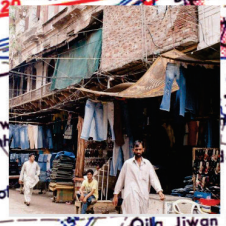
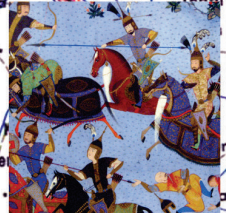
2012

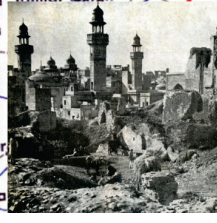
THAAP Conference



PORTRAIT OF LAHORE

لہورنوں سلام





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PERVAIZ VANDAL

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PORTRAIT OF LAHORE

لہورنوں سلام

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Contents

Introduction

Pervaiz Vandal

The idea of holding an international conference took shape in May-June 2010, and the first THAAP Conference -2010 was launched with a call for papers. It was a matter of immense satisfaction, with an element of surprise that 36 scholars from over the world sent in abstracts of papers. The presented papers have been published by Thaap in the book, '*Historiography of Architecture of Pakistan and the Region'*, which was well received.

The Second THAAP Conference – 2011, was an occasion for the celebration of the city with the theme, 'Portrait of Lahore'. The response this time was even more encouraging as 53 scholars responded with written abstracts, 28 of which were selected for presentation. These have now been put together with an addition of a paper on Post-Colonial Lahore and published as '*Portrait of Lahore – Lahore nu Salam'*[1]. The conference, in a remarkable response by intellectuals of the city, further engendered the following programs:

- An exhibition of work by students from the National College of Arts, the University of Engineering & Technology, the Beaconhouse National University, the University of South Asia, COMSATS IIT, Lahore Campus, the Punjab University and the Kinnaird College for Women depicting various aspects of Lahore;
- An exhibition of folk crafts and arts held at Tollington Market;
- A play by the Ajoka Theater Group was specially arranged as part of the conference;
- A Cultural Akath organized by Lok Rahas and Lok Sugak at Hazuri Bagh;
- Talks on Lahore by Majeed Shaikh, Shaukat Nawaz Raja and Masud Ahmed as personal responses to Lahore at Alhamra

1 Title of a poem by Professor Randhir Singh from Delhi, included in this volume

Hall No 3; and

- The culmination of the program was a Mushaira at Alhamra Hall No 3 arranged by Professor Shahnawaz Zaidi.

The Third THAAP Conference – 2012, to be held on November 7, 8, 9 and 10, for which 90 scholars from 38 universities worldwide have submitted abstracts, signifies its acceptance and the worldwide interest it has generated. That intellectual input will also be brought together in a book for dissemination. Generation of knowledge and its dissemination remain the twin aspects of the THAAP endeavour.

THAAP is a forum of academics and professionals dedicated to improving the state of education, particularly in the field of Arts, 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 - a future which is not stagnant with a unitary thought but carries the variety of a thousand flowers. The question is how to implement it?

THAAP recognizes the intrinsic link between history, tradition and culture and acknowledges that our present day belief, value-framework system, and world-view, which constitutes the culture of a society or community is shaped by the historical past. Thus, THAAP aims to reassess and revisit history and create scholarship and knowledge from the people's perspective and disseminate it to a wide audience. This knowledge is generated through a series of talks by eminent and young scholars and an annual conference.

Sajida and I, architects that we are, are more proud to be teachers, and it is the teachers who impact the future. They can make it or destroy it. So far, in Pakistan, teachers of history, art and architecture have lacked a platform where healthy intellectual interaction can take place. To provide such a platform, is the objective of the Trust for History, Art and Architecture in Pakistan, THAAP. Through a series of such discussions we hope to start a debate that will be fresh and productive and lead us to the future. There is no better way to learn, than to learn from each other.

THAAP, a not-for-profit trust, was established in 2006, by Sajida and Pervaiz Vandal. It has been, on legal advice, incorporated as a company, prohibited to disburse any dividend to its directors and their relatives, under the Companies Ordinance 1984, by the Securities and Exchange Commission of Pakistan.

یہاں سے شہر کو دیکھو

شاہنواز زیدی

میرا بچپن لاہور میں نہیں گزرا۔ 1948ء میں جب میرے والدین مظفر نگر، بھارت سے پاکستان آئے تو کسی نامعلوم وجہ سے ہم منڈی بہاؤالدین میں قیام پذیر ہوئے۔ وہیں کے کارپوریشن سکول سے ہم نے میٹرک تک تعلیم حاصل کی اور چونکہ وہاں کوئی کالج موجود نہیں تھا اس لیے ہم لاہور منتقل ہو گئے۔

مجھے یاد ہے 14، 15 سال کی عمر میں جب میں لاہور آیا تو ایک سحر زدہ انسان کی طرح اس شہر کے گلی کوچوں میں گھومتا تھا۔ پھٹی ہوئی آنکھوں سے اس کے بازاروں، عمارتوں، دیواروں، چھجوں اور دریچوں کو دیکھتا اور خوشبوؤں کو سونگھتا۔ اس وقت ہم نیلا گنبد کے علاقے میں اپنی چچازاد بہن کے گھر ٹھہرے ہوئے تھے، لہٰذا انارکلی بازار اور اس سے ملحقہ پرانے شہر کا چکر روز لگتا تھا۔

منڈی بہاؤالدین کا رہن سہن بہت حد تک پرانے لاہور سے مشابہہ تھا۔ ہمسایوں، محلے داروں سے عزیز رشتہ داروں جیسا تعلق---گھروں کی آپس میں جڑی ہوئی چھتیں، جہاں پر رات کے وقت گھر کے تمام افراد کھلے آسمان کے نیچے سوتے۔ پھیری والے، فقیر سادھو---گلی میں نسبتاً کھلی جگہ پر پلنگ بچھا کر بیٹھے ہوئے خوش گپیوں میں مصروف بزرگ حضرات---موسموں اور ماحول سے براہِ راست تعلق، یہ سب ایسے معاشرتی تجربات تھے جو اِن دنوں شہروں، بلکہ شاید اُس زمانے میں ہر شہر میں مشترک تھے، لیکن جن سے ہمارے بچے بڑی حد تک ناآشنا ہو چکے ہیں۔

بعد ازاں میں نے اسلامیہ کالج ریلوے روڈ اور پنجاب یونیورسٹی کے شعبہ فنونِ لطیفہ سے تعلیم حاصل کی اور بطور ایک مصور اِن مشاہدات اور احساسات کی اہمیت فزوں تر ہو گئی جن کا اظہار میں نے ان نظموں میں کیا ہے۔

یہ نظمیں لاہور کی عمارات اور مشہور مقامات کے متعلق ہی نہیں ہیں، بلکہ یہاں کہ رہتل، معاشرت اور زندگی کی آئینہ دار بھی ہیں۔ یہ یادداشتیں ہیں ایک گزری ہوئی نسل، ایک بیتے ہوئے زمانے کی، جنہیں سمجھنے اور محسوس کرنے والے کچھ لوگ ابھی زندہ ہیں۔

لاہور

عجب افسانے جیسا شہر ہے

اپنائیت

جس کے تھڑوں پر بیٹھی رہتی ہے

جہاں تاریخ

دیواروں کے باہر، باادب استادہ رہتی ہے

نہیں ہے کوئی بیگانہ

یہاں آؤ مگر تنہا نہیں آنا

دریچوں میں، چھتوں کے پیچھے آنکھیں ہیں

کھنکتی چوڑیاں ہیں

اور بچوں کی ہنسی کی گونج

ایسا ہی تمہارا بھی گھرانا ہے

تمہارے ساتھ یہ رشتہ پرانا ہے

ٹھہر جاؤ

گزر جاؤ

ہمیں تم پر بھروسہ ہے

یہی صدیوں سے ہوتا ہے

یہی ہوگا

یہاں پر کارِ دنیا کے جھمیلوں میں بھی سب خوش باش رہتے ہیں

اسے

لاہور کہتے ہیں

زینہ

ہمارے گھر میں اِک جادو کا زینہ تھا
جو لٹو کی طرح سے گھومتا تھا
اور مری سوچوں کے چوتھے آسماں پر جا کے کھلتا تھا
یہ تنگ و تار اور سادہ سا رستہ
میری یادوں کی کتابوں میں
بڑا روشن، کشادہ اور پراسرار لکھا ہے
تپنگیں ہاتھ میں پکڑے
کبھی میں اس کے اونچے پائیداں پھلانگتا
چھت پر پہنچ کر سانس لیتا
اور کبھی اس پر
تمہارے سرمئی آنچل کا کونا تھام کر
رک رک کے ایسے پاؤں رکھتا تھا
کہ جیسے وقت
سانسوں میں اٹکتا ہو
اسی زینے کے نیچے خالی حصہ میں
ہمارا ٹھنڈے پانی کا ٹیوب ویل تھا
جہاں پر سخت گرمی کے دنوں میں بھی نہانے سے
ہر اک کی گھگھی بندھ جاتی تھی
تب شاید
زمیں کا سینہ یوں تپتا نہیں تھا
یا یہ سچ مچ
پیر گھوڑے شاہ صاحب کی کرامت تھی!
خدا جانے
یہاں دیوار کی گولائی میں
جو روشنی کے چاک تھے
ان سے تمہاری چھت نظر آتی تھی
اور دالان کا کونہ.....
میں پہروں تک یہاں بیٹھا
تمہاری اک جھلک کا منتظر رہتا
جہاں تم سامنے آتیں
میں اس سیڑھی کی گھمن گھیریوں پر بیٹھ کر
سیدھا
ستاروں کی طرف
پرواز کر جاتا!

گلیاں

خیال اک دوسرے کے جیسے متوازی نہیں بنتے
محبت سیدھے رستے پر نہیں چلتی
یونہی اس شہر کی گلیوں، مکانوں اور بازاروں کی
ہر اک اینٹ ٹیڑھی ہے
یہاں دیواریں، چھجے اور جھروکے
دھوپ چھاؤں
یوں گتھے ہیں
زور کرتے وقت جیسے کہ اکھاڑے میں
پہلوانوں کی جوڑی
گردنوں میں ہاتھ ڈالے
بوجھ بانٹے
اپنے پیروں پر کھڑی ہو
اور کوئی مٹی پہ گرنے پر نہ راضی ہو
یہ کوچے ایک مدت سے
یونہی دست و گریباں ہیں
عداوت سے نہیں
یہ زور ہے
گبھرو جوانوں کی
محبت کا پرانا کھیل

رمضان

تب پھیری والوں کا تانتا بندھ جاتا تھا
باقر خانی
سبز چائے
باداموں والا دودھ
دہی بھلے، فالودہ اور پٹھورے
سیدھے آپ کے دروازے پر!
مجھے یقین ہے کوئی گورا مری گلی سے
فاسٹ فوڈ اور ہوم ڈلوری کا کونسپٹ چرا کر امریکہ بھاگا ہے
اسی روز سے وہ بے برکتی ہوئی کہ میرے دونوں بھائی
اپنا سٹیٹس اونچا کرنے
شہر کے گھر کو چھوڑ، مضافاتی بستی میں آن بسے
اور اب ہم سارے
ڈائیننگ ٹیبل پر افطار کے وقت
اکٹھے ہو جائیں تو
لمبے چہرے اور مصنوعی تبسم پہنے
خاموشی سے بیٹھے کھانا کھاتے ہیں
ایسے میں باتیں کرنا تو دور کی بات ہے
ایک دوسرے کو ہم اکثر
دیکھنے سے بھی کتراتے ہیں

رمضان میں کرموچاچا جب
آلو کے پکوڑے تلتا تھا
کانوں کو
ان کی شرل شرل اور چخ چخ
پٹ بیجنے سی آوازیں کتنا بھاتی تھیں
کالی سی کڑاہی میں وہ کبھی
سونے کی پوریاں ڈھالتا تھا
اور کبھی جلیبیوں کے زیور تل دیتا تھا
مرا روزہ شاذ ہی ہوتا تھا
پر سحری اور افطاری میں بڑے اہتمام اور بڑے خلوص سے کرتا تھا
سحری کے وقت گلی میں میلہ لگتا تھا
سب سے پہلے تو شرفو سائیں اپنا پھیرا کرتا
اور میٹھی آواز میں ''جاگو نیند کے ماتو جاگو'' گاتا ہوا گزرتا تھا
اس کے بعد مساجد کے اعلان
مبارک خاں قوال کی پارٹی
اختر ڈھولیا، گھنٹی والا
اور پھر چاروں طرف دھما دھم
یعنی دے دھما دھم اور دے دھما دھم

برسات

پچھلی رات وہ گرمی تھی کہ صحن میں سونا دوبھر تھا

بستر چھوڑ کے میں

کوٹھے پر پہنچ گیا تھا

منجی گیلی کر کے

ہر جانب چھڑکاؤ کیا

پھر کھیس بچھا کر لیٹا تھا کہ چاند کو دیکھ کے ہنسی آ گئی

بالکل دیسی آم کی شکل تھی

پیلا

ٹیڑھا

پلپلا!

لگتا تھا رس ابھی پھٹے گا

اور سب نور گلے میں ہوگا!

تھوڑی دیر میں نیند آ گئی

بارش کا چھینٹا جو اچانک منہ پہ پڑا تو آنکھ کھلی

اور پھر تابڑ توڑ مینہ.....!

کافی دیر تو منہ کو لپیٹ کے پڑا رہا

جب بھیگ چکا تو

چارپائی اٹھا کر اندر گھر کو بھاگا

نیچے پہنچا تھا کہ بارش بند ہو گئی.....!

خواب

ملی ہے زندگی ہم کو

مگر پوری نہیں

آدھی ادھوری سی

مرن جوگی

کہ جیسے گھر کے پرنالے میں پیپل کا کوئی پودا نکل آئے

وہ پودا

جس کا کوئی کل نہیں ہوتا

جو پیپل ہو کے بھی پیپل نہیں ہوتا

مگر ہاں وہ تناور پیڑ بن جانے کے سپنے دیکھ سکتا ہے

چلو ہم خواب ہی دیکھیں

کسی بہتر زمانے کے

کسی خوشحال دنیا کے

جہاں پر امن ہو

انصاف ہو

مذہب نہ ہو

انسانیت ہو، سب برابر ہوں

ابھی اعمال پر تلوار چلتی ہے

ابھی خوابوں پر پابندی نہیں ہے

تعزیت

تعزیت کریں آؤ
شہر کے جھروکوں کی
نہر کے درختوں کی
نیلے آسمانوں کی
مطمعیں مکینوں کے سادہ رُو مکانوں کی
پاک ٹی، عرب ہوٹل اور کافی ہاؤس کی
تعزیت کریں آؤ

آؤ مرثیہ لکھیں
فرصتوں کے موسم کا
فیض کے لیے روئیں
جو جلاوطن ہو کر، اس وطن کی گلیوں پر ہی نثار ہوتا تھا
شاعروں، ادیبوں اور سارے اہل فن میں جب
سانجھا پیار ہوتا تھا۔

جو نہ ہو سکے ہم سے
سارے کام دہرائیں
وہ جو مر مٹے ہم پر، ان کے نام دہرائیں
روشن آرا، چغتائی، صادقین اور منٹو
اے حمید اور شاکر
کرشن چندر اور جالب
نورِ جہاں اور برکت اور ندیم اور دامن
اور منیر اور حسرت
ہو چکا مرا ہونا
جا چکے مرے درویش
مٹ گئی رواداری
دنیاداری ہے درپیش

Two Rivers of Lahore

Stories of Decay and Reform

Nida Rehman

A map entitled, *A Sketch of the Fortified City of Lahore*, hangs on the wall behind *Anarkali's* sarcophagus in the quaint octagonal building housing the Punjab archives. It commemorates General Henry Fane's visit to the court of Ranjit Singh in March 1837 when the British Commander-in-Chief was invited to the Punjab for the wedding of the Maharaja's grandson and his participation in the pageantry of the Lahore *Darbar*. No doubt General Fane must have visited some of the imperial gardens in Lahore. In the 1837 map, garden estates and villages prominently dot the landscape along the River Ravi and its shifting bed. Mappings of the city by James Wescoat, drawn using extensive field studies and archival sources, show that though gardens were scattered throughout the vicinity of Lahore in the mid and late Mughal period, the most prominent sites were located along the terrace of the River Ravi.[1] These included the Shalimar Bagh northeast of the Walled City, the gardens of the Lahore Fort, Kamran's Baradari on the Ravi itself, Emperor Jahangir's tomb-garden across the river in Shahdara and the Hazuri Bagh built during Ranjit Singh's rule in 1813. The elaborate

F. 1

A sketch of the fortified city of Lahore

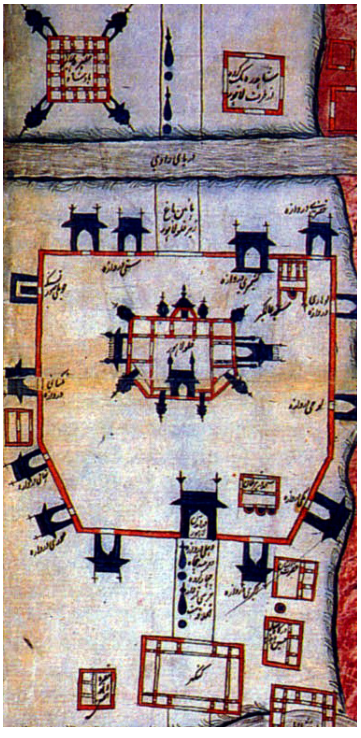
1 See James L. Wescoat, "Gardens, Urbanization and Urbanism in Mughal Lahore: 1526-1657," in "*Mughal Gardens: Sources, Places, Representations, and Prospects*", eds. James L. Wescoat and Joachim Wolschke-Bulmahn, pp.139-170 (Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Colltion, 1996).

three-level waterworks of the Shalimar Bagh were irrigated by water drawn from the Ravi through a canal called the *Shah Nahar* or *Hansti* Canal designed by Mughal engineer Ali Mardan Khan. Additionally smaller gardens, farms, estates, and *mazars* lined the river terraces along the northern and western sides of the city. Lahore's physical proximity and orientation towards the River Ravi is also evident in numerous older sources, such as the two scroll maps depicting the road from Kandahar to Delhi, which date between 1760 and 1814, reproduced in Susan Gole's book *Indian Maps and Plans* [2] and a painting of Ranjit Singh with Shah Zaman with the Ravi shown in the distance along the central axis of the Shalimar Bagh. During General Fane's visit, nearing the end of Ranjit Singh's almost forty year reign, at the wane of one empire and the rise of another, Lahore was indeed a city of gardens along a river.

However, as one moves south and east of the River Ravi and the Walled City on the 1837 map, detail and texture start to diminish. A sparse network of roads appears amidst scattered villages. In bold capital letters the single word *'RUINS'* inscribes a path parallel to the river just below the city walls. Like any map, this one testifies as

F. 2

Map showing the road from Kandahar to Delhi(between 1760 and 1814)



F. 3

A painting of Ranjit Singh with Shah Zaman in Shalimar Bagh

2 Susan Gole, "*Indian Maps and Plans: From Earliest Times to the Advent of European Surveys*". (New Delhi: Manohar Publications, 1989).

much to its authors' perceptions and projections as to a precise spatial condition. The idea that this area of the city was a ruined and dismal landscape is one that was shared by a number of foreign visitors to Lahore in writings about the city from the mid-nineteenth century.

> Few suburban localities could be found in any province presenting such peculiar sanitary difficulties as the vicinity of Lahore. The station of Anarkali, with its adjuncts, is scattered over an area of several square miles, over which extend the ruins of not one but several successive cities of various eras and various dynasties. The surface of this extraordinary plain is diversified by mounds, kilns, bricks, stones, broken masses of masonry, decaying structures, hollows, excavations, and all the debris of habitations that have passed away. The soil is sterile, and impregnated with saltpetre, but the ground is interspersed with rank vegetation, and though generally arid, from its undulating nature, possesses an unfortunate aptitude for the accumulation of stagnant water.[3]

The emphasis on the words "debris" and "ruins" is indicative of the perception of landscape commonly held by visitors to Lahore in the pre-colonial period as well as the colonial administrators of the city government after formal annexation in 1849. The area is treated as a *Tabula Rasa* – not in the physical sense of a blank slate, but more specifically of a razed slate, where emptiness is caused by acts of deliberate erasure. This interpretation is in accordance with David Gissen's examination of the concept of "debris", as it was used in 18th century European architectural discourse to indicate "the total spatial transformation wrought by violence and disaster."[4] In the descriptions such as the one quoted above, imbued with a sense of destruction and erasure, the southeastern environs of Lahore are rhetorically erased of beauty and function to set the stage for future transformations of the city.

The conception of a deserted and ruined wasteland in Lahore's outskirts echoes the descriptions of the inter-fluvial landscapes of the province of the Punjab in colonial administrative literature. Although the floodplains of the Punjab had been irrigated and cultivated with the use of inundation canals for centuries, during the nineteenth century the colonial government harnessed the waters of the River Indus and its tributaries into an extensive apparatus for irrigation

3 Sir John Lawrence (1852) as quoted in Syad Muhammad Latif, "*Lahore: Its History, Architectural Remains and Antiquities*" (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel, 1994 c1892), p.251.

4 David Gissen, "Debris" in *AA Files* 58 (2009).

delivery transforming the previously semi-arid, interfluvial terrain or *doabs* into arable and densely settled territory. The colonial mandate, as repeatedly stated in the meticulous administration reports, was the conversion of deserts to gardens. However in colonial reports from the early periods of canal building, the lack of productivity of the land was often attributed to sustained aggression in the pre-Colonial period. Suggesting that the land was not "naturally" arid, a senior official wrote, "It appears however that in the days of the Mughals and their predecessors, these tracts were comparatively prosperous, and that they became deserted during the revolution which followed."[5]

That the project of territorial consolidation in British Punjab sought to control and manage "nature" is consistent with the ideals of nineteenth century engineering. However it is within the rhetoric of reforming a ruined and deserted nature that the specific historical and political shades of the colonial enterprise are revealed. By emphasizing the agency of past human interventions in the destruction of the landscape, the evocation of ruin allowed speculation on a more abundant and fertile past. The descriptions of a desecrated landscape granted powerful legitimacy for the colonial enterprise: That the state had an historic mandate to revive a prior condition of fertility and abundance through irrigation technology.[6]

The narrative of a decaying landscape also underlies urban reform efforts in Lahore during colonial rule. It paved the way for the morphological transformations in Lahore at the turn of the 20th century - particularly the development of new garden suburbs and the eventual reorientation of the city away from the river and the ancient core. In his discussion on infrastructure and malaria in post-Colonial Lagos, Matthew Gandy discusses the related concepts of "partial modernities" and "historiographies of absence" to highlight the voices that are hidden or inequities that are normalized in narratives of modern infrastructural progress.[7]

By examining the technological regimes of territorial (canals) and municipal (drainage) water management within the changing form of the city and by examining administration literature, this essay explores the varied roles that water plays at the center of these

5 R. H. Davies, R. E. Egerton, R. Temple and J. H. Morris, "Report on the Revised Settlement of the Lahore District in the Lahore Division," (Lahore, 1860), p.16

6 Such historical appropriation is not unlike the use of the colonial indo-saracenic style of architec ture which was infused with stylistic authority through the use of native/pre-colonial forms.

7 Matthew Gandy. "*Mosquitoes, Modernity and Post-Colonial Lagos*." Newcastle University, Public Lecture. (Newcastle United Kingdom: 2011 14-02)

transformations: as a resource that is bureaucratically managed, a discursive space for social reform and a repository of cultural ideas. It uses the divergent fate of Lahore's two "rivers" – the Ravi and the Canal - as a lens to examine the cleavages in space as well as discourse central to the project of colonial modernity.

In the decades following Ranjit Singh's death, the formal annexation of the Punjab under the East India Company in 1849 and the subsequent installation of British Crown Rule in 1857, Lahore was subject to a series of interventions that radically altered the size and structure of the city. The outskirts of Mughal Lahore became the site of the new colonial city with an expansive program of public and private gardens. A map from 1867 shows that a neat network of roads, gardens and buildings had replaced what had been observed as a wasteland only a few decades earlier. The new Lahore with its wide boulevards, large bungalows and abundant gardens represented a modern, sanitary and ordered environment for the city's new rulers. The transformations were lauded by British officials, such as G.C. Walker who wrote in the 1893 Lahore District Gazetteer "… the ruins and graveyards of

F. 4

Map of Lahore from 1867 showing a network of roads, gardens and buildings after colonial intervention

Lahore have passed under the humanizing influence of western civilization. Metalled roads have pierced the debris of former days, and bungalows and gardens have succeeded ruins and rough jungle."[8]

At the center of this new city was a branch of the Bari Doab Canal. The Canal, excavated in 1852 was an extension and re-alignment of Ali Mardan Khan's *Shah Nahar* irrigating the Shalimar Gardens. Entering the Lahore district near Wagah in the northeast, the canal was cut along the natural ridge south and east of the Walled City, right through the former, "debris of habitations that have passed away." Although the Canal was part of the regional Bari Doab network irrigating farmland around the city, a number of *Rajbahs* or distributaries were diverted from it "to spread fertility toward and about the city of Lahore."[9]

When the new military cantonment was built in the southeast of the city to accommodate officers and troops of the British Army, a watercourse was extended into the "open and exceedingly dreary plain" [10] of Mian Mir to supply water to its new parks and tree-lined avenues. The splendid boulevard called the Mall crossed over the Canal to connect the Cantonment with the new civil station housing government offices, residential areas for the civilian officers and recreational spaces. The Government House Distributary, branching from the main channel towards the Mall, irrigated other prominent areas in the civil station including the gardens of Government House, the Chiefs College and the Lawrence Gardens.

Modeled on Kew Gardens in London, the Lawrence Gardens included a park, the home of the Punjab Agri-horticultural Society and the Botanic Gardens, a zoo, cricket pitches and tennis courts. It was home to botanical research, seed acclimatization, plant propagation and the display of different native and imported species of plants. Amaryllis, camellias, orchids and chrysanthemums were just a few of the varieties blooming in turn throughout the year. The plants and seeds were supplied without cost to various public institutions and individuals in the city. In his book, "*Making Lahore Modern*", William Glover suggests that rather than "an isolated 'island of Englishness'," the Lawrence gardens was a complex social condenser configuring a controlled interaction of colonial and local elite.[11] This

8 G.C. Walker, "*Gazetteer of the Lahore District*", (Lahore: Lahore Civil and Military Gazette Press, 1894), p.284

9 Paul W. Paustian, *Canal Irrigation in the Punjab, "An Economic Inquiry Relating to Certain Aspects of the Development of Canal Irrigation by the British in the Punjab"* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1930), p.28.

10 G.C. Walker, "*Gazetteer of the Lahore District*", p.309.

view is contestable on the grounds that the native "collaborating" elite constituted only a narrow segment of local society and as Markus Daechsel points out the civil station was predominantly English save for government bureaucrats and domestic servants.[12] Yet with its neo-classical architecture, the picturesque landscapes, didactic displays of botanical research and the racially heterogeneous financial patronage, the Lawrence Gardens (as well as other projects such as institutions like Chiefs College), represented the colonial aspiration to create a "class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern; a class of persons, Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals, and in intellect."[13] In many ways Lawrence Gardens was perhaps the most emblematic project of the garden city beginning to emerge along the canal in the 1860's.

The canal water was also distributed to suburbs built beyond the civil station after the 1900's. While many of these new neighborhoods were developed by the government to house the growing ranks of Indians in the provincial bureaucracy,[14] Model Town, a project built on land acquired south of the city with detached bungalows and spacious gardens, was conceived and built by Indians including Dewan Khem Chand and Sir Ganga Ram. Developed as a co-operative residential settlement, Model Town, whose ordered plan with eight identical segments radiating from a large central green area, based on Ebenezer Howard's Garden City model, was also supplied water by distributaries from the Lahore Canal.

The transformed green landscape of the civil station and the new suburbs, linked with distributaries to the canal as its spine, formed a site of prestige occupying a large swath of the new center of the city. With its marriage of utilitarian engineering and the poetics of English gardens, this landscape represented the ordered and sanitary spatial structure desired by colonial administrators and social reformers. In cultural terms, it marked for some a new beginning for the city of gardens: "Lahore", wrote Muhammad Latif a government official in 1893, "was not ever a garden as it is now."[15]

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11 William J. Glover, "*Making Lahore Modern: Constructing and Imagining a Colonial City"* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008).

12 See Markus Daechsel, "Between Suburb and World Politics: Middle-class Identities and the Refashioning of Space in Late Imperial Lahore, c 1920-1950," in, "*Beyond Representation: Colonial and Post Colonial Constructions of Indian Identity",* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2006), p.273.

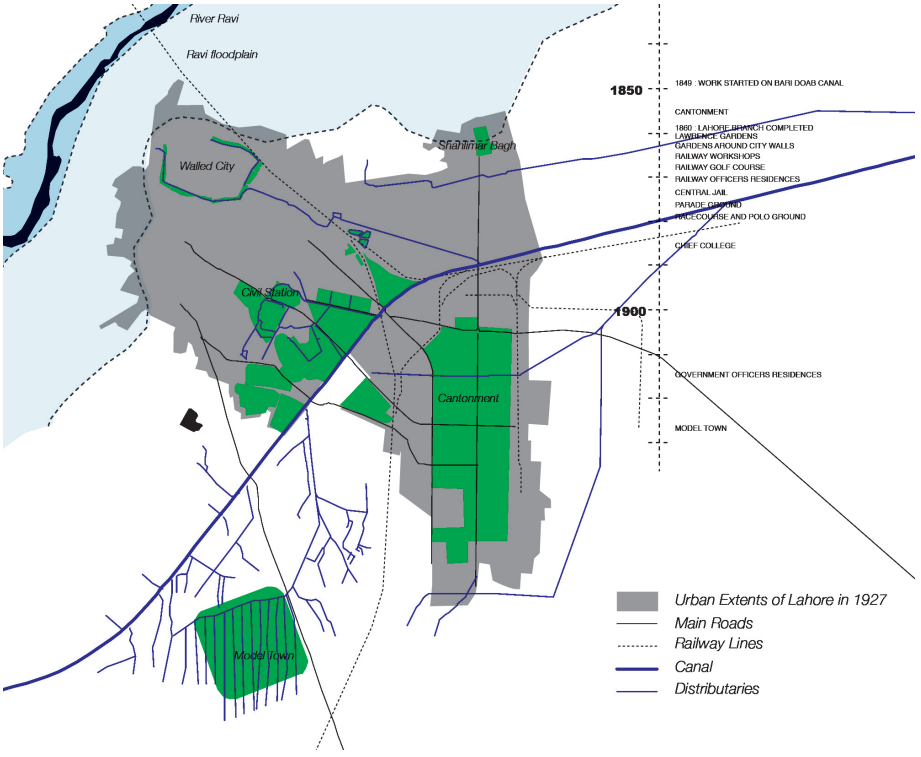
13 Lord Maculay's famous pronouncement from his Minute on Education in 1835.

14 Daechsel gives a detailed explication of Lahore's changing middle-class, its identity and lifestyle, during the late colonial period.

15 Syad Muhammad Latif, *Lahore: Its History, Architectural Remains and Antiquities* (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel, 1994 c1892) page xiii.

F. 5

Map of Lahore from 1927 showing the canal and its distributiaries



However if we trace our steps back along the geographies of water distribution in the city, from the Canal back to the River Ravi, discontinuities within these notions of order and beauty are revealed. As the Lahore Canal cut through the rhetorically emptied "ruins and graveyards"[16] to cultivate gardens and a modern sanitary culture of living, the River Ravi and its adjoining urban areas became the unfortunate site of neglect and decay.

With the advent of large-scale perennial irrigation in the Punjab, the waters of the Ravi were diminished as they entered the vicinity of the city of Lahore. Whereas rivers are fed by tributaries that gather in volume as they flow downstream, canals disperse river waters by branching into successively smaller channels or distributaries. The withdrawal of water for distribution over a large area logically reduces river water levels. The canal system, with its reservoirs and weirs, ensured a year long water supply to the land and in doing so also created a reduction in the natural water levels of the rivers. As early as 1865, Leslie Saunders, a settlement officer, attributed the recession of the Ravi River and the ensuing adverse effects to the villages located along it, to

16 G.C. Walker, Gazetteer of the Lahore District, 284.

"the absorption of its waters for the purposes of the Bari Doab Canal". It was also observed in the Punjab Gazetteer in 1908 that "at Madhopur, the head-works of the Bari Doab Canal draw off a large portion of the waters. Thenceforth the banks sink in height, and the river assumes the usual character of the Punjab streams, flowing in the centre of an alluvial valley, with high outer banks at some distance from its present bed."[17]

The desirability of the Ravi as an urban artery would also have diminished when it became the unfortunate beneficiary of the city's refuse. Drainage works, completed in 1881, discharged the city's waste right into the river just five miles south of the old center. In a letter discussing the planning of the drainage system, the President of the Municipal Committee pre-empted controversy about the proximity to the city and contamination to the river by explaining in facile but utilitarian terms that, "the discharge takes place some miles below the City and away from human habitations? also that the sewage has been already discharging into the river for the past twenty-five years, and no perceptible contamination has resulted."[18] That a location on the River Ravi only five miles from the old center was chosen for a substantial discharge of urban waste and its effects considered innocuous for the inhabitants of the growing city, indicates that the Ravi and its surrounding environs were becoming increasingly peripheral in the imagination of colonial planning.

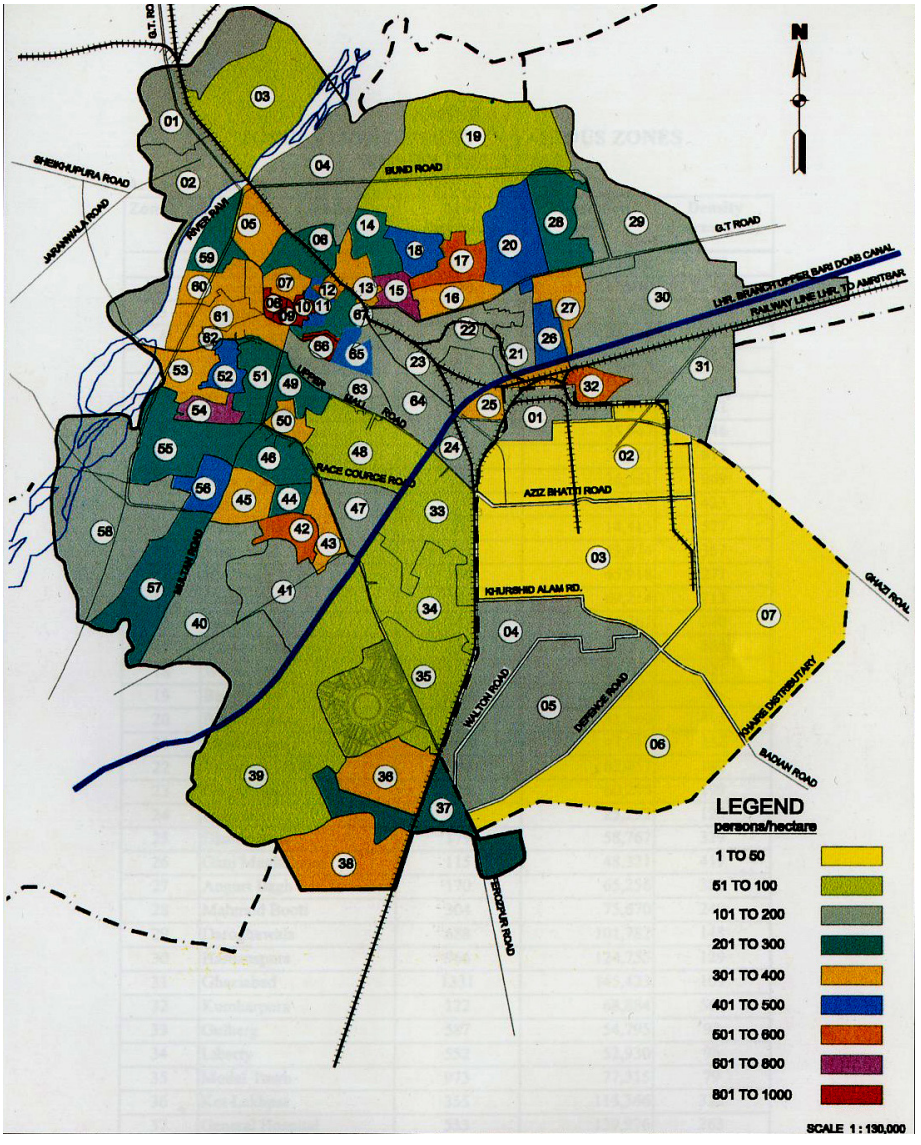
The Walled City of Lahore, or the *Anderoon Shehr* where a majority of Lahore's local residents lived, also remained isolated from the planning developments across the city. With its tightly packed houses, narrow, winding streets, heterogeneous social structure and complex familial arrangements, the old city of Lahore, like many pre-colonial cities, presented at the same time a space of fascination and also of danger to the popular colonial imagination as evident in literature, paintings and administrative writings from the period. Its social as well as spatial complexity eluded the tools for rational analysis such as census data collection and enumeration. While the development of the suburbs, invested in utilitarian and aesthetic agendas, throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, the older, pre-colonial neighborhoods of Lahore – within and around the ancient walls -

17 Imperial Gazetteer of India. Provincial Series - Punjab. Vol. I: The Province, Mountains, Rivers, Canals, Historic areas, and Delhi and Jullundur Divisions. Vol. II: Lahore, Rawalpindi & Multan Divisions and Native States. Calcutta: Superintendent of Government Printing, 1908 (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel, 1998) .190.

18 R. P. Nisbet, "Letter from the President Municipal Committee, Lahore, To The Commissioner and Superin tendent, Lahore Division, On the Subject of Water-Supply and Drainage of Lahore 1876" (1876). 5.

F. 6

Map of Lahore showing the direction of colonial planning away from the Ravi



were largely left out of the planning regimen and fell into disrepair.

These three aspects – the reduction of water levels in the river, the untreated discharge of sewage and the continued neglect of Lahore's pre-colonial urban spaces - were some of the factors in the eventual decline of Lahore's medieval core and its decreasing spatial affinity to the river. The Canal, with its adjacent roadways became the ordering mechanism for the growth of Lahore, nurturing the new neighborhoods which developed beside it. This process has largely continued in the

present, with the city expanding towards the south and west, while the older areas remain disproportionately under-serviced, resulting in a definitive bifurcation of the city along lines of density and development.

As a city subject to successive imperial regimes, William Glover notes that, Lahore grew and shrank many times in its history and that the decaying landscapes outside Lahore's walls witnessed by the new colonial rulers in the mid-nineteenth century, as described in the beginning of this essay, were an instance of that continual process. The continued degradation of the river terraces – once the preferred site for Lahore's abundant gardens - can perhaps be seen as part of this layered process of destruction, revival and growth that Glover discusses. Yet, his metaphor of a "Mughal palimpsest", as "a generative principle of spatial arrangement" under colonial rule,[19] fails to capture the agentive political will underlying the city's changing morphology in that period – both the aggressive development of the debris-laden environs into a new colonial city and disregard for its older and primarily local northern sector. It is a neglect that, as Markus Daechsel notes, amounts to a concerted "refusal to acknowledge that India could take on distinctly and authentically urban forms".[20]

By shifting the lens from the chronological or layered view of Lahore's development to a geographical understanding of its integration into a larger territorial project of irrigation development and social reform, sites such as the degraded landscapes of the Ravi are revealed not as the historical accidents of continuous urban change but as ruptures across the rationalized terrain of modern planning.

19 See Glover. xxvi.
20 Daechsel. 273.

Endnotes

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Historical and Spatial Portrait of Naulakha Bazaar, Lahore

Neelum Naz, Ph.D

" Suna key loot ka bazaar sujney wala hey
Hir ik nazer mein mera ghar hey kya ki jiye"
(Dr. Ali Ahmad Jalili)

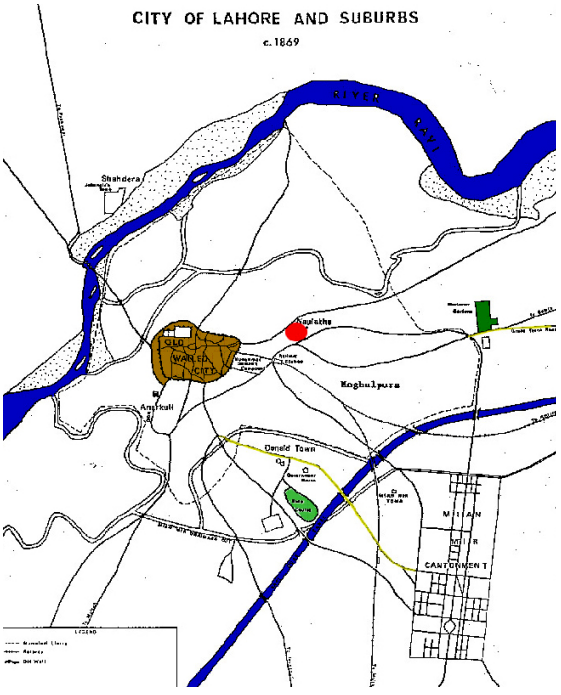
The bazaar and urbanization have been interrelated through out history and no South Asian city can be imagined without its bazaar. The survival of a city was dependent on its economic power and the bazaar was the most important of the diverse public spaces used for economic and commercial activities. It was the nucleus of social life emanating from commerce, and citizens of the town and surrounding areas gathered in the marketplace for exchanging news and finalizing deals. Merchants and trade are esteemed in Islamic cultures and at the time of the rise of Islam, Mecca, the birthplace of the religion, was already a major center of local, regional, and at times, international trade dominated by the merchant patricians. After the advent of Islam, bazaars from Samarkand and Kabul, to Isfahan and Baghdad, bordered the main thoroughfares of the trade-linked Central Asian cities, usually located near palaces of rules or citadels and the largest Central mosques[1]. Friday became the day of congregational prayer in Islam because it was the day when merchants and townspeople would assemble for a weekly bazaar in the Arabian Peninsula.

The Bazaars of Lahore

Lahore is a city rooted in history, tradition, art, culture, and festivals. The city has seen the zenith and collapse of many dynasties and provides visual reminders of its parental heritage, and its occupation by a series of rulers since the eleventh century. More than any other city, it represents Pakistan's vast, rich cultural heritage; a mosaic on which imprints of successive regimes are evident. During Mughal times, it was the administrative center of one of the great provinces. An independent Sikh kingdom controlled the Punjab for much of the first half of the 19th century until it was annexed to British India in 1849 and became the capital of the Punjab Province. Located along the historical Grand Trunk (G.T.) Road, Lahore is a city of strategic, political and cultural significance. Since, ancient times, this city has been one of

F. 1

Map of Lahore and suburbs.



the most important points that connect South Asia with Central Asia. Commercial trading with adjacent towns was easy as Lahore lies on a vast plain.

Lahore is a city of monuments, lively bazaars and truly a shopper's paradise. Its urban structure cannot be traced without studying the changes in the physical, social and economic status of old bazaars. For example, Sarafa Bazaar, the Copper and Brass Bazaar, Kashmiri Bazaar, Lakshmi Bazaar, Shah Almi Bazaar, Soha Bazaar, Dabi Bazaar, Anarkali Bazaar, Ichra Bazaar, Garhi Shahu Bazar, Landa Bazar, Sadar Bazaar, Urdu Bazaar, Naulakha Bazaar and others are traditional commercial magnets as well as living museums. Over time, shopping trends have been revolutionized and evolved to another level with the phenomenon of supermarkets, shopping malls, multistory plazas, online shopping and so on but traditional shopping trends predominate. The Naulakha Bazaar, distinctive in its character, offers economical bargains and thereby enjoys a special position among the Bazaars of Lahore.

Naulakha Bazaar

Exact information on the history and origin of the Naulakha Bazaar is not available; however, historical accounts indicate that the history of the area is approximately 500 years old. In the early 16th century, Prince Mirza Kamran probably built his earliest gardens in the Naulakha area, just east of the Walled City; the area was later extensively developed by Asaf Khan and expanded by Dara Shikoh[2]. Fact or fiction, it is reputed that Naulakha derives its name from the cost of its construction (*nou lakh* – nine hundred thousand), a huge amount at the time. The most radical changes in the fabric of old city began

during the British period and Lahore expanded beyond the city walls as the old nucleus was not capable of accommodating the requirements of the modern life introduced by the British. The establishment of the Railway Station (formally opened in late 1864) in the Naulakha had a major influence on land use patterns of the area[3]. The maps below indicate the growth pattern of Lahore highlighting the location of Naulakha on the east side of the Walled City.

The Naulakha Area

The Lahore Railway Station became the focal landmark and various roads were laid taking off to Badami Bagh, the Ravi Bridge, Delhi Gate and others. During the Sikh regime, *Nakhas* (Persian *nakhkhas*, meaning a marketplace for the sale of captives, horses and cattle taken as war prizs) had developed in this area[4]. There is a mention of Shaheed Gunj House with a bazaar west of which were many residences, a masjid and so on, and a courtyard carrying vessels of *bhang*[5a-b]. The map indicates Naulakha and its adjacent areas in its present form.

Spatial Pattern

The bazaar, in its present form developed during the early part of the 20th century. The area was furbished with historical landmarks such as Sirai Mian Sultan, Hazrat Shah Kaku Chishti's grave (1477 A.D.) Moolchand Mandir, Gurdwara Shaheed Ganj, Gurdwara Bhai Taru Singh, Naulakha Church (1853), Government Technical College (GCT), Lahore (1889). These particular attributes have had a remarkable influence on the spatial structure of the bazaar, in such a way that the shops embraced these monuments. As a result, the commercial axis and the spatial distribution make loop-like configurations proceeding to the opening of one of the city gates, Delhi Gate. This development made for easy access between the Lahore Railway Station and the old quarter of the city. This kind of plan justified its importance by developing nodes at the intersection of streets. They are the places where people meet to have endless exchange of views which create a form of social life. The bazaar is the main urban space where important ritual ceremonies were conducted, which indeed, made it a very unique bazaar. This arrangement is not apparent to the casual visitor but the residents have a great sense of belonging.

Branching out from Zafar Shaheed Chowk, Railway Road and terminating at the historical Delhi Gate, the Naulakha Bazaar is an interesting blend of three distinct parts. The first part: Naulakha

F. 2

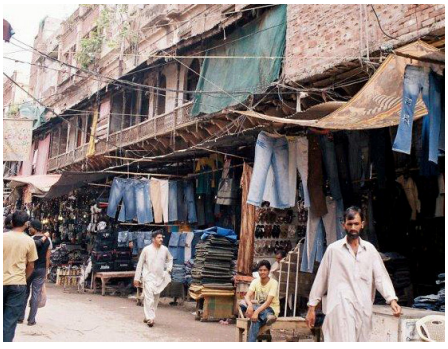
Naulakha Bazaar acting as a bridge between Lahore Railway Station and Delhi Gate

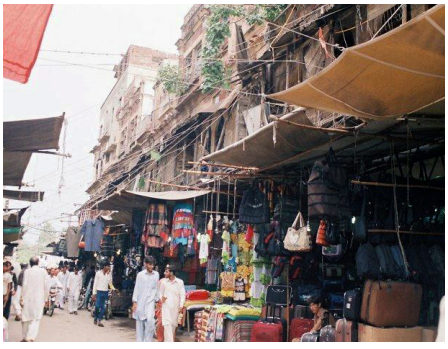
Bazaar, extends from Zafar Shaheed to Shaheedgunj Chowk; the second part, Loha Bazaar from Zafar Shaheed chowk to Shaheedgunj chowk and the third part, Landa Bazaar extends from Shaheed Gunj chowk to Delhi Gate. Being close to the railway station hotels it became a facility for passengers offering them beds and food in hotels such as the Naulakha, Patiala, Nizami Subhan and Dammam. 184 shops house numerous trades and crafts such as electronics, C.D. shops, video shops, male caps and joggers, walking sticks, mosquito nets, canvas sheets (*Tarpal*), blankets, bags, travel trolleys, *chadars*, T-shirts, trousers. A major development is that the bazaar has acquired a new commercial function as Landa Bazaar. This has become a dress designer's destination as well as a paradise for the poor and has resulted in a proliferation of shops that specifically cater for the low income group.

Despite ecological and demographic changes in Lahore, the bazaar continues to predominate as the loci of wholesaling, retailing, finance and production activities. Previously, important religious events were celebrated, but now restrictions have been imposed in order to avoid any religious disagreement. The map above shows *Loha* bazaar that developed in conjunction with the Naulakha bazaar and it also acts as a passageway linking with Landa bazaar. Naulakha Bazaar is more than a commercial center and indeed, a cultural as well as a social

F. 3

Shops in a Lahore Bazaar





hub. Apart from the shopping area the location of religious places of three religions; Islam, Sikhism and Hinduism makes the bazaar unique in its character.

Sirai Mian Sultan

The most important of the neighborhood monuments is Sirai Mian Sultan[6], a contractor of the railways during the British era. In the beginning, Mian Sultan was associated with the soap industry. His hard work and honesty helped him earn a good fortune with which he entered the construction industry. In a few years, he was counted among the prominent contractors and the British Government granted him the contract for construction of many important buildings such as the Lahore Railway Station. His major income was spent among the poor, and he himself led a simple life. He built the Sirai, bearing his name, next to the Naulakha bazaar, which proved to be a great boon to the low income travelers. For some reason, he incurred the wrath of the British Chief Engineer and as a result was subject to heavy fines. Mian Sultan sold his property (which included Sirai Sultan, Ahata Maila Raam, Ahata Kirpa Raam and related property) to the Maharaja of Kashmir to clear the heavy fines. Even today this property is considered the possession of the Maharaja of Kashmir.

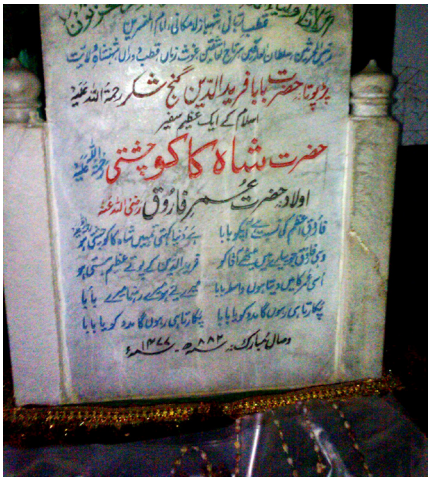
Masjid Shaheed Gunj

Masjid Shaheed Gunj was built under the supervision of the *Kotwaal* of Lahore, Abdullah Khan, (1653) in Aurangzeb's era with three domes and arches. On the night of 9th July 1935, with the help of the British police and army, the Akali party destroyed this mosque. A Gurdwara was built after razing the mosque to the ground, to mark the place where the last Mughal governor, Mir Moen-ul Mulk, had massacred Sikhs. George Runkin gives a detailed account as under[6]:

Before 1935 there had stood for many years to the south of what is now called the Naulakha Bazaar, in the city of Lahore, a structure having three domes and five arches, which had been built as a mosque (masjid) and which retained, notwithstanding considerable disrepair, sufficient of its original character to suggest, or even to proclaim, its original purpose. It had a projecting niche (mehrab) in the centre of the west wall such as is used in mosques as the place from which the imam leads the prayers. Its dedication is no longer in dispute, having been established as of the year 1134 A.H. or 1722 A.D. by the production and proof of a deed of dedication executed by one Falak Beg Khan. By this deed, Sheikh Din Mohammad and his descendants were appointed mutawalis…The deed speaks of a school, a well and an orchard as

F. 4

Cenotaph of hazrat Shah Kaku Chisti



F. 5

Mausoleum of Moen-ul-Mulk

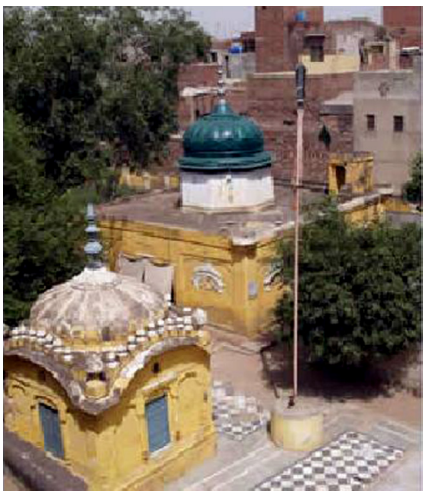
being among the appurtenances of the mosque and gives the total area of the dedicated property as three kanals and fifteen marlas.

Presently, there is a walled compound of 7 kanals, housing the remains of a mosque, Gurdwara Bhai Taru Singh and a mausoleum over a grave most probably of Moen-ul-Mulk (also known as Mir Mannu Mutawaffi) and a few baths. However, the grave carries the cenotaph of Hazrat Shah Kaku Chishti, year 1477 A.D. This is a reaction by the Muslims of the area to the court decision in favor of the Sikhs.

Gurdwara Shaheed Bhai Taru was built to pay tribute to Bhai Tara Singh, a devout Sikh who liked to help the needy of every caste and creed. He was executed brutally in 1745 on the orders of the Mughal governor of the Punjab, Zakaria Khan. The Sikh and Muslim

F. 6

Gurdwara Shaheed Bhai Taru



F. 7

Execution of Bhai Taru Singh on orders of Zakaria Khan

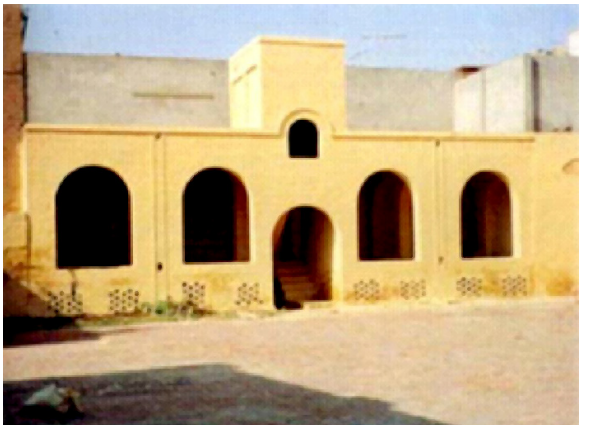
communities from time to time have been filing cases about the possession of the disputed sacred sites in the court.

Every July, Sikhs have held religious ceremonies to commemorate his sacrifice[8]. Recently, in July 2011, when the Sikhs went to set up their musical instruments, they were thrown out by men of Dawat-e-Islami and prevented from re-entering the shrine. The police was deployed outside to avoid any sectarian clash and the complex has been barred from entry. According to Harris Kakar, General Secretary Anjuman-e-Tajran, this year the residents managed to offer their Eid-ul-Fitr prayer in the disputed masjid.

Gurdwara Shaheed Gunj Singhania

Gurdwara Shaheedganj (*shaheeid* = martyr, *Gunj* = hoard, treasure) is in memory of Sikh martyrs of the eighteenth century. The word "Singhania" became inseparably attached to "Singh" as part of the Ardaas. The Nakhas, long soaked with the blood of martyrs, became for the Sikhs a sacred spot and, after they came into power in the Punjab, it remained in the possession of the Sikhs. Gurdwara Shaheed Gunj Singhania is a monument to the unique feats of courage and the great sacrifices made by ordinary people for human dignity and freedom. According to historians, in the 18th Century over 250,000 men and women lost their lives [9].

Here Moen-ul-Mulk (Mir Mannu, in Sikh chronicles), governor of Lahore (1748-53) raised a building shaped like a mosque sitting where the muftis, Muslim judges, gave their summary judgments after giving their victims a straight choice between conversion to Islam and death. The victims invariably chose the latter. When Diwan Kaura Mal persuaded the Sikhs to help Mir Mannu at the time of the battle of



F. 8

Gurdwara of Shaheedganj Singhania and residential quarters for students

Multan he handed over this place to the Sikhs who made it a place of worship. The Gurdwara is related to the misery of many Sikh women who were imprisoned here to grind wheat and their sons who were beheaded and thrown into the deep well next to it. Sikh women and children were kept in narrow cells to suffer A slow death through hard a labor and starvation. Initially there were seven wells, however the remains of one of the wells is still there. Though the Gudwara was taken over by the Evacuee Trust Property Board after Partition, Sikhs are allowed to continue using it with relatively few restrictions.

The architecture of the Gurdwara is an interesting blend of the old and new. The white majestic building of the temple with an elegant portico stands on a podium in the center of the compound enclosed by the old residential quarters for the students and the remains of cells. The interior is richly decorated creating an ambience of spirituality.

Moolchand Mandir

Moolchand Sirai which was actually a *Mandir* is a masterpiece of Hindu architecture. Moolchand was believed to be a rich man of his times who established a mandir and developed allied facilities such as a 'sirai' (a place to stay for out of town visitors). It was opened for residential purposes in 1947 to shelter immigrants. Apart from serving the visitors of the Mandir, it also served any poor person who came from other parts of India. Later on, the temporary shelter turned into a permanent home for them. It still houses the Ghousia dispensary which was set up at the time of Partition. The majority of the people came from Lucknow and Delhi originally, however people from some parts of Pakistan have also settled here. The temple is in a very bad state but the main entrance atop a multifoil arch enclosing a *jhroka* and the rising *Sikhara* still speaks of its beauty. After the destruction of the Babri Mosque in Ayodhya, India, by hardline Hindu activists in 1992, the Muslim residents destroyed the *Moorti*. Presently, it is in the custody of the Evacuee Property Trust Board (EPTB). Today, named officially as Ghousia Street, it inhabits are 300-350 people living in the residential quarter.

Conclusions

The historical city of Lahore has been the seat of many imperial dynasties leaving behind an interesting architectural heritage. Like many Middle Eastern cities, its historical bazaars have played an important role in economic development. The Naulakha area with approximately 500 years of history is a living witness to the process of Lahore's urban development. Though there are evidences of a market for the sale of captives, horses and cattle during the Sikh regime, the present structure of the Naulakha bazaar was laid during the early years of the 20th century. The existence of historical monuments within the bazaar makes it a unique example of urban morphology and will continue to exert considerable influence on the life of the area. It accommodates a wide variety of commercial activities and the fascinating atmosphere to some extent is still preserved. The alleys and lanes are full of exciting wares, especially household items. New constructions are being carried out without paying any attention to the spatial and functional character of the old. Though the bazaar is still a lively place many of the parts are lying abandoned and dilapidated. The Naulakha bazaar is waiting for its rebirth as a cultural hub of Lahore. Rather than focusing on the new construction, the most important step should be to develop urban regeneration strategies and find ways to diminish its lost grandeur and deterioration.

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Lahore nu Salaam-A Salute to Lahore

(Memories of Lahore: 1938 to 1947 as narrated to the author by Randhir Singh, a student active in the Communist movement)

Priyaleen Singh, Ph.D

In analyzing cities, urban historians and urban designers often glorify the magnificent and the monumental and simplify their understanding of the city into easily represented spatial structures or models that ignore much of the subtlety and significance of everyday experience. These simplified structures of analyses then go on to inform proposals for the design of environments within these cities, often ending up manipulating people and places into patterns that are supposed to make for a more 'efficient' human existence. But there is something beyond physical environment that gives value to a place, a value measured in terms more than 'efficiency'. Cities need to be understood as much with theories and models of spatial understanding as with the 'lived in' episodes which hold experiences of our day-to-day activities and events which result in actual place-making. Place and sense of place cannot lend itself to spatial and physical analysis alone, for it is inextricably bound up with all the hopes, meanings and aspirations of people and their lives. There are indeed profound psychological links between people and the places which they live in and experience. Cities many-a-time get their distinctiveness from this deeply felt involvement with places by the people who dwell in them. The memory of a place is as much about emotional experience as the physicality of it. For many, such an attachment to a place continues much beyond their period of habitation.

This paper, through a simple account of a college student, active in the students' movement, who lived in Lahore from 1938 to 1947, a period that was both remarkable and tragic at the same time, seeks to highlight the key events, places and people that continue to form a part of the memory of Lahore more than six decades on. These places in Lahore, as narrated to the author, are not the majestic, cyclopean or iconic structures normally associated with Lahore such as the Lahore Fort, Shalimar Gardens or the Anarkali bazaar, but the ordinary and the everyday, like the Rama Krishna book shop, Kennedy Hall, the Communist Party office on Mcleod Road, the open space in front of Mochi Gate or the Gwalmandi Thana. It was the backdrop of these modest places, which, for the narrator, were the

arena of an extraordinary activity set in an equally extraordinary time where people and events came together. Due to this the city of Lahore transcended to another level, acquired the status of a very distinctive city and continues to hold a very special place in the chronicle of the life of the narrator. It was an emotional bonding with the city due to events and experiences, emphasizing the fact that it is not only physical expression but human responses that give life and meaning to a city.

"This is essentially an adhoc and an episodic personal and political account of the period between 1938 and 1947. Memories filter through time and there is blurring and forgetfulness, especially at the age of ninety. Even after over sixty years some events and places stand out.

For me it all began in Lahore in 1938 when I returned to the city as a student, sixteen years old, in pursuit of my studies. Having lived in Lahore in my childhood, the city for me was always associated with the heroic figure of Bhagat Singh. A morning is still vividly etched in my mind - the morning after he and his comrades were hanged (23rd March,1931). As a nine year old I was detained briefly, while passing in front of the Lahore Central Jail on my way to the Borstal Primary School in the neighborhood. The memories loom large, of the huge presence of the army and the police, of a surging sea of humanity, tears in each eye, of the proud faces in the portraits of the martyrs everywhere and the defiant unending cry of 'Inquilab Zindabad'. That morning was born a dream which, I believe, in some form or another, has always stayed with me. Years later I was to spend a few months, among the happiest of my life, in the 'Terrorist Ward' of this very prison in Lahore with some of the surviving comrades of Bhagat Singh - Kishori Lal and others – who had in the meantime joined the Communist Party. The Party never owned up to Bhagat Singh as its pioneer in offering to the Indian people an alternative revolutionary politics as against the Gandhian and bourgeois politics, which were then dominant in the freedom struggle; thus Bhagat Singh was left open to appropriation by any and every kind of nationalism. He nevertheless, remained a source of inspiration for many of us in the Party in the Punjab.

I came to Lahore again in 1938, on the eve of the Second World War, for my higher studies at the Punjab University there. My father, a remarkable man in his own mixed sort of way – a brilliant physician and surgeon, profoundly religious and puritanical, with a rather deadly combination of Gandhi and Lenin in his head – sensing the turbulence inside me, his only son, had advised: 'Do anything out there but don't join some illegal organization'. Predictably that was the first thing I

did on reaching Lahore. Even as I was searching for it, the Communist Party found me. There was a certain pride in being a Communist. I still remember two lines from the poet C. Day Lewis. A question and an answer; they went something like this: 'Why do we, on seeing a Red, feel small? For he is future walking to meet us.' That is how Lahore is associated with my 'journey through Communism' and the events and the places are inextricably tied to the Communist Party Movement. This was the period inspired by the Russian revolution and there was the still fresh saga of the struggle in Spain – the International Brigades, where the finest of writers, poets and artists, across the continents were taking sides and committing themselves to political action against 'war and fascism'; their manifestoes spoke the language of the revolutionary cause, 'proletarian revolution' and 'the destruction of capitalism', 'the establishment of a workers, government', and so on. One almost inevitably moved left, to revolutionary socialism which was then gathering unto itself, in the Punjab and elsewhere, all the streams of modern India's revolutionary tradition - the legendary survivors of Kartar Singh Sarabha's Ghadarite uprising, old revolutionaries in exile or jails in India and the Andamans, comrades of Bhagat Singh, leaders and activists of the peasant and working class movements, radical young students, poets, artists, intellectuals and many more. For all this, Lahore was the city to be in.

My first impression on arrival in Lahore was its openness; It was open in more ways than one. The open and endless horizon spanned wide as I cycled daily from my house in Model Town to the Mall on my way to and fro from the University. The Mall was very much the spine of the city and its emptiness at times made travel by cycle a very pleasant experience, especially as one could stop at Bhabesh Sanyal, the famous artists' studio in the Regal building, for a cup of tea. The Canal Road was another route frequented by many of us and was very pleasant to walk and cycle on. Distances were short even though new parts of Lahore were expanding beyond the Walled City. Model Town had a newness to it even as it sat surrounded by expanses of agricultural fields and a wilderness which extended all the way beyond the FC College where I was to study later. Our house at D-132, Model Town was very spaciously laid out, open on three sides with a grove of *narangi* and other fruit trees which gave us an endless supply of fruit to last us through the season. The house was set within sprawling lawns, with flower beds lining the pathways leading up to the modest single-storeyed structure. The crispness of the Lahore winter was legendary and it was the winter imagery of the house with its colourful seasonal flowers dotting the lawns that is still etched in my memory. In the neighborhood was also Baba Pyare Lal and Freda Bedi's unique cottage,

constructed in bamboo and grass frequented by many of us. Bedi later became the secretary of the Delhi unit of the Party.

Lahore was open in terms other than spatial and had a very vibrant public culture. While there were undercurrents of communalism, this public culture had a secular quality about it. At the time the twin city of Amritsar was the centre of trade and commerce and Lahore had emerged as a centre of education and politics where its robust liberalism did not shy away from actively supporting our communist causes, integral to our students' movement at the time. Lahore was above all a students' city and our activities were essentially centred around the freedom struggle. As a student movement our program was anti-imperialist in character. Students' politics crossed all gender divides with the Fatehchand College for Women having a very active unit of the Lahore Students' Union.

The Commercial building near the Punjab University, located at one end of the Mall, housed the office of the Lahore Students' Union of which I was soon the Secretary. The Rama Krishna Book Store near the Commercial building was another landmark I remember. There was also a shed or *khokha* outside the book shop where rare, radical and prohibited literature and second hand books were available. The Coffee House in the neighbourhood was another *adda* for our discussions and debates.

My initial years of study were at the Sikh National College, where I became actively involved in the students' movement. The College at the time was still being built on the outskirts of Lahore. In a short span of time the College unit became the most powerful unit of the students' movement in the city. Torchlight processions from Sikh National College to the city were a common occurrence. Its Principal was Niranjan Singh, brother of Master Tara Singh, the Akali leader. He was a Nationalist and a Gandhian and was sympathetic to our movement. The Akali Governing Body of the College became worried about our growing influence and was pressing the Principal to expel me, which he didn't want to do. To avoid any further embarrassment to him and as a compromise, it was decided that I shift from Sikh National College to a college of my choice. I chose Forman Christian College. A deputation of teachers of Sikh National College went and met the Principal of FC College, S.K. Datta, who had represented the Christians in one of the Round Table Conferences in London, asking him to accept me. He looked at my excellent academic record and agreed. About this time Major Short, who was a liaison between the Sikhs and the Army, offered me a commission in the Army to which my immediate

response was - 'I was not born to serve British imperialism'.

Of course my association with Sikh National College continued. Even as I was banned from entering Sikh National College, I remember standing on the water channels and furrows of the fields surrounding the College and addressing crowds of students from there.

I have fond memories of my teachers at the University, J.N. Khosla and P.N. Kirpal in particular, who supported us financially and otherwise in our students' movement. The former was literally responsible for my later career as a university teacher. After my release from prison, I was put under the usual restrictions. Khosla persuaded me to use this period to complete my formal education and even took the risk of giving me an attendance certificate for the period that I was in prison, to enable me to sit for my exams for the Masters degree. This degree came in handy when I became a teacher in Delhi post-Partition. Even otherwise there was a very close bonding between students and teachers which continued during the period at FC College. It was typical of the time that Principal S.K. Datta of FC College refused to give permission to the police to enter the College campus and harass or arrest us. Another teacher whom I remember was Victor Kiernen, who later became famous as a Marxist historian. A member of the British Communist Party, he came straight from Cambridge to Lahore and became our teacher at Sikh National College. The rules of a banned organization like the Communist Party being what they were, it was left to us to discover his identity as a fellow communist on our own. I remember the way it happened. As the tin went around collecting funds for the party, two contributions intrigued us. One was a 5 rupee note, a very generous amount at the time, and the other was a *khota* 50 *anna* coin. The former was easily traced to Victor Kiernen and the latter was believed to be the 'contribution' of one of our zoology teachers. Once we discovered him, Victor Kiernen's residence across the premises of Sikh National College became both the centre of our activities and a storehouse for the banners, posters and material for torchlight processions.

Another person I remember most was Eric Cyprian who was my teacher at FC College and became a whole timer of the Party at the same time as I did. He was a great raconteur and had a great sense of humor, making him an extremely popular figure. We looked forward to the weekly meetings with him in the Party Commune across the Party office on Mcleod Road. He continued to share a great connection with Lahore and was later friends with the Gohar family. On meeting Khadija Gohar a few years ago in Delhi, we shared fond memories of him.

The landscape around FC College was also one of large expanses of agricultural land, beyond which there was wilderness. With its extensive groves of wild *ber* it was a popular spot for occasional picnics. It had the farmhouse of a family friend and I remember playing hockey in its courtyard. The grounds of FC College, along with this surrounding wilderness, gave us opportunities to set up a guerilla training camp. When Japan entered the war and its attack on India was imminent, we organized a guerilla training camp in the spacious lawns of FC College. While I had personal and political reservations about it, it was Victor Kiernen who persuaded me to accept the commandership of the camp. The lawns of FC College and the canal passing by were very useful for training purposes.

There are many other anecdotes of student life of the time. We were a group of eighteen including the two '*nawabzadas*', Mazhar Ali and Mahmood Ali, nephews of Sir Sikandar Hayat, the Unionist Chief Minister of the Punjab. Once when our meeting was on, the police raided us and one of my friends, Surinder Sehgal, who had the list on him literally swallowed it to prevent it from falling into the hands of the police – only to discover later that the police already had more than a complete dossier on each one of us.

The campus of FC College was spatially very scattered with several students, hostels, including Kennedy Hall, where I stayed. Teachers also lived on the campus. FC College had a slot in the time table for religious instruction called the Bible Class. Because of the growing influence of our students' movement and the secular culture of Lahore, these were literally turned into a discussion on current politics and socialism. I still remember Reverend Lucas, my tutor, on learning that I lived in Model Town, once provocatively asking me if my father was willing to give up his property. 'I am not the guardian of my father', was the best response that I could muster at the time.

Global events occupied our minds as much as the situation in India. After the Soviet Union entered the war, we would sit in the living room of Professor Painter, our English teacher and trace on the map the progress of the war and discuss politics. During this period I also remember Mochi Gate reverberating with the eloquence of K.M. Ashraf, the famous historian, who came to inaugurate our conference.

The main centre of activity was the Fazli Hussain building which was the party office on Macleod Road, one of the more posh areas at the time. Because of its location next to a graveyard, the rental was low enough for the Party to afford it. Near the Macleod Road Party

office there was a chowk which was our point of entry into the old city. Across the chowk was the Party Commune where we gathered at the end of the day for informal discussions. Bradlaugh Hall was another hub of all political activity including ours. I remember being *lathi* charged outside Bradlaugh Hall many-a-time when the police dispersed our meetings and demonstrations. Another landmark of College life was the Ewing Hall at one end of Anarkali, which was the official residence of post graduate students of FC College. It was a single-storeyed structure and provided paying guest facilities to new students who could not be accommodated in the College hostel. Bhagwan Singh's shop at the other end of Anarkali was another popular place where *lassi* was measured and sold by the yard.

Life as a student and a political activist had its small pleasures as well. The culinary highlight was the occasional visit as a guest to the Medical College hostel, which had the reputation of serving delicious meals at reasonable rates. We also frequented the shop near the Islamia College for its *shami kebabs.* We regularly attended the *mushairas* at Islamia College and after the *mushaira* we used to make a beeline for the *shami kebab*s. Cultural life was also closely linked with political activity. The Lawrence Gardens had a stage for an open air theatre and was a regular place for both meetings and street theatre. I remember watching many performances by IPTA (Indian Peoples Theatre Association) there. Cinema of the period was also charged with politics. As students we mostly frequented the cinema hall on Macleod Road to watch the Charlie Chaplin classics (The Gold Rush, Modern Times) and the radical films on the Russian and Mexican revolution (Zapata etc.). That was the kind of culture that young people lived on in those days. We would buy the twenty paisa tickets and sit in the front rows with a packet of Peak Freans biscuits as the ultimate luxury, while the rich and the affluent amongst us would sit in the two rupee seats.

The inner city by this time was already growing into a slum and what perhaps had been a place of privilege a few centuries ago, today housed the economically poorer sections of society. Typical of the place was Gwalmandi Thana where I spent the first night of my arrest. The next day I was transported to Kasur jail for my trial where I was charged with obstructing the Government's war efforts. (It was 'the Peoples war' period !). After that horrific night at the Gwalmandi Thana, which was truly the worst night of my life, Kasur jail almost seemed like freedom. I spent a total of one year in jail. At Kasur jail I was entitled to B class facilities, but I chose to share C class facilities with two of my peasant comrades. At the end of three months they were

transferred to Multan while, I was sent to Lahore Central Jail. Walking from Lahore Railway Station to the jail, I reached Lahore Central Jail late in the evening. When the jailor instructed the warden to lodge me in the 'Bomb case *ahata*' (the terrorist ward), it was among the happiest words I have heard in my life as it meant sharing the company of Bhagat Singh's comrades, who were serving their life terms.

Student and party activities continued into 1947 when I used to cycle down from the house in Model Town, bypassing the Mozang area, to the Party office where we would organize ourselves into squads and go into the old city to carry our politics to the people. Being a regular traveler on this route I struck up many a friendship with the owners of small shanty shops which were near the bridge on the canal on the way to Model town. Mozang by now was teeming with refugees from East Punjab with tales of looting, humiliation and death. In June of 1947 the Party instructed me to change my route as it was not considered safe to pass by the Mozang area. As I changed my route and said goodbye to the shop owners I never thought I would not travel that road ever again.

I shifted to the Cantonment and lived in the outhouse of the bungalow of an uncle of mine who was then the Director, Medical Services, Navy. Times changed rapidly and soon any kind of travel for me became unsafe. The Party finally asked me to leave Lahore for the time being. Till the end I wanted to leave my cycle, which was a prized possession, in the Model Town house, hoping to recover it on my return. My uncle in the Cantonment, who was better informed of events unfolding around, kept fobbing me off with false promises. I finally left Lahore in September, 1947 in an army convoy provided to the family of my uncle. Days of travel finally brought me to Mehrauli, on the outskirts of Delhi. Delhi by this time was flooded with refugees and further entry of refugees was banned. I had all along believed I would return to Lahore. However it soon became clear that there was no returning to Lahore except as a citizen of another country. It was time to say my farewell to Lahore…"

(This poem - 'Lahore nu salaam', displayed on the back cover page, was written in 1947 and is part of a larger collection of poems 'Rahan di dhoor' (Dust of the pathways) published in 1950).

Lahore is Always in Our Hearts

Ishtiaq Ahmed, Ph.D

Nostalgia is a sentimental yearning for people, events and places. Most human beings tend to romanticize and idealize their past, because reminiscing bygone days and the associations they evoke, furnish them with a personal history and identity markers with which they construct their distinctive profiles. The relationship between people and places seems to be organic and ruptures between them are often painful. Even nomadic peoples and tribes, who follow seasonal cycles, tend to move within specific regions. Thus even when they do not adopt sedentary life styles, the space in which they roam becomes, so to say, their homeland. In the animal world it is quite common to find many species jealously defending their exclusive domains against intruders. Human beings, it seems, are not very different.

Historical cities

In the relationship between places and people, the importance of historical cities is particularly noteworthy. Historical cities tend to acquire an aura and mystique that makes them coveted places of residence. The reason is that cities make possible a higher level of civilization and culture and therefore life is far more variegated and dynamic in them. Consequently, city dwellers can add many more dimensions to their life stories as they weave the memory of famous monuments and buildings, history and folklore, culture, social practices and festivals, schools, colleges and universities, and cinemas and parks into their personal narratives. Within cities, neighbourhoods and localities hold out their own charm and their residents usually take pride in making a special mention of them. Ultimately, the house, or rather the home, becomes the exclusive identity of individuals. Also, historical cities are venues for important events that become part of historical memory, combining official facts with anecdotes, folklore and legends. As a result cities become larger-than-life entities; they are phantasmagorias that are reified by their lovers who can embed their past in them, filling them with as many colours and hues that their imagination can conjure.

Peter Kageyama has tried to capture such sentiments in his

book, *For the Love of Cities.* The bottom line is that cities become objects of love and devotion just as beloveds and close-knit communities do. He regrets, however, that people do not appreciate enough what their city does to enrich their lives.[1]This is probably true as long as people take for granted their relationship with their city, enjoying its facilities and enriching their lives against the backdrop of its variegated vistas.

However, cities are not autonomous or sovereign units of political organization. We live in the era of the so-called nation-states, which are in fact territorial entities whose most conspicuous characteristic is their right to exercise exclusive power and authority over their populations. Such power and authority is enforced through border controls, passports and other related paraphernalia. In the past too, populations in general and those of cities in particular, were subjected to forced expulsions as wars took place between local rulers and invaders or between competing rajas in the same region. However, once the battle was over it was not uncommon for people to return to their homes and continue as before.

This was especially true of South Asia where the popular fiction that the ruler was the protector of all communities prevailed from the ancient period onwards and continued even under the British. However, the Partition of India was attended by genocidal killing and ethnic[2] cleansing in the Punjab that profoundly altered the relationship between cities and their populations. On both sides, unwanted religious minorities were terrorized to flee after power was transferred to the Indian and Pakistani governments. However, even after the migration of non-Muslims, Lahore did not become a homogenous city. Sectarian cleavages and contradictions as well as ideological polarization erupted within the Lahore population and that in turn resulted in further exits from Lahore.

It is in the light of such recent developments that the relationship between one of the most famous cities in South Asia, Lahore, and its citizens is presented below. Located only some 20 kilometres from the Indian border, it was, before mid-August 1947, home to three major religious communities: Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs. There were also smaller Punjabi-Christian, Anglo-Indian, Parsi (Zoroastrian) communities and some British and other Westerners. The total population at that time was slightly more than 700,000.

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1 Peter Kageyama, *For the Love of Cities*, St Petersburg, Florida: Creative Cities Production, 2011.

2 religious cleansing, racially cleansing, sectarian cleansing are all generically part of the same phenomenon

Lahore

In March 1940, the All-India Muslim League demanded the creation of separate states (later that demand was changed to one state) comprising the Muslim-majority north-eastern and north-western zones of the Indian subcontinent. That demand was accepted in the 3 June 1947 Partition Plan announced by the British Government. On 23 June the Punjab Legislative Assembly voted in favour of partitioning the Punjab province on the same basis of Muslim-majority and non-Muslim-majority contiguous areas though "other factors" was added and that created considerable confusion as to the importance of that condition. The councils of the Muslim League, the Congress Party and the Sikhs pleaded their claims to different districts and towns of the Punjab before the Punjab Boundary Commission.

Expulsion of Hindus and Sikhs from Lahore

On 17 August 1947 the Radcliffe Award given by the Chairman of the Punjab Boundary Commission, Sir Cyril Radcliffe, awarded Lahore to Pakistan. Although there was a clear Muslim majority in Lahore, many Hindus and Sikhs seemed oblivious of the fact. This partly followed from the fact that in the modern parts of Lahore and new middle and upper class colonies the Hindu-Sikh presence was ubiquitous and it could deceive not only casual visitors but also its residents to believe that there was a non-Muslim majority in the city. Consequently many of them believed that Lahore would be placed in India. However, once it became public that Lahore had been placed in Pakistan, attacks on Hindus and Sikhs intensified and within a matter of weeks they were gone. At the same time, Lahore received hundreds of thousands of devastated Muslims from East Punjab. The refugee camp at Walton, outside Lahore, became one of the biggest relief and rehabilitation centres.

Remembering Pre-Partition Lahore

The history of modern Lahore is inextricably linked to the architectural marvels and philanthropic contributions of Sir Ganga Ram. Well-known columnist Salma Mahmud wrote an article, 'A great son of the Punjab', in the *Friday Times,* in which we learn about Sir Ganga Ram's amazing achievements and contributions. Salma Mahmud writes:

> 'However, the most impressive charitable act of all performed by Sir Ganga Ram was the construction of the Sir Ganga Ram

> Free Hospital, after land was purchased in 1921 by him at the junction of Queen's Road and Lawrence Road. Consequently at a cost of Rs.131,500 a building was constructed there which was open to the needy, irrespective of caste or creed. In 1923 the hospital was taken over by the Ganga Ram Trust Society, and today it ranks second only to Mayo Hosptal in its services to the people of Lahore. My mother worked there in an administrative capacity for my (sic) years. And both our children were born there, so it holds a special place in my heart'.

I met Sir Ganga Ram's great grand-daughter, Baroness Shreela Flather, Conservative Member of the upper chamber of the British Parliament, the House of Lords, at her residence at Maidenhead, Berkshire County outside London on 7 July, 2006. She remembered Lahore in the following words:

> "I was born in Lahore on 13 February 1934. My early life story is inextricably linked with my family's deep involvement with Lahore and its people. In those days, one never considered religious differences as a reason to make or not make friends. Not only among the educated and well-to-do people but also among ordinary folks there was a great deal of goodwill and solidarity. We lived in a large house next to what is today known as the Sherpao Bridge. My father had set up a number of productive units – an ice factory, a cutlery factory, a bakery and a soda water factory. Following his grandfather's vision of progressive relations between owners and workers, rows of small dwellings were built for the workers and slightly better standard housing for the administrative staff. We had all communities working for us and living in the small housing colony that had been set up. We had close family friends among Muslims and some of the families were like our extended family.
>
> I particularly remember a leading Shia family that was very close to us and I used to visit the Imambara in Lahore. Ordinarily my mother who was a very orthodox Hindu would not eat in a Muslim home but she did so at the Hakim's home. Azhar Ali Hakim who belongs to that family still lives in Lahore. The late Afsar Kizilbash was one of my closest friends. I visited Lahore in 1992 for the first time and then again in 1996 and 1998. All the old buildings were there, only Lahore had become much more overcrowded just like the cities in India. Now that Afsar is dead I have lost the heart to visit Lahore but it is always in my thoughts. Here, in England, I continue to have very good

Pakistani friends and many of them are very pleased to know that I am a direct descendant of Sir Ganga Ram".[3]

Ramanand Sagar

The famous Mumbai filmmaker, director and writer the late Dr Ramanand Sagar began his career in Lahore as a journalist and later became the editor of the pro-Congress Urdu/Hindi newspaper, *Milap*. He gave me the following sketch of his feelings for Lahore:

> "I was born on 29 December 1917 in *Asal-Guru-Ke*, a small village on the outskirts of Lahore. My father had business interests in Kashmir but I grew up with my grandparents who lived in *Cha Pichwara* off Lytton Road, Mozang, Lahore (some 500 metres from where this author was born on the parallel Temple Road in February 1947). My childhood was spent in Mozang. In those times, children from all communities played together and the elders were respectful of each other's beliefs and traditions. As a youngster, I would sometimes go to the mosque along with my Muslim friends and join them in their prayers. I can't recall any tension between the different families in our locality. After the Muslim League gave the call for a separate Muslim state in its Lahore secession of March 1940, some communal tension could be sensed in the otherwise very harmonious atmosphere of Lahore but at that time nobody could imagine that Hindus would have to abandon Lahore.
>
> In early March 1947 communal riots broke out in Lahore when Hindu-Sikh students clashed with their Muslim counterparts. Suddenly nobody felt secure. We Hindus, however, were convinced that Lahore would remain a part of India. There was so much material and cultural contribution of the Hindus and Sikhs to the development of Lahore that it never occurred to us that one day it would be taken away from us. The all-India as well as the Lahore-level Congress leadership told us not to vacate Lahore. It was widely believed that Lahore would be given to India. However, violent attacks against Hindus and Sikhs became a daily occurrence. Many Hindus and Sikhs who had relatives in eastern Punjab or elsewhere in India began to move their families to safety. We had to flee Lahore in July when things went from bad to worse. We did not cross into India from Wagah, but took another route. We

3 Interview Baroness Shreela Flather, Maidenhead, Berkshire County outside London on 7 July, 2006.

> travelled to Sialkot and from there to Jammu and continued to Srinagar. At that time I was writing my novel '*Aur Insan Mar Gaya'* (And Humanity Died), based on the horrors of Partition, as my personal experience of those days. When I left, the novel was half complete. The great Urdu Poet Faiz Ahmed Faiz knew about my incomplete novel. Hence later on he came to Gulmarg in Kashmir, where I was staying in a hut in Tangmarg. He came to tell me about the events which followed in Lahore after I left. Lahore is always in my heart, but I don't think I will ever visit it. I am told that it has changed considerably. I want to preserve the memory of the pre-Partition Lahore".

Krishan Chander

The famous Urdu short-story writer and novelist Krishan Chander had an abiding love for Lahore. Till his death in 1977, Lahore continued to figure in his writings. He died in Mumbai on 8 March 1977 as a result of a massive heart attack. I remember the news of his death was received by us in Stockholm with great anguish. Only a few weeks earlier, entirely on impulse, I had written to him after reading one of his latest stories in which he had mentioned Mohni Road Lahore, where he once lived in the late 1930s until he left Lahore for Delhi sometime in the early 1940s, to take up a job with All-India Radio. I urged him to visit Lahore where some of his best friends were still to be found. He was needed to preach his message of peace again in Lahore. He wrote back a very moving reply dated February 21, 1977. In it he wrote, among other things:

> 'Lahore is a place where I was born, where I was educated, where I started my literary career, where I achieved fame. For people of my generation it is difficult to forget Lahore. It shines in our heart like a jewel -- like the fragrance of our soul'.

I sent the letter to Mazhar Ali Khan, editor of Viewpoint, Lahore along with an obituary. Both were published in the 8 April, 1977 issue on page 26 under the title 'His last letter?' Krishan Chander studied at FC College, Lahore, where many years later I studied as well. There is no doubt that it was in Lahore that he attained recognition and fame. Lahore was the cultural and educational capital of north-western India. It was also a paragon of communal harmony and peace. The publishers of Krishan Chander's novels and short-stories were the Chaudhry brothers of Lahore. Muhammad Khalid Chaudhry published *Krishan Chander key Sou Afsanay* (100 Short-Stories of Krishan Chander)

some years ago as a tribute to the late writer. An English translation is given of what he wrote in the introduction:

> 'When my father, Chaudhry Barkat Ali, was alive there was always a large gathering in the office of Maktab-e-Urdu and Adab-e-Lateef. Educationists, writers and political leaders were always there. From morning to evening the atmosphere was gregarious. Now, it feels like a sweet dream. Among writers who without fail visited the office of Adab-e-Lateef everyday was Krishan Chander. I was a young lad at that time, but the company of writers made me curious about literature. I knew almost all of them. Krishan Chander became my friend. When the editor of Adab-e-Lateef, Mirza Adeeb, was not in the office he would start a conversation with me. He spoke very gently and I listened to him with great interest. I still recall what he said and will always do so. I can never forget Krishan Chander. By publishing 100 of his select short-stories I am acknowledging his affection for me'.[4]

Krishan Chander's friend, the veteran Pakistani journalist and literary critic, Hamid Akhtar, wrote an obituary in which he said:

> "Krishan Chander died without coming to Lahore which was his city as it is yours or mine. He didn't belong to India alone. He belonged, among many others, to us also. Bedi, Majrooh, Kaifi, Sardar, Razia – they are ours as much as they are India's. Will the new generation give them a chance to sit together and talk together? I am sure that the day is not far off when progressive writers on both sides of the border will get together again and the dark clouds of hatred will break and there will be love and friendship between the peoples of India and Pakistan."[5]

Pran Nevile

Pran Nevile was born in Lahore in 1922. He began his career as a journalist, then joined the Indian Foreign Service and later worked for UNCTAD. He is the author of, Lahore: A Sentimental Journey, in which he has chronicled the places, institutions, traditions and events of those days in very vivid prose. He lives in Delhi:

> "I joined service in Delhi in 1946, but my parents were in Lahore when the riots started. I visited Lahore after a very long time

4 Ishtiaq Ahmed, 'Krishan Chander and Lahore', Daily Times, Lahore.
5 Ishtiaq Ahmed, 'Krishan Chander and Lahore', Daily Times, Lahore.

in 1997. It was a feeling I cannot really describe, though soon afterwards when I realized that all the faces and places that were once part of the old Lahore were no longer there, I felt a bit strange, but then immediately that feeling was superseded by the very warm hospitality that I received in Lahore. My old classmate from Government College Saeed Ahmad Khan was still alive. This caused some embarrassment because in the acknowledgments of the first edition of my book I had mentioned him among those who had left this world, but I was very pleased to know that he was alive and kicking. Through him many other friends were contacted and I became a Lahori again. I went to Nisbet Road looking for our house but I was told it had been demolished only weeks earlier. So, that was a sad realization but a visit to Government College compensated for it. The Principal of Government College Mr. Aftab met me with great courtesy. I felt like attending a class. You know strange feelings are aroused on such occasions. That trip won me many new friends. My book, Lahore: A Sentimental Journey, was very well-received in both India and Pakistan. Several of its editions have been published with new experiences added. You should read it to understand how boisterous and fun-loving a city it was. For my generation, Lahore will always remain an object of worship and veneration. Alas, the younger generations of Lahori Hindus do not have the same feelings but Lahori Hindu and Sikh families maintain contact and we try to meet as often as we can. So, the Lahore connection will continue in some form. How long? I can't say."[6]

Som Anand

The author of, *"Lahore: Portrait of a Lost City" (*Lahore: Vanguard, 1998*),* had the following to say about his feelings for Lahore:

"I grew up in Model Town but used to visit my mama (maternal uncle) in Icchra quite often. Otherwise visits to the main city were not so frequent because Model Town was a self-contained upper-class colony. Although I shifted to Delhi because of the rioting, my father, Lala Faqir Chand, remained behind. He was head of a leading bank and the Government of Pakistan needed his services. Moreover he had married a Muslim lady, though he remained a Hindu. When he died I came from Delhi for the cremation ceremony. A Hindu Brahmin who stayed on in Pakistan performed the ceremony though he was not a priest.

6 Ishtiaq Ahmed, 'Krishan Chander and Lahore', Daily Times, Lahore.

> I remained in touch with my close friends, among them is Rauf Malik (veteran leftist, Abdullah Malik's younger brother). I continue to visit Lahore whenever it is possible and also write columns for Urdu-language newspapers. Lahore will always be home though I live in Delhi".

Post-Partition Lahore

The most dramatic change after 1947 is that Lahore became essentially a Muslim city. However, the old connections and relationships did not disappear. On the contrary, whenever old-Lahore Hindus and Sikhs were allowed to visit it the occasions produced very moving and touching scenes as old neighbors and class-fellows met. In January 1955, an India-Pakistan cricket Test match was played at the Lahore Gymkhana ground in the Lawrence Gardens. Pakistan's High Commissioner to Delhi, Raja Ghazanfar Ali had decided to freely allow people from East Punjab and Delhi to visit Lahore. Thousands took that chance. I am not sure how many went to the cricket match but during those four or five days one could see grown men, some with strange turbans and long beards embracing one another and crying. Wherever the visitors went the local people treated them with great warmth and generosity. There were re-unions in the old mohallas and some even went and slept in their old homes – courtesy of the new occupants.[7] Again in 2004 another historic visit to Pakistan of the Indian team brought thousands of Indian spectators to Lahore. Many of them were children of old Lahoris who went around looking for their ancestral homes and were overwhelmed by the goodwill and warmth they received from ordinary people in Lahore. Somewhere, deep down the old connections really mattered, which despite demonizing and dehumanizing the "Other", had continned on ever since 1947.

Newcomers

At the time of Partition, Lahore received a substantial portion of newcomers, mostly refugees from eastern Punjab. For many of them Lahore became their new home. Here, I present the story of Nasim Hassan whose family arrived in Lahore from Shimla a few days after the Partition had taken place:

> "We arrived in Lahore, with nothing but our lives, which were for several long hours at risk during the escape from Shimla

7 Ishtiaq Ahmed, *The Punjab Bloodied, Partitioned and Cleansed: Unravelling the 1947 Tragedy through Secret British Reports and First-Person Accounts*, Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2012, pp. 548-9.

as the train moved slowly towards Pakistan. I was then only three, but to this day, remember vividly how scared we were as the train stopped a number of times and one could hear the noises of raiders trying to get onto the train and kill all Muslims. Initially we were in the refugee camp in the Walton area; then we shifted to a hospital on Abbot Road for a few months. Then my parents looked around many places through their contacts and we found this one. It was among many other small houses off Court Street, where Islamia College Civil Lines is now, abandoned by Hindus. There was no one living in these houses but they quickly filled up with people. There cannot be any narrative about Lahore that does not include Anarkali Bazaar. One could spend hours roaming around the main bazaar and side streets. At that time people of all social strata and ages would come to Anarkali. Living in Lahore gives an attitude to people. The person is stamped for life. I can talk to a Pakistani anywhere in the world and recognize a Lahori in a few minutes. After graduation from the Institute of Chemical Technology at Punjab University, I accepted a job in the National Refinery in Karachi and then moved to America. It took me a few years to get settled and then I came back to Lahore many times. Lahore is always home. It is inseparable from my own existence though I may never return to it permanently".[8]

Sectarian Terrorism

However, while people like Nasim Hassan were quickly assimilated into Lahore and could identify with it, this was not true of all. The first sign of deep-seated tensions and divisions Muslims was the virulent anti-Ahmadiyya agitation that broke out in Lahore in spring 1953.

Munawwar Mir

"I have mixed feelings for Lahore because it has raised my spirits, and also broken my heart. My father was of Kashmiri decent, belonging to the Ahmadiyya community and my mother was an Uygur Muslim. They met in China. Both decided to set up home in Lahore. In 1953, Anti-Ahmadiyya riots in Lahore forced my father to have second thoughts about his adopted home. I myself had a traumatizing experience: my seven year old daughter came home with a choking voice and teary eyes, because her friend was no longer allowed to speak

8 Nasim Hassan, 19 August 2011, via email from Hockessin, Delaware, USA.

> to her consequent to my daughter's visit to her grandmother in Rabwah. Though physically I never felt threatened in Pakistan, the constant hatred and the 'hate seller's' hold on the innocent masses pushed me to give my children freedom from fear and hatred by moving to Canada".

On May 28th 2010 the horrendous killings of Ahmadi worshippers took place in Lahore. It meant that it had become a place of sorrow and grave worry.

Exile

Farooq Sulehria editor of *Viewpoint*, an online weekly published from Stockholm, made his mark first as a gifted journalist in Lahore, a city he came to love. This is what he wrote about Lahore at my request:

> *"Wapis na Jao shehar main Munir apnay*
>
> *Kay jo jis jaga tha, wahan na raha!*
>
> (O Munir! do not return to your city. Nothing is as it used to be)
>
> 'Ever since leaving Lahore, on 19 February 2001 to be exact, I have become extra sensitive about it. It seems, every time I return I have to mourn a missing piece of that great city even when the town's noisy life goes on. Every successive trip to Lahore, almost an annual ritual, deepens my sense of loss. It feels as if Lahore is dying inch by inch and hardly any Lahorite cares at all. Not just the places I used to frequently visit have gun-toting guards and trench-like entrances, but road-blocks and barbed wire snaking around boundary-walls have also become a routine sight. They mark the visits terror has paid in the last few years. Even more frightening is the look of the famous landmark of Lahore, the Pak Tea House. It has become a tyre-godown! It was on Hassan Nasir Day, at the nearby Pak Tea House that I first came across the Struggle Group back in 1991 and instantly joined. It is that Lahore which is no more, but in my imagination it will always be there'.

Conclusion

From the above interviews, it is clear that imagining Lahore is an ongoing process – each generation is likely to tell its story and each individual will have his/her own slant on it. Needless to say, when exit from a place of birth is the result of a blatant threat to life, it evokes very strong feelings in the victims. If it is irreversible and irrevocable it can

induce a permanent sense of injustice and grief. The situation of the former Hindu and Sikh citizens of Lahore belongs to this extreme case. They were subjected to deliberate ethnic cleansing. To a large extent in post-Partition Lahore, though the Ahmadis and Christians who have left Lahore to escape discrimination and persecution are in a similar situation, en masse expulsion has not been forced upon them. They are victims of the slower form of ethnic cleansing, which I described as ethnic exclusion in another paper– a policy that Israeli governments have been applying to Palestinians who left occupied territories in 1948, 1967, 1973 or later.

In this paper, I have not said much about my own departure from Lahore in 1973, which brought me to Sweden. I have been living in Greater Stockholm for most of my 64-year life. Each time I step on Lahore soil it feels as if I am returning home and have never really left. The meetings with old friends and visits to familiar places always bring back many memories. Simultaneously there is a feeling of great loss because of all those people who are no more; also the new localities that have sprung up are quite alien to me, were it not for some friends who live there. In all honesty, however, home is now with my family and friends in Sweden. I arrived in Stockholm on 26 September 1973, with little money in my pocket. My elder brother, Mushtaq, was there so life was not as tough as for most people on the move. Because of the social-democratic policies of the Swedish Government I could secure a stipend on merit to do my PhD and then later I worked all the way up to become a professor of political science. That city and society have been kind and caring to me. Therefore loyalty and roots in the Greater Stockholm region where we have lived for years have also evolved and coming back to Stockholm is always a strong attraction.

For people like us the best way to remain faithful to Lahore is not to forget it when away from it and to try to come to it as often as is possible. We have a Lahore boys network in Stockholm and I realized that similar networks exist all over the world – not least so in Delhi, which I believe is a mini-Lahore. Lahore networks exist also in cyberspace and many of us keep in touch irrespective of our religious origins or castes. What shape this will take in the immediate and distant future one cannot really say. Who knows one day a South Asian union of independent states modeled on the EU can come into being. Such an arrangement can be achieved without the trappings of the nation-state being abandoned. People can move freely and settle down freely wherever they want. Alternatively, ultra-nationalism and religious and sectarian fanaticism can continue to wreck the romance between cities and their lovers. Lahore will have to be ready for any of such eventualities.

Lahore: Pre and Post Industrial

Waqar Ahmed

Lahore, golden city of wealth, dreams and opportunities captured the imagination of great conquerors from far and near. In its long history, Lahore has been home to the Shahi Kingdom, the Ghaznavids, Ghuris, Mughals, Sikhs and the British Raj, so it is no surprise they have left behind a melting pot of traditional, cultural and social marks. The people of Lahore, always welcoming and hospitable, observed and thus adopted the cultural and social persona of its monarchs and sovereigns; its culture manifests a unique blend of South Asian, Middle Eastern/Persian, Central Asian and Western influences.

The dominant forces which left a big impact on the socio-cultural environment were the Mughals, half a century of Sikh rule and the British Raj.

During Mughal rule, though considered to be a golden era, rich in culture, arts and architecture, economic prosperity for the commoner was regarded as a threat to the security of the state and was therefore discouraged. No investment was made for the growth of agriculture or industry. Be it art, culture or architecture, whatever development took place during the Mughal era, it was purely for the pleasure of the rulers. Social status was defined as rulers, *darbaris* and commoners. Lahore had never been an industrial city; whatever artisans were required for building projects were imported from outside Lahore. The Mughals kept Lahore as their private pleasure ground, all the great architecture, gardens and monuments were for the joy of the rulers and their *darbaris*. Even when Mughal power was dwindling and Ahmed Shah was knocking at their door, the famous saying in those days was *"Khata Peeta Wayai Daa... Baqi Ahmed Shahy Daa"* (we have nothing with us except what we eat and drink... the rest is all for Ahmed Shah).

Though peaceful and stable, the Sikh rule of Ranjit Singh was also unsuccessful in lifting the status of the masses of Lahore above the folds of poverty.

Pre-Industrial Lahore, a predominantly Muslim city, was cast out of two social and religious mainstreams, Muslim, being one and

always in the majority and the second being a melange of Hindus, Sikhs and others. Lahore being a society where people followed and continued with the occupation of their forefathers into which they were born, whole communities were separated according to their line of work. Money-lending , a crude form of informal banking and trade were mainly in the hands of the *banias,* a group of the Hindus. Muslim and Sikh peasantry tilled the land while their elite managed the administration and often fought with each other for the control of the city. During the heyday of the Mughals the Muslims formed the ruling class until, with the decline of the central Mughal rule, the Sikhs rose against Afghan, Mughal and Pathan rule. With the dominance of the Sikhs the Muslim elite took a back seat. Ranjit Singh in his wisdom was able to combine all sections into an effective administration taking the best from both Sikhs and Muslims and incorporating them into an effective army with European officers to train them in the Western tradition. Lahore thus became a significant seat of power and maintained independence in defiance of the great might of the British who had already conquered the rest of the Indian sub-continent. The Muslims were principally engaged in urban agriculture and its related segments where food was produced and distributed to the city and the surroundings, while some worked for the more affluent minority of Hindus and Sikhs. More than 60% of the Muslim population in and around Lahore belonged to the Arain caste.

Arains were the biggest influence on the socio-cultural tradition of the city. Arains are a Muslim agricultural caste settled mainly in the Punjab and Sindh, who are supposed to have come with the Arab armies of Muhammad Bin Qasim, and were chiefly associated with farming. Arain land-owners should not be confused with the more gentrified Zamindars such as the feudal landlords of vast holdings. Polo, partridge shoots and tea parties were therefore not associated attributes. Neither were the more negative and profligate practices such as "...dancing girls, drunken evenings listening to poetry, or numerous marriages".

For ages, working from their medium and small land-holdings, the Arain farmers dominated the agriculture related businesses in Lahore in particular, and the Punjab in general. Arain, being the urban farmer class, were not accustomed to a vibrant, lively and pulsating way of life. They were a down-to-earth and unpretentious class. They believed in a strong family environment and lived and worked as a single family set-up. Marriages within the caste were a normal practice. Thus, generations upon generations worked on the same fields and occupied the same market shops.

The farming class being in the majority had a great impact on the social and cultural behaviour of the city reflected in the sedentary and laid-back lifestyle of its residents.The distinctive lifestyle of the farmers who were a substantial majority, constituting 70% of the population at the time of Independence, was reflected in their day-to-day activity... they could be described as 'People of the Earth', starting their days at first light and ending them at dusk. The days and nights were timed not according to the clock but according to the position of the sun and the moon. Morning in the inner city, in those pre-industrial days, began with the call to morning prayers from the city's many mosques, while bells would be rung in Hindu temples to begin morning worship.

The common attire of the masses was the dhoti or lungi with a turban. The quality of the fabric indicated the status of a person. Being an urban agricultural market town, the population moved into their homes after the Maghrib prayer. The evenings were devoted to the enjoyment of quality food which became such a strong tradition that it still remains the gourmet capital of the entire sub-continent. Food artisans from around the continent came to Lahore to please the gastronomic desires of the city. Lahoris love food and prefer quality to quantity. People of pre-industrial Lahore always lived and worked in a joint family set-up. It was unthinkable for able-bodied men to seek work outside the family realm. Intra-caste marriage was a model practised by Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs alike, thus keeping the demographic balance.

Wealth was accumulated to such an extent that selling property or a business was unimaginable and considered taboo. Only a handful of Lahore's Muslims could be called affluent. Even in the Walled City of Lahore, most of the grand mansions or havelis belonged to Hindus and Sikhs. Almost all the business activity was owned by non-Muslims. Most of the Hindus who lived in the city traded in gold and silver, food grains and textiles, both wholesale and retail. All the moneylenders of Lahore were Hindu. All businesses in Suha Bazaar, Machhi Hatta, Gumti Bazaar, Bazaaz Hatta and Shah Alami were owned by non-Muslims. Dabbi Bazaar had a number of small bookshops, mostly Muslim-owned. Despite the economic and religious imbalance, all the communities lived in perfect harmony and peace; each other's religious practices were respected and honoured. Education, on western lines, among the masses was marginal; only a handful of Hindu and Sikh families considered educating their sons to become lawyers and lower officers of the civil services. On the other hand every child, including girls, did attend the traditional education centers mostly operating out

of Muslim mosques, Hindu temples and Sikh gurd waras. Learning and reading of the scriptures, languages and mathematics was the simple syllabus. The colonial policies led to the decline of these native places of learning.

It was only during British rule that Lahore saw its first spark of the Industrial Revolution. It was a revolution, which not only transformed the social and cultural behaviour of the city, but also changed the economic demography of its residents. Industrialisation around the world happened during the last two centuries. Britain's Industrial Revolution not only helped shape values and public policies in Britain, but also fostered attitudes toward capitalism and modern industry in its colonies. It was the Industrial Revolution that accelerated a cumulative multiplication of productive power that transformed European society and challenged the very existence of traditional societies around the world.

Lahore: Post Industrial

Lahore, in particular and the Punjab in general, easy-going and conservative, has always, except for the brief Sikh Period, been ruled by outsiders. The influx of the foreign rulers from far flung areas to come, conquer and rule this area of vast resources can be attributed, not only to the geographic position that attracted them, but also to the muted sort of easy-going social behavior of its residents which provided the new comers with enormous, pleasing and servile manpower.

For the Raj, the Indian sub-continent was a vast and complicated management task. The construction of a railroad network was central to maintaining a military policy of expansion, annexation, defence and internal security. The development of a huge railway network required imported technology from abroad but, also, it was absolutely necessary to have local expertise and support to maintain it. It was only during the Raj that true social and economic development started to take shape.

During the British Raj, Lahore, by virtue of its location that connected the South with the North West, was selected to house one of the biggest railway workshops in India where technology transfer from England to the sub-continent took placed and thus began a journey that led to the railway becoming a "network of iron and steel" in the

region. With that also started the industrial revolution in Lahore, which in future would not only change the social and cultural roots of the city but would also bring an incredible economic boom to the commoners in and around the city**.** The railway can claim to be the first industrial unit that initiated the transformation of the cultural paradigm of the population of Lahore. A new term, "Railwaaee", was coined for the workers of the railway workshop. This industry began the public telling of time by announcing the change of shifts through sirens (*Ghugoo*). Moreover *Naukari* (service), once considered a derogatory occupation, began to be seen differently. Earlier, the preference had been for either farming or business and the order of preference was depicted by the saying "*awal kheytee, doam hati, nakhid chakri*" (first agriculture, second business and then, useless service).

"*Chal way chuddu... waj gya aye Ghugoo*" (Come on you stupid... the siren is blowing) is how the Lahoris reacted to this new vibrant and pulsating entrant into their otherwise sleepy and sluggish way of life. With the arrival of the North West Railway Locomotive Workshops in Lahore, colleges and training institutes were developed by the British to ensure the constant and steady availability of an educated and trained workforce. Though controlling the economic cycle of the city while being in a minority, Hindus and Sikhs still yearned to bring education to their families and encouraged at least one son from the family to gain a suitable education to get into the civil service or law or medicine. In contrast, hardly any Muslim family tried to change its easy-going farming and land-holding culture. The not-so-affluent Muslims either worked in the fields or as labor in the businesses of the Hindus and Sikhs. The first, and not-so-welcome, social change came when the city started to follow, not the cry of the muezzin and the mandir bells, but the siren from the locomotive workshops. With the arrival of the huge industrial set-up and the colleges, universities and training institutes, young people now started to look beyond working in the fields or sitting in the shops. A career in the service of the Government became a desirable option.

A new "Babu" culture was in the making. Emulating the mannerisms of the colonials, young people gradually began to shed the traditional attire of dhoti and lungi and started wearing the modern pants and shirts. This babu culture brought to the city new "locals" who challenged the orthodox and lethargic ways of their farming and landholding families and evolved a completely new way of living. The Hukka in the hands was replaced by a cigarette between the fingers. With newly established colleges and universities, now filled with students, new social behavior slowly started to surface where there was

life after Maghrib prayer which attracted people to a more vibrant life style around cinemas, theatres, clubs, bars and cafes. Slowly more and more people freed themselves from the necessity of producing food to go into city colleges and universities to be trained to take up industrial and urban tasks.

This era can surely be identified as a time when Lahore became a land of opportunities for the common man. The North Western Railway Locomotive Workshops at Mughalpura were a world in themselves. Almost all the activity in the workshops used iron and steel. The vast needs of these workshops and the need for satellite industrial set-ups became obvious. Again the people of Lahore, forever conservative and followers of routine, could not see this as an opportunity for themselves. They could not see that the world was changing in front of their eyes and in their back yard. Again they waited for outsiders to come and look into and develop this new and technologically advanced satellite industrial set-up.

Mukundilal Foundries, imported from Bombay, could be labelled as the first privately owned substantial industrial set-up in Lahore, though small foundries and mills were already operating around the Landa Bazaar area. The establishment was later sold to another outsider, Chaudhry Mohammad Latif from Batala, who after Independence made it into a stalwart of the engineering industry in Pakistan and called it the Batala Engineering Company (BECO). At its peak BECO employed 6,000 people and was the jewel in the crown of Pakistan's industrial set-up, manufacturing engines and machine tools.

Next in line to profit from the industrial revolution in Lahore were the two industrial concerns: the Qadri Steel Company and the Ittefaq Brothers. Qadari Steel was founded by two brothers Hussain Buksh and Karim Buksh, migrants from Kashmir. They began with a humble start, initially as a support industry for the Railway and Mukundilal Foundries. Later it developed into a giant steel concern and is a huge family-operated concern. Ittefaq Brothers was started humbly as a small foundry by a migrant family from Amritsar, India, headed by (Late) Mian Muhammad Sharif, a very hard-working individual, educated by the prevalent standards, highly intelligent, a thorough gentleman and also an example of how a young, penniless person with no means could develop an industrial base of gigantic proportions. He grew by involving the family in his entrepreneurship taking his industry to such heights, that all the contemporary industry

was dwarfed by his growth. Both the industry and the family rose to unprecedented heights through his sheer hard work and insight. He was a great visionary foreseeing the coming hurdles and planning to overcome them before they could stop him.

Now with a strong industrial base in place and the opening up of a varied educational system by the British, people not only flocked to the colleges and universities from in and around Lahore, but education enthusiasts from all over the country and beyond gravitated towards the now well-established educational centres. This rapidly educated class also gave a new boost to the industry, commerce and financial sectors of Lahore. A new middle class was in the making, comprising the educated young from farming families as they started to distance themselves from the age-old family occupations. Nevertheless, as a whole, the farming communities, due to the fact that hundreds of years of family roots were strongly in place with the non-progressive attitude inculcated thereby, found the agriculture based lifestyle hard to give up. In general they were slow to adapt to this new modernist phenomena and varied commercial activity in the city. The family-based links and the cultural patterns remained unchanged. Even in commerce there were attempts to carry the family-based mode of behavior into business, which was not always conducive to success. Once again, therefore, outsiders were the ones who slowly started to move to Lahore, initially for education and then for jobs in the local industrial, commercial and financial organisations.

It was not until 1947, at the time of independence from the British, that the reality struck Lahoris. The exit of the Hindus and Sikhs, who were controlling the trade and finance of the city, brought a big economic vacuum to the financial design of Lahore. This vacuum again was not replaced by the local Lahoris, as they had no claim to the properties and businesses left by migrating Hindus and Sikhs, but by the Muslim migrants who came from India and settled in Lahore. With this historic influx the local Lahoris, always welcoming and hospitable, gave space to the migrants, contenting themselves with their routine lives. As industry in and around Lahore grew, the employment opportunities also grew and the size of the city grew to unmanageable proportions. Migration from all over Pakistan made it a metropolitan city. This influx of people and the amalgamation of different cultures from within Pakistan became a major presence and the real Lahori now became a rarity. The old Lahori families lost their Lahori touch. These days you hardly come across a true Lahori in Lahore. Most of them have either migrated elsewhere or have gradually lost their identity.

The real essence of Lahori culture was now slowly coming to terms with the industrial explosion in and around the city. In pursuit of their own interests, the British had introduced Urdu, not Punjabi, as the medium of school education and for use in their administrative system. Thus was born a new elite – an Urdu speaking elite. The Punjabi language slowly started to be replaced by Urdu, which became the language of fashion to be used when one wanted to be seen as moderate and educated in the local community, to the extent that slowly Punjabi became the language of one's private domain... that magical joint family system which had so beautifully seeped into the social design was now in danger of being ignored. One land – one family, now seemed a thing of the past. New opportunities in government services took people away from their families and new bases of relationships slowly started to develop.

The effects of the industrial revolution on Lahore were dramatic. In the old days, people used to live in harmony and foster communal co-existence among Muslims, Hindus, Sikhs and Christians; now with the arrival of evacuees and freebooters, who grabbed the businesses and residences left behind by departing Hindus and Sikhs, the real Lahoris went into deep isolation and were slowly becoming a minority in the city. The migrant behaviour pattern started to preside over the social and cultural life of the city.

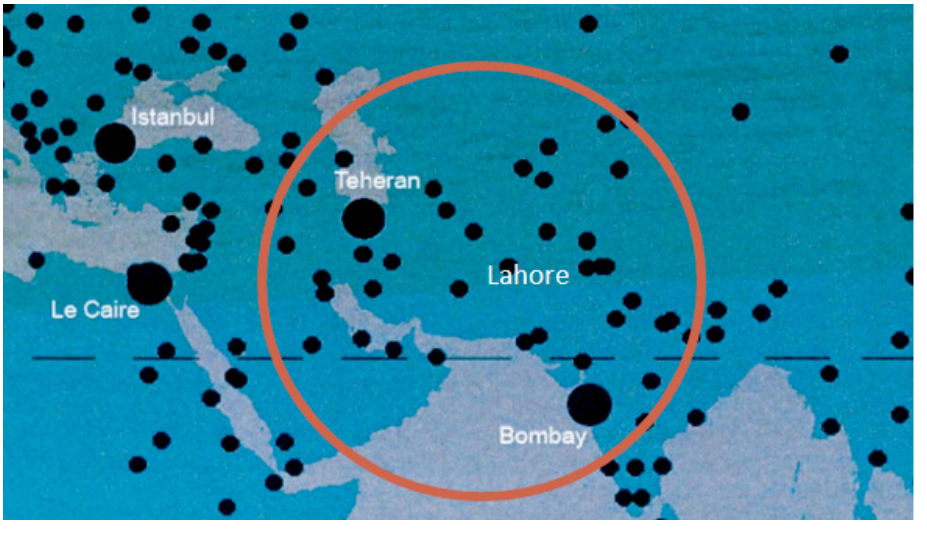
With the British came the English language and the traits attached to it. Copying the British way of life became fashionable. Never heard of before, but now you could see young women driving cars and riding bicycles in the affluent areas of the Cantonment and Government Office Residence. Young people were trying to come to grips with their new found freedom and were experimenting with freedom itself. The Lahori went further into deep seclusion. Social and cultural behavior, a way of life which had taken centuries to mature, was now being replaced by another phenomenon and thus slowly started to pass away - a slow death. All the is nvasions and conquests, an array of 1000 plus rulers from the outside, could not take Lahoris out of Lahore. It was the partition and the resultant migration of 1947 which in true and tragic sense changed the face of Lahore. Lahoris became a minority in their own city. Those who still live in the city are not identifiable as true Lahoris as the dominant strains of the immigrants from around Lahore have overtaken the Lahori spirit which is no more.

From Lahore to Tehran:
A Tale of Two Cities

Zahrataraneh Yalda, Ph.D

Tehran, my native city, is today the capital of an ancient country, once called Persia. Lahore, the capital city of the Punjab, the city of Rama's son Lava, has a comparatively longer history but, being neighboring countries, our cities and our people have gone through common experiences in the past. With rulers like Sultan Mahmoud Ghaznavi, whose dominions extended over areas of both the countries, we can easily imagine our people having common historical, social experiences, with more or less the same costumes, same townscape, and same thoughts. This has endured until today, when we read Eqbal Lahori in Tehran and dream of coming for pilgrimage not only to the Badshahi Mosque, but also to the Shalimar gardens.

Mahmoud elevated Ayaz, his Turkish ex-slave, to kingship giving him the region of Lahore to rule on his behalf. Ayaz had shown the ability and loyalty in his service to Mahmoud to earn his confidence as a soldier and had risen to the high post of a commander. Ayaz showing ingenuity and understanding of city planning, consolidated and expanded the city of Lahore (1021) but, it was the Mughal dynasty that brought Lahore its famous magnificence.



F. 1

Map of the region in Mahmoud's epoch

F. 2

Kings on horses, miniature painting

The Mughals, first rooted in Samarkand and Bukhara in Transoxania, never came to Persia, or if they did, it was under the name, Gourkanian. They limited thrir stay to the east but their culture was somewhat Persian as a reflection of the great Persian empires that had extended, in their heyday, to Central Asia. They spoke Farsi in court, and continued to do so, even when they arrived in India, after passing through Kabul and Lahore. They were Muslims, and they loved beauty, music, poetry, literature, miniature painting, astrology, and above all architecture. Persians and the Mughals shared that same common culture of the region, and there were strong links and encounters in this regard between the scientists and the artists in the two courts.

During the second half of the 16th century, when Shah Tahmasb, early king of the Safavid Dynasty, and Shah Abbas the Great, his successor (beginning of 17th century.) were building their magnificent Meidans and Charbagh Streets; their Grand Mosques and palaces, and their elegant geometrical gardens in their capital cities, Ghazni and Isfahan, we have Akbar and Jahangir who reigned in Lahore, building Lahore's Fortress and its beautiful palaces and mosques.

Shah Jahan, who was born in Lahore, later developed the fortress and built the Shalimar gardens. Aurangzeb built the Badshahi Mosque, and the Alamgiri gate. I imagine they all spoke Persian, because the names are Persian. Actually Urdu still shares a number of Persian words with Farsi. These kings all went hunting and loved horses; they sat in those Gardens contemplating the beauty of nature with those heavenly perspectives.

We all know the word paradise is a Persian word: para-deza, meaning a walled garden. Today we still have some of those gardens in Iran and in Pakistan, mostly public gardens, visited by everyone.

In those times, many European ambassadors, missionaries, and travelers including Chardin, La Coste, Kaempfer and others came to Iran and saw Tehran, then a village on their way to the capital Isfahan, built underground near the desert, next to the ruins of the ancient city of Rey; a big city that, long before those times, was situated on the Silk Road.

Rey was at its height one thousand years ago, when Islam had already given an impetus to the formation of a network of commercial cities in Persia , and all the wealth of the Silk Road on its way to China or to Venice in Italy, travelled through its gates. In those centuries of the beginning of the second millennium, Persia was not governed under a single empire, and the most powerful of the local kings and rulers were the ones in the east: the Samanians, the Ghaznavis, the Ilkhanians-sons of Changiz Khan who conquered Persia in the 13th century and destroyed great cities like Neishapour with its great big library. The Teimuris sons of Teimur, or Tamerlan, like their predecessors became culturally Persian after a while and sponsored the most magnificent Art and Architecture in our land.

In the 17th century, Tehran gradually found its form inside the Tahmasbi walls, in the four quarters or neighborhoods, of which one was the Bazaar, with its caravan serais and houses for the merchants.

During the Qajar period, Nassereddin Shah, who reigned in his capital Tehran over a period of 50 years, and who was an artist and photographer in the middle of the nineteenth century, built Tehran according to his taste. He, who had travelled 3 times to Europe in those days, with no cars, trains or airplanes, made new 12-gated walls for Tehran, with gardens, palaces with colorful tiles, and some public spaces for the people gathering on special days. He tried to copy some things from the Europeans: dresses for his wives in the Harem copied from tu-tus 's of the balderinas (dancers), the Takieh Dowlat for religious ceremonies copied from circuses in Europe, and some wide and straight avenues to walk in, inspired by the Hausmanian boulevards in Paris, rather than the wide and straight 'khiaban's built in Qazvin and Isfahan under the Safavids in the sixteenth and seventeenth century. But this does not mean that Tehran became a great city of those days. Many think that with the Qajar dynasty, Persia went into an unprecedented decline.

Lord Curzon gives an image of that Tehran, of 1889-90, in his book, 'Persia and the Persian Question'; the bias of the British as they sought to expand and rule over this part of the world, if not directly, but through political and cultural influence is in full display:

> "…At every turn we meet, in juxtaposition, sometimes in audacious harmony, at others in comical contrast, the influence and features of the East and the West. A signboard with 'Usine de Gaz' inscribed upon it will suddenly obtrude itself in a row of mud hovels, ostentatiously Asiatic. Tramlines are observed running down some of the principal thoroughfares. Mingled with turbans and kolahs, of the Oriental crowd are the wide-awakes and helmets of Europeans. Through the jostling throng of cavaliers and pedestrians, camels, donkeys and mules, come rolling the 2-horse brougham of some minister or grandee. Shops are seen with glass windows and European titles. Street lamp posts built for gas, but accommodating dubious oil-lamps, reflect an air of questioning civilization…We ride along broad, straight streets that conduct us into immense squares and are fringed by porticos of considerable mansions. In a word, we are in a city which was born and nurtured in the east, but is beginning to clothe itself at a West-end tailor's. …Its most distinctive features retain an individuality of their own, differing from what I have noticed anywhere else in Central Asia."

As we see, modernization had started in Tehran during the second half of the 19th century, when the British were already in Lahore, having annexed the Punjab in 1846, after the usual intrigues and war.

During a hundred years of the colonial era in Lahore, that is 1849-1947, the British helped to add new parts to the city of Lahore,- especially after the turn of the century. A Post Office, High Court, and governmental buildings, colleges even for girls, museums, the Town Hall, markets, and monuments to their Queen. This is exactly what was built in Tehran some years later during the reign of Reza Shah, a

military Qazak, who came to power after the fall of the Qajars, in 1920, to modernize Iran, ensuring a strong central state apparatus in his capital, Tehran. It is very similar to what Kamal Ataturk was doing in Turkey

After Reza Shah seized power and calmed the tribes and the aristocratic oligarchic families related to them, he started his projects for roads, railways and bridges connecting the capital to the provinces, and trying to unify them. He started making changes to the cities. This was later called 'the modernization period'. In those days, other cities in Turkey and Pakistan went through the same development.

Raza Shah filled the ditches lying around the city walls of Tehran, and cut through the existing urban fabric, to build wide streets. The government buildings, banks and museums, hotels, military buildings and clubs… were built around the Royal Court, near the Bazaar and Toupkhaneh Square. Then, later, he started building towards the north of the city starting with the University of Tehran. He also built a college for girls. He built no country club or Golf Course, but did contribute a stadium for horses.

The University of Tehran was built in the 1930s with the help of German engineers. Reza Shah was keen on the German nationalists, once he had seized power with the help of the British. He was also left undisturbed by the Russians who had intervened powerfully in Iran before him, during the Qajars, taking away the northern regions of Kaukaz and Turkemenistan, but who were then experiencing the formation of their own Revolutionary State. During the modernization period, many talented young men including, my now 97-year old father were sent to study in Europe, and came back to found the faculties in University and teach the young engineers, doctors, lawyers and artists. The country needed to grow into a modern state.

While Sir Ganga Ram designed and built the Ganga Ram Hospital and other built the Punjab University in Lahore, three Armenian architects who had studied in France (Vartan Hovanessian, Gevergian, and Abkar) were building in Tehran the same public buildings and industries.

Many things have changed now. But the two cities of Tehran and Lahore went through their modernizing period together with the new western values in the Art Deco Architecture, which somehow bared elements of the old sub-continental and Persian-Achaemenian styles of architecture.

Today perhaps Lahore has a better urban landscape than Tehran, thanks to its modern city planning criteria and principles, towards a more logical institution, established after the British left. Gulberg, Bahria town, and others are examples of well-planned built areas, with enough greenery, services and infrastructures. While in Tehran

we have always suffered grave problems, due to the haphazard, and poorly planned and guided sprawl of a big village which today hosts around 14 million inhabitants in its metropolitan area (and more than 8 million in the greater Tehran-22 districts) without really being a metropolis.

Tehran Growing Uptown

Agha Muhammad Khan, the first king of the Qajars, chose Tehran as his capital in 1780. In the late 19th century, people living in Old Tehran, already had strong connections to the north and the south of a vaster geographical region around Tehran. In the north, at the foot of the Alburz Mountain, some 13 to 15 kilometers from the city center, lay the Shemiran gardens of the Shah and the rich families that travelled there regularly for the summer. The King had a palace in Sahebgaranieh. These sorts of villages were the 'Yelaaq' of Tehran, meaning the summer area, for the tribes in all of Iran, going towards the mountains for the summer. Lahore does not have high mountains so near, but has a river as a natural feature delimiting the city.

There was also a historic link to the south of Tehran, to Shahr-e Rey, a mausoleum near the ancient city of Rey, Shah Abdolazim, where everyone went from Tehran for pilgrimage during the 19th century. These three parts of Tehran were connected in those days with roads, and even a train went to the south. The distant villages that existed in the area have, today, become integrated as part of the urban fabric of Tehran.

When we moved from our apartment in Baharestan Square, next to the Parliament,

in the center, to our new house in Darrous in the suburbs, when I was 8, almost half a century ago, we would go back to visit my grandmother at weekends, and in the evening, my father would say, "we have a long way to drive back to our village!" to stop us from watching TV, and get ready for the one hour ride. We did not have TV at home, and very rarely went to restaurants and cinemas.

Tehran Urban Plans and 'non-plans'

The first Master Plan of Tehran was presented by a joint American-Iranian consultant firm in 1970. And it had eight years, before the revolution, to guide the development of Tehran into new towns and higher residential buildings and complexes, situated at the crossroads of wide urban highways in points located by the Master Plan. The plan also proposed 10 city centers, big parks, and services for all the people of Tehran.

Today experts criticize that Plan as not having been adapted to the geological and socio-economic character and structure of Tehran and its inhabitants. Nonetheless it was a unique, integrated plan for a Mega city, and has not yet been fully replaced by our new Master and detailed Plans for Tehran, 2004-2010, for the realization of which I worked, together with 500 other experts, for more than 6 years. Our new policies are not yet adopted because the Municipality does not feel the need for plans and programs. Speculation reigns in Tehran. And Urban Development Plans limit the power of who leads the action in the city. The new Plan does not ignore Tehran's needs for construction but wants to guide it to special zones, while the Municipality prefers a laissez-faire policy.

An comparison we see Pakistan's Islamabad, designed and built with its small neighborhood centers, its lake, its services adapted to the scale of a Capital city. Of course the comparison can not be make if we do not see Rawalpindi so near to Islamabad. In Tehran, all is left to the will of individuals, and the worst was when they approved the Financial Independence of the Municipality from the government, 20 years ago. The public spaces and the sky of the city is today being sold out in order to be able to survive.

With the Islamic revolution in 1979, the 1970 Plan stopped being respected, as being "too American" and "super modern" for an Islamic city, which had to have low buildings without views into the windows of people's houses. Still, that Plan has been the only operating Master Plan we have had until today, and the proposals it had, at least for the streets and highways network, for the 600 square Kilometers of Tehran's 22 districts, went on being the only references the Municipality had on its detailed plans during the last 40 years, in order to expand the city towards its new districts. Thus, the streets and the urban highways were built, while the densities were first not respected, and later, let free to the will of the builders. The phenomenon called "density-selling" was for the last 20 years the only source of income for the municipality of Tehran, which sold permits for high buildings to speculators under completely free and open conditions, anywhere in the city. The seismic faults lying at the foot of the Alburz mountain, were not identified on the maps, the width of the streets is not considered, and no special measures were taken for the lack of services all round the city. Tehran is still trying to build sewage systems and other infrastructures during the last decade, but the building permits for high and massive buildings are given out without regard for this. The market itself does the rest. A dense city, dense traffic, and a lot of pollution!

The problem is that the renewal of the city has taken place in its richer northern parts, spontaneously driven by the market and the houses and villas and their gardens which were torn down to give space to high-rises, and not in the poorer southern districts, where a

guided, aided , participatory reconstruction of the obsolete areas was really needed.

This was the beginning of chaos in Tehran, right after the war with Iraq, more than 23 years ago. In spite of no money from the Government, the responsibility of giving services to the fast-growing population of the city doubled during those years. Surprisingly, the city became clean, full of flowers in the streets and highways, and more active in the road networks.

Public Spaces in Tehran

Life has changed a lot during modern times, and today we have a wider and more popular use of public spaces in the city of Tehran, where not everyone has enough space at home or in apartments, for leisurely life and gatherings. We have the streets, the parks and the mountains.

When seventy years ago, Reza Shah Pahlavi the first planted those thousands of Plane Trees, along the long road that connected the central city to the northern center of Tajrish, he perhaps knew that this road would one day be the most beautiful and important boulevard of the city. Today, it is where people go walking, window shopping and sitting in the cafes and restaurants.

He also built, in the 1930s, the oldest park of Tehran, Park-e-Shahr, the 'city park', in the center of Tehran, by tearing down half a neighborhood in Sangelaj. In those days people had bigger houses with yards and gardens and they made more elegant use of parks and open spaces in the city, going there for walks and social encounters, and not so much for picnics as has become the habit of many families today.

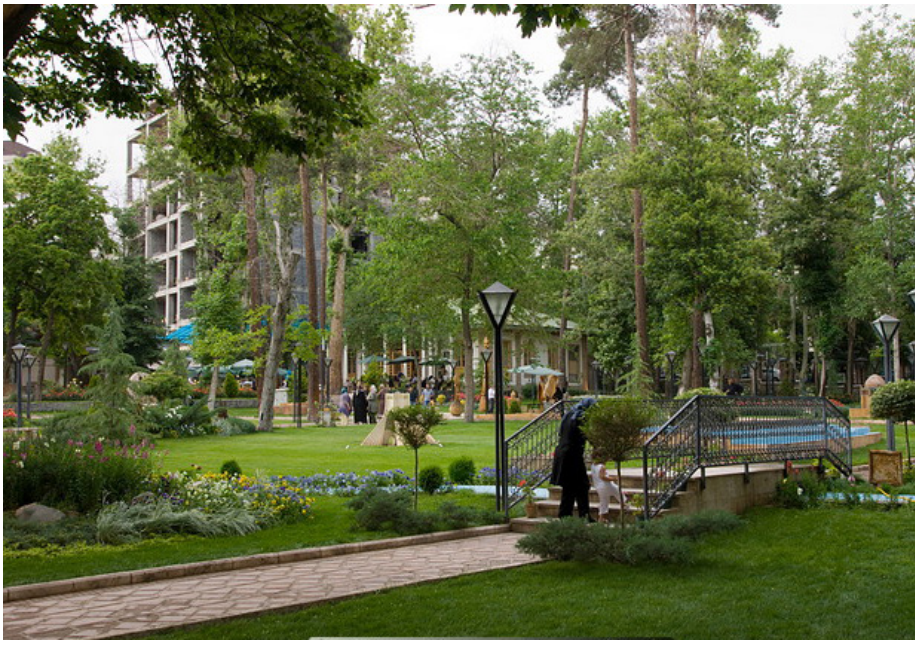
When there were still no parks in town, and Tehran was not so wide and large, people used to go out of town, towards the mountain valleys, to pass a few happy hours by the rivers. Reza Shah's son, Mohammad Reza, also made some very big and beautiful European-style parks.

None of all this is like the prosperous open space one finds around the city of Lahore, just outside the walls, where the ditch is generously turned into hectares of beautiful green space for people to enjoy. Of course, I should mention the climatic difference between the two cities. Lahore enjoys a much higher humidity and water resources,

while Tehran even though situated on the piedmont, has the desert as its southern boundaries.

Today, smaller parks are being made and equipped all over Tehran. However the city suffers badly from the lack of open public spaces all over the metropolitan area. This is due to the lack of funds, says the Municipality, which would have to buy Green property from the private sector, and turn it into public parks.

A late Mayor of Tehran, had the fences of the existing parks taken off, so they become more open and accessible. They have also made a park "for ladies only" many women take off their scarves while other playing sports, jogging, or picnicing freely among friends. In Iran, the hejab (Islamic covering of the ladies, especially on the head) is obligatory.



The Alburz Mountain: the landmark, the magnet, the refuge

The desire to go out of town still remains in the heart of all Tehranis: very many people, young and old, go to the mountains at weekends, especially on Fridays. This includes a huge population of youngsters coming even from the southern areas of Tehran. The mountain stands brave and tall, like a wall in the north of the metropolis. It's peak, Touchal, is 4100 meters above sea-level, and the view is with

in the sight of whoever looks towards the north of the city.

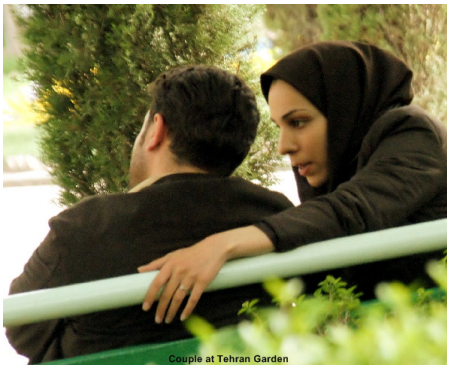
Sometimes it is more crowded in the mountains than in the streets of the city. Many urban projects have converted the mountain valleys into leisure-time places, up in Darband, in Jamshdieh, in Darake, in Farahzad, and even in the small valley of Darabad. Each time however a piece of green is taken away.

Unfortunately they have recently built high private buildings in these green valleys, and more than 5 to 6 hundred hectares of beautiful gardens have completely disappeared in the north of Tehran at the foot of the mountains.

The Merry-go-round

In a sexually segregated society, the relationship between boys and girls becomes an affair of intrigue. For some Iranian young people, this game takes place in public spaces, that is, in cars on the streets, going round and round, like in a merry go round, or in virtual spaces through the internet.

Youngsters go on special websites, where they can blog. The number of bloggers is very high in Iran. Lots and lots of youth find it a very good way to communicate and have dialogue, in a city where it is hard to have satisfying newspapers and interesting media at a certain level.



Couple at Tehran Garden

Religious Ceremonies: a wide use of public space

A good use of public space is made on occasions of religious ceremonies; the anniversary of the martyrdom of Imam Hossein in Karbala. Young and old, participate in a procession that walks through the streets, and is often accompanied by a Ta'zieh, a religious street

theater, where the story is repeated in costumes and action.

Now, these ceremonies, even if not formally happy ones, have very interesting social aspects to them. At the end of the day, these are the best meeting places for the young. Many participate today with new musical rythms of rock and jazz, or other modern music.

In this regard, I think Lahore is a richer city for rituals and liberty of cultural expression. Music is played in public in a more natural atmosphere and religious ceremonies and gatherings are happier in Lahore than in our city, Tehran.

The Urban Community: a reality or a dream

What are the forces that build the communities in Tehran?

Once upon a time, in Tehran, neighborhoods were quite small but solid communities, where poor and rich lived together, and cared for each other. There was usually a center in the Malallah[the neighborhood], where the noble's house and garden was situated next to the mosque, the Hammam[the public bath] and the little linear bazaar the nobleman built with his own money for the community[under the institution of 'Vaqf', [a kind of regular permanent donation to the community], while everybody else lived around it.

Each neighborhood had its own religious and cultural associations, which organized the different ceremonies. There was also an extensive exchange of food that was taken to everybody's homes on occasions of Nazri's , when someone's prayer was fulfilled and he or she promised to give out food every year on that day.

Today, these traditions persist to a certain extent, but the community as a concept has changed and exists less in the big city.

Change in Population and loss of Knowledge about Values in the City

In the metropolis of no real consciousness about the values of the old city communities has survived. The city, with 3 million inhabitants when the Islamic Revolution took place 32 years ago, lost half of its original native population in emigrations to other countries of Europe, America, Australia and the Emirates, but attracted hundreds of thousands of immigrants from the provinces of Iran the city during these who came last 30 years when population of grew to 8 million.

The new folk do not care much about Tehran's values. The central old and precious neighborhoods of Tehran were abandoned to homeless workers and our Afghan brothers who immigrated to Iran at the same time , and are now in ruins. Hundreds or even thousands of old houses with brick and mirror decorations were gradually destroyed and replaced by new squalid ones. The old owners just want to sell the land and the people who buy want to build high commercial buildings in their place.

This doesn't seem to be the situation in Lahore. The old city is not under stress for massive speculative development. On the contrary, old quarters near the Badshahi Mosque are being revitalized in a very good way, appropriate to the general atmosphere of the old town.

In Tehran, the Government (Organization of Heritage) does not want the Municipality to give out building permits for new, high buildings, but does not have the means to buy and safeguard the old houses either. The Tehranis in general, and especially those in power today, do not care about old fabrics, and look at this heritage as a trouble some! There is no cultural attachment whatsoever towards the safeguard of the old fabrics, neither. The inhabitants cannot take their cars in. They are not given the right infrastructure and services. That is why there remain less than 2000 old houses from the 5000 listed by the Heritage some 9 or 10 years ago. Even these are in a dangerous condition!

The Municipality's only worries seem to be the foreseen earthquake in Tehran, due to come in a few years. They have no plan or program for implementing the renovation of the poorer old fabrics, but where speculation can take place, everybody is ready to build and execute plans. Many plans are drawn but none really followed.

The Cultural Tehran

The famous Mayor of Tehran 20 years ago, who started selling the city to developers, believed in 3 things: that people will be happier with flowers, highways, and cultural centers. this was true. His plans worked. The cultural centers show films, they have classes of all sorts; they organize art exhibitions, ceremonies, conferences.

The theaters in Tehran, having been for decades places for elite, now host not only theatre in its classical forms taught at Drama schools, but also traditional Islamic forms, like Tazieh, also promoted

by the government; also, more popular forms of theater are presented, rewritten from our own epic stories of the Shahnameh of Ferdowsi (1000 years ago), or out of our own literature.

During the last decades good Persian music has become more popular, and new pop music is being composed by the young. No female singer can sing in public, but she can sing if there is a choir, or if a man sings with her.

Visual Arts and Cinema at their Height

If architecture has not had the chance to develop as an art in Tehran, the Iranian cinema has become world renowned after the revolution, winning numerous prizes for its 'humanistic' films d'auteur' in all international film festivals. We show here films of the famous Abbas Kiarostami, but also films made by young filmmakers and documentarists.

Painting and visual arts have had incredible success in the more than 200 private and public art galleries we regularly visit, and in international markets where the young and old, are both celebrated and sold at high prices.

In what do Lahore and Tehran share a destiny?

- Both cities must choose to love their historical old urban fabric, rehabilitate it for today's use, and be proud of it as the mirror of our identity.

- In identifying with the rest of the globalizing world all that concerns levels of social welfare, education, technology, and development in general, but keeping alive the values of our cultural heritage, for our next generations.

- In all that makes for our unity and our uniqueness, at the same time.

The Tangible and Intangible Heritage of the Walled Cities of Amritsar and Lahore:

Need for an Integrated Conservation Approach

Balvinder Singh

The city of Amritsar was founded by the 4th Guru of the Sikhs in 1577. Maharaja Ranjit Singh built the wall around the city as a defence measure against the growing power of the British who had reached the Jamuna River in their drive to conquer the remaining regions of the sub-continent. The city flourished and developed during the reign of Maharaja Ranjit Singh who gave it his special attention. The period has rightly been called the golden period in terms of its tangible and intangible heritage.

Similarly Lahore, cultural heart of Pakistan, is also a walled city having various layers of a tangible and intangible heritage. Maharaja Ranjit Singh, as the ruler of the Punjab with Lahore as the capital, also made an important contribution to the city of Lahore. The city still has gates (some rebuilt by the British) of the wall built around it during the period of the Mughal Emperor Akbar. The wall itself was demolished by the British when they annexed the Punjab and exiled the then Maharaja Dalip Singh, a son of the Maharaja Ranjit Singh.

The two cities exhibit similar values, life styles and way of life in their land use, street pattern and *mohalas* . The attitude of the people as well as the government in both cities also has many similarities.The unprecedented demographic and spatial growth accompanied by the ever-increasing strains on civic services has led to a loss of identity among residents of the two cities. 'Modern' planning principles and techniques based on western models have been used blindly without keeping in mind the unique culture, climate and heritage of the place. This has badly affected the traditional life styles of the residents of the old historic walled cities

Each generation places a different interpretation on the past and derives new inspiration from it. It can be looked upon as a capital that has been accumulated over centuries, and the destruction of any part of it leaves us poorer. There is therefore an obligation to pass on what is valuable in it to the future.

"Imbued with a message from the past, the historic monuments

> of generations of people remain to the present day as living witnesses of their age old traditions. People are becoming more and more conscious of the unity of human values and regard ancient monuments as a common heritage. The common responsibility to safeguard them for future generations is recognized. It is our duty to hand them on in the full richness of their authenticity" (Venice Charter, 1964).

The basic function of any conservation programme is to identify and to retain those essential features contributing to the character of an area and to ensure that any new development or re-development is in sympathy with and contributes to the character of that area.

This paper attempts to identify and analyse the tangible and intangible heritage in the walled cities of Amritsar and Lahore. It will also highlight the similarities in terms of rich physical, social and cultural features in both these important walled cities, now located in different countries.

A heuristic technique has been adopted. Heuristic enquiry relies on the researchers' personal experiences, reflections and insights in order to understand the essence of the phenomena as it is experienced by the researcher and by others who also experience it intensely.This paper has been divided into three parts:

1. Heritage: Tangible and Intangible;
2. Walled Cities: Amritsar and Lahore;
3. Integrated Conservation Approach.

Heritage: Tangible and Intangible

Heritage is a very broad term. It encompasses varied aspects. It is often defined as 'What We Value' or 'What We Wish' to pass on to future generations. Heritage resources provide living communities with a sense of continuity with previous generations. They are important to cultural identity as well as to the conservation of the cultural diversity and creativity of humanity (HSRC 2004:7). The dictionary meaning of Heritage as per Collins English Dictionary and Thesaurus is "the evidence of the past such as historical sites and the unspoiled natural environment, considered as the inheritance of present day society and anything that has been transmitted from the past or handed down by tradition" (p. 953). Heritage is a broad concept and includes the natural as well as the cultural environment. It encompasses landscapes, historic places, sites and built environment as well as biodiversity,

collections, past and continuing cultural practices, knowledge and living experiences. It includes built and natural heritage in the form of buildings, areas and historic settlements on the one hand and historic landscape and scenic sites on the other hand. In addition, it incorporates language, literature, folk songs, dresses, articles, way of life, values, and so on. More sepcifically it can be divided into two categories: Tangible and Intangible. (International Cultural Tourism Charter 1999).

Tangible Heritage

Tangible heritage is heritage which can be touched. In other words capable of being touched or felt or having a physical existence (Collins English Dictionary and Thesaurus 2000: 1220). Thus, it includes buildings, areas, natural components and all the artifacts. The Tangible heritage includes historic buildings of all periods, their setting in the historic precincts of cities and their relationship to the natural environment. It also includes culturally significant modern buildings and towns (Charter for the Conservation of Unprotected Architectural Heritage & Sites in India 2004).

Intangible Heritage

Intangible heritage is the heritage which can not be touched. "The Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH) or living heritage is the mainspring of our cultural diversity and its maintenance a guarantee for continuing creativity" (UNESCO-CSICH 2003). It gets importance in the present day society where globalisation is being feared as a cultural bulldozer. It has changed the value system, life style, eating habits, dress patterns and also affected the Tangible components of Heritage. Realizing the importance of Intangible heritage, UNESCO in its Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage 2003 states that ICH is manifested among others in the following:

a) Oral traditions and expressions including language as a vehicle of the Intangible cultural heritage;

b) Performing arts (such as traditional music, dance and theatre);

c) Social practices, rituals and festive events;

d) Knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe;

e) Traditional craftsmen.

Thus the convention clearly stresses that Intangible heritage includes practices, repesentations, expressions, as well as the knowledge and skills that communities, groups and in some cases individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage. The depository of this heritage is the human mind, the human body being the main instrument for its enactment or literal embodiment. The knowldege and skills are often shared within a community and manifestations of Intangible Cultural Heritage are often performed collectively.

Historic Walled Cities: Amritsar and Lahore

The cities of Amritsar and Lahore are important urban settlements having many similarities due to their close geographical location, same cultural similarities of the people residing there the same language, way of life, life style and above all the same principles and techniques of construction and medieval planning.

Historic towns are intimate and human in scale, often rich in diverse activities, often extremely convenient for shopping and entertainment. There are key buildings around which the city arranges itself, a temple, a gurdwara, a mosque or a palace. For the pedestrian there are many subtle qualities in winding streets, narrow lanes and these urban spaces all combine to give visual drama by the sensations of compression, expansion, surprise and a fine architectural set piece. Important landmarks give reassuring reference points in the city. The

F. 1

Harmandir Sahib Complex

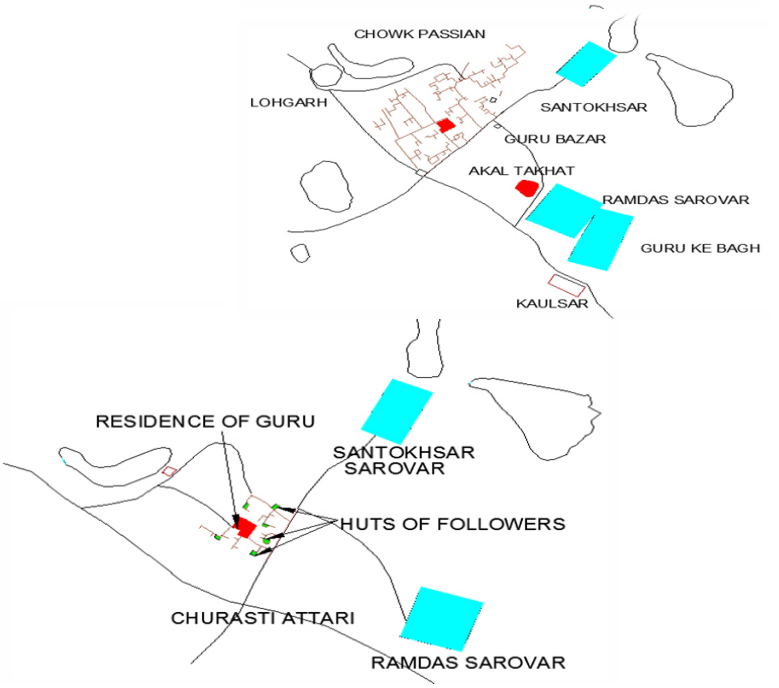
F. 2

An inside view of Wazir Khan Mosque

history of a place gives a rich feeling of belonging, continuity and identity. They depict typical patterns which have influence on the life styles, values and way of life of the residents.

Amritsar known as the city of the Golden Temple, symbolizes the spiritual heritage of the Punjabis in general, and *Sikhs* in particular, is located in the North West part of India. The landmark around which the city developed is Sri Harmandir Sahib, the Sanctum-sanctorum. To supervise its construction, a place named *Guru Ke Mahal* came into existence which is also the birth place of Guru Teg Bahadur. *Chowk Passian* became the first residential area. *Guru Ka Bagh* became the main congregational area. Thus for the development of the city Guru Ramdas Ji purchased 500 bigas of land (Kahn Singh Nabha Mahan Kosh, 1930:57). The sixth Guru Hargobind Singh introduced the concept of *Miri Piri* and this way *Akal Takhat Sahib* came into existence. The *Sarovars* of *Sri Harmandir Sahib, Bibeksar & Santokhsar* also served as open spaces for the city in addition to the spiritual aspect. *Ramdas Sarover* was another landmark where the editing of Guru Granth Sahib was completed by Guru Arjan Sahib.

The approach of Gurus was comprehensive as they not only created spiritual centers but also invited people of various backgrounds



F. 3

Amritsar City: Development of Localities in Sikh Guru's Period

irrespective of caste and creed to start business. The 52 *Kittae* (trades) and 32 *Hattian* (Shops) were the first to come. They were people from various trades. Even today the city has various bazaars of specialized items. The street pattern favors the pedestrian, where the relationship of spaces satisfies the social and climatic needs and provides visual satisfaction. The traditional urban pattern has a medieval character with its overall organic urban pattern, well scaled narrow streets, number of public buildings and irregularly shaped public spaces at the intersection of streets and/or in the front of buildings. The Tangible heritage which has transformed into Intangible heritage in terms of values and life styles of the residents, needs documentation.

While looking at the Walled City of Lahore, there are many similarities in terms of physical and cultural parameters. The Walled City of Lahore is the product of the cultural influences of at least four major empires in the sub-continent of India: Sultanat period, the Moghul Empire, the British empire and the modern nation state of Pakistan. The earliest credible record of the city dates its establishment to around 1050 AD, and shows that its existence is due to placement along the major trade routes through Central Asia and the Indian sub-continent. The city was regularly marred by invasion, pillage, and destruction. It was sacked and then settled by the Moghul Emperor Babur in 1525. Sixty years later it became the capital of the Moghul Empire under Akbar and in 1605 the fort and city walls were expanded to the present day dimensions. From the mid 18th century until British colonial times, there was a fairly lawless period in which most of the Moghul palaces (*havelis*) were razed, marking a decrease in social discipline towards the built environment that has continued unabaited till today. Much of the walled fortification of the city was destroyed following the British annexation of the region in 1849 (Kron). The city's importance can be judged from various popular phrases like *Jinne Lahore nhin dekhia oh jammia he nahi……jinne vekhia nhin Lahore vekhe Kalanor*….It was a passion with everybody to see Lahore. Even when the great city of Ispahan was being built and embellished three centuries ago by the Safavis, Lahore was considered its competitor in beauty and elegance. There was a common saying: 'Ispahan is half the world, provided Lahore is not there.' (Muhammad Saeed, 1989:5) The Mosque of Wazir Khan is a good example of a marvelous piece of architecture and is a landmark in the walled City of Lahore. Mr. J.L. Kipling, the then Principal of the Mayo School of Arts remarked in 1890, "This beautiful building is in itself a school of design; but year by year less attention seems to be paid to its maintenance, and the painted work is in a dilapidated state of neglect". (M Baqir, 1952:352)

The Walled City of Amritsar further developed during the period of Sikh Misls and Maharaja Ranjit Singh's period (**1765 AD-1849 AD**) and is considered to be the golden period. The various developments that took place during this period include *Katras* (residential neighborhoods such as *Katra Dulo, Katra Ahluwalia* and so on), forts (such as *Ram Rauni, Ahluwalia, Loh Garh, Gobind Garh* and so on), palaces (such as Summer Palace of Maharaja Ranjit Singh), gardens (such as *Bagh Akalian, Sakatri Bagh, Gol Bagh, Ram Bagh, Bagh Ralia Ram, Bagh Ramanand*; Amritsar was known as a garden city), *Sarovars* (such as *Bibeksar, Ramdas, Santoksar*, *Sri Harmandir Sahib*), *Havelis* (houses with courtyards), Wall, Gates (12 gates, only one i.e. *Ram Bagh* gate is left of Maharaja Ranjit Singh's period). In addition, there are *Bungas* (rest houses, only *Ramgarhia Bunga* is left), *Akharas* (traditional centres of learning) which show the skills of craftsmen through decorative elements, carvings, murals, arches - traditional building materials such as typical brick (*Nanakshahi*- local term) with varying sizes, lime and *surkhi* (red powder) mortar, its scale, size, colour, texture, the urban pattern defined by streets and surprising open spaces (character that is, heritage zone or conservation area), values and ways of life, traditions and customs.

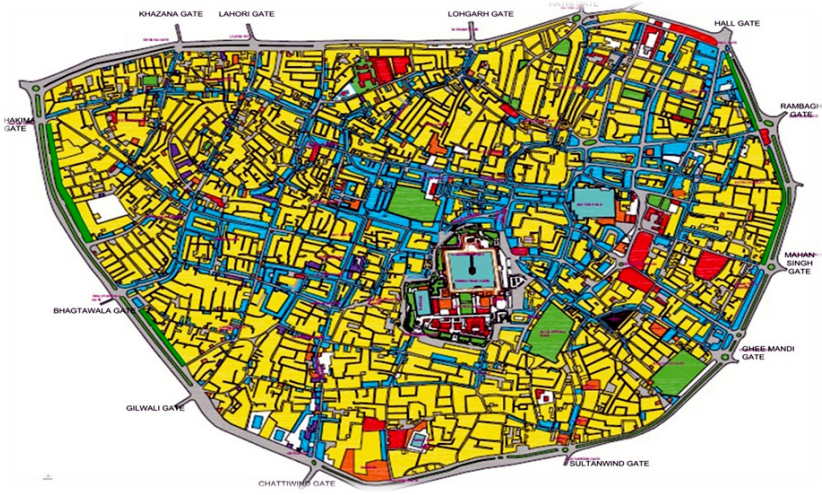
Except *Ramgarhia Bunga,* all have been demolished. Earlier the *Ramgarhia Bunga* had been restored without the consultation of conservation professionals due to which its originality has been destroyed. Now again, it is being restored by professionals to bring back its original glory. The same is the fate of *Akharas* as out of twelve *Akharas*, only three *Akharas* namely, *Chitta Akhara, Sangal Wala Akhara and Akhara Bala Nand* are surviving. The fading frescoes of *Akhara Bala Nand* are the proof that they were traditional centers of learning.

The Walled City of Amritsar still has typical street patterns and the street is performing interesting Tangible and Intangible aspects. It shows unity in design or streetscape which enhances social interaction. The width of streets varies from 4 feet to 20 feet. The balconies are the important elements which help in enhancing social interaction even from the upper floors. People sit in the streets in the evening and share their experiences and problems. Due to the absence of proper parks and open spaces near the residential areas, the street is also used as a play place for the children of the area. Due to the intimacy generated by dead-end streets, it provides social security. Any stranger can be easily identified. It also avoids through traffic. The streets are an important component of *Mohallas* and surprising open spaces which depict values and life styles, unique elements of tangible and intangible

heritage. A *Mohalla* is a typical small residential area in many cases consisting of people with the same occupation and caste. Medieval cities had different residential quarters for people following various professions. This was done in a subtle way to achieve cohesiveness. (Varsha Punhani: *Historic Cities Now and Then*). This is another reason for intimacy. It is a pattern of space which leads to a life style and way of life having values. These can be termed as socio-cultural values. Social values also include the "place attachment" as part of the heritage value. Place attachment refers to the social cohesion, community identity or other feelings of affiliation that social groups derive from the specific heritage and environment characteristics of their home territory. (Randall Masson:12)

Even in the Walled City of Lahore the concept of *Katra, Mohalla and Kucha* exists and depicts the Intangible heritage. The names of Mohallas have similarity with Mohallas of Amritsar. Streets are named after the profession or occupation and the people have more intimate social relations. In case of Amritsar, the preliminary findings of the study of four areas namely Cheel Mandi area, Chowk Passian, Katra Hakima area and Katra Garbha area have depicted that although there is a problem of hygiene, garbage dumping and choked drains, the people don't want to shift from the walled part of the city, the reason given is social cohesiveness, and neighborly relations. Even the bazaars in both the walled cities have the same character and names such as bazaar Hakeeman, bazaar Kaseran and many others.

Both the cities had walls and gates,(almost in a neglected state). In case of Amritsar, the wall is completely different. A massive double



F. 4

Mixed land use: Walled City of Amritsar

wall of unbaked bricks, with a double moat, had been constructed by Maharaja Ranjit Singh in 1825. According to Ahmad Shah, the fortification was twenty five yards broad and seven yards high.

The circumference of the Walled City was five miles. (Anand Guaba, nd:1) There were twelve strong gates of the city, some of them surrounded by defenses, with two or three brass guns. The Lahori Darwaza served as the main entrance on the road from Lahore. Moving in anti-clockwise direction, one came upon the other gates of the city: Khazana, Hakiman, Rangar Nanglia, Gilwali, Ramgarhia, Doburji, Ahluwalia, Deorhi Kalan, Rambagh, Deorhi Shahzada and Lohgarh. (Anand Guaba, nd:2) All the gates of Maharaja Ranjit Singh's period have vanished, only Ram Bagh gate has been restored recently irrespective of encroachments on and around it. Immediately after taking over of the Punjab, the British administrators took special interest in demolishing the old wall. (Anand Guaba,nd:32) But the case is not as bad in Lahore because some portions of the wall and some gates have been restored with traditional building materials and craft skills.

The interesting point is that Lahore has thirteen gates (in local language called darwazah), namely: Dilli, Akbari, Mochi, Shah Alami, Lohari, Bhatti, Taxali, Roshnai, Sheranwala, Mori, Kashmiri, Masti and Yakki.

> The size of Amritsar in terms of area is 340 hectares (840 acres) and that of Lahore is 256 hectares (633 acres) with a population of 200,000. The city walls were destroyed shortly after the British annexed the Punjab in 1849 and were replaced with gardens, some of which exist today. The Circular Road links the old city to the urban network. Access to the Walled City is still gained through the 13 ancient gates, or their replacements. The convoluted and picturesque streets of the inner city remain almost intact but the rapid demolition and frequently illegal re-building, which is taking place throughout the city, is causing the historic fabric to be eroded and replaced by inferior constructions. The few old houses one can still see in the city are usually two or three storeys high, with brick façades, flat roofs and richly carved wooden balconies and overhanging windows.(Wikipedia, Walled City of Lahore).

It has been observed that in terms of area, the size of the Walled City and number of gates mentioned varies in different sources.

> The street pattern is labyrinthine in the case of Lahore as well as Amritsar. Observing minutely,in the case of Amritsar, in the different *katras,* one can observe the irregular, linear, rectangular and radial and their combinations in the street patterns. In the case of Lahore the streets are narrow and winding, forming a perfect labyrinth of quaint and picturesque scenes. The houses are lofty, many of them richly decorated. The bazaars are densely crowded, very dusty and evil smelling, but full of interest, like every Punjab bazaar. (M Baqir, 1952:344)

> But broadly, the street patterns of both these cities highlight the lifestyles of the resident in addition to the traditional principles and techniques of planning. Another major similarity is the mixed land use. Intricate minglings of different uses in cities are not a form of chaos. On the contrary, they represent a complex and highly developed form of order. (Jacobs, 1961)

It is this mixed land use and street pattern which results in the typical life styles of the residents. The mixed land use city structure conformed to the living style of the inhabitants and the prevailing climatic conditions. The mixed land use provided easy accessibility between residential and work areas. (Varsha Punhani: *Historic Cities Now and Then*) Geddes shared the belief with John Ruskin that social processes and spatial form are related. Therefore by changing spatial form it was possible to change the social structure as well.

To date, proper documentation of the Tangible and Intangible heritage has not yet been done in both these important historic cities. Due to the change of land use and increasing traffic, many historic buildings have been demolished either for the construction of commercial markets or multistoreyed parking lots. No doubt, instruments that specifically aim to safeguard Intangible heritage have been developed in the context of growing numbers of national and international instruments affirming the importance of cultural life for the well being and development of humanity. The World Heritage Committee is a UNESCO body that manages the world heritage convention (WHC) designed to safeguard heritage places of international significant. With respect to Intangible heritage, perhaps the most significance shift in the guidelines happened in 1992 when changes permitted the listing of places directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas or with beliefs with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance.

Various countries have already taken steps for safeguarding Intangible heritage. In fact the entire Tangible heritage has Intangible values associated with it. Considering the deep seated inter-dependence between the Intangible Cultural Heritage and the Tangible, Cultural and Natural Heritage, UNESCO held a Convention for The Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage in Paris on 17th October, 2003 and worked out the guidelines which can be helpful for any country.

The next period covers the years from 1849 to 1947 when the cities were ruled by the British. They were not greatly interested in the heritage of the city. This is evident from Lord Macaulay's address to the British Parliament on 2nd February, 1835, " I have travelled across the length and breadth of India and I have not seen one person who is a beggar, who is a thief, such wealth I have seen in this country, such high moral values, people of such calibre, that I do not think we would ever conquer this country, unless we break the very backbone of this nation, which is her spiritual and cultural heritage, and, therefore, I propose that we replace her old and ancient education system, her culture, for if the Indians think that all that is foreign and English is good and greater than their own, they will lose their self-esteem; their native culture and they will become what we want them, a truly dominated nation".

This indicates the intention of the Britishers. Their interventions in the urban landscape of the city, its arts and architecture and the living patterns of the city left deep impressions. The architecture of their buildings in Lahore has a variety of expressions, ranging from European classical importations, to the Indo-Saracenic as understood by the British architects-engineers. (Vandal's, 2006: 53) Not only this, the British adopted many ways to inculcate their culture amongst the people of Lahore. In 1858, the Punjab Government submitted a proposal to the Supreme Government to establish a University at Lahore, the general object of which was to encourage the diffusion of Western literature, as far as possible, through the medium of the vernacular, but where it was not possible, through the medium of English. (M.Baqir,1952:225). Even in Amritsar many interventions were made in the Tangible heritage which ultimately affected the intangible heritage. The best example is that of historic Rambagh where the layout was altered and at the same time many incongruous additions were made in Gobind Garh Fort, thereby destroying its originality. In addition, a major portion of the wall and gates of the city were demolished and the moat was filled. To quote Prof. P. C. Khanna in his paper 'The Ram Bagh – the splendour it was', "It is rather unfortunate that the well knit place of civic design created by the Maharaja, like his dynasty, was soon destroyed after his

death, through the vandalism of petty bureaucracy and unimaginative military engineers and surveyors of the British. To begin with it was renamed, after the East India Company, and called Company Bagh. They tried to superimpose their own design on Ram Bagh. The garden at present is thus a hotch potch of formal and informal styles".

During this period, the physical growth started outside the Walled City of Amritsar . This shows the concept of detached housing following modern principles and techniques of planning without the blend of local traditional life styles and values. The same is true of Lahore. The coming of British was a break with the past. The new rulers were different in dress, language, behaviour and custom; they had a tradition and history of their own; their religious and cultural roots, their literature, music, art, indeed their total way of life was different. The changing living styles led to changed built environment as expressed in the design of houses and shopping methods. New urban patterns in street layout, providing paved roads and piped water supply, were adopted.(Vandal's, 2006: 56)

The next period that is 1947-2011 is the worst period for both the cities of Amritsar and Lahore. Both were very badly affected by the Partition of the country in 1947. In India the city was given due importance and a special Act that is the Punjab Development of Damaged Areas Act 1951 was enacted at a time when the main thinking of the government was to plan and develop a new capital city-Chandigarh. It is estimated by the Town and Country Planning Organisation, the apex body of the Ministry of Urban Development, Government of India, that due to the riots of 1947, about 20% to 30% of the areas in the Walled City were burnt. The city of Lahore also faced the same tragedy. Lahore became a city of murders and fires. Out of the 82,000 houses in the Lahore corporation area 6,000 houses were burnt down during these disturbances.(M. Baqir, 1952: 238) Taking into account the above situation an ordinance called the Punjab Damaged Areas Ordinance 1949 was promulgated. This was followed by the Punjab Development of Damaged Areas Act 1951 which supplemented the powers of the Improvement Trust. A similar Act was also enacted for Amritsar.

Under this Act, the Walled City of Amritsar was declared a damaged area and the Amritsar Improvement Trust prepared a maximum number of re-development projects that is fifty-six . The evaluation of three projects by case study methods revealed that no methodology had been adopted for conducting surrveys/studies before preparation of redevelopment plans. In the case of Chowk

Phowara-Jallianwala Bagh Scheme, the only available document was the survey plan which was prepared by the Amritsar Improvement Trust after two years from the date of notification. The survey plan shows only property numbers, temples and circulation pattern. This was the only information used for the preparation of a layout plan, that is, a re-development plan. How many people were uprooted? Where were they to be rehabilitated? Which buildings needed restoration, refurbishment, re-pointing, cleansing, and so on? These questions remained unanswered, as the basic aim was widening of the road under the name of re-development.

In addition, the layout plan had many drawbacks such as 'un-detailed areas', and the proposal for a big gate at the Jallianwala Bagh monument (thereby destroying the historic entry). It is clear that the main aim was only to widen the road.

Examining the re-development projects in depth it has been found that:

i) An Integrated re-development plan for the whole of the Walled City was not prepared.

ii) In addition to the areas damaged due to the riots in 1947, various other areas were included for re-development. These areas were not damaged due to the riots of 1947. For example "An Approach Road Project from Bus Stand to Jallianwala