larger Muslim shrines in India. No one even gets to the gates of the shrines without at least a couple of people approaching with a demand for money on behalf of the "fact" that they are descendants from the saint.

What I want to show with this is simple. We are all part of a "Zeitgeist", a certain spirit of our times. The relationship between the West and the East is viewed according to this. And the way we pick our topics as well. However if history or historiography is there to tell us something, then it is to always keep in mind where

our interest comes from and which purpose it might serve. In the case of the many Pakistani shrines run under the Provincial Auqaf Departments, this has led to a dangerous negligence that needs to be corrected with more attention.

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Changing Imagery of the Gardens of Taj Mahal
Lessons from the Narrative of a Historic Garden

Priyaleen Singh, Ph.D.

Human relationship with nature, has found expression in all civilizations, manifesting itself in myriad ways, articulating the cultural aspects of the people, the place and the time. One such beautiful expression of this relationship with nature in the Indian culture was that of the paradise garden which developed in a very sophisticated and refined manner in the Mughal period in Indian history from the sixteenth century onwards. As an essential vocabulary in the architecture and urban planning of the time, the *char bagh* became an integral part of fort and palace complexes as well as of the larger urban landscape. The *char bagh* essentially means a quartered garden. It derives from the fact that the easiest way to irrigate a piece of land is by dividing it into squares. But this very simple geometry evolved into the highly stylized design form with a range of underlying symbolisms and meanings, both religious and secular, in the gardens of the Mughals in India as also elsewhere in the Islamic world.

Garden-design was a grand imperial heritage with the Mughals. Babur, the first Mughal emperor is known to have preferred building gardens to palaces and enjoyed camping in gardens rather than residing in permanently constructed palaces. For him the manipulation of natural 'untamed' landscape into a 'rational, ordered creation' was a metaphor for his ability to govern over the land and the people, where garden building also helped mark out places of beauty, religious values and territorial control. The design vocabularies adopted, additionally helped impose a familiar spatial and aesthetic order in a foreign land, thus reinforcing the conquerors tenuous sense of identity in a foreign land.[1] Under imperial patronage the *char bagh* became the model for all garden-design not only in the Mughal empire but also influenced significantly, over the next three hundred years, several

other contemporary provincial garden-design styles of the smaller kingdoms of the Bundelas, Rajputs, Jats, Nawabs of Awadh, Nizams of Hyderabad and the Sikhs. The importance of the *char bagh* garden in the period is evident in the initiative to use gardens as sites for entombment of imperial family members and important nobles. In understanding the Mughal gardens from the functional standpoint, two typologies of gardens can be identified as the pleasure gardens and the tomb gardens. Often gardens would function as pleasure gardens in the lifetime of the royalty and become tomb gardens on their death. The gardens over a period of time were established as new centers for courtly life. Because of the climate they functioned as outdoor rooms with a range of activities, which normally would be held indoors, taking place within them. Mughal miniature paintings of the time are a valuable record of the cultural life unfolding against the backdrop of these gardens. They depict garden feasts and celebrations under awnings or within pavilions, carpets laid out to receive dignitaries, exchange of gifts with foreign emissaries and other forms of recreation such as wrestling and animal antics. Aurangzeb, the last of the famous Mughal emperors, also chose to be crowned in a garden in Delhi, before ascending the throne in 1658 A.D.

The gardens were not mere expressions of refined aesthetics or fulfilled social functions, but had a strong utilitarian dimension to them too. The fruit trees of the gardens of Taj Mahal, as also the other imperial gardens, are known to have been auctioned annually to contribute to the finances necessary for the upkeep of the gardens. The gardens were also centers of experimentation and botanical studies, where exotic fruits and other flora were introduced. For example, court historians record the pineapple, received from the Portugese, being introduced in the imperial gardens in Agra first by Emperor Jehangir in the early seventeenth century.[2]

To appreciate the design vocabularies adopted within the Mughal gardens it is necessary to understand the very interesting synthesis between religious orthodoxy and imperial symbolism that Mughal garden-design represents. While religions are known to have shaped the landscapes of the world, the landscapes in turn have also shaped religion. For a Muslim, practicing Islam,

a religion originating from the desert, worldly life was just a pilgrimage before reaching paradise, just as, after a hard day's journey through the desert, one would reach the comforts of a garden and rest in the evening. For the Muslim mystic, the garden was a miraculous Godly reflection, while for the orthodox Muslim, the garden was the rewarding paradise promised in the Quran.[3] For both the ideal of the paradise garden became the *char bagh*. The result was a design replete with meanings and symbolisms, some literal and others metaphorical, of a paradisiacal experience. For example, one of the most common expressions of paradise seen in carpets, tiles, embroideries and paintings is that of the entwined cypress and flowering creeper or alternating cypress and fruit tree, symbolizing life and eternity, that was taken directly from the garden avenues (Fig 1). While the garden was meant to be enjoyed, it was also the physical and symbolic expression of human trusteeship, and in making nature prosper to the utmost, a relationship of reciprocity or symbiosis was established between humans and nature. Water, as a symbol of eternal life, was also implied in the image of paradise as an irrigated garden. The four water channels within the garden not only symbolized the four rivers of life, but their intersection also represented the meeting of human beings and God. At Humayun's tomb garden the association is all the more explicit, as the water channels vanish beneath the mausoleum to appear in the same straight course on the opposite side, evoking a Quranic verse that describes 'rivers flowing beneath gardens of paradise'.[4]

To understand the visual composition in Mughal gardens, two other typologies of garden-design emerge: the gardens in the hills and the gardens in the plains. The gardens of the hills were more extrovert in their layout where they borrowed extensively

from the scenery around. The gardens of the plains, on the other hand, were more introvert with a very visible boundary wall cutting off the hostile and hot environment and, instead, creating an environment of their own within. But here too, whenever there was an element that would enhance the experience within the garden, the garden was opened up to it. In the gardens of Taj Mahal a completely new approach to 'borrowed scenery' was adopted where the tomb garden was designed as a part of a larger complex that extended to embrace an entire river and the landscape beyond within its composition. This larger complex consisted of the Taj ganj and a forecourt to the south of the *char bagh*, and the river Yamuna and Mehtab bagh across to the north. The Taj Mahal complex bears testimony to a design tradition where the gardens, the mausoleum and the wider landscape were so integrated that it was difficult to imagine one without the other.

An understanding of the idea and the vision of the designer at the Taj Mahal reveals that the full view of the Taj Mahal was meant to be enjoyed from only two locations. The first view was from the threshold and platform at the south entrance gateway (Fig 2). The second, relatively unknown but most important view, was from the north from the Mehtab Bagh across the river (Fig 3). With an emphasis on a changing visual experience within the gardens, the views were linked by a carefully scripted and choreographed path. Here the height of the various platforms, the walkways, the sunken beds, the location of trees within, the selection of other

F. 2
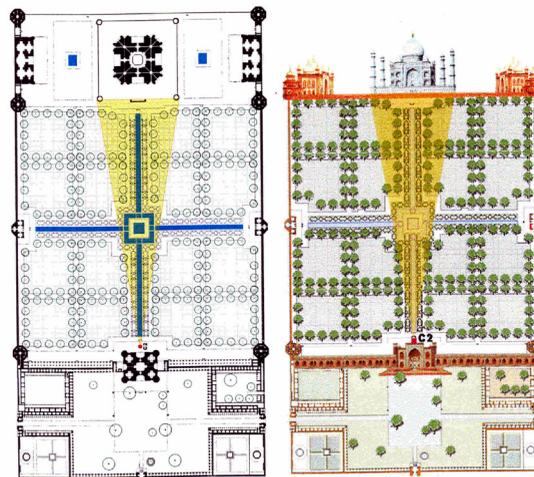
F. 3

plant species, the axial arrangement of the water channels and their carefully calculated widths, were all critical to the composition (Fig 4).[5] Francois Bernier, in giving one of the first accounts of the gardens of Taj Mahal, as he saw them in 1660 A.D., describes the pathways as being 4-6 French feet above the planting beds, giving a sensation of walking above the shrubs and trees. Looking over the grounds from the high platform of the mausoleum, he says: "to the left and right of that dome on the lower surface you observe several garden walks covered with trees and many parterres of flowers….".[6] The narrow inner path around the central water channel was for the exclusive use by the Emperor, to walk on a hot Agra summer day in the cooling comfort of the fountain spray. It was not an edge to the pool as is commonly perceived today and directly connected to the platform in the centre. The best views of the Taj Mahal were from here (Fig 5) and from across the river from Mehtab Bagh, both of which were the Emperors private domain. In the process, the river in between also became an essential part of the scenery.
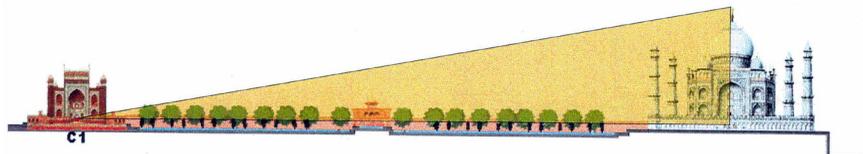
F. 4
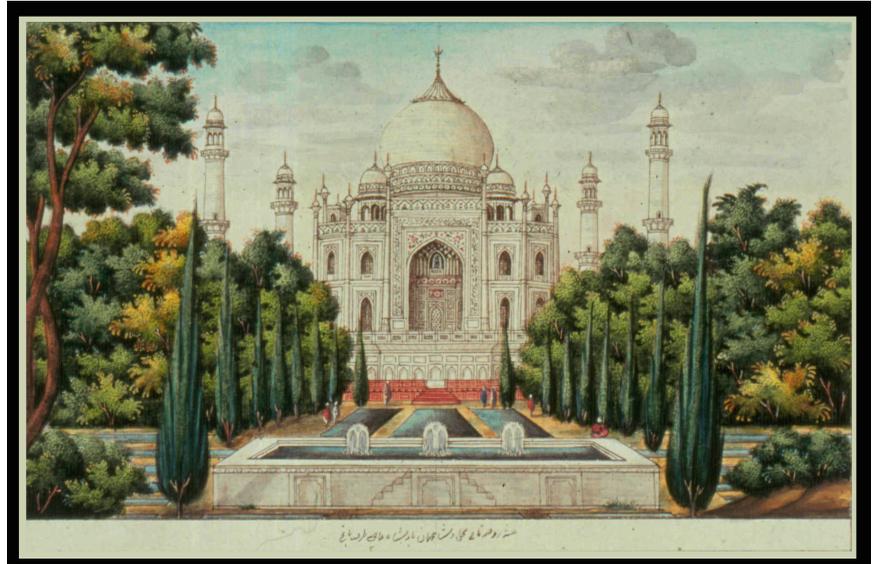
Mehtab bagh, meaning moonlight garden, was designed as a pleasure garden across the river meant to be viewed especially at night. It would indeed have been magical to view the Taj Mahal against a moonlit sky, from a pavilion in the Mehtab Bagh with the reflection of the mausoleum in the octagonal pool, the sweet smell of the white *kamini* flowers and the song of the nightingale wafting through the air. Flowers, in Islamic culture, as symbols of the divine realm are often described in Persian poetry as springing from the waters of paradise.[7] Flowers and fragrance thus became essential features of the paradise gardens.

For a designer sensitive enough to increase the size of calligraphy on the main gateway, so that it could be read from the ground, to have a uniform and singular view of the tomb within the garden, as it exists today, seems discordant. In the original layout, from all other points from within the *char bagh*, the Taj Mahal would have been visible in parts with the minarets rising above the trees (Fig 6). In continuation with the narrative of paradise, this was a deliberate ploy to create the effect of the mausoleum to be poised above ground, the minarets symbolically connecting to the heavens. It also made Taj Mahal appear as a light ethereal structure, inspite of its grand monumental scale. Similarly, the height of the trees lining the walkways was in relation to the height

F. 6
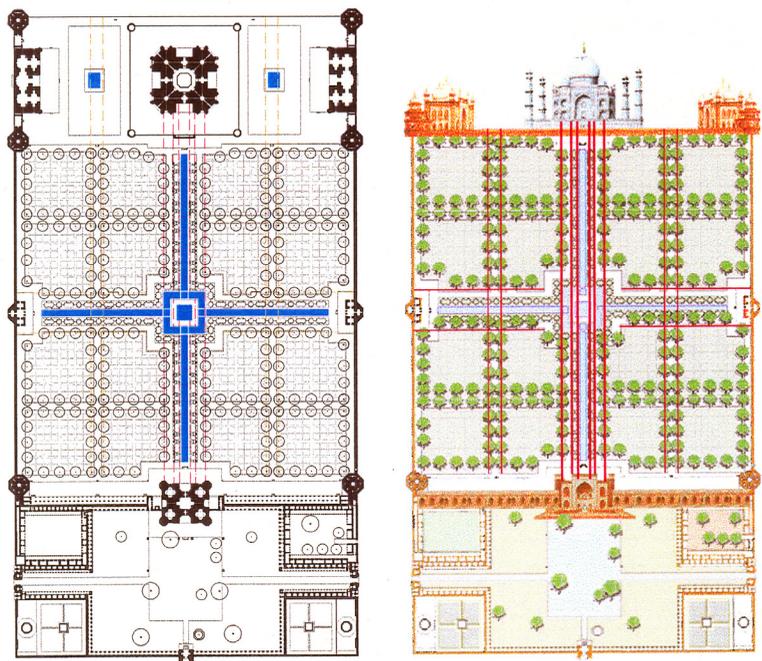
F. 7

of the platform of the Taj Mahal, so that the first view from the gateway was that of the Taj Mahal rising above a green mass with the platform camouflaged. An analysis of the location of tree lines also reveals that they complemented the lines of the mausoleum, with the two cypress avenue lines emphasizing the entrance to the mausoleum and the large trees adjoining the walkways framing the main archway of the entrance of the mausoleum (Fig 7).

Order and symmetry were two other parameters determining the layout of the *char bagh* in the Mughal period. In the Taj Mahal gardens, both the buildings and the plantation within, conformed to a grid, as evident in the much later Hodgson's plan of 1799 A.D., which is perhaps one of the earliest survey drawings of the site available. But the grid extended far beyond the immediate garden to include the Taj Ganj at one end and the Mehtab Bagh at the other. The grid was repeated in planning the planting beds too.

The whole experience of viewing the Taj Mahal changed in the late 19th century in colonial India because of the introduction of new vocabularies of design that were essentially derived from another culture and another context. The new aesthetic preferences and ideologies that came from England, in fact, changed not only the gardens of Taj Mahal but also the entire view of nature and landscape design in India. Design in England, seventeenth century onwards, was guided by the 'picturesque', a view which influenced painting and landscape design alike. The 'picturesque' was introduced in India through the paintings of artists like William Hodges and the Daniells and published works such as 'Oriental scenery' by Daniells, 'Picturesque tour along the river Ganges and Jumna in India' by Charles Forrest and 'Views in the Himala Mountains' by James Baillie Fraser. The ruins of architectural monuments were invariably an integral part of the compositions. A facet of this interest in 'antiquarian and archaeological pursuits' was also seen in the design of English style gardens which were laid around existing monuments which were treated as 'follies'. But while Lodi gardens was one such site developed by Lady Willingdon in 1926 A.D. as an English landscape garden, using the Lodi tombs of the fifteenth century as follies, the Taj and other historic Mughal gardens in the care of institutions such as the Archaeological Survey of India (ASI)

acquired completely different, though not unrelated, vocabularies over time.

The ASI was set up in 1862 A.D. by the British, initially to survey and catalogue India's ancient monuments, and later, at the turn of the century to undertake their conservation. With engineers at the helm of affairs of most British institutions set up at the time, landscape schemes of the time were based on manuals prepared by Agricultural and Horticultural Societies. So while in the early nineteenth century British artists created the romantic view of Taj Mahal, early twentieth century saw drastic changes in the gardens that replaced the paradisiacal views the paintings had earlier portrayed. The ASI, with its engineering skills, was also governed by other cultural and aesthetic demands of which the cultural themes of the original concept were not, in any way, a part of. The garden was, in fact, put to a number of uses vastly different from its original use. There is evidence of the gardens becoming a favorite resort for Agra's cantonments in the evenings while the regimental band played on the mausoleum terrace, along with theatrical performances. There is also mention of picnics and moonlight parties, of morning walks, exercising within the garden and of playing sports on the terrace of the mausoleum. The Mehtab bagh across the river was used as 'elegant camping grounds', as also the forecourt to the gardens or jilau khana. [8]

The visual experience within the gardens began to change first when A.B.Westland took charge of the Taj Mahal gardens in 1891 A.D. By this time, over a long period of neglect and periodic flooding of the river, the Mehtab bagh had all but disappeared, taking away with it all traces of the original concept. The *char bagh* of the Taj Mahal was now viewed in isolation as an independent entity with a diminishing relationship with the river. It, in a way, turned its back to the river. While the mausoleum had initially stood in the center of the grand complex, it was now seen to be located at the edge of the garden. Historical studies have also till very recently rationalized this location ignoring and undermining the role of the river as being central to the theme of 'borrowed scenery'.

Within the gardens, A.B.Westland's dictum, 'no stiff nor continuous screen be allowed to impede the view of the tomb' encouraged a 'thinning out' policy.[9] The natural look or 'rampant disorder', so appealing to the artists a few decades earlier, was replaced by a 'well maintained look' by engaging the vocabulary of 'lawns' and 'neat seasonal beds' which catered to the then prevalent English tastes in landscape design. This was done inspite of the knowledge that in the Indian climate a stretch of lawn is in ecological terms an unsound proposition compared to a grove of trees, as it makes high demands on the maintenance and water resources and provides no benefits such as shade. The gardens of Taj Mahal received much attention after 1901 A.D. under Lord Curzon, then Viceroy of India.[10] In the process, while the gardens were 'maintained' their 'historicity' was lost.[11] Schemes continually made in 1906 A.D., 1914 A.D., 1923 A.D. planned neat lawns, borders, rockeries and trellises within the gardens (Fig 8).[12] The changes in the ambience were not just confined to the visual. The preferences of the British also contrasted sharply with the olfactory tastes of the Indians. The artist William Hodges, while painting the views of the Taj Mahal, was 'repelled' by the overpowering perfume within,[13] as a result of which the gardens of the Taj Mahal lost out on all the scents and fragrances coming presumably from the *juhis*, *chamelis* and *kaminis*, all of which would have significantly contributed to the sensuous experience of the *char bagh* of the Mughal period. While the garden did retain colour, it was restricted to the annuals or seasonals that were confined to the flower beds along the edges of paths. The colour schemes adopted were also vastly different from the original bright yellows and reds of Tagetes, Marigolds and Hibiscus, which were replaced by 'paler shades of

lilac' in a scheme proposed by Sir John Marshall himself. What was lost was a Mughal garden that had been originally designed to respect all the human senses and had encouraged a participatory relationship with nature. With the emphasis on the visual, which underpinned the picturesque landscape design philosophy, the Taj Mahal gardens also lost out on all the meanings, views, symbolisms and most importantly the experience of paradise.

What we have today in the gardens of Taj Mahal is a post colonial interpretation of a colonial intervention in a Mughal garden (Fig 9).[14] The colonial legacy also implies that all landscape schemes within historic gardens and historic sites, belonging to the ancient, mediaeval or colonial periods, continue to have the same vocabularies of lawns and the ubiquitous Bougainvilleas and Duranta hedges within. Contemporary landscape design, too, continues to be guided by the colonial perceptions that had, a century earlier, sacrificed the scents and textures of a paradise garden by giving primacy to the sense of sight, and where a whole new visual aesthetics replaced the earlier experiential aesthetics, resulting in environs replete with vocabularies of design alien to the cultural and physical context within which they exist.

Today all planning and design exercises continue to

F. 1

The layout of the Pakistan Embassy and a model of the residency building (Eldem, 1982)

increasingly identify themselves with a wish to do away with traditional Indian urbanism of which traditional patterns of design with nature are an integral part. Nature today is only to be viewed and not experienced in any other manner. Lawns are laid out and pools and fountains provided, but immediately posted with 'do not touch' signs. These notions of beauty and exhibition have led to the commodification of nature with a number of industries marketing nature emerging during the last few decades. Any kind of landscape from 'instant lawns', 'instant cascades' to 'instant gardens' can be acquired overnight and the packaging comes complete with the vocabulary of 'garden on a platter'.

The visual aesthetic has also meant that nature is not just being marketed but is also used as a device for marketing or as packaging material for the promotion of various products. Real estate developers offer a remarkable range of apartment housing from 'Green Meadows', 'Forest Greens' to 'Charmwood village' all redolent of images of nature but in reality being bereft of any concerns to respect nature, natural resources, climate, location and more importantly human responses to it. Clearly design with nature has come a long way from being a 'subject' replete with social meanings and intents to a superficial 'object' at times ready for sale and consumption.

New building technologies, faster communications and publication of professional journals have further ensured that design products, architectural fashions and planning practices are increasingly advertised and then exported, imported, borrowed and copied at will with the understanding that they would work equally everywhere. Being deliberately designed for international consumption, they reduce the possibilities for regional adaptations. Consequently, in landscape design today, while most schemes incorporate the trappings of nature - like lawns, trees and water bodies - they are designed with very little regard to the cultural responses to nature, resulting in virtually identical schemes of landscape design cropping up in urban India, in complete negation of the local contexts. The future clearly lies in combining valid propositions from the sphere of international

knowledge with paradigms from the more indigenous traditions of design with nature that are still identifiable and relevant to contemporary life styles. And here the narrative of a historic garden, such as the gardens of Taj Mahal, offers many lessons.

In understanding, appreciating and intervening to restore the Mughal gardens of Taj Mahal there are many issues of transformations to be addressed, the most significant being its evolution from a private imperial tomb complex of the seventeenth century, to a World Heritage Site today with thousands of visitors visiting it daily. And yet in terms of landscape design the Mughal garden experience still holds relevance. It is important to return to the paradisiacal experience because even today, in very changed circumstances those vocabularies contain enormous lessons as representations of a heightened experiential aesthetics. The groves of trees and shrubs which were an essential part of the Mughal *chahar bagh* are also ecologically sounder in their demand for, and consumption of, water than the lawns which have replaced them. They further support a richer and more diverse ecosystem in comparison to the expanse of lawns, which are essentially a monoculture form. These trees, if planted, would additionally provide much needed shade to visitors, as protection against the harsh summer of Agra. They would also provide increased biomass, as regulated by an order of the Supreme Court of India, to counter the air pollution that is turning the white marble of the mausoleum yellow. The orchards would moreover help sustain the gardens, as they originally did over three centuries ago.

In retrieving and continuing with the landscape design of the Mughal times, the gardens of Taj Mahal amply illustrate that the indigenous vocabularies even today continue to be of significance. It also reiterates the need and possibility to develop an indigenous model of 'modern' landscape design that rationalizes, strengthens and builds upon the potential of its traditions and historical practices. In the secular world of today there is an urgent need to recover and retrieve these paradisiacal experiences imbibed in the Mughal and other mediaeval gardens, not merely as a plea for historic authenticity, but because they continue to be representations of a richer and wholesome human existence.

Endnotes

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Silawat community and the story of their evolution through the impact of various cultural factors

Varda Nisar

Change is the only constant; this much used cliché carries a kernel of truth. Culture is no exception to this rule, and the study of the Silawat Community has shown culture to be a fluid, constantly changing phenomenon. Culture, defined in the year 1871 by the English Anthropologist Edward B. Tylor in his book, *Primitive Culture,* is "[the] complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, law, morals, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society"(O'Neil, 2006).Also that the human civilization only began when "economic and social development had advanced sufficiently to allow the building of towns and cities, wherein a proportion of the populace could engage in trade, industry and professional pursuits." (Fletcher, 1963) Exchange of ideas took place through communication, writing and trade, in other words, using a present day vocabulary, Globalization. The new Encyclopedia defines Globalization as "*a concept, (which) refers both to the "shrinking" of the world and the increased consciousness of the world as a whole. It is a term used to describe the changes in societies and the world economy that are the result of dramatically increased cross-*

border trade, investment and cultural exchange."

Today we need to take into consideration the influence of electronic sharing of information – media - which is changing our culture. This becomes all the more important when one considers the fact that where the biological evolution of man took two billion years, the cultural evolution took only twenty thousand years, (Bronowski, 1991), being at least a hundred times faster than a biological one. Cultural exchange has led us into a monotonous world greatly altering the identities that we had. This fact is evident in the similar city skylines of cities in the world with fancy glass towers that have spread like an epidemic in the world. While in yesteryears the lack of technology meant a slower rate of exchange of information, the unrestricted exchange of information permeates all levels through a trickledown effect, so that now, even in *Thar*, we find the box form with the corrugated sheet for roof, or the molded plastered roof. The aspiration for progress for the *Thari* might mean a *pakkichat (*solid roof*),* for the urban dweller it is seen in the glass and steel building.

The only possible rationale one finds for this "cut and paste" phase is that there is a desire to imitate the symbolism that has attached itself to such buildings - a glass tower being synonymous with technology and advancement.

This paper is a result of the hypotheses that identity can be found in the domain of either religion or culture, and as a rule of the universe, the more dominant force would engulf the other. In majority cases, it has been culture that has consumed religion, which explains the many varied forms of religion that are evident all over the Globe. But such an assertion should also mean that varied forms of identity inspire different forms of buildings as well. But that is not the case! The media has come through as the most powerful medium influencing every sphere of our lives. It has been used as a system to enforce in us new ideas and world views, and even as a concept of identity.[⊕]

Thus we, today, are the products of a consumer society. We consume the images we see; we aspire to achieve them and make them a reality for ourselves. Today consumer behavior is an entire
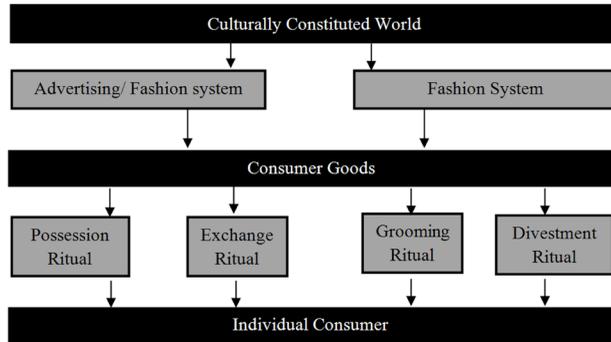
subject focused on how to influence and impact the consumer choices of an individual, including buildings. Consider for a moment then the chart and how the flow of consumer goods are made to reach to an individual.

For the purpose of this paper, I have devised my own definition of the word 'culture' as a result of my own world view. Today culture has been reduced to more of a trend influenced by the projection of images and advertising. And since the rate of cultural evolution has been enhanced, as man shifts evolution from this body to the various extensions, (Hall, 1990)more and more possible by the advancement in technology, it only means that today culture is constantly in a state of flux. Therefore culture today is *the ever changing views of the people, which are planted, projected and promoted by the different mediums.*

The Silawat Community was chosen for a number of reasons,

1.   Their roots can be and still are present in India.

2.   Their history is very much rooted in the cities' past.

3.   They, as a community, are trying hard to preserve their cultures for the very reasons discussed above.

The Silawat, as the name suggests, were traditionally stone masons, or Sangtarashi; *sila* meaning stone, and *lang* being the one who works with stone. Basically from Rajhistan, the community migrated, as dictated by their profession, due to which they also had a high stature with whoever the rulers were of the time.

In India, they can be found in the regions of *Dungarpur, Jodhpur, Udaipur, Jaisalmer, Ajmer, Jaipur, Nagaur, Madhya Pradesh and Mahrastra.* In Pakistan, however, they can be found mostly in the regions of *Sukker* – where they moved during the construction of the Sukker Barrage - *Hyderabad* and *Karachi.* Originally, Hindus who moved to this side of the border, were converted to Islam by the forefathers of *Pir Pagara*, and now belong to the *Hanifi* sect. They are registered under the title "Muslim Marwari Silawata Jamaat, Regd Jaisalmer Karachi", and have a total of ten thousand families registered under it. In Karachi, they reside in the area of Ranchore Line, later renamed as Gazdarabad in honor of Mohammad Hashim Gazdar, who served as the Mayor of Karachi from May 1941 to May 1942 and was also at one time, deputy speaker of the Constitutional Assembly.

There were major methodological hurdles in studying the community; these included the unpredictable political and social atmosphere of the city, which usually resulted in the city to be closed for days. The lack of literature and sources on the community was also an issue, since most of the history was transferred orally.

My connection with the community was made through the Youth Progressive Council[1], and it was through them that I was able to study and interact with them. In every sense of the word, the community has had very strong and distinct cultural features, which included their own traditions, script, folktales, and music, which evolved from the beating of the *thali,* which took place on occasions of good news – but all of this is slowly being endangered.

Many of the traditions of the community have failed to evolve due to their non-practicality in the current world. This include the practice of a woman taking her child from home to home after his circumcision as a way of announcing their commitment to their new religion, which simply doesn't need a declaration anymore, since for generations now, they have been Muslims.

Many of their practices can still be traced back to the land of their origins; the beating of the *thali* being one of them. The trend towards customs like Dowry changed when respectable figures in

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their own community refused to take it from their new relatives – thus further affirming the trickledown effect.

The community has made several contributions to the city, which can be witnessed in the shape of the K.M.C building, Merewether Tower, Mohatta Palace, Sindh Assembly, High Court, Nasheman Cinema, the Globe outside Islamia College and Hoti Market to name a few. They were the most sought after craftsmen of their time due to their command over the techniques of their craft.

However, the change in the economical situation has meant that these people are no longer associated with this craft. Their mode of construction is no longer relevant to our times and has meant a major uprooting of these people from their source of identity. Only two people from within the community are still associated with the traditional manner of doing the craft – that is, manually. Others have moved on to marble cutting, or have adopted machines for stone cutting, or have simply taken up other Professions.

This community also has their own Graveyard, and the community system means coordination and the division of responsibilities among the members of the community. The graveyard, however, is of extreme cultural and architectural importance, and is looked after by the Qabristan (Graveyard) Committee, under the chairmanship of Haji Aftab Muthuwala. Located near Dhobi Ghat, the graveyard is almost 400 years old, with many of the graves now sunk into the ground level – approximately a foot deep.

The thing that makes this a true testament of their heritage is the headstones that have been made, mostly by the relatives of the person buried there (Figure 1, 2). These headstones are not only a sign of love and devotion, but are also a witness of the craftsmanship and the achievement of the community. The headstones have been designed in the shape of the buildings that many of the people were a part of.

Originally designed in stone, these headstones feature buildings like Hawa Mahal, in Jaipur (Figure 3); the High court

Building and the Merewether Tower in Karachi. The construction then evolves into Marble, in which mostly Taj Mahal (Figure 4) and the images of Medina and Mecca are visible, until finally progressing to Color Crete as a building material.

The Committee however is trying its best to save this part of their heritage. They have started to adopt the old headstones – many of which however have been lost to neglect – so as to be able to sustain them. The original headstones are now taken out of their location, and a new marble plate with the name of the deceased is fitted into them and reused.

This is simply an attempt to keep these pieces of craftsmanship from becoming irrelevant and passive pieces in a museum. This is an attempt to revive a tradition. However, there is little attempt to revive it as an industry, and there is a serious lack of people who would know this craft today.

The area, in which these people have been living for centuries
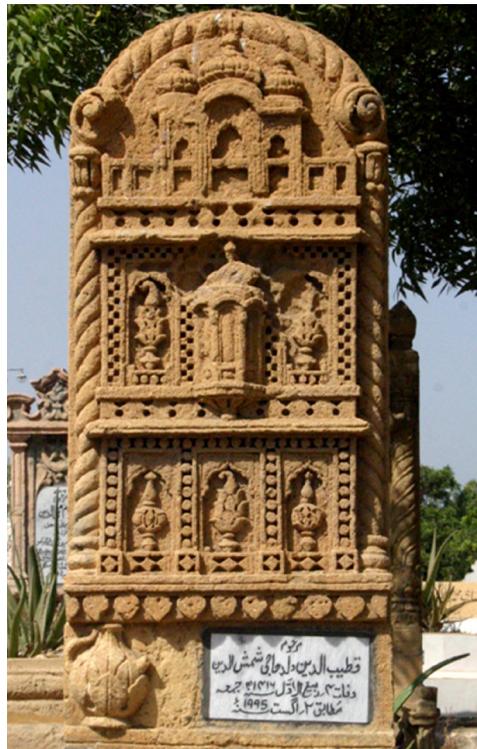
F. 1

A headstone showing the craft of the Silawat Community

F. 2

Chose up the detail carving done on the headstone
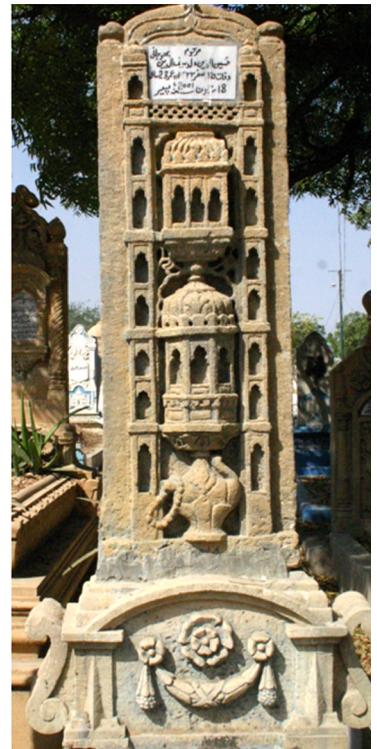
F. 3

One of the headstones
depicting the HawaMahal
in Jaipur
(Source: infopics3.24.eu)

F. 4

The TajMahal being depicted
on one of the headstone

now has been described by its residents as safe and secure, where you would find most of the people sitting outside in the ally all day long, regardless of their sex – but usually belonging to an older age group (Figure 5). The area, apparent from the deteriorated old buildings made up of stone by these people themselves, was a sub-urban area with 2-storey houses (Ground plus One) mostly. Most of these houses

1. Have either been demolished to make room for apartments of Ground plus five and above (Figure 6).

2. Lie in ruin, waiting to be demolished (Figure 7).

3. Are occupied and in good condition with additions being done to the original structure(Figure 8).

F. 5

People of the area
sitting outside showing a
comfortable level within the
community.

F. 6

Apartments of Ground plus five and above.
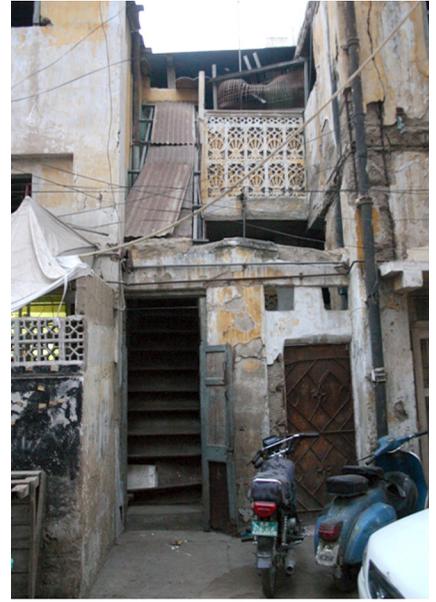
F. 7

Lie in ruin, waiting to be demolished.

The reasons have been simple! There is a lack of space and the area is polluted. The community is growing population wise, and since moving out is not an option that many opt for – reasons varying from lack of finances to association with the area – the ultimate solution has been to eradicate the old and build higher. This new solution had absolutely no link with the culture, identity or even with the area.

F. 8

Occupied and in good condition with additions been done to the original structure

F. 9

Traditional Artifacts that have
passed from Generation to
Generation.

Currently, there are three types of trends that can be seen in the area, with respect to rooting oneself.

- **People who have always lived here and don't want to move.** My conversation with a lady living in the third type of house revealed that before this apparent growth, there used to be more than enough light and air, but even despite of it she still doesn't want to move from here, her reason being "I have always lived in this house." This sort of sentiment could be a result of her association with the house where she came after her marriage and has experienced the good and bad of life in this house, or it could be because of the still better situation of "light and air as compared to other houses." The house is simple, with three rooms all connected to one another. They have their collection of traditional crockery (Figure 9) that they want to pass to their children – artifacts of extreme importance to them passed on from generation to generation.

- **People who are stuck in the middle.** These are the people who have an attachment with the old, because of their parents, and their childhood, but for themselves

they want modern houses. In some cases, people have moved out of the area, but always come back here, spending most of their day here. Another thing that was observed was that most of the people who did move out had developed link outside the community during their education years and interaction with people from different backgrounds, and thus are not just dependent on the community for their social interactions.

An example of this is revealed in the case of Nazwer, who moved out, but still within close proximity of the area. Five years into her home, she decided to move back, because the house didn't provide her enough light, wind, and the height of the houses was not enough (as compared to her childhood house). When asked about what sort of houses they would like to live in, most of the people's response was that they would want to live in a "house with all the comforts" or "a modern house". They do not have any strong connection with their parents' collections and do not want to carry them with them to their new houses, or simply treat them as a piece of antique rather than anything else. This was the first generation that truly accepted TV and grew up with it.

- **The new Generation.** These include those who have been a witness to their parents' confusion and lack of rooting and have no hesitation in leaving their houses and communities to live somewhere else. They have grown up in a world of internet, and many of them have even gone abroad to continue their studies, thus developing links outside of the community. They have grown up in a world of cable TV, and are linked with the world using Facebook, mobile phones with wifi; they listen to all the latest music and aspire to achieve all the symbols that are a sign of success, a trendy and latest phone being a small step in the direction. They are conscious of brands and like to dress up.

Most of the people interviewed aspire to move to Defense area houses with tiles, air-conditioning, and all modern appliances although they still want to be connected. For them too the ideal house is not what their ancestors made for them, but the LED buildings, and Glass towers.

Conclusions

The conclusions that I have been able to draw suggest that this is an inevitable change that would take place, and nothing can stop it. Globalization and a dependency on technology means that today we do not need to consider even the context. We can have any building we want because technology allows us. The buildings today " share no connection with land or cherished value, no connection with rain or sun, to the past, or the future; they create fashion dictated by whim and fantasy and yet they are the flowering of our urban connection between land and sky, between man's earthy nature and his spiritual inclinations. The obvious absence of consciousness of region, climate and heritage is also reflected in how the same house, with the same plan, the same materials, the same orientations will appear with remarkable regularity in places as diverse as Delhi, Madras, Bangalore and Lucknow," or in our case in Karachi, Lahore, Thar, Hyderabad and even Kashmir. But maybe the debate of developing Sustainable Architecture and the culture of designing Green might influence a change for the better – once more pushing the agenda for designing Passive Buildings incorporating local solutions that were once a part of our traditional Architecture.

The solution lies however within the problem. The media and its power are bound to rise in the coming years. 44% of the total viewership of television is in the rural area of Pakistan, according to the census of 1998. Although there is no study to show just how much the impact of media has been, but through observation and seeing the lack of diversity in building forms, it can be concluded that there has been a definite impact. This medium can then also be used to promote buildings that are not a mixture of confusion or part of the "cut and paste" frenzy. What is happening to the Silawat

community is just the by-product of a rapid Globalization. The ties between the communities are changing. The youth is becoming more westernized. They realize that the world is changing fast and that they need to be a part of it. The attempts to re-establish links with what had been done represents the fearful reactions to the loss of safe foundations[2] - a fear that would continue to grow in the Globalized world!

Clusters and Communities
The Architectural Patterns in Colonial Bombay's 'Native Town'

Kaiwan Mehta

The paper discusses how methodologies in History of Architecture need to be restructured for a better understanding of what architecture means in the context of culture and cities. The notion of looking at monuments or iconic buildings in architectural studies has resulted in an understanding of architecture that is disconnected from our understanding of the everyday life and culture. Architecture and its nature of developing the physical fabric and space of a city need a specific structure of study so that the production of space and its dialectics of form and culture is understood in a way that not only makes us better citizens but also introduces a structural change in which architectural studies and urban planning understand space, form and the everyday life.

The paper focuses on the development of colonial Bombay's native town. The area today continues to thrive as a commercial, residential as well as a community hub. The architectural formats that continue to exist in these neighbourhoods are important registers of the city's cultural and political history.

Neighbourhoods in a city are organizational structures created by multiple conditions of histories - histories of migrations, social geographies, terrain and the changing phenomenology in the metropolis. Neighbourhoods are compiled of clear physical structures; however they may not be bounded by physical space or geography. Urban neighbourhoods develop as classes and communities structure themselves in a physical terrain, within which social geographies and culture are created, and also spatialised. The spatial structures - architecture in a locality, contain the narratives of this development and are a material archive of aesthetics, iconographies and building patterns that emerge from these histories.

Of the various materials and objects that comprise cities and neighbourhoods, architecture is the most lasting and also very tangible; architecture has a structure, form and a technology of its practice. It would be required to reach an understanding of the architectural objects and what happens to them 'by virtue of their being produced and consumed, possessed and personalized.'[1] Here it would be specifically required to understand the socio-cultural scope of architecture; and how 'the discourse of psychology or sociology' would refer us to this object. Architecture is available as an object with a design that is surviving as maps/documents of a historical and physical space.

With some of these questions and ideas in place, one would can now go on to present some case studies of buildings in the Bhuleshwar-Kalbadevi area.

To focus in detail on the housing complex of Bhatia Wadi on Kalbadevi road, one cannot miss its Renaissance gateway, with a circular arch and a pediment above it. The entrance is marked with a wall plate of rules for strict discipline inside the complex. These rules make the gateway a point of transition from the outside to the inside. The privatisation of this public space—the housing complex, via the code of conduct observed by the community, defines how 'public'
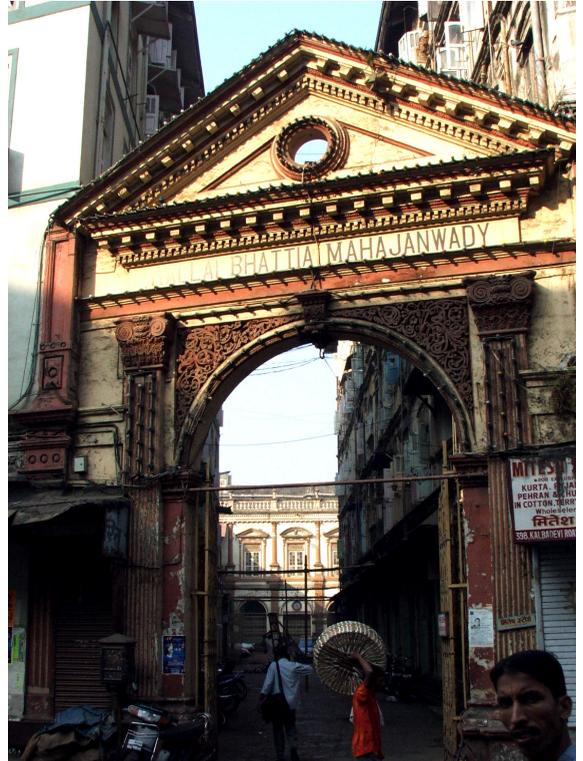
F. 1

Renaissance entrance to Bhatiawadi

1   Baudrillard, Jean in *The System of Objects*. 1968. Verso, 2005

are defined varyingly in different urban pockets. Through the marquee-like Renaissance gateway of Bhatia Wadi one would enter a courtyard in two parts. The inner phase of the courtyard has a Palladian façade of windows with alternating circular arches and pediments. It has a marriage hall on the ground floor, just off the courtyard. The circular arches along the ground floor carry heads of men at key point of all arches. Imaginatively crafted heads of men with markedly different moustaches and *pagadis* (*cloth* headgear) mark the courtyard distinctly.

Nearly 600 people reside in the 175- yearold (or more) Halai Bhatia Mahajanwadi, which is run by the Bombay Halai Bhatia Mahajan Trust. In keeping with the primary characteristic of *wadis*, this complex too has an exclusive character as far as its residents are concerned; it allows only Bhatias to reside here, except for a Maharashtrian doctor who also runs his clinic in the building premises and serves well the residents of this building.

The two buildings, immediately after the gateway which has been declared a heritage structure, are residential structures. Once upon a time no commercial structures were allowed here but today

some ground floor rooms are used for commercial purposes. The older of the two residential buildings houses the trust office today. The third building that completes the courtyard is the community building, with its central ornament of the clock. The interiors of this building are marked by grand staircases and splendid halls. The gymnasium which is locked and rusting today was once throbbing with life.
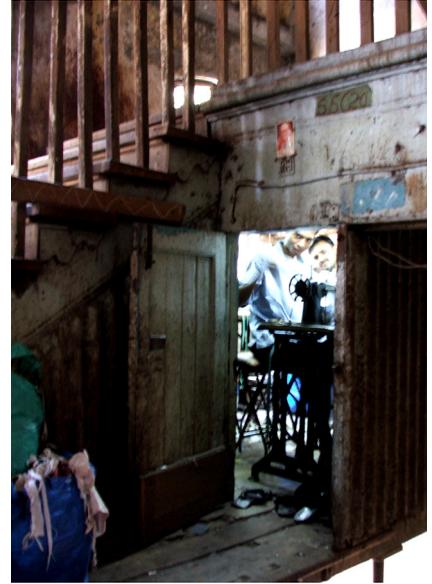
Cast into the railings of the staircase, the cameo of Queen Victoria is the ornament that sharply defines the trade and social aspirations of this community hall and its community. Large hall spaces here bear life-size portraits of the many *shetias* who must have brought wealth to their community and city, and surely marked it in plaster and iron. But there are ante-rooms that contain records and files of the many transactions that were a part of the narrative of this city. The common store room here is also of interest, as it stores large sized cooking vessels, crutches, wheel chairs, cradles for the community to use as and when required, as shared property.

The residential buildings show a common house typology. There are about 14 to 20 rooms on each floor and they all share a common bathroom, toilet and washing area. Each building has two entrances; one at both ends and the ground floor is nearly all shops. The houses are rooms of
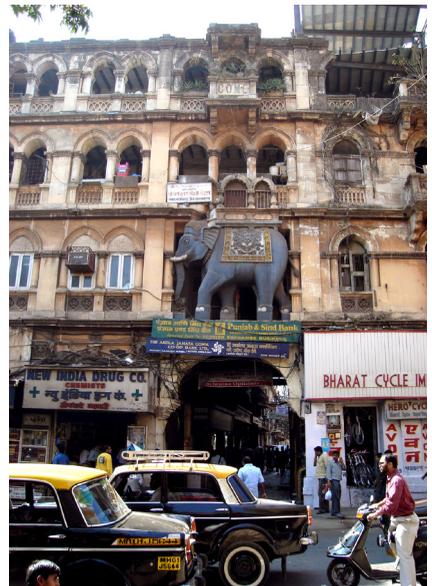
approximately 10 feet by 18 feet and a floor-to-floor height of 12 feet, which allows for storage space above the door height. Today, many residents have bought adjoining rooms and converted them into single apartment-like residences. Initially all rooms were connected to each other by a door, but during renovation in 1996 most tenants opted to have these internally connecting doors removed, and with that, this nineteenth-century urban migrant community redefined itself in the post-liberalisation city.

The physical existence of such concepts (community) and forms (*chawl*/*wadi*) has to be understood with the question - what impression such socializing has on understanding a city or its localities. If at one point these are seen as extended urban families, again as Hansen or Chandavarkar point out these were also sites associated with riff-raff activities or the hang out spots for hooligans (Chandavarkar, 1998: 115). Chandavarkar goes into a detailed discussion of how the *akhadas* were seen as spots not for 'respectable' men and at times produced the local leaders and later politicians, popular in the area. So if these sites are at one point a meeting place for the new urban social networks, they are also locations for older ethnic or caste ties to be strengthened, but at the same time they are also sites imagined to be brewing local politics like strikes, and associating its occupants on a scale of legality.

The neighbourhood is often indicated as some collective operating under stress and duress rather than an entity or a body that is defined via a varied set of urban geographical conditions[2]. The incidents where residents in a *chawl* either collectively hide a plague victim to avoid 'cleansing' of all homes, or report plague victims to avoid the disease from spreading and hence avoid the 'cleansing' of all homes in the post death situation, focuses on an

understanding of the architectural type only within the particular situation of the plague.

It does not contrast or consider otherwise, any understanding of the architectural type in a context outside the plague.

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2   The reference here is to a discussion the author has provided in another version of this essay, discussing 2 essays by Jim Masselos - in his recent book *The City in Action: Bombay Struggles for Power* (Oxford 2007) - *The Outside Inside: Incursions into the Marathi Household at the End of the Nineteenth Century* and *Appropriating Urban Space: Social Constructs of Bombay in the Time of the Raj*

Hence living spaces are understood only in the condition where homes were intruded upon by the police and the soldiers. It is important to realize how an architectural type, like the *chawl*, itself borders between the private space, what the author calls 'inside', and the public or neighbourhood space, what the author calls 'outside'. In which case the rendering of the home as an 'individual's castle', a space for managing gender customs and caste segregations, and the simplistic reading of the home as 'a residence (were) demarcated by walls, doors, and gates, and by locks, bolts, and padlocks and – for very rich – by guards', is complicated with the understanding of the complexity of pressurized urban living where spaces are often not defined as either public or private, and also operate differently at different times. A reading of Kiran Nagarkar's *Ravan and Eddie* will easily explain how the notions of privacy and family are not bound by walls in a typology like the *chawl*. The simplistic reading of doors and windows as association of privacy is best explained by Jane Jacobs in *The Death and Life of American Cities* (Vintage, New York. 1961) …

> *Architecture and planning literature deals with privacy in terms of windows, overlooks, sight lines. The idea is that if no one from the outside can peek into where you live – behold privacy. This is simple-minded. Window privacy is the easiest commodity in the world to get. You just pull down the shades or adjust the blinds. The privacy of keeping ones personal affairs to those selected to know them, and the privacy of having reasonable control over who shall make inroads on your time and when, are rare*

commodities in most of this world, however, and they have nothing to do with the orientation of windows. (59)

The 'dwelling' or 'home' on which Martin Heidegger first raised questions in 1951 with his lecture entitled "Bauen Wohnen Denken" ("Building Dwelling Thinking"), in the context of the housing crisis since the days of post- Industrial Revolution he associated human beings to a "*fourfold* – that is, they are part of the oneness of the four components of their world – insofar as they dwell." What is the *fourfold*? "Earth, sky, divinities, and mortals together form the world of human beings." (Lefas; 2009) This lecture was crucial for it indicated the essential and structural difference between 'housing' as in mass housing, as a problem of population rise and city planning, and the question of 'dwelling' as in 'living'. The change from pre-industrial housing forms in villages and small towns to the 'stacked housing' of post-industrial cities has been pointed out by some architectural historians like Frans Sturkenboom[3] as the essential dislocation of the sky and earth. In a simple comparison of a *wada* or *haveli* to a chawl, one can see that

the earth (the courtyard, the verandah on the street) and the sky (the roof, the terrace) are dislocated; the only relationship one now has with the space of the world outside is probably the single window in the room, or the shared verandah at every floor level. The shared verandah at every floor level, the shared water tap in some cases, the shared light-well/courtyard, or the default space on the ground between two parallel *chawls* (where you may dump garbage, and the children

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3   He also discusses the concept of "chest of drawers" to describe post-industrial housing in his essay "Tectonics and Housing Construction" in *Dwelling as a Figure of Thought* (ed) Hans Cornelissen; (SUN Publishers, Amsterdam. 2005)

F. 7

Ornamental details that
travel across cultures

will play cricket, and you may set-up the *pandal* for the Ganesh festival), the staircases, and in some cases the gateway leading to the complex network or cluster of many *chawls* – are the new geography where home and community is being structured/re-structured. The various incidents described with astute details in *Ravan and Eddie* by Kiran Nagarkar are all enacted in these spaces; the sites for most of the action is detailed in spaces of the verandah, staircases and the shared courtyard.

What also emerges in narratives like this one, and in a short story like *Phoren Soap* by Bhupen Khakkar, is the intense relationships, the intra-personal overlaps between neighbours – the space of the family is overlapped with the space of the neighbours – within the landscape of the building.

One could also discuss here Krishna Baug located at C. P. Tank. The complex is a mini-city with many courtyards, internal lanes, *chawls* that are residential along with wholesale godowns and workshops dealing in paper, etc. including a boy's hostel. One of the courtyards has a shrine under a large *Peepal* tree. The innermost courtyard has a residential *chawl* and the front of the

F. 8

Courtyard in Bhatiawadi

boy's hostel faces this courtyard. The hostel houses Gujarati boys only, when they visit the city to study. The residential chawl was built to house old ladies only; however today whole families have moved in and occupy the houses here. In the middle of this third *chowk* is a bird-feeder; a house and platform perched on a pole to feed the birds. The bird-feeder maintains the ritual and cosmic order for the residents of Krishna Baug. Residents entrust the bird-feeder with the rather weighty responsibility of maintaining luck and goodness in the *Baug*. It is believed that any damage to the bird-feeder will bring bad luck and ill-will to the residents of the complex. The health and stability of the bird-feeder, it is believed, will maintain good luck and good days for the people living here. This bird-feeder is in some senses the axis-mundi of Krishna Baug.

This complex geography of the constructed spaces, is negotiated through memory and other such references to living like happiness, safety, hatred, angst, fear, apparitions and so on. Some oral history workshops revealed how memory and imagination played an important role in the way space had transited from being new and 'alien' to the 'always familiar' landscape. Residents who had now been living for more than 70-90 years in these buildings

imagined the courtyards once being clean and bigger, the air being fresher, allowing people to be healthy and tall (!) An old resident feels safe in this building, although she lives alone, since once when she was attacked by a robber her neighbours ran to her rescue, and also when she is ill, her neighbours take care of her – for which purpose she keeps the door between the neighbouring tenements open always. The construction of the space in certain geography – where besides main doors to rooms, you also have a door direct between you and your neighbours indicates a living pattern of shared intimacy within a certain public-ness. On the other hand a resident narrated how during eclipses, it was mandatory for all residents to follow the rules of purification, etc. Such instances make it clear that the room is not the home only, the whole building is one home – or if one can stretch the argument, the home has limits and extensions. The building as home, and the building as a neighbourhood. The collapse between neighbours, joint-family-type ties, and community members is very versatile and amorphous. The stacked drawers imagined in the construction of a certain building-type has now transformed into city-object. What is this city-object? The gateways and courtyards, interconnecting alleys, shared wells and toilets, overlap a city area – a block, a neighbourhood and the imagined structure of a building. How far do these geographies extend beyond the physical confines of the buiding, the boundary of facades, or the gateway?

One could conclude this essay here with these set of questions. Especially when vast areas are under the scanner for development, it is important to note some of these aspects of city-areas (neighbourhoods) and their building-objects. It is not the style of construction method that is essential to preserve, it is not about the ideal-imagined community, but it is all about the complex mechanism of space-form where architecture, place and historical processes have collaborated to create city landscapes (buildings and urban fabrics) that need to be understood and encouraged, or at least preserved, even within development programmes, as long as they continue to play a role in the cultural life of cities, societies and histories.

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The Evolution of Tree of Life as Decorative Element

Aisha Asim Imdad

Introduction

We see many Mughal buildings in various parts of Pakistan with intricate fresco paintings. The origin of these exquisite frescoes in Mughal buildings has been linked to the Persian artisans who came to the sub-continent with the Mughal Emperor Humayun. The influence of Persian art in the Mughal style of art and architecture is widespread and acknowledged.[2]

The true brilliance of Mughal art and architecture however lies in the fact that indigenous overtones were added to the Persian art and a new distinct synthesis was created that was uniquely Mughal in style and character.[3] This intermingling of the arts from Persia and India, added to the genius of the art and the architecture of Mughal era. After the decline of the Mughal Empire the influence of Mughal art and architecture did not fade away or dwindle, as it had, over time, been adapted and had evolved into indigenous arts of the land. Mughal decorative elements continued to be employed as statements of local civilization. That is why we see such a strong influence of Mughal decorative arts in various *havelis*, *shrines*, *gurdwaras* and Hindu temples built after the decline of the Mughals. These buildings employed Mughal decorative elements to associate with the wealth, power and civilization that were attached with Mughal grandeur. The influence of local culture on Mughal designs makes these decorative elements firmly embedded in local design tradition and creates a design that is non-Indian in its appearance and style, but indigenous in its nature, thus making the Mughal tradition an integral part of the Indian heritage.

The Tree of Life as a Decorative Element in Islam

In buildings of the Muslims, the Tree of Life is usually seen as a floral or fruit bearing plant in a vase or as a stylized tree. The

vase with floral and fruit bearing plant in it or decorative trees were used in Islamic arts for two reasons. Firstly they were used for their decorative and ornamental value. Secondly they were used to symbolize the Tree of Life meaning the 'trees of heaven', which suggests the concept of the hereafter and good fortune for the life to come. [4] The artists of Iran and Central Asia in the mid-fourteenth and fifteenth century incorporated the vase in their design. They domesticated the tree by planting it in the vase. [5]

The Tree of Life was used as a decorative element by the Mughals to create a metaphorical celestial garden in their architectural settings. At the same time a motif was also created to represent and symbolize terrestrial gardens. The Tree was inspired by the local culture and landscape and adopted elements in the design motif. We thus come across a beautifully painted Tree of Life with foliage and fruit that is indigenous.[6] The Tree of Life with mangoes, pomegranate, dates, palm leaves etc can be seen in fresco paintings in various Mughal inspired buildings. Sometimes indigenous birds were used in the design element to add local content and context, thus making it more real. This process and the Mughal tradition of adaptation and incorporation of indigenous elements continued and made art more significant in its local cultural habitat.

A Study of Indigenous Tree of Life in Various Historical Buildings of Pakistan

An interesting example of Tree of Life with dates is found at the Maryam Zamani Mosque in Lahore. The Mosque was built by the Emperor Jahangir for his mother, Mayam-uz-Zamani in the walled city of Lahore (She was the wife of the Emperor Akbar). The walls of the mosque are painted with beautiful fresco paintings. The date palm tree stands out because it is distinctive in its design formation and does not look like other flower-bearing trees around it. The usual trees that are painted are Cypress or other flower-bearing trees. The colors are kept very natural and earthy perhaps to relate to the local landscape of the area. In Mughal times, Lahore had lots of date trees in its landscape, however painting a date tree in a mosque could be the expression of creating heavenly fruit, as

Date Palm from Mariyam
Zamani Mosque, Lahore.[7]

the holy Quran calls the dates
the fruit of heaven.

Another unique Tree
of Life is found in the shrine
of Zain-ul-Abedeen located in
a small town called Laar near
Multan district. The shrine
was built after the fall of the
Mughals but has the most
exquisite fresco paintings on
its walls. The Tree of Life is
the Date Palm, which is grown
locally in the area and can be
seen if one travels in the area.
Dates were also considered
the favorite fruit of the Holy
Prophet (MPBUH). Hence painting date trees could have a deeper
meaning, as they are set around the building of a mosque. The trees
are set in the niche, which represents the gateway or entrance to a
celestial paradise.
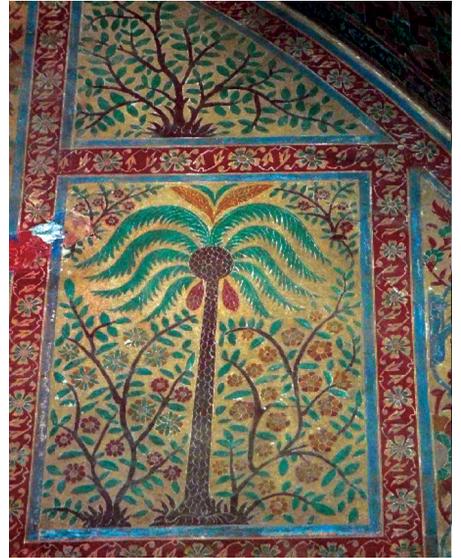
F. 2

The Tree of Life with Dates,
Shrine of Zain-ul-Abedeen,
Laar, Multan District[9].

Again niches have a meaning in Islamic symbolism. The arched panels represent a promise of a paradise to come and the journey towards attaining that paradise.[8] Dates being a local element are a terrestrial component as well as celestial in their context as they are considered heavenly fruit.

An interesting tree of life in Zain ul Abideen's shrine strikes the eye at the very first glance. The tree is made in blue glazed tiles with brilliant hues of turquoise, deep blue to lighter shades of blue. The design formation of the tree is very interesting. The over-all appearance of the tree comes out as a Banyan tree (*Burh* Tree). The trunk of the tree especially gives the impression of an old *Burh* tree formation (*Burh ka Darchat*), which is a common tree in the local landscape. Interestingly, in all the shrines of Southern Punjab there is always a *Burh* tree in the central courtyard of the shrine. The use of the design to create the impression of an old *Burh* tree is deliberate on the part of the painter/artist referring to the spiritual connection of the tree to a spiritual space. The Burh tree is usually grown in places where spiritual activities happen.

F. 3

Burh Tree, Shrine of Zain-ul-Abeideen, Laar, District Multan.[10]

The Mango is considered to be the fruit of Southern Punjab and in particular a specialty of Bahawalpur and Multan district. In this context the Tree of Life in the mosque of Abassi tombs says a lot. We see that the artist has studied the tree very carefully and used the mango leaves as his main focus to create this particular decorative motif as a Tree of Life. The color of the leaves is also very carefully chosen to make it look more original. The mangoes are there but they are not the main focus of the artist as they are painted in a very dull shade of yellow to keep them in the background. The reference to the local landscape gives the tree relevance in relation to its design formation. Mangoes as a fruit in the Indian context are considered the fruit of heaven, as they are very sweet and delicious. The Mughal kings used to grow mango gardens in their palaces.[12] These gardens were the terrestrial gardens of paradise made to give joy and bliss to its owners and imitate the celestial garden aspects as described in the Quran. These gardens were the place where Mughals used to rest in the hot summer afternoons. Hence the mango as a fruit and as a tree was important in the local cultural context.

The Sojan Singh religious school, Bagh Sardaran, was created in colonial times by Sardar Sojan Singh in Rawalpindi. He was one of the leading Sikh figures from the colonial India in the 1850's. The fresco paintings from the Sojan Singh Religious School, Bagh Sardaran, Rawalpindi are another of the Tree of Life created with indigenous elements. There are beautiful fresco paintings on its walls and some of them are unique because of the indigenous birds used in them like the *Hara Tota* (Green Parrot), *Bulbul* (Nightingale) and *Kabootar* (Pigeon).

In one fresco two grey and white pigeons are painted with a fruit bowl and a floral bouquet in a decorative design motif in a band. The fruits in the bowls are the fruits of heaven with a floral bouquet representing heavenly flowers. The band is in shades of brown, white and gold with grey and white pigeons, yellow melons and green grapes in a brown fruit bowl with pink and maroon flowers in a floral bouquet. Pigeons have been part of the traditional and cultural life of India and Pakistan. The Mughals were very fond of Pigeons and developed a game of *kabooterbaz*i and ordered miniature paintings of the game.[14] Pigeons also have a connection with religious and spiritual places. We see that pigeons are kept in all the shrines and spiritual places in various parts of the country.

The parrot used in another fresco painting in the Tree of Life is rather unique as it is an Indian green Parrot. The painting shows a floral bouquet in a vase with two green parrots on both sides. The stylized parrots frame the vase with a floral bouquet. The use of birds in the Sikh temple could be a reference to the Sikh belief of living in harmony with the environment and all its living creatures. Birds are very important part of a healthy natural environment.

F. 6

Band with Pigeons, Flowers and Fruit Bowl, Sojan Singh Religious School, Bagh Sardaran, Rawalpindi.[15]

F. 7

Pigeon in a Pigeon Hole
at the Mazar of Pir Qatal,
District Multan.[16]

It is also very interesting to see the innovative use of an indigenous bird in a decorative design motif by the artist to make it more relevant in its local cultural context.

The *Bulbul* in Tree of Life is a beautiful reference to *Gul-o-Bulbul* in Persian and Urdu poetry. The *Bulbul* is the lover and the *Gul* is the beloved. The relationship of the Bulbul with the flower has many connotations of worldly love and spiritual love. The *Gul* is the paradise, all-beautiful and serene, while the *Bulbul* is its lover.

F. 8

Tree of Life with Parrots,
Sojan Singh Religious
School, Bagh Sardaran,
Rawalpindi.[17]

The *Gul* has thorns, which can hurt the *Bubul* while it tries to pay homage to its beloved.

The poet in one line can take you from worldly love to the divine love. The Mughal Emperor Akbar also pondered on the subject of the devotion of *Bulbul* for its beloved *Gul* in these words:

> What falls onto the rose are not dewdrops-
> They are only the Nightingale's teardrops.[19]

The *Bulbul* is an Asian bird found in the region of Pakistan and India. The two *Bulbuls* or nightingales in the fresco paintings pay their homage to their beloved *Gul* or the flowers of the tree of life. The metaphorical reference behind the subject matter gives this fresco a new dimension. It has both terrestrial as well as celestial undertones attached to it. In the Sikh context also it shows the harmony of the Sikh religion with the intellectual and cultural aspects.

Another extraordinary Tree of Life painted in the local tradition shows a variety of fruits and flowers on the same tree. One such particular tree is in the haveli of Nawab Jaffer, at Chooti,

F. 9

Bulbul with the Tree of Life, Sojan Singh Religious School, Bagh Sardaran Rawalpindi[18]

F. 10

Humagul, Tree of life, Jaffer Khan Haveli, Chooti, Dera Ghazi Khan. [20]

F. 11

Drawing of Humagul Tree, Given by Abdul Rahman Naqash, Multan.[22]

Dera Ghazi Khan. The haveli was constructed after the fall of the Mughals. The tree is very colorful as it has different kinds of flowers and fruits on its branches. We can identify mangoes, pomegranate, grapes, pears and loquats on the same tree. This kind of design formation of the tree is called *Humagul* in the local language of a Naqqashi artist. The bright colors in the tree are part of the people's lives. They are in various ways, in the clothes and various utility objects that are used by the people in their daily lives.
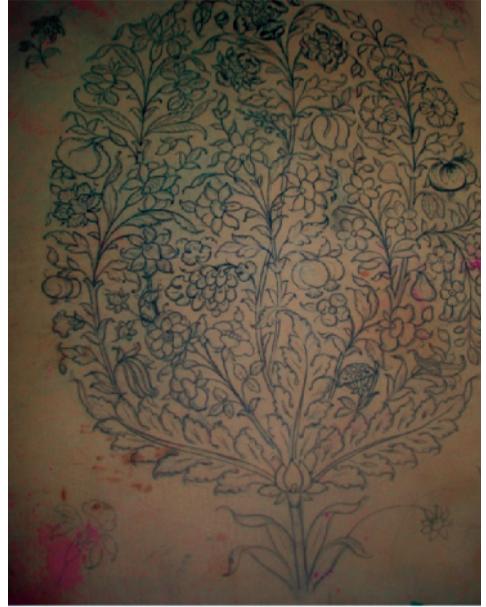
Another example of the *Humagul* Tree is the artist's drawing of a fresco. He has some exquisite drawings of the Tree of Life designs to be used as decorative motifs in local buildings of the area. The drawing of Tree of Life has lots of elements similar to the Tree of Life painted in the Jafer Khan Haveli in Dera Ghazi Khan. It has almost the same kind of fruits and flowers on the tree. The *humagul* tree of life is a local design formation of the local artists. It has many different versions in which the artists use different kinds of fruits and floral combinations. It is painted on buildings, furniture and other things of daily utility. [21]

Conclusion

The Mughals started the tradition of borrowing elements from the local environment to enrich their art. Later on, the local artists inspired by the Mughal tradition kept on developing the design motifs used in the buildings to enhance the indigenous culture. The decorative motif of Tree of Life evolved in the local environment to become part of the cultural landscape. In the

buildings of the Muslims we see that the Tree of Life evolved by adopting the local elements of the landscape only, as the Muslim artists did not paint any living creature, being prohibited in Islam. However, in the Sikh buildings birds were used in paintings of Tree of Life as a decorative motif to show harmony with the indigenous environment. The artists of Islamic, Hindu and Sikh buildings took inspiration from the cultural and traditional surroundings to create a harmony in design and at the same time creating connections between the terrestrial and celestial worlds.

Endnotes

1. The Photograph, **Tree of Life in a Paisely form from the Jaffer Khan Haveli, Dera Ghazi Khan,** was taken from the photo archives of Sajida Vandal.

2. *"The transmission of Timurid artistic practices that have just been outlined was for the most part accomplished via the expertise of Persian artists who sought employment at the Mughal court, beginning with those painters and craftsmen that Humayun brought with him to India on his triumphant return in 1555."*

   Michell, George. 2007. p. 24. *The Majesty of Mughal Decoration. The Art And Architecture of Islamic India*. London. Thames & Hudson

3. *Akbar must have had some familiarity with traditional Indian painting. He would have had access to Jain and Hindu writings, and he attracted Hindu artists to his courts to work with the master painters from Tabriz, a decisive move for development from interaction between the refined Persian style and strong, lively vision of Hindu artists in a relatively short period of time".*

   Schimmel, Annemarie. 2004. p. 271. *The Empire Of The Great Mughals. History, Art, And Culture*. Lahore. Sang-e-Meel Publications.

4. *'The slender, constantly crossing stalks which carry small and large multi-colored blossoms must have struck the eyes of every visitor and impressed him by their beauty……… the palmette on the Quran stands as a celestial symbol, as the Tree of Heaven, evoking notions of the hereafter and blessings for the life to come. To judge by the kind of artefacts and buildings, and the prominence given to these ornaments, this seems most likely. To sum up: the fruit bearing palm trees, the animals and birds on the above-mentioned shrouds, the vases and palm leaves on the Anatolian madrasases and mausolea, or the pair of stucco trees on the qibla wall of the mosque of al-Maridani in Cairo, all reflect similar ideas.'*

Baer, Eva. 1998. p.93 . *Islamic Ornamentation*. Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh.

5.   '*In Iran and Central Asia of the mid-fourteenth and fifteenth century, these ornaments occur in two major versions: the trees are planted in a pot or beautiful vase, or, to use an expression used by Lisa Golombek, they become 'domesticated', and they are set in a niche*'

Ibid. P. 90.

6.   "*To some extent Jahangir regarded painting as scientific instruments by means of which he could study the world. He took a great interest in all kinds of plants, and missed no opportunity to have a rare or strangely coloured or shaped creature painted – even the dying 'Inayat Khan. Nothing was too insignificant to merit his attention. There is a realistic depiction of a gecko, with its speckled skin and alert gaze; also one of a noble, mournful nilgay. magpies and water birds, mynah birds and plants, all were depicted by Mughal painters. The flora of Kashmir was especially thoroughly documented*".

Schimmel, Annemarie. 2004. p. 274. *The Empire Of The Great Mughals. History, Art, And Culture*. Lahore. Sang-e-Meel Publications.

7.   ***Date Palm from Maryam Zamani Mosque***, was taken from the photo archives of Sajida Vandal.

8.   '*One of the most fervent proponents of floral symbolism in Ottoman art, Walter Denny, went as far as saying that arched panels – one of the most common means in Islamic art for the subdivision of an ornamental field – can be seen literally as the niche mentioned in the Quran, and symbolically as the Gateway to Heaven. Therefore arched panels filled with flowers were symbols of the Gate to the Garden of Paradise*'

Baer, Eva. 1998. p.93 . *Islamic Ornamentation*.. Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh

9.   The Photogragh, ***Tree of Life with Dates, Shrine of Zain-ul-Abedeen, Laar, Multan District*** ,was taken by the Author.

10.   ***Burh Tree, Shrine of Zain-ul-Abeideen, Laar, Multan***, was photographed by the author.

11.   ***A Burh Tree from the courtyard of the Shrine of Syed Jalal-ud-Din Surkh Posh, Uch Shareef***, was photographed by the author.

12.   "*Perhaps partly because of decay, the garden had retained the atmosphere of enclosure and secrecy – that feeling of shutting out the world beyond – essential to any pleasure garden…I walked on, past mango trees, sisam and jamun to the garden wall….Now sitting in the Shalimar Garden, it was very easy to see why the Persian word for an enclosed garden had become an English synonym for bliss*".

Dalrymple, William. 1993. p. 227. City Of Djinns, A Year in Dehli. Penguin Books, New Dehli.

13. ***The Mango Tree from the Mosque in Abassi Tombs, Derawer, Bahawalpur***, was photographed by the author.

14. *"It is remembered as the civilized pastime of the Mughal court. Its laws were codified by Abu'l Fazal in the A'in-i-Akbari and its delights and dangers were illustrated by the Mughal miniaturists. Its arts were mastered by, among others, the last of the Great Moguls, the Emperor Bahadur Shah Zafer".*

     Dalrymple, William. 1993. p. 227. City Of Djinns. A Year in Dehli.. Penguin Books, New Dehli

15. The Photograph, ***Band with Pigeons, flowers and fruit bowl, Sojan Singh Religious School, Rawalpindi,*** was photographed by the author.

16. The photograph, ***Pigeon in a Pigeon Hole at the Mazar of Pir Qatal, District Multan,*** was photographed by the author.

17. The Photograph, ***Tree of Life with Parrots, Sojan Singh Religious School,Rawalpindi***, was photographed by the author.

18. The Photograph, **Bulbul with** ***Tree of Life, Sojan Singh Religious School, Rawalpindi***, was photographed by the author.

19. Schimmel, Annemarie. 2004. p. 263. *The Empire Of The Great Mughals. History, Art, And Culture*. Sang-e-Meel Publications, Lahore.

20. ***Humagul, Tree of Life, Jaffer Khan Haveli, Chooti, D G Khan***, was taken from the photo archives of Sajida Vandal.

21. The information and drawings of Humagul tree of life was acquired from Mr. Abdul Rehman Naqash in an interview conducted by Prof. Sajida Haider Vandal and Ms. Aisha Imdad, Dated: 8th july 2009.

22. ***The Drawing of Humagul Tree, Abdul Rahman Naqash, Multan, Courtesy of the artist.***

Swastika: A geometric motif with Symbolic Connotations

Ayesha Siddiqui

In the sub-continent and among all its various faiths the Swastika is considered to be a symbol of luck. Derived from the Sanskrit word *svastik,* meaning "good luck", happiness, and well–being, the Swastika motif, indigenously known as *Chahar Khani*, is geometrically a twenty sided polygon and an extension of the square. Found in nearly all parts of the world, its popularity transcends both time and space. Carl Sagan in his book *Comet*, explains its universal recognition with examples from the illustrations of an ancient Chinese manuscript, which suggests that the Swastika was inspired from the fiery tail of a comet, that came very close to our planet in ancient times and thus remains with us as part of an ancient collective memory.[1] The Anglo-Saxons called it *fylfot* or the one having many feet. The word got included in English language in 1871 by replacing the word *gammadion* (It was called *gammadion* because its arms look like the Greek letter *gamma*).[2] In the Sub-continent, it appears in abundance in both religious and secular architecture of Hindus, Buddhists, Jains, Muslims and Sikhs and many archeologists believe that its origins lie in the areas of Harappa culture in the Indus Valley as it appears in the potsherds and seals discovered in Mehar Garh 7000 B.C and Harappa Culture 2600 B.C. (Figure.1),[3] which also shows the Swastika as either a Dexter, i.e. the right faced, or Sinister i.e. left faced.[4] (Figure.2)

F. 1

Seals discovered from the Indus Valley, Pakistan. Both the right sided Dexter and the Left sided Sinister are visible. Courtesy: British Museum
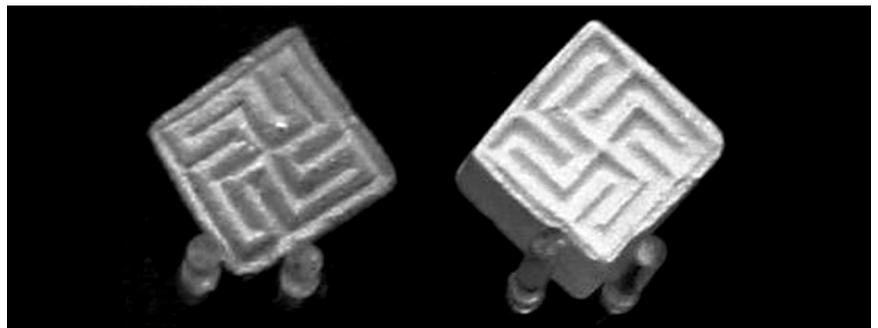
In Hinduism the right-sided Swastika is classified as a male symbol and represents elephant deity of prosperity and wealth, Ganesha,[5] the Sun sign, one of the one hundred and eight symbols of god Vishnu. It is interesting but usually left faced Swastika or *Sauwastika*, because of its suggestive anti clock wise movement, is considered a bad omen as it represents female sex particularly the goddess Kali; thus denoting darkness, death, and destruction.[6] There are usually no strict rules set about the length of each leg (if not considering the symmetry in an interlinked design), but the Nazi's had adopted a right faced Swastika that had fixed proportions and was based on a 5x5 grid.[7]

In Pakistan the Swastika is thus in evidence from prehistory, the Buddhist Period, the Hindu Shahia and is found in buildings of the Sultanate and Mughal period. This paper concentrates on its presence in two important buildings of Lahore, the Lahore fort and the Wazir Khan Mosque and in the tombs of Bahā' al-Din Zakariyya, S̲h̲āh Rukn-i- Alam and Sulṭān Ali Akbar in Multan; thus underlining its presence in the basic three types of architecture, residential, religious and funerary.

Residential

The designers of the period fully understood its multiple interpretations appropriate to the architectural projects whether a palace, a mosque or a tomb. It is abundantly used in Agra, including the Fort, Birbal's Palace, Akbar's Tomb and the Taj Mahal. In Lahore, Lahore Fort and the Wazir K̲h̲ān Mosque are two prominent examples of its usage. The Picture Wall of the Lahore Fort is decorated with glazed tiles of Persian origin and spreads from the *Hati-Paon* (or *Hati-Pol*) gate, situated on the western side of the Fort, to Akbar's quadrangle. It is attributed to both Jahāngir and S̲h̲āhJahān and was erected during 1624-1632 AD.[8] The wall

has a band with interlinked right faced Swastikas in cut-brickwork tinted in blue that runs in the center of the wall adorned with panels of glazed tile mosaics that portrays images of horses, elephants, camels, lions, dragons as well as human figures (Figure.3). Forts were built to protect and in ancient times many Indian forts had a ground plan that resembled Swastika and perhaps that explains its acceptance as a symbol of protection. [9] In Sanskrit, *Vasu* means to inhabit and *Vastu* means good. The word Swastika might therefore be an amalgam of the term *Su* and *Vastu* pronounced as *Swastu* meaning good habitation.[10] In India many people still make it on the entrance of the house to ward off evil spirits and bad luck. It is interesting that Goblet d'Alviella in his book associates Swastika with the Hindu god Indra[11] and the small river on whose bank this Fort was build is named Ravi, which is a corruption of *Iravati*, the name in Puranic mythology given to Indra's elephant.[12]

The placing of the Swastika on the Picture Wall of Lahore Fort is symbolic as behind this wall were the sleeping chambers, the harem quarters, and Scholar David Brown has recently interpreted the embedded Swastika tessellation in the 9th century Alhambra Harem walls as symbolically wishing 'the well-being of the male owner of the harem'.[13] The Swastika is present in Jahangiri Mahal, the female quarters of the Royal ladies, at Agra Fort built by Akbar and at the Fatehpur Sikri Palace Complex built during 1572-1585 A.D.; it appears on the wall of the Royal Harem and at Birbal's Palace, also seen as part of the Harem, where both right and left faced Swastikas are used as part of complex geometric designs. The

F. 3

Lahore Fort Swastikas from the Picture Wall
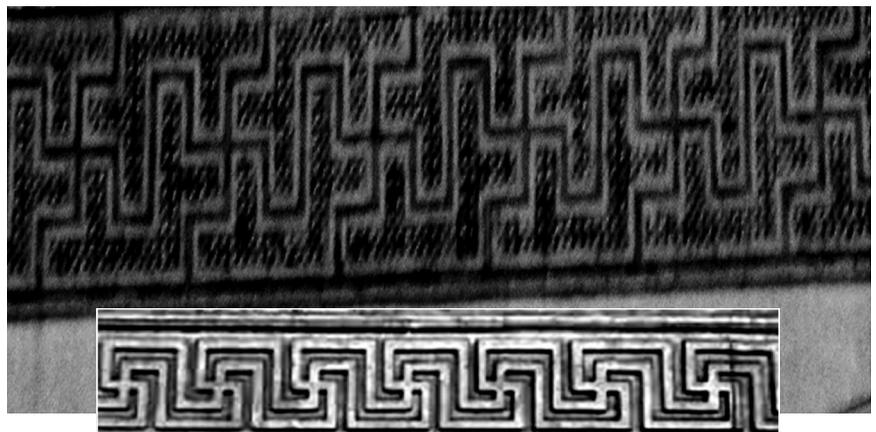
other prominent structure having Swastikas in the same complex is another harem structure in red sandstone, the Turkish Sultana's House, where again both right and left faced Swastikas appear in an interlinked pattern on the dado borders (Figure. 4, 5).

After abandoning Fatehpur Sikri in 1585, Akbar moved to Lahore and many of the architects and designers also came with him. These designers and artisans then trained generations of artisans in Lahore, who worked on the wall at the Lahore Fort and used the motif with the same symbolic meaning.[14]

Religious

Another usage of this motif in Lahore is the Wazir Khan Mosque, built in 1634 during the rule of Shah Jahan by the governor of Lahore Sheikh Ilim al-Din Ansari. The Swastika appears in two places here, the first is in the spandrels of the inner arches of the main arch (Figure.6) and second on the soffits of the main entrance gate. In the first instance it is interesting that Swastika is embedded within the calligraphic inscription *Ya- Fateh*, which is difficult to discern at first but on a closer look is seen as an amalgamation of an Indian motif synthesized with the Arabic script. It is also important to note that it is a left sided Swastika. This particular depiction is also mentioned by Goblet d'Alviella in his 1894 book *The Migration of Symbols,* but he has not mentioned the Mughal building where it exists.[15] The left sided Swastika is believed to be a sign of evil among the Hindus in India and the question arises about its usage in a mosque. At a superficial level, and in the present day of heightened

F. 4

Birbal's Palace-Fatehpur Sikri Palace Complex

F. 5

Turkish Sultana's House-Fatehpur Sikri Palace mplex

F. 6

Lift: The embedded Left-Facing swastika-Masjid Wazir Khān

Right: Wazir Khān Mosque-Right Faced Swastika on the Soffit
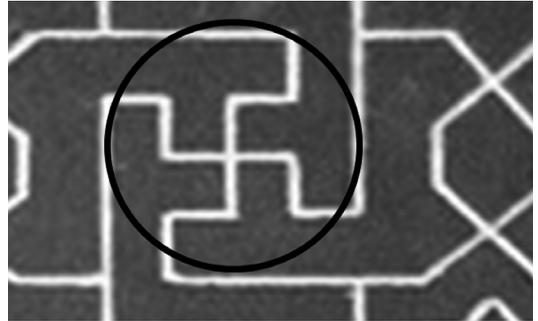
sectarian and religious confrontation, it might appear to be an act of bias by a non-believer. However a deeper reflection points to a more subtle and meaningful interpretation in that the Mosque is the place where the 'good' in humans will be victorious over the 'evil' in them.

Satguru Sivaya Subramuniyaswami in his book maintains that Swastikas encapsulates both God and his creation and that its right angled, but the bent legs demonstrate that the path to truth might take 'unexpected turns' and that salvation can be achieved 'through intuition and not by intellect.' [16] In Buddhism both sides have their quite different meanings where left sided Swastika is quite common and symbolizes love and mercy while the right faced represents strength and intelligence. These ambiguous Swastikas are commonly placed at the beginning and end of Buddhist religious texts.[17] There is also the presence of another pattern in red and white with ambiguous sided Swastikas, suggesting both left and right sides, on the soffits of the main entrance gate of the Mosque rendered in *tazakari* or brick imitation technique. But it is important to remember that these Swastikas which can be interpreted as both right and left faced adorn the main gate entrance arch soffit, and seems to suggest that after entering the sanctuary, God's blessings and protection extends to both the sinners and the pious. Interestingly this pattern is almost the same as found in the Turkish Sultana's House wall panels at Fatehpur Sikri Palace Complex. The lattices of Chinese Buddhist temples also simultaneously represent both left and right faced Swastikas. After witnessing the Chinese influences on the tile mosaics of the picture wall of Lahore Fort in the form of dragons, it can be safely assumed that Chinese or Buddhist artisans were also working on Mughal projects at that time. Two

centuries later it was perhaps the charisma of these grand buildings in Lahore that Rudyard Kipling, the son of John Lockwood Kipling, author of *Kim*, decided to have a Swastika on the dust jackets of all the books that he wrote till the sign was adopted by the Nazis.[18]

Funerary

Mughals were not the first Muslim rulers in the Sub-continent to have included Swastikas in their architecture, as Pre-Mughal tombs of Multan including the tombs of Bahā' al-Din Zakariyya, S̲h̲āh Rukn-i 'Alam and Sulṭān 'Ali Akbar are fine examples of funerary architecture encapsulating this motif. The most famous of these tombs is the mausoleum of Sheikh Rukn-ud-Din Abul Fath (1251-1335) famous as Rukn-i 'Alam (pillar of the world) whose tomb has Swastikas in cut-brick tiles on the exterior of its second storey.[19] Built during a period of four years during 1320 and 1324, it is believed to be errected by Firūz S̲h̲āh Tughlaq, while other historians including Ahmed Nabi Khan think that a possiblity exists that Rukn-i- 'Alam followed his family tradition and started the construction himself.[20] The last abode of this Sufi saint is adorned with symbols of both Hindu and Muslim origin that also influenced later constructions in the area. The tomb of Bahā' al-Din Zakariyya, the saint's grandfather, originally built in 1263 (rebuilt in nineteenth century) also has a vertical band around its arched entrance with interlinked geometric design, in which one can see the embedded right-faced Swastika*s* in cut-brickwork(Figure. 7). Obviously it seems strange to place a good luck symbol in a funerary building. However in accordance with the other motifs of the tomb it clearly demonstrates a message of spiritual eternity which all Sufis claim. Swastika is also a symbol of *samsara* or the concept of rebirth according to the Hindu belief. Ancient Hindu texts state that its two forms symbolize the two powers of Brahma, for instance his destructive powers are represented by the left faced Swastika while his regenerating and creative powers are symbolized with the right faced. The Indians usually prefer the right-sided Swastika. The left sided is rare and seldom appears in a design except to maintain symmetry. Norman Walker in his book mentions this difference to be almost 10:2.[21]
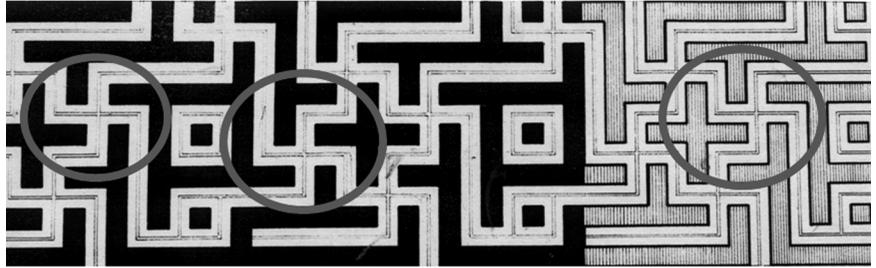
The presence of Swastika in funerary buildings is not a new phenomenon; its history in burial chambers can be traced back when early Christians painted it in their catacombs. It also appears in tombs in Iran including the tenth century A.D tomb of the Sufi saint Bayazid Bastāmi in Shahroud, which also has a right faced Swastika pattern in brickwork, quite similar to the pattern we see at Bahā' al-Din Zakariyya's tomb. Akbar's tomb (1605-1612 A.D) at Sikandara, Agra, also has right-sided Swastikas in square panels in both tile mosaic and inlay work, on either side of its southern (main) gateway to ward of evil spirits (Plate.8). The motif can also be seen in an intricate blue and white glazed tiled design that looks like a complex geometrical formation that adorns the spandrels of the south west portal of Sulṭān 'Ali Akbar's tomb at Suraj Miāni (Plate.7). The saint was the great grandson of S͟hāh Shams-Sabzwāri and the mausoleum almost has all the motifs that were used in Rukn-i- 'Alam's tomb. It was designed by two Lahori architects Ibrāhim and Rajab.[22] Satguru Sivaya Subramuniyaswami, writes that Swastika represents four aims of man in life mainly '*purushartha*', righteousness; dharma; wealth; '*artha*', love, kama; and '*moksha*'[23] liberation. These aims are not different from the Sufi preaching where earthly love finally leads to spiritual attainment.

Swastika, because of its wider interpretational possibilities helped the designers to use it without considering its religious associations. It is not surprising that the motif which symbolizes the four stages of human life - infancy, adolescence, old age and death - gets its visual manifestation in the buildings that are also related with these four stages of life. The fort as a residential palace and fortification symbolizes infancy and adult life, the mosque being a religious structure denotes the maturity that comes with age, and the tomb symbolizes the darkest truth of life, the death,

and highlighting man's ultimate desire for rebirth and eternity. It is interesting that in both the mosque and the tombs they are embedded within the designs in such a way that, unless looked at closely, it is difficult to separate it from the surrounding design of which it appears as a repetitive part. While we can only assume we might never be able to relive or interpret the experience that became the exclusive experience of its designer, but those who used the inherent order, simplicity and harmony of the motif to aesthetically adorn their structures, challenge the observer to study, rather than just glance at, their designs and thus enjoy its intrinsic geometric beauty and meaning.

Endnotes

1.   Carl Sagan, *Comet,* New York: Ballantine Books, 1997, 192.

2.   For details on the inclusion of the word in English visit <http://www. Newworldencycl opedia.org/entry/Swastika>

3.   The Iranian archaeologists working at Sabz Tepe in the Elamite site of Arjan, Khuzestan Province had discovered potsherds with the swastika motif which are believed to be from 5000 B.C. <http://www. associatepublisher.com/e/s/sw/swastika.htm>.

4.   Norman Walker, *Real History of the Swastika*, London: Lutterworth, 1939,10.

5.   George Birdwood, *Old Records of the Indian Office*, London, 1891, xi

6.   ibid; x–xi.

7.   For further details visit < http://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/ Swastika>

8.   Anjum Rehmani, "History and Architecture of Mughal Monuments at Lahore", Diss.University of the Punjab, Lahore, 2002,540.

9.   Subhamoy Das, "Major Hindu Symbols: What Are The Most Important Symbols of Hinduism?", 30 Oct. 2010 < http:// hinduism. about.com/ od/ artculture/ a/major _hindu _ symbols.htm>.

10.   R.Nath, *Decorative Art in Mughal Architecture*, New Delhi: Motilal Banarisadass, 1976,24.

11.   Goblet d'Alviella, *The Migration of Symbols*, 1894,50. Online book available at <www. sacred-texts.com/sym/mosy/mosy05.htm>.

12.   J.L.Kipling and T.H.Thornton, *Lahore as it was: A Travelogue- 1860*, Lahore :National College of Arts Publications, 2002,23.

13.   David Brown, "On the Geometry, Fabrication and Semiotics of Alhambran Tilings",2 Nov. 2010< www.sites.google.com/site/ djhbrown2/alhambra.doc>.

14.   R.Nath, *Colours Used in Mughal Architecture,* New Delhi: Motilal Banarisadass, 1976, 31.

15.   *The Migration of Symbols*, xxiv.

16.   Satguru Sivaya Subramuniyaswami, *Loving Ganesha*, New York:

Himalayan Academy, 2000,125.

17.   "Swastika", 30 Oct. 2010 < http://symboldictionary.net/?p=836>.

18.   Michael Smith, "Kipling and the Swastika". Kipling Organization, 30 Oct. 2010 <http://www.kipling.org.uk/facts_swastik.htm>.

19.   Ahmad Nabi Khan, *Multan history and Architecture*, Islamabad:Islamic University, 1983,228.

20.   F.S.Aijazuddin, *Historical Images of Pakistan,* Karachi: Ferozesons, 1996,99.

21.   *Real History of the Swastika,* 11.

22.   *Multan history and Architecture*, 238.

23.   *Loving Ganesha*, 125.

Historiography of Architecture
Extent & Restraints of Conjecture
Ghafer Shahzad, Ph.D.

Introduction

The dictionary meaning[1] of the word "conjecture" is "the formation or expression of an opinion or theory without sufficient evidence for proof". A conjecture is an unproved proposition that appears correct and has not been disproved.[2] Karl Popper[3] (1902-1994) introduced the use of the term "conjecture" in scientific philosophy.[4] Conjecture is contrasted by the term hypothesis (theory, axiom, principle), which is a testable statement based on acceptable grounds.[5]

Resources for historiography, in general, are Written Documents, Un-written Documents and Oral tradition of history is a significant basis for tracing out facts for historiography which are not available in the form of Written or Un-written Documents and are transferred verbally from one generation to the next. Conjecture and hypothesis occurs in historiography when the study of extant documents leads to a suspect, beyond the facts which they directly divulge.[6] These facts are revealed in no extant historical documents, or at least no one has perceived them. At once the investigator sees that here it is possible to discover more than what is known from the available documents. With this hope he begins to read extensively, to interrogate in every sense, a great many works and all the documents relating to the fact with which he has been keenly impressed, to study the persons concerned in it, or the age in which it took place.

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1   http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/conjecture
2   http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Conjecture
3   Sir Karl Popper was an Austro-British philosopher and a professor at the London School of Economics. He is regarded as one of the greatest philosophers of science of the 20th century.
4   http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Conjecture
5   *Ibid*
6   *Ibid*

"Tehqīqāt-e Chishtī" written by Maulvi Noor Ahmed Chishti[7] is among the few preliminary expositions[8] about the religious and heritage buildings located in and around Lahore. It gives a historical perspective of the Indian subcontinent through dynasties, divulges the conquest and defeat stories of the invaders and occupiers, delineates life sketches and achievements of Sufis and Sultans and describes the architectural setting and features of mosques and shrines belonging to the Muslim, Sikh and Hindu faiths. In the outset, Chishti portrays the structure and format[9] of the book, the information collected and his main focuses. Regarding the buildings, Chishti sets the format for information as given for shrine and mosque whether it is registered in Government Record or not.[10]

Vandals wrote "The Raj, Lahore & Bhai Ram Singh" to address the issue of "an appropriate architecture for Pakistan". The work started in year 2000, but four articles under the subjects i.e. Bhai Ram Singh[11] (1985), Model Town[12] (2001), Early Colonial Period Development of Lahore[13] (1993) and Lahore Cantonment[14] (2001) were written and published by the authors prior to the publication of the book.

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7   Noor Ahmed Chishti, after getting education, joined the profession of teaching like his father A Bukhsh Yakdil and grand father Ghulam Hussain. After 1849 A.D., when British took over the control of Punjab, Chishti started teaching Urdu, Persian and Punjabi languages to the English people. Till 1864, he taught more than two thousand British; among them were R. Temple Commissioner Lahore, Edward Thornton Commissioner Punjab, Lord Lawrence Governor Punjab, C.U. Aitcheson Lt. Gover nor Punjab etc.

8   The book was written on the desire and direction of Mr. William Cold Stream Assistant Commissioner for the purpose to record the historical details of shrines, mosques, mausoleum and buildings.

9   The pattern adapted gives information whose shrine or mausoleum is this? When and where he was born? What was its reason for popularity? When he died? Who were famous among his descendants? How many *sajjadah nashins* continued after death? If presently, someone is alive, who and where is he? His family if exist, how and what status they have now, how the income is distributed among descendants.

10   Chishty has set format for attached properties. What is income and expenditure from? Who and How many are the stakeholders, or in how many parts its income is divided and where it is spent? When the '*urs* of the Sufi buried in is celebrated and what are the rituals and ceremonies? And details related to these buildings and their rulers have also been provided.

11   Bhai Ram Singh, Nayyer Ali Dada and the Future" presented in UIA Region IV Conference in Kara chi, dated 2-4 December 1985

12   Published in *The Daily News* 24 June, 2001

13   An Analysis of Urban Development in Lahore During the early British Period 1846-1900 A.D., published in Journal of the Indian Institute of Architecture, April 1993.

14   The Establishment of Lahore Cantonment, presented in Annual History Conference held in Lahore on 14 October, 2001.

Conjectures Used by the Historians

At the outset of "Tehqīqāt-e Chishtī", the author asserts that his approach is scientific. He states that he starts with methodology, gives the references of consulted books and elaborates the format for collecting and compiling the available information under strong tradition of oral history, but the content of the book is devoid of such acclaimed characteristic.

While writing about any Sufi, Chishti simply says "*Mujāwar of the shrine informs that he (the Sufi) was born, migrated, settled etc………*" and confidently glorifies the historical events through imagination. Without making substantial efforts in finding out the references or sources for the authenticity of data collected, the author quotes the first hand information in a descriptive way. Chishti believed and included the self created and fabricated stories as told by the *Mujawārs*. This has also been criticized by Syed Muhamad Latif who has rightly mentioned in the preface of his book:[15]

"That of Chishtis' *is full of stories of supernatural powers supposed to have been possessed by local saints, whose tombs still so numerous in the neighborhood of Lahore".*

Further he asserted,

"*The work (of Chishti) is full of discrepancies and errors*".[16]

By adapting the casual approach, Chishti has spread disinformation regarding many historical events and personalities which, in fact, is not proven. As the years passed, the information given by Chishti became established as historical facts. People started accepting it with their hearts. Following are the two examples where one can study and analyze the impact of conjecture in historiography as used by Chishti in his book.

Shrine of Hazrat Bibi Pak Damana: A Conjecture

The shrine of Hazrat Bibi Pak Damana is located in *Muhallah*Muhammad Nagar, near Shimla Hill, Lahore.

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15   Latif, S.M. (1892) *Lahore-History and Its Architectural Remains,* Sang-e Meel Publications Lahore
16   *Ibid,* p. V

Auqaf Department (established in 1960 A.D.) took over the administrative control of all important shrines in the province of Punjab being Muslim *waqf* properties but ignored the shrine Hazrat Bibi Pak Damana and its attached *waqf* properties being not important. It was September 9, 1967 when control of the shrine and its property was assumed by the Auqaf Department as a *sunni* shrine. On July 27, 1971, a conflict arose when names of four caliphs were written on the walls of the shrine by *sunni* devotees, after its re-construction. At that time, among the seven members of the Religious Purpose's Committee[17], six were from *sunni* sect and only one was from *she'ia* sect.

The shrine became significant to the people of *she'ia* sect first time in 1994, after the patronage of the Prime Minister of Pakistan.[18] On her direction, its extension and master planning was conceived and developed. The flow and layout of the devotees belonging to the two sects was kept in view (Ref. Fig. 01). After entering the hall, two separate entrances were provided for *she'ia* and *sunni* sects leading to a courtyard, further divided into two parts with the placement of a small mosque in the centre. In one courtyard, if *majālis* are arranged by *she'ia* sect, in the other courtyard *melāds* are celebrated regularly by the people of *sunni* sect. These two courtyards end up in a single small courtyard, low in level with the centrally located shrine of Hazrat Bibi Pak Damana also known as Hazrat Ruqayyah (?), constructed on a raised platform.

This whole situation is an outcome of a conjecture made by Noor Ahmed Chishti in the year 1864 A.D. Previously, no historian has mentioned that Hazrat Bibi Pak Damana was daughter of Hazrat Ali (R.A.). Chishti was the first who informed that the real name of Bibi Pak Damana was Ruqayya Bibi (?) and she was the daughter (?) of Hazrat Ali (R.A.). Chishti further elaborated the story of her migration from Karbala to Lahore along with five other pious ladies[19] who were daughters of Hazrat Aqeel (?), brother of Hazrat Ali (R.A.). Chishti simply says, "as it is said……." and then starts

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17 Auqaf Department constitutes Religious Purpose's Committees on shrines and mosques for participation of local devotees in up-keep and celebration of religious and '*urs* ceremonies. Such committees are formed for one year and usually have one chairman and five or more members.

18 On May 2, 1994, Benazir Bhutto, being Prime Minister of Pakistan visited the shrine and directed Auqaf Department to prepare a development scheme for up-gradation of its physical and spiritual environment

19 Chishti, Noor Ahmed; *Tehqiqat-e Chishti* (1864) Re-printed by Al-Faisal Lahore. pp 159-161

building stories of migration of these pious ladies, without giving any historical reference, in a very impressive way with details as if he was as eye-witness to all the happenings from Karbala to

Lahore. He also added many miracles attached to Hazrat Bibi Pak Damana to catch the attention of the readers.[20] This assumption has established a new acceptance level of the shrine in the perception of *shei'a* devotees who believed that it was the grave of daughter of Hazrat 'Ali (R.A.). This perception and acceptance has enhanced the sacredness of the grave even in the eyes of people of *sunni* faith. After 150 years, the shrine has established its new identity.

According to a second view point that is widely accepted by renowned historians[21], these pious ladies were daughters of a Sufi named Syed Ahmed Tokhtah, who migrated from Kirmān and settled inside the walled city of Lahore[22]. His shrine still exists inside the walled city. After his death, when the city became under the attack of the invaders, these pious ladies shifted from the Walled city of Lahore to its suburb area for security reasons.[23]
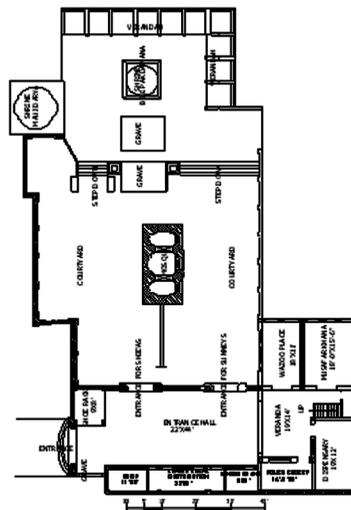
F. 1

Layout Plan of Shrine Hazrat Bibi Pak Damanan at Lahore

20   "When Bibian reached Lahore, they stayed in the vicinity where brick manufacturers were settled. Fire of their kilns was extinguished and it was assumed that some friend of Allah has come in the area.

21   These includes Kanhayya La'l Hindi, Syed Mateen Hashmi, Professor Muhammad Aslam, Dr. Mu hammad Baqir, etc

22   Hindi, Kanhiyya Lal; *Tarikh-e Lahore* (1884) Majlis-e Taraqqi-e Adab Lahore

23   The shrine of Bibi Pak Damana is a constant threat for the security agencies. During this year (2010-11), the shrine was closed for devotees many times. This year during 'urs days, the *she'ia* devotees were not allowed to celebrate the ceremonies and rituals.

Now, the devotees belonging to both *sunni* and *she'ia* sects are not ready to step down from their points of view. The situation has become very critical and alarming. Sometime, the situation of law and order gets out of control of the local district administration. The present Prime Minister of Pakistan, being a Gilani Syed, has allocated Rs 23.00 million for its re-construction and expansion, and if its extension is initiated under this scenario, the strong resistance from *sunni* devotees and the *gaddi nashin* will not stop it from becoming purely a *she'ia* shrine in 21st century.

Chillah Gah – Another Conjecture

Noor Ahmed Chishti had made another conjecture regarding the *chillah gah* of Khwajah Mueen al-Din Chishti of Ajmer located on the southern side of the shrine of Hazrat Ali Hujwiri (Ref. Fig 02). He writes,[24]

"in year 500 A.H., Khwajah Mueen al-Din Chishti visited the shrine of Hazrat Ali Hujwiri and did meditation.(sic) On the southern side of shrine, inside boundary wall, the room is still present".

Without any historical clue, Chishti had made this conjecture simply based on the oral history as told by the *mutawalli* of Hazrat Ali Hujwiri. Earlier writers like Dara Shikoh, Khwajah Nizam al-Din Awliya, and other Chishti Sufis have not mentioned any such *chillah* of Khwajah Mu'een al-Din Chishti at shrine of Hazrat Ali Hujwiri. The mention of the visit of Khwajah Mu'een al-Din Chishti to shrine of Hazrat Ali Hujwiri is available but not of his conducting *chillah*. This *chilla gah* is properly constructed, and on 6th Rajab of every Islamic year, *'urs* ceremonies and rituals are conducted here regularly parallel to those at the shrine of Khwajah Mueen al-Din Chishti in Ajmer.

Devotees from all over the Pakistan, who cannot go to Ajmer, visit it to participate in the ceremonies.

This conjecture, made in 1864 A.D. as told by *mutawalli* of Hazrat Ali Hujwiri, had established a sacred place related to a Sufi who visited the shrine of Hujwiri but there is no mention of his *chillah*

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24   Chishti, Noor Ahmed; *Tehqīqāt-e Chishtī* (1864) Re-printed by Al-Faisal Lahore. p 817

F. 2

Chillah Gāh of Mueen al-
Din Chishti at shrine Hazrat
Ali Hujwiri

PLAN

00   10'   20'   30'
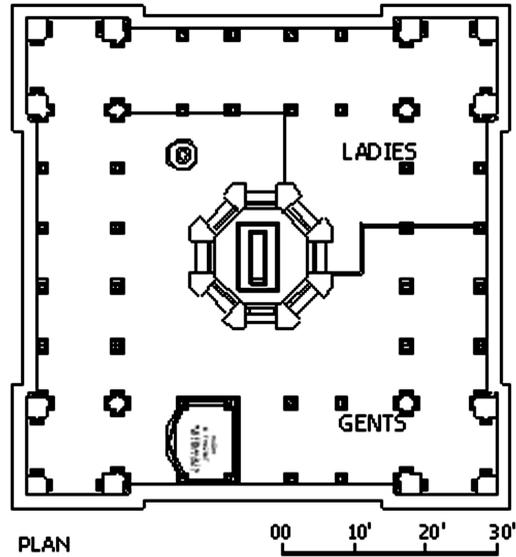
in the *malfuzat* of Chishties, or anywhere else. This intervention has significantly influenced the built environment of the shrine of Hujwiri.

Orientation of Qiblah – a True Conjecture

Chishti, with reference to Dara Shikoh's *Safinat al-Auliya*, wrote about the *qiblah* orientation of the mosque built by Hazrat Ali Hujwiri, when he settled in Lahore in 11th century. Dara Shikoh informs us that when Hazrat Hujwiri constructed the mosque, its *qiblah* direction was some degrees towards the south.[25] People raised an objection. Hujwiri, after completion of the mosque invited them for prayer. When they were saying their prayer, Hujwiri asked them to look at the true *qiblah* direction. Everybody saw the *qiblah* in person, just in front.

In the year 1984-85, when work of reconstruction of a new mosque for Hazrat Ali Hujwiri commenced, Survey of Pakistan and Pakistan Air Force Authorities were requested to find out the true *qiblah* direction.

25   *Ibid* p.166

When it was compared with the *qiblah* direction of the old mosque, a very minute difference appeared[26] that may be because of the repeated reconstruction of the mosque during last 900 hundred years but when it was compared with the orientation of shrine, it was exactly the same. Dara Shikoh wrote Safinat al-Awlyia 600 years after the death of Hazrat Ali Hujwiri (1072 A.D.). Having no evidence, he wrote the story of the *qiblah* direction, that has been proven after another 350 years. In this way a conjecture made by Dārā Shikoh in year 1639-40 A.D. while writing the *Safināt al-Auliya*, became scientifically proven.

Conjectures Used by the Architect-Historians

Both Pervaiz Vandal and Sajida Vandal are architects by profession and have bestowed prime time of their lives on teaching and practicing architecture while residing at Lahore for the last forty years. They have daringly used this technique of conjecture in their book[27] while conducting the research to identify the buildings designed by Bhai Ram Singh. The architects, who are professionally trained and have deep insight to identify and critically analyze the architectural works of the old masters, have a different approach from the general historians. They study and identify the architectural features and construction techniques of the buildings designed by the same architect and establish certain bases for conjectures. This requires a responsible judgment before putting it on paper; otherwise, there are equal chances that the credit of some work may be given to someone else.

While analyzing the designed and constructed work of Bhai Ram Singh, Vandals use the tool of conjecture to find out the various un-identified buildings whose architects are un-known.

But they don't make bases for their conjecture and bring into use their prediction. Regarding the Boarding House, Vandals have used the words like "appears to be designed by Bhai Ram Singh"and then give the justification "it has the typical articulation and careful brick detailing that mark his design".[28]

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26   *Qiblah* direction by Survey of Pakistan (9d-47m), Pakistan Air Force (10d-19m), shrine of Hazrat Ali Hujwiri (9d-13m). (Source: Official record of Auqaf Department)

27   Vandal, Pervaiz; & Sajida Vandal (2006), *The Raj, Lahore & Bhai Ram Singh"* National College of Arts Lahore

28   *Ibid* p:217

Only an architect who has a keen eye on architectural work of someone, can pass such declaration with confidence. At another place, Vandals claim;[29]

> "The building has the typical features of Bhai Ram Singh's design, the tiered/layered effect achieved through the varying heights of the veranda, the rooms and the hall, a highly articulated and textured brick exterior, rich in details using ornamental and molded bricks".

While discussing the architectural achievements of Bhai Ram Singh, Vandals take another stance and express their soft feelings to accentuate the creative potential of Bhai Ram Singh, in these words:[30]

> "Ram Singh may also have been involved in the design of other buildings of the Mayo Hospital and its attached medical college, which were constructed during the period under the supervision of the Executive Engineer, Rai Bahadur Ganga Ram".

To support their assumption, Vandals argue that since Ganga Ram, Executive Engineer in Lahore of the time, frequently associated with Bhai Ram Singh for the design of buildings that were constructed under his supervision, hence the other buildings of Mayo Hospital and attached K. E. Medical College, constructed under Ganga Ram's supervision, may also have been designed by Bhai Ram Singh. This argument may not be convincing for general readers, but until proved otherwise, there is no harm in believing it.

To give credit to Bhai Ram Singh for the architectural design of Faridkot Block, Vandals use words like "possibly involved in the design of superstructure".

29   *Ibid* p:216
30   *Ibid* p:191

"The block *named the Faridkot Bloc ... was probably completed after Ram Singh returned from England in April 1893, and thus he was possibly involved in the design of the superstructure. The architectural vocabulary used for the Faridkot Block, bears great similarity to the Albert Victor Hospital and has the refinement of brick detailing reflective of other buildings known to have been designed by Ram Singh. His grasp of wood carving is echoed in the textured brickwork facades of the Faridkot Block of the Medical College*".

Regarding the design of building of Islāmiah College Peshawar (1912-13), Vandals sophisticatedly use the words as "he is reputed to have designed".[31]

Regarding the buildings of good architectural vocabulary, Vandals do not leave any chance to avail to give the credit to Bhai Ram Singh, but when the building features are not remarkable, Vandals straightforwardly decline to accept the buildings designed by Bhai Ram Singh, although the evidences prove it. Regarding the Bahawalgarh Palace and Club House, which were constructed under direction of Nawab of Bahawalpur, Vandals are not inclined to accept their being designed by Bhai Ram Singh, and use the same logic for their conjectures;

"Nawab of Bahawalpur wanted to commission Ram Singh to prepare designs for the Bahawalgarh Palace and a Club House in the state. Correspondence between the offices of the Lt.

Governor and the Nawab ensued…Shortly afterwards on 12*th July, Muhammad Din, the Chief Secretary of the State, wrote to Bhai Ram Singh, asking him to prepare the designs of these new projects in the state.*[32]

"It is not entirely clear whether Bhai Ram Singh actually designed any of the palaces which comprise

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31   *Ibid* p: 209
32   *Ibid* p: 224

the group of palaces in the fortified Bahawalgarh palace complex. The Mubarak Mahal (Durbar Mahal) constructed in 1904 does not appear to be the work of Bhai Ram Singh, neither does the Club House. Both designs are awkward, with non*e of the fineness of form, proportion and detail which was the mark of Bhai Ram Singh's design"*

Similarly, to appreciate the creative potential of Bhai Ram Singh, Vandals safely assume that with the reputation that he had acquired as an architect, his services for his religion must often have been called for.[®]

Conclusion

In the conjectures used in historiography by general historians and the architect-historians, there is a difference. General historians get support from the oral history and without any critical appraisal, they write down whatever is stated by the people. Similarly, the architect-historians use their aesthetically and professionally trained mind and confidence and give him the credit of even those buildings which have no proof of being designed by Bhai Ram Singh. It is also the responsibility of the historians to find out the reasons why *Mujāwars* claim that Khwājah Mueen al-Din Chishti performed *chillah* at the shrine of Hazrat Ali Hujwiri, whereas we find no mention of *Chillah Gāh* of Mueen al-Din Chishti at the shrine of Hazrat Ali Hujwiri before 1864 A.D. There is a big question mark - WHY? Now, if we have no documentary support to prove our claim, we can look for help from archaeologists who after careful excavations can trace out the presence or absence of old foundations of this room in the premises, if it exists.

Bhai Ram Singh worked in the end decades of 19th century and early decade of 20th century (till 1916) when record of every activity was kept at government level. It is required to dig out the evidences and proofs of buildings designed by Bhai Ram Singh, who served as a teacher in Mayo School of Arts and worked as a consultant under tutelage of J. L. Kipling. These conjectures may

consume many years of research of scholars to prove or disprove the propositions made by Vandals. This can not be an objective of historical writing. We cannot use words like "appears to be designed by", or "may also have been involved in the design", or "he is reputed to have designed" etc.

Narratives and Storytelling
Tools for Teaching Architectural History, Theory and Design

Anis A. Siddiqi, Ph.D.

Introduction

"Tell me a fact and I'll learn. Tell me the truth and I'll believe. But tell me a story and it will live in my heart forever."- Indian Proverb

Research (or search),in hard science,is usually based upon non-imaginative rational methods. Empirical and numerological techniques are the main currency of science. Imaginative approach is usually disregarded as conjecture and is abhorred by the scientific community. But one wonders if that is the correct thesis; for then what shall we say about Newton who just had an apple to begin with, or Einstein who traveled both in time and space but just in his imaginationor Copernicus or Galileo or Darwin or Alfred Wagner and many others who had nothing to begin with but simple conjectures? What about the prophets, saints, reformers, and*autars*, who claim to have traveled to the core or ends of the universe and seen the past, present and the future? Their experiences are neither conjectures nor scientific but are hallmark of imaginative experientialism and have triggered much of human intellect to give rise to what we now know as science. What about political and social sciences? Where would this domain of human endeavor fit, as these fields of knowledge have no laboratory to fit into? So, one can say, with some assurance that all human knowledge whether scientific or otherwise stems from imaginative and conjectural thinking.

It is also known that in many societies, especially where intellectual and scientific inquiry is in stagnancy, most of this imaginative and conjectural thinking turns into hearsay and embeds into peoples' memory as stories and narratives, and ridiculed by scientific community. The impact is extremely negative especially on social sciences where empirical and numerological methods are

either not the best suited or are not liked by mainstream thinking. Indeed application of empirical and statistical methods as applied to many social sciences are already being questioned as the results are severely misguiding in predicting the correct course of action. A simple evidence is collapsing of the current global social, economic and cultural structure giving rise to mistrust among nations, international and regional conflicts, wars, violence, crime and terrorism.

History, Historiography and the Education of an Architect

According to Vitruvius, teaching of history to architects is of paramount importance. History of architecture,on the other hand, deals with different geographical locations, time periods, buildings and other man-made objects. Instructional tools play an important role in the ability to achieve the objectives of teaching history of architecture. It is, therefore, important to use appropriate tools for teaching of architects. Use of text, context, conjecture, storytelling and narrative are matters that need elaboration. However, before moving on, let us take a closer look at the basic meanings of the words 'storytelling' and 'narrative'.

Storytelling is the conveying of events in words, images and sounds often by improvisation or embellishment. Stories have been shared in every culture as a means of entertainment, education, cultural preservation, and to instill moral values. Crucial elements of stories and storytelling include plot, characters and narrative point of view.Architecture has always promoted storytelling;from storing, and making available, books, to creating places for performance, entertainment, worship, sports, commerce, and education, designed spaces have facilitated the creation of history, fact and fiction.

Narrative is a story that is created in a constructive format (as a work of speech, literature, pictures, song, motion pictures, television, video games, theatre, musical theatre, or dance) that describes a sequence of fictional or non-fictional events. According to Lawrence Stone, narrative has traditionally been the main rhetorical device used by historians: organized chronologically, focused on a single coherent story, descriptive rather than analytical,

concerned with people not abstract circumstances, and dealing with the particular and specific rather than the collective and statistical. Today, rather than simply serving as a home for storytelling, architecture becomes a device for storytelling as narratives are woven into its foundations.

Every experience encapsulates stories. While the human mind spins its tales through memory and thoughts, each space - with its history, program, materials, and design - produces a unique set of narratives.

Author's own Experience with Narratives and Storytelling

During the culminating years of my architectural training, I discovered a fascination for the art of debating and philosophizing. It fascinated me to argue a hypothesis or a conjecture that was unproven, yet appealing and convincing. A particular attraction was for discussing and supporting abstract ideas heavily enshrined in metaphysical world, a world that eventually took me to loving architecture, not only as a profession, but more as a passion. Some philosophers who pulled me into this realm are worth reporting: The Greeks giants: Plato, Socrates,Hippocrates,the German philosophers:Kant, Nietzsche, Karl Marx, Hegel, Einstein,and mystics such as Rumi and Iqbal. It was through reading the work of these great giants that I fought my way into studying architecture as opposed to medicine or pure engineering that my parents wanted to impose upon me.

But very soon into my training I was frustrated by the perception ofmost teachers of the profession of architecture in a stark 'black and white' worldview; this was against my wishful picture of architecture as a palette of ideas, philosophies, stories and lullabies that parents and grandparents sang to pacify children, and soft-talk to paint the world in shades of grey and colors of rainbow. As I almost decided to switch my studies to more mundane topics, the course of 'Theory of Architecture' was thrust upon us. This suddenly changed my outlook towards the architectural education which, so far, had beenboring drills of drawing and design without soul. For the first time I found I could discuss with my teachers, with my classmates and especially with myself, the ideas and

dreams that had been brewing in me for long. Somehow this rekindled interest led me to excel in my studies and I graduated with the highest merit. This was the beginning of a different life for me. Looking around for a job to steer my life, I opted for teaching against a lucrative practice oriented life. I have never regretted my decision.

But reality soon confronted me in terms of teaching design studios in an innovative manner rather than using conventional tools. It was here, that after initial teaching hiccups, challenges and pitfalls, I discovered the technique of using narrative and storytelling as a tool to further design education. Rather than discussing mundane issues of brick and mortar only, I used to indulge and divulge in metaphysical nature of architectonics of architecture. Remember it was early 1970's, a period ofturmoilin Pakistan, which led to thebreakup of the country and emergence of Bangladesh. It was during this disturbing period that debates and discussions on socio-political environment in the country forced me to speak my mind, only to be labeled as a 'traitor' 'anti-Pakistan' and what not. It was a very sad day of my life to have been vindicated only through loss of half the country. No proof of philosophical acumen could be so painful, yet so revealing one's insight.

Incidentally,although very unfortunate, the society, for the first time since its inception in 1947,was in a mood to ponder over the happenings especially over the loss of halfof the country. Almost overnight most people turned into sorts of statesmen, philosophers and even speculators propounding all kinds of conspiracy theories and predictions, from bliss to doomsday etc. At least, the nation had realized the need to 'think' even though it was not even clumsily equipped to do so. It was through this period that I discovered the power of narrative and storytelling in using these to further the design education.

As I had to leave soon after this for my doctoral studies, the experiment was half baked and would only continue after I would finish my Ph.D. in 1978 and drive throughEurasia to Pakistan after personally witnessing the changes that took over the neighboring countries namely Turkey (Martial Law), Iran (Fall of Raza Shah

Pehalvi and rise of Imam Khomeini), Afghanistan (the USSR invasion) and finally Pakistan (the Fall of Bhutto and rise of Ziaul Haque and everything associated with him).

The Power of Narrative and Storytelling

Stories give people purpose and meaning. It helps people make sense of their lives in an otherwise chaotic and meaningless world. In a study conducted on children, it iswell understood that children, as young as two, formulate and understand their world mostly through narratives and stories and, thus,show a surprising power of comprehension and understanding of the world.

Even through adulthood, we are also enigmatically drawn to the power of stories. We spend huge sums on producing and watching TV shows and movies. It is an unquenchable thirst for meaning that fuels the desire for stories. And, given the opportunity, people want to be part of the story – part of history.

Another area of human intellect that has left a strong impact upon history and culture is mythological interpretation of supernatural forces. Classic mythologies include the Indian and the Greek mythologies. Of these, Greek mythology is especially of interest to architects as many gods of Greek mythology left a great bulk of architectural legacy in terms of buildings of temples, monuments, sculpture etc. Another important area that mythology contributed to is the storytelling legacy for a number of cultures.

We all see the impact that Greek mythology has had on areas like literature, poetry, sculpture and architecture. Greek myths especially were expressions of the fears, problems and aspirations that people have had for generations. These fears and dreams gradually became a sort of reality to them in the form of myths, suchthat were compiled and written by poets who didn't hesitate to make changes whenever it suited them.Various definitions of the word myth (Linguistic) included:

- A traditional, typically ancient story dealing with supernatural beings, ancestors, or heroes that served as a fundamental type in the worldview of a people, by

explaining aspects of the natural world or delineating the psychology, customs, or ideals of society.

- A popular belief or story that has become associated with a person, institution, or occurrence, especially one considered to illustrate a cultural ideal.

- A fiction or half-truth, especially one that forms part of an ideology based upon words such asfate, enchantment, curse, immortal, chariot, oath etc.

Storytelling and Use of Narratives in Architecture

Many buildings close to us afford stories and narratives usually of ideological and cultural nature. Among many such buildings two are being mentioned here as examples that the author has used over the last many decades for teaching design. One is the ideological memorial to the freedom movement of Pakistan while the other is in memory of the beloved queen of a Moghal Emperor,Shahjahan.

Story of the Minar-e-Pakistan

While working for the famous designer of the Minar-e-Pakistan, Nasiruddin Murat Khan, I was introduced to the story that now is well known. This is the story of creation of Pakistan through architectural symbolism. When told,it leavesa lasting impression of PakistanMovement on the listener.

The tower rises above a platform shaped like a five-pointed star. The terrace is three feet from ground level, the platform's height is about six feet, and the star platform is about 12 feet high. It is surrounded by two crescent-shaped pools, four feet deep and lined with green and red marble. From the main direction of entry i.e. from the side of the Badshahi Mosque, one reaches the platform by crossing the red marble line crescent-shaped pool. The tower has a spiral shaped hall spanned by arches. The rostrum facing Badshahi Mosque is a quadrant constructed with Mughal patterned tiles. The circular perimeter of the tower is 320 feet. The petals, 30 feet high, look like a blooming flower. The total height of the structure

is 203 feet from ground level. On the marble slabs of the central shaft is inscribed a brief history of the Pakistan Resolution in English, Urdu and Bengali, the 99 names of God and poetic verses from AllamaIqbal. The tower has 10 vertical covering slabs interlaced with flower petals and glazed cement domes, with a sightseeing platform and a central spiral staircase.

The story: *The design of the base and the first four platforms depict the history of the Pakistan Movement through architectural symbols. Rough stones and cement have been haphazardly laid representing the chaotic conditions and the lack of direction in the early stages of the Freedom Movement of the Indian Muslims. The stones used for the first platform are rough Taxila stones. Hammer-dressed stones are used on the second platform. On the third platform are laid chiseled stones, while the fourth and final platform is of highly polished marble, symbolizing the ultimate success of the freedom movement.The two pools finished in red and green marble signify the sacrifices (the red marble) while the green marble lined pool signifies peace and tranquility achieved after the struggle. The first level signified by flowering petals identifies the beginning of national maturity while subsequent floors add to historical growth and development over the years. Originally, each floor was to represent a decade of progress to be supplemented by additional floors every decade but bureaucratic and political interventions forced a domed lantern on top to cap the tower.*

Lesson: Using ideological attributes and transposing these into architectural language can help create astimulating and motivating entity. The result may help instill the ideology in a creative and effective manner in those who believe in it. The story and narrative that go with it can more successfully instill historicity and pride in the mind (and heart) of the visitor.

Storytelling about the Taj Mahal

The Taj Mahal generally regarded asone of the most beautiful and important historical places, is the Symbol of Love and portrays something which dreams are made of. This exquisite white and yellow marble structure stands 55 meters tall and is one of the most visited sites in the world. Built in 1653 by the Mughal Emperor Shah Jahan in memory of his beloved wife Mumtaz Mahal, this "elegy in

marble" can also be called the ultimate tribute to love. But is that all that a student of architect is entitled to know, or is there something more that he can experience? In order to inculcate an inspiration of the spirit behind the creation of this symbol of love, it is worth attempting an additional technique – perhaps making a story. The author attempted one as provided below.

The story:*When Mumtaz Mahal died from child birth, Shahjahan was heartbroken and devastated and dreamed of building a lasting monument to the memories of his beloved wife. The Emperor invited a number of architects to ask them realize his dream, but none succeeded. As he lost hope he was approached by a Persian architect named Shirazi, who tried to convince him he could deliver the promised design. Sadness took over Shahjahan to disbelieve the Persian architect who insisted he could achieve the impossible. As the Emperor reluctantly permitted him to undertake the commission, the architect requested that certain prerequisites may be allowed to be met. On inquiry, the architect insisted he would like to stay by the side of the Emperor for some time that included staying in his bedroom and in the court and attend all ceremonies the Emperor would call for. After an initial hesitation the Emperor agreed and the architect promised he would deliver his design within the next six months. As time passed, Shahjahan became more and more reclusive and stopped talking about the mausoleum he used to dream of. But the architect kept working, thinking, and searching for a solution. Just as the Emperor almost forgot about the mausoleum, the architect, one day after about three months of staying with the monarch, announced he would have the design ready the next day.*

The following day the court was specially arranged for viewing of the proposed design but most courtiers found the Emperor very reclusive and uninterested in things to come. He had given all hopes of his dream being realized. So when the architect presented the model of his design, he preferred to hide it by a shrouding sheet of white cloth to dramatize the opening event.

Just when the court was called to order and the architected was invited to unveil his design, he (the architect) requested to be allowed to give an explanation of his concept and how he had arrived at the final design. He stated that it was possible for him to see (share) the dream of

the Emperor by living with him almost around the clock by observing him during various phases of life; what he did, what made him happy, what made him sad, why he got angry and how he vented his anger, what he liked to eat and what music he enjoyed, when he reposed in God and when he acted as one while dealing with his subjects, and all sorts of things a monarch would do in those days. The architect claimed that he was able to see the building that was in the dream of the king by 'living through the Emperor's life' during the three months or so he stayed in the palace.

And when the emperor desired the design should be unveiled, the architect simply removed the shrouding white sheet from the model of the Taj and the King almost cried out of extreme feelings of excitement, happiness and sense of success and exclaimed: "Yes. This is the building I saw in my dream that would house the sacred body of my beloved. Yes, Shirazi, indeed this is what I dreamed."

And the rest is history as we all know. The Taj Mahal was built and stands today as testimony to the love of a king for his beloved queen, the symbol of human creative genius and above all a lesson in the everlasting relationship between an architect and his client.

It is reported that the original model of the Taj was constructed using ivory as the main material and is so detailed that the grills (jalis) all around the project not only match the pattern of the ones actually built, the actual number of patterns (holes) are also exactly the same as in the real ones. This model is said to have been taken to the British Museum by the colonial rulers and was finally brought back when Pakistan's president Ayub Khan requested the British Monarch for it on his maiden visit to UK in 1960s. Today it is one of the prized possessions of the galleries in the Lahore Fort.

The lesson: I do not know what truth lies in the above story. All I know is that I coined this story some thirty five years ago while attempting to convince my students of the importance of ***'listening' to their client(s), sharing their dreams and attempting to take upthe challenge of realizing it, using whatever manner they can.*** Over the years, this story has traveled all around the world, the storytellers being me and my students.

Conclusions

In conclusion one can say that storytelling techniques and use of narratives carefully chosen to suit the topic and issues debated in design studios can go a long way in moving students to deeply probe the architectural design process. This can also inculcate among students the importance of reading and understanding the minds and aspirations of the client tohelp him (the client) realize his/her dream. In this respect the pertinent question, "Why use storytelling as a Teaching Tool?" is discussed from many aspects in the following lines:

1. Storytelling is the oldest form of education. Cultures have always told tales as a way of passing down beliefs, traditions, and history to future generations. Stories are at the core of all that makes us human.

2. Stories are the way we store information in the brain. A list of facts will be forgotten, but stories are remembered. Stories help us to organize information, and tie content together.

3. Stories go straight to the heart. Because students are emotionally involved and truly enjoy storytelling, it can help to create a positive attitude toward the learning process.

4. **There is a difference between telling and reading**. Without the book as a barrier, the teller looks directly into the eyes of the audience and is free to use gestures, facial expression, and body movements to enhance the telling and help children understand the story better. The reader sees only the words on the page, while the storyteller sees the wonder and excitement on the faces of the listeners.

5. Listening to stories instills the love of language in people and motivates them to read.

6. Storytelling stimulates the imagination. Scientist Albert Einstein said that "imagination is more important than knowledge."

7. Stories teach lessons. Stories are excellent tools for teaching about desirable behaviors and strengthening character.

8. Storytelling develops listening skills. Storytelling helps students develop concentration, and the pure pleasure that they experience while listening to a story helps them to associate listening with enjoyment.

9. Stories act as a humanizing element. They help to counteract the increasing emphasis on technology at home and in class.

10. Telling stories from around the world creates an awareness and appreciation of different cultures.

11. Storytelling by teachers motivates students to tell stories. Students recognize storytelling to be an authentic activity, and a skill that is well-worth acquiring. This has been found to be true whether it is telling world tales, works by other authors, or their own stories. But, the teacher,*must act as role model* for them.

Finally, you don't have to tell a story perfectly or very dramatically to be successful!

Students of all ages love stories and are a very forgiving audience. After telling themstories, teachers often say, "Look at how quiet those kids were; they were mesmerized." We tell them its not us creating the "hush",its the stories. If you choose a story you really love and tell it from the heart, you'll have that great attention, too.

Endnotes

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Teaching Architectural History in the Educational Institutions of Pakistan
A Problem or a Solution

Neelum Naz, Ph.D.

> The study of history is the best *medicine for a sick mind; for in history you have a record of the infinite variety of human experience plainly set out for all to see; and in that record you can find yourself and your country both examples and meanings fine things to take as models and rotten to avoid* [1].
>
> (Roman Historian, T. Livy (59 B.C. – 17 A.D.)

Introduction

Architecture has existed since early ages of the human evolution and is considered mother of all arts. Architecture is a coherent chain of events, styles, tendencies, beliefs and techniques, therefore, it covers a broad spectrum including art, science, engineering, and human sciences, like history, geography and sociology. Architectural works are also often perceived as cultural and political symbols, and will thus need good skills in all those domains. Indeed, 'History of Architecture' is one of the major subjects, along with Design and Technology, in all architectural institutions. History of civilization, leads to a direct understanding of how and why architecture is made today, and points to what it can be tomorrow.

Importance of History

Teaching and learning of history is important to our survival as the knowledge of history has the potential to give us new perspectives about our past, present and future. In the European or Western tradition between the Renaissance and the modern movement, to be trained in architecture was to be trained in history. The rationale was that history is important to the enterprise of architecture and an examination of the role that

history plays in the curriculum of any school of architecture may reveal its philosophy of education. In addition, the conscious effort to create identity and interpret architecture in context is dependent on understanding of local architectural histories. History is also important because it embodies the precedents in architecture. For the architecture student or practitioner these precedents are important to the formation of new or the understanding of existing forms of architecture or indeed the imagination of future acceptable forms of architecture. History is the context within which students first encounter polemical issues, criticism and theories in general and continuously throughout their student years. It is therefore important to the architectural curriculum to fashion a history or histories with which students can identify in relation to the local context.

Another major reason why architectural history is studied is to provide accounts of how present-day architectural interests have developed over time. Such interpretations of the backgrounds to architectural beliefs can, but need not necessarily, provide justifications for current architectural practices. The history of architecture and the general history are indispensible; therefore understanding the denotative and connotative meaning of history is essential for its effective teaching.

Meaning of History

History is a term for information about the past. When used as the name of a field of study, history refers to the study and interpretation of the record of human societies. The term history comes from the Greek "historic", "an account of one's inquiries," and shares that etymology with the English word "story" [2]. Generally, it is the branch of knowledge that records and researches past events. It may be the continuum of events occurring in succession leading from the past to the present and even into the future. A broad stroke of variety of interpretations by the world renowned scholars highlights its connotative meaning.

History is the witness that testifies to the passing of time; it illuminates reality, vitalizes memory, provides guidance in daily life, and brings us tidings of antiquity.
(Marcus T. Cicero, 106-43 B.C., A Roman Philosopher)

History studies not just facts and institutions; its real subject is the human spirit. History is the discipline closest to life; and life is rarely free of contradictions.
(Karl J. Weintraub, *Visions of Culture*)

What is history? An echo of the past in the future; a reflex from the future on the past.
(Victor Hugo)

If you didn't know history, you didn't know anything. You were a leaf that didn't know it was part of a tree. For me there is no greater subject than history.
(Edward Johnston)

History is the version of past events that people have decided to agree upon.
(Napoleon Bonaparte)

History is who we are and why we are the way we are.
(David McCullough)

Uncovering the pieces of history hidden in each building's story can be as exciting as a treasure hunt. In fact it adds a layer of suspense and surprise, for the aim is not to find something we already know but to lay bare facts and associations that may be utterly lost to current record or memory.
(Paul C. Larson)

History can be a sterile enumeration of data or it can be an inspiring narrative which places the same data in a context that makes us understand ourselves and the human evolution and drama. (Pervaiz Vandal)

These interpretations suggest the diversity of meaning people attach to history thus the major concern of historians has been to delineate the best way to teach history.

Different Approaches

The teaching and learning of history is a complex undertaking as access to the past is indirect, largely governed by artifacts and residue left behind by those who lived it. Vansledright points out

that before the 1980's it was generally assumed that a gradual process of committing historical narratives constructed around key events, details, names, and dates (substantive knowledge) to memory would eventually result in a sturdy understanding of the past. The body of research compiled since 1980, however, demonstrates that learning history, if it is to lead to deeper understanding, involves not only the repeated study of such narratives, but also the acquisition and use of a set of domain-specific cognitive strategies (strategic knowledge) [3]. Although history does not change, it continues to grow. Every day there is more history for teachers and students to examine and learn from. The methodology of teaching history has differed and changed and learners adapt to different modes of teaching. Some work best in a classroom, while others do not; teaching methods and available resources can make learning history a great experience. Each member of the history faculty teaches in a distinctive way, yet the most common practices are traditional and thematic [4].

Traditional Approach

Chronologically oriented lectures either longitudinal or cross-sectional have been, for many years, the traditional method used to teach history. History can be seen as linear as any subject, as it takes place one day at a time. Most people remember the time lines of events and names that needed to be memorized for a quiz or a test. There is a sense of flow that teaching history chronologically offers.

Teaching history chronologically, however, also has drawbacks as history is more than just names and dates. Although in history one thing follows another, there is a lot of meaning and important lessons to learn in between the things. A chronological approach can make it difficult to see the similarities between time periods. This method also has certain limitations to learn about specific themes in architecture. Instead of sitting in a chair and copying down notes of what is being said, one could actually learn in a more productive way. Christopher S. Wilson, professor at the Faculty of Fine Arts and Design at Izmir University of Economics in Turkey, proposed a thematic approach that enables students

to compare and understand artistic perspectives and movements throughout different historical periods.

Thematic Approach

A different approach to teaching history is thematic. Using the thematic approach history is taught based on big themes that run through history. Comparisons and lessons can be drawn immediately between the topics and more critical analysis would be required of the students. The hope of this approach is that the students would come out of the class with deeper understanding of history and not just a lot of names and dates.

The thematic approach has its drawbacks as well. Since the topics that are being compared may not be from the same time periods a good basis of chronological knowledge could be missing. Also, thematic based classes usually are not able to cover quite as much content as the chronological approach. Some critics also argue that students in thematic based classes cover a lot of fluffy ideas, but do not develop any hard knowledge of the subject [5].

Creative Approach

There is no set way for creative teaching but it is not random and chaotic, rather, it is done by teachers with the sensitivity and imagination to seize opportunities as they arise, going beyond a mechanical input-output model of teaching. History is a wonderful and interesting subject to study, but one-way teaching is the wrong way to go. Good creative teachers provide a framework and purpose for active learning by students. The creative approach in history is treating history, first and foremost, as an active process of inquiry. It involves the use of the creative imagination grounded in evidence, where the teacher:

- sets up open-ended and wide-ranging investigations
- stimulates students to think actively and constructively, putting together different sources of evidence to construct a picture of the past
- challenges students with mysteries to solve
- asks students to pose questions, to form hypotheses, then to test these against the evidence

- encourages discussion and debate
- engages students' imaginations through storytelling, simulations and drama

Learning can become interesting, just by making it interactive. Creative teaching is done by teachers who are confident, innovative, interested in learning, and who encourage students to ask questions and explore ideas. This does not mean abandoning standards, rather, it is an invitation to think of new and more stimulating ways to meet them. Architecture is a discipline where the analytical "left brain" and the creative "right brain" must collaborate. The ultimate goal is to eventually use the "whole" brain approach. In order to achieve this, teachers must start incorporating activities into everyday life that exercise both sides of the brain. Weiner (1995) proposes a Humanistic approach in order to make it pertinent to a student's life [6]. He emphasizes that history must be presented in a fashion in which students can relate it to their lives and meaning in it.

Humanistic Approach

Focus of this approach is to teach history from a humanistic perspective in which students can relate past events to present lives. It provides students with a present-day connection, giving them something they can relate to and encourage students to make history come alive.

Guidelines for Effective Teaching

Students in the early stage should be taught the basics of history, including people of renown, significant events and other dominating forces. The emphasis of both lectures and presentations could be more to do with the forces generating the building rather than the building itself. Weiner (1995) advocates six methods of presenting history content and ideas to make it more meaningful to students [7].

1- Active learning situations such as debate, demonstration, and simulation

2- Specialized topics approach

3- Utilizing primary resources materials

4- Use of historical films

5- Use of the library

6- Use of historical fiction

Communicating information with the use of visual aids can help students picture the concepts being described. Oral teaching used in conjunction with visual methods that make use of text books, maps, pictures, time lines, films, drawing buildings and field trips is a critical component of a student's education in history of architecture. The teacher should learn to make effective use of different methods. Textbooks guide the outline for the course, but they should not become sole authority as too many history textbooks tend to be dull and boring. One can use local newspapers in a variety of ways. Hanging a map in the front of the classroom and frequently referring to it in the course of a lesson helps students familiarize themselves with basic geography and provides them a spatial sense of history. Displaying photos of famous architects makes these figures appear more real to the students, giving them some hint of what they were like as people. Photos of famous events or locations also can serve as excellent historical illustrations, often communicating information about times and places more vividly than can be done in words. Time lines marked with important historical events convey progression of events giving students some sense of development and cause and effect. Films serve much the same function as photographs, telling an event about history through images and words and can be a powerful way to get students' attention; however they cannot replace teaching. Students could be told about what to look for in the film and write a feedback about them as it is a tool to convey a deeper understanding of the historical event, building form etc. Drawing and sketching is an interactive way for the students to better understand people and buildings important to history. Students could be encouraged to draw sketches that illustrate the concepts and combination of spaces. Sketching and labeling of different architectural elements can be helpful in developing their architectural vocabulary. A field trip to historical sites allows students to see the topics they've discussed

embodied in the form of architecture and artifacts. Possible sites for visits should be explored before the conduct of the course.

The relationship between history and geography is especially intimate as neither can be adequately understood in the absence of the other, so it only makes sense to study them together. Geography represents the spatial dimension of human activity while history represents the time dimension [8]. Above all, enthusiasm is the first and most important way to bring life to any classroom [9]. Teachers' own enthusiasm for the topic and teaching inspire their students and, to teach with enthusiasm, teachers must love what they teach and make it a part of them. One needs to know the objectives of teaching history and learn something more about it each day. These qualities help students to be inspired and enthusiastic about learning history. Along with enthusiasm, Marlow (1988) emphasizes presenting material in a stimulating manner, appropriate voice inflection, and quality eye contact for good history teaching [10].

Teaching Scenario in Pakistan

Though architectural history is taught in all schools of architecture in Pakistan, the mode of teaching is as ambiguous and confusing as ever. The central focus is still the western tradition represented largely by Banister Fletcher's enduring book based on European lines, starting with ancient Egyptian, Greek and Roman through to the Modern movement, and this approach has persisted till today. Though much has been added in the local history of architecture, but the course, content and teaching has not changed much. A major dilemma is that the teachers teaching history of architecture in different departments, by and large follow a traditional way of teaching. They are usually not trained to teach history using multisensory methods and updated approaches that inspire students. The teaching is examination based and hardly involves any intellectual discourse. In addition, the studios are ill equipped, which make the environment unpleasant.

Teaching is mainly confined to lecture rooms with occasional field trips and site visits. Though the majority of the teachers

consider books as the sole authority, there are others who are using audio visual aids. There is some realization that without bringing change in the pedagogical structure history cannot be made meaningful for the architects. The interaction of history teachers at different schools of architecture is missing. It is high time to make a determined effort to understand history, teach history and write history from our own point of view. The establishment of Trust for History of Art and Architecture of Pakistan (THAAP) in 2010 is a step in the right direction.

Conclusion

Though history of architecture is a very vast subject, it is an indispensable and invaluable key to a meaningful understanding of architecture. To understand architecture, one must also understand the philosophy behind the various styles. Kierkegaard, a Danish Philosopher said that life must be lived forward but understood backward. So the task of the history teacher is neither to love the past nor to emancipate from the past, but to master and understand it as the key to the understanding of the present. By teaching history in an exciting manner, students can be motivated to learn more and thus develop a deeper understanding of the meaning of the past. It is essential to continue incorporating enthusiasm through primary sources, well-written secondary sources, current issues, local history, music and film, and the new technology of teaching. Since history is a thoroughly interpretive discipline so the teachers must develop students' ability to think systematically, rationally and critically. The emphasis of both lectures and presentations should be more to do with the forces generating the building rather than the building itself. Teachers must observe and listen carefully to their students to determine what constitutes the best style to them.

Undoubtedly, history of architecture is a wonderful subject but its pedagogy, especially in Pakistan, has made it tedious and passive. The solution lies in the study and teaching of history in a holistic manner. There is no one recipe available, but the best scenario is probably a combination of the traditional, thematic, creative and humanistic approach. By grounding the history class in the chronological events that occurred and emphasizing certain themes, or vice versa, in a creative and humanistic manner,

hopefully, the best of all strategies can be achieved. Bhuvan suggests that when history class becomes a laboratory where teachers and students form a partnership to investigate what is known, to question the unknown, the study of the human history escalates from passive memorization to inquiry and discovery [11]. The word "history" contains the word "story", thus if history is taught in the form of stories, it will never be forgotten by the students. Rudyard Kipling shares a similar view that if history were taught in the form of stories, it would never be forgotten.

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Lahore City as Recorded by Travelers

Saba Samee

The historic accounts of the ancient city of Lahore, especially the travel logs, bear witness to the frequent 'invaders'[1], along with the 'Travelers' whose interests may not have been solely to conquer the city but also to experience it and gather information for the benefit of their financial interests, political partialities or scholarly inclinations. This paper analyzes these 'Travelers' through their travelogues in their 'Contextual Timeline'. The term 'Contextual Timeline' in this paper refers to the time period during which the 'Traveler' arrived and departed from the city of Lahore keeping in view their interests, agendas and the experiences during their stay.

Consideration must be given to a traveler's past experiences, family or cultural affiliations, professional and political inclinations, which may constitute probable biases in his travel narrative. Historians very often take these accounts as the gospel truth, ignoring the particularity of the individual traveler, and thus, sometimes, the narrative can develop facets which may or may not reflect reality. These travel accounts, nevertheless, have helped scholars to see beyond the official 'Dynastic' chronicles and to understand the everyday events of the city by providing a second perspective on the recorded events. Study, with a Contextual Timeline basis, can render these accounts more objective by comparing experiences and descriptions of several travelers through the history of the city.

Further, the 'Traveler' referred to in this paper does not undertake traveling for the sake of tourism but is defined as a person who has taken upon himself the hardships of traveling in order to better serve his own agendas and interests, such as:

1. **To gain knowledge**, whether philosophical, cultural, religious, historical, scholarly or espionage.

2. **To trade**, whether as a merchant of a particular produce, a jeweler, or a representative of foreign powers.

3. **To represent a government**, as an Ambassador, an envoy or part of a commission.

4. **To advance his own fortunes**, as an Adventurer, a Geographer, Astronomer or Physician.

Considering the above criteria, the earliest available travel accounts come from the Chinese pilgrims[2], the first of whom came during the 4th century AD. The Contextual Timeline shows that their visits coincided with the decline of Buddhism and the ascendancy of Hinduism, during the Gupta Period, called the Golden Period by Indian Chroniclers. The Pilgrims from China primarily came to study Buddhism, withvisits to the Buddhist centers and their disappointment is reflected when they observe about these that '*they are in the state of ruins*'[3]. However the Chinese travellers do not mention Lahore as a place of importance.

With the advent of Islam, the Muslim rulers of present-day Iraq took over the existing trade in the Gulf and Arabian Sea and many expeditions were directed towards 'Al-Hind' in order to acquire knowledge about the region and to secure trade. Muhammad bin Qasim came for a similar purpose, that is, to avenge the capture of Arab trade vessels by the Sindh ruler and to secure the region fromfurther such incidents. All of these conquests, as well as earlier ones, have been mentioned in Yahya's*Kitab-ul-Fatah-ul-Buldan*. Another travel book written by an Arab historian,Murtaza Husain, describes the situation in Lahore, "… when by lapse of time, the *population of this city (Lahore) decreased, the seat of the government was established in the town of Sialkot…and when Sultan Mahmud of Ghazniconqured Hind, Malik Ayaz made endeavours to populate it (Lahore), and he built a new city and a fort of solid masonry work*"[4].

The next records occur during the period of the Mughal Emperors and their *Ferangi Travelers*[5].Analysis with the Contextual Timeline shows that it was the time of the establishment of the Tudor Dynasty in England, and England, flexing its new strength, declared independence from the central Papal control exercised from Rome. King Henry VIII revolted against the Roman control

and established his own version of the Protestant religion, becoming the supreme head of both state and religion. Upon his death the fight between the two religions flared up once again as his daughter Mary supported the Catholics and his other daughter, Elizabeth, took over the cause of her father's new religion. Elizabeth proved to be more sagacious with a better insight into history. She won the day and launched a period of peace and growth in England which was to take it to great imperial glory. Elizabeth launched the era which brought the English to India.In the Sub-continent Babar invaded the region and established the Mughal Dynasty, interrupted for a short while by the Afghan, Sher Shah Suri, during the reign of Humayun[6].In the Sub-continent, Akbar found a way to 'unite' the populace under one religious concept[7].Curiously in a historical parallel, the reign of Elizabeth proved to be the golden period for Britain and the religious philosophy started by Akbar simultaneously helped in generating a peaceful and prosperous environment for the evolution of the Mughal era in India.

Many European Travelers arrived in the South Asian region during the 15th and 16th century,mainly, to bypass the Arab 'middleman'[8]. It is a period which can be described as the European effort to spread to the East having already expanded westward and discovered the immense riches in America. During Akbar's rule,the visitors had distinguishablecharacteristics which may have influenced them. Some commonalities between these characteristics are stated as:over-indulgence in scientific experimentations, exploration, education, travel and trade, collecting 'exotic' items and merchandising antiquity, portraiture, painting, raising conspiracies, adventuring, fortune seeking and fortune building[9].

The records of the earliest traveler of this time period, Monserrate, indicate that the sole purpose of this Portuguese priest was to convert Akbar to Christianity, although, the consistent mention of Lahore in his travel accounts[10] emphasize the significant impression the city may have made on his mind. These travel accounts show that they are the words of a person who underwent an extraordinary experience when he ventured on his travels, with his own biases and agendas. He says:

"I must now give some account of **'Lahore'**. *This city is second to none, either in Asia or in Europe, with regard to size, population and wealth. It is crowded with merchants, who foregather there from all over Asia. In all these respects it excels other cities as also in the huge quantity of every kind of merchandise which is imported. Moreover there is no art or craft useful to human life which is not practiced there. The population is so large that men jostle each other in the streets. The citadel alone, which is built of brickwork laid in cement, has a circumference of nearly three miles. Within this citadel is a bazaar which is protected against the sun in summer and the rain in winter by a high-pitched wooden roof – a design whose clever execution and practical utility should call for imitation. Perfumes are sold in this bazaar and the scent in the early morning is most delicious. The remainder of the city is widely spread. Its buildings are of brick.*"

Father Antonio Monserrate
Portuguesse Jesuit Priest
1580 – 82 / at the court of 'Akbar'

Monserrate's statement that the city is '*second to none*', with an emphasis on its population and mercantile activitiespresents an image of a prosperous city that is also innovative in its architectural creativity. Despite the warm welcome by the philosophically inquisitive Akbar, Monserrate did not secure the Emperor's conversion. Nevertheless an image of a flourishingLahore is mentioned in his travelogue.

The first English merchant to set foot in the Sub-continent was 'Master Ralph Fitch –Merchant of London' as he liked to call himself. During his journey he visited Tripoli, Aleppo and Syria and experienced the hostile situations of the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean. He shared his journey with John Newbery and El-dred, who were merchants, William Leeds, a jeweler, and James Story, a painter, a team formed due to the fact that "such men were known and welcome enough in the Mughal courts"[11].

He went to Agra and Allahabad but there is no proof that he ever came to Lahore[12]. His importance lies in the fact that he

is considered to be 'the most remarkable Elizabethan Adventurer', and is important for his role in the formation of the East India Company, when he shared his knowledge of the Indian markets and produce in detail with his countrymen.

William Finch was among the first travelers to represent the East India Company. Finch arrived in Surat with one Hawkins, and remained under his wing until an unfortunate situation occurred in the city of Bayana and caused Hawkins a setback at the Mughal courts.

The story is that Finch went to Bayanaat the prompting of Hawkins in order to purchase a stock of Indigo[13]. As it happened the trading agents of the Mughal Queen Mother were also in that city and had concluded their purchase of Indigo when Finch arrived. Ignoring the Royal deal, he proposed a better trading deal to the Indigo seller,which was accepted. A complaint of this sharp practice reached Jahangir and Hawkins' position, as an honest trader,was compromised. Hawkins, the 'Inglis Khan', an Elizabethan sailor, with adrinking habit and grasp of the Turkish language, in the beginning scored him the favors of Jahangir, but in the end he seems to have annoyed the Emperor. He describes the court ritual as,

> *"First, the nobleman stays at the gate of the palace till the Vizier, the Lt. General and the Knight Martial come to accompany him unto the King. Then he is brought to the gate of the outermost **railings**…, where he stands in the view of the King, in the midst of those nobles. Then he touches the ground with his hand and also with his head, very gravely, and does thus three times. This done, he kneels down, touching the ground with his forehead, he is carried forward towards the King, and midway he is made to do this reverence again. Then he comes to the door of the red **rails**…* Then the King commands him to come up the stairs of seven steps, that he may embrace him".

> *William Hawkins- East India Company's Trader*
> *1609 – 1611 / in the court of Jahangir*

These two incidents and their after-effects may have in-

duced a little of the sarcastic undertone in the descriptions of both Finch and Hawkins when they describe the formalities of the Mughal court one had to observe while attending an 'Imperial' audience. Observation must be made of the obsessive mention of 'railings'[14] showing the extreme annoyance towards the presence of strict hierarchy.

> "*You enter into a spacious court with guardrooms round about, like shops or open stalls… A little further you enter within a* **railing** *into a more inward court, within which none but men of sort are admitted. Being entered, you appraoch the King's durbar before which is also a small court enclosed with* **rails**…, No other without calling dares to go up to him, …….. , Within these* **rails** *below, none under the degree of four hundred horses are permitted to enter*".
>
> William Finch
> *An English trader of Indigo – East India Company*
> *Traded between Agra and Lahore under William Hawkins*
>
> *Arrived in India - 1608*

These incidents were also recorded in John Jourdain's Journal[15].He reported that Finch, after becoming one of the causes in disgracing Hawkins in the Mughal court, and Hawkins accusing Finch of this wrong doing, Finch did not want to encounter Hawkins. The city of Lahore became a 'non-profitable' city for him as he used this reason to go to Aleppo and not return to Agra to join the rest of the party. Eventually Hawkins thought that Finch was running away with the merchandise of the East India Company.

> "Feb 16 – I departed from Jarowe (Jaju), in companie with Captaine Hawkins and aboutenoone wee came to Agra to Captaine Hawkins howse (house) where I found many other English…..Mr. Finch beinge gone for Lahor to sell his Indico which hee bought att*Bianna for the Worshipfull Companie*". *Finch informed that he wished to go to Aleppo and "carrie the indico with him for the Worshipfull Companies...* ***For that atLahour there was noe proffitt to bee made***…"
>
> John Jourdain
> *1610 / at the court of 'Jahangir*'

Description of Lahore Fort

"…it is a greate walled cittye (city). And in these twelve coses there are manye (many) sarrayes (sarrai) for travailours(travelers) to lodge in, because it is a thievish (thievish) countrie (country) and noe villages in these twelve coses. There is belonging to this cittye a very statelie (stylish) castle (Lahore Fort), a mile longe. It hath bene (been) very famous, butt nowe (now) decayed."[16]

The impression one gets after reading the journals of these three merchants is that their luck was certainly not with them and they were far from understanding the culture of India at large, so that they were bound to encounter hindrances at every step; and due to this uncomfortable, irritating situation amongst themselves, the city of Lahore was declared as 'non-profitable'.

After these three East India Company's early merchants, it is appropriate to mention the first official English Ambassador representing King James I at the court of Emperor Jahangir. The commission headed by Sir Thomas Roe was all about courtly manners and very official language.

"PEN-JAB [Punjab], which signifieth five waters, for that is seated within five rivers. The cheefecyttye (chief city) is called Lahor. It is a great kingdome and most fruictfull. The citty is the mart of India for trafique" (over here maybe 'trafique' is written in the sense of 'trade').

Sir Thomas Roe
Ambassador of King James I of England
Chief Trade Delegate, The first English Ambassador to be attached to the Mughal Court

1616 – 1619 (In India)at the court of Jahangir

Due to his privileged circumstances of being an experienced English Diplomat, an Elizabethan Knight, and a Jacobean Ambassador, Roe had the privilege of frequently visiting Jahangir in the Exclusive Audience Hall. This advantage provided him with the opportunity of observing the proceedings of the court, and that of Jahangir, much moreclosely than any of his predecessors.Unlike

Finch, he has described Lahore as 'fruitful' and the 'mart of India', the 'sales capital' . [17]

Then there were some travelers who are more difficult to trace, who belong to the espionage team of a certain country. They not only represent themselves with an altered name but may also have adopted a different occupation. In written history their identity usually gets either mixed up or completely wiped out.

One such person is thought to be named Augustin. Not much is known about him except from the letters he had written from Lahore. These letters were misplaced and it was not until after 1914 that three of his letters were discovered, hence bringing this unknown French traveler back to life. As it happened these letters were found in the collection of thePieresc Correspondence [18]. This collection was headed by a person who was involved in efforts of establishing a French trading espionage network first in Persia and then in India.The information gathered by this 'Augustin' was mainly regarding 'precious gems', the concerned markets and locations of precious stone mines. He was the 'Lahore' contact of Nicolas Claude Fabri de Peiresc.

His 'Indian' career as a dealer in real and false gems after his departure from France in 1609 was a much thriving one. He landed in India near Surat with several other Frenchmen in 1612 and was the sole survivor by the year 1620. He settled in Lahore as the royal court was there at the time. He claimed to be one of the favorites of Emperor Jahangir for whom he had crafted two fabulous thrones. Emperor Jahangir was the 'god-father' of one of his sons. In one the letters he also writes about his formal and informal relations with Emperor Shah Jahan, who used him for his military engineering skills and for whom he had also made a dazzling throne in Agra. His letters are full of the stories of his Indian family, Indian society, the Mughal court, the elephants and other exotic animals he has sent to King Louis XIII of France".

Augustin de Bordeaux, France

1609 - 1632

His Letter from Lahore

Bernier, on the other hand, had quite a few references regarding the city of Lahore and how he found it when he visited this once 'prestigious' city.It is noted that during the times of Shah Jahan, the city of Lahore experienced its renaissance and this account of Bernier's [19] helps to indicate the situation of the city of Lahore before the royal interventions.

"It is not without reason that the kingdom of which 'Lahore' is the capital is named the 'Penje-ab'…, *The river on which the city was built is as considerable as our Loire, and is much in want of a similar embankment* as that on which the road is carried on the banks of the French river; for it is subject to inundations… , Unlike the buildings of Delhi and Agra, **the houses here are very lofty, but the court having resided during the last twenty years or more in one of those two cities, most of the houses in Lahore are in a 'ruinous' state...** There are still five or six considerable streets, but not a few of the houses in them are tumbling to the ground … The King's palace is no longer seated on its banks. **This is a high and noble edifice, though very inferior to the palaces of Delhi or Agra."**

Francois Bernier - French Physician
1655 – 68 / at the courts of Shah Jahan and Alamgir

Bernier has portrayed an extremely 'realistic' and 'accurately presumed' situation of the city.Proposing a reasonable solution to the strengthening of Ravi's embankment whilst comparing the river tothe Loire, the longest river in France, also shows his nostalgic approach towards the betterment of his current context. This approach shows that his intention was to always 'record history' as much precisely and accurately as is 'experienced'. It is recorded that he funded his stay in India by being in the service of Shah Jahan as a Physician, thus securing aninternal link with the Emperor.Enroute to India he also visited Palestine, Egypt, Cairo and Arabia.

The same is said by Tavernier[20], although his fascination with the later Grand Trunk Road of India shows his passion for travel. Tavernier was a French 'diamond' merchant who was traveling at

his own expense, and who successfully managed to complete six voyages.

> *"Lahore is the capital of a kingdom and is built on one of the five rivers…, The town is large and extends more than a coss in length but the greater part of the houses, which are higher than those of Agra and Delhi, are falling into ruins, the excessive rains having overthrown a large number…The palace of the King is rather fine, and is no longer, as it was formally, on the margin of the river…, One can obtain wine at Lahore… nearly all the way from Lahore and Delhi, and from Delhi to Agra, is like a continuous avenue planted throughout with beautiful trees on both sides, which is very pleasant to the view. But in some places they have been allowed to perish, and the people have not taken care to plant others".*

> *Tavernier – French traveler andJeweler*
> *1605 – 1689 / at the court of Shah Jahan*
> *Three Voyages to India – 1638-43, 1657-62, 1664-68*

While in attendance at the royal court of Shah Jahan, Tavernier managed to visit some of the major diamond mines in the country and afterwards traveled as a merchant of the highest rank, trading in costly jewels and other precious commodities. In his 'letters of nobility' he became the first traveler ever to attempt to describing the Indian culture he was trading in.

With the historic writings of Manucci[21], I came across a breakthrough in my research because of the way he had described the architectural features of the city of Lahore and the walled city itself. True to his word, his narrative is not of a historian, although certainly not inferior. On the contrary, his is a narrative which he has experienced himself and which he has managed to record in his own words, 'firsthand' information.

> ***"I must add, that I have not reliedon the knowledge of others; and I have spoken nothing whichI have not seen or undergone….***The famous city of Lahore has 12 gates, called 1-Qadiri Darwazah, 2-Yakki Darwazah, 3-Dilli Darwazah,*

*4-Akbari Darwazah, 5-Mochi Darwazah, 6-Shah AlamiDarwazah, 7-Bhati Darwazah, 8-Multani Darwazah, 9-Mori Darwazah, 10-Ghakkari Darwazah, 11-Kashmiri Darwazah, 12-?...The walls are all of well-burnt bricks, high and provided with bastions. Aurangzeb ordered to build, at his charges, a wall in the nature of a bastion to protect the city of Lahore both from the enemies and from the river then encroaching on it. The houses are lofty, some having eight stories. **The city is inhabited by great and rich merchants who deal with the whole of India, kingdom of Kabul, Kashmir, Persia, Multan and Tattah..., for it is crammed with foreigners.**Round the city are fine gardens filled with various kinds of fruits, chiefly peaches, stoneless grapes, mangoes and melons. There is an abundance of wells in the city. The people here are well-built and almost white."*

Niccolao Manucci - Venetian adventurer & historian

1639 – 1717 / at the courts of Shah Jahanand Aurangzeb, Also Served under DaraShukoh

His statement that the embankment of the river and the defensive wall of the city have been strengthened, indicates the earlier concern of Bernier. The description he gives of the city is of a thriving mercantile center 'crammed with foreigners'.Not only did Manucci describe the architectural attributes of the city but he also presented a picture of the life and stories of the common populace of 'his city' which he is 'obliged to write about as a mark of his gratitude'. He tells us mythical stories about the origin of this city intertwined with the moral stories associated with Mahmud of Ghazni and his slave Malik Ayaz, whom he mentions as 'Malik Khas'. This shows his link with the populace and being a Physician, this helped him in achieving this connection.

"I know the reader will be pleased at learning the origin of this great city of Lahore where I made my fortune (as a physician), since I have exact information of how it came to be built. I feel under an obligation to write about its origin as a mark of my gratitude to a city which did me such single benefit."

There was a Sultan Mahmud Ghaznavi, a Mahomedan King of Kabul, and his slave called 'Malik Khas'. The King loved him much and raised him up to be his Chief Minister, on whom the whole government depended. One day, to test the fidelity of his slave, he gave to Malik Khas much money and many soldiers, so that he might search for some lovely site, there to found a large and handsome city in his own name.Malik Khas obeyed and came to a bare and spacious plain near to a fine river called the Ravi. **There he constructed the handsome and beneficent city of Lahore, called by its residents 'Allah-nur', that is 'Day-dawn of God'.** *When the city was completed..., he carried the King to the new city and made him ascend a high throne. Mahmud of Ghazni confided to him the kingdom of Lahore and retired himself to the realm of Ghazni.*

In the terrible times of the later reign of Shah Jahan, experiencing the fight between the four sons of this Emperor, and then a devastating showdown between Dara and Aurangzeb[1], he definitely has a positive approach towards his context. However, a sarcastic undertone sometimes becomes apparent in his statements, such as when he states that "the Mahomedans easily assign one a reputation and as easily take it away". This sarcasm is pronounced when he describes the honest slave Malik Ayaz, by stating that "one should get a lesson from the fidelity of a slave and learn how sometimes in persons of lowly birth lies hidden great nobility of heart".

I would like to conclude simply by saying that this may not be a comprehensive paper in regard to the travelers, but in it the start of the practical analysis of our recorded history is suggestedandwe should re-examine our much romanticized history and start analyzing it with a renewed sense of ownership and scholarly objectivity.To achieve this task, or even to begin this process, it becomes exceedingly essential to investigate history through 'Historiography' by cross referencing the 'Contextual Timeline' and the personal subjectivity of the travellers concerned.

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Index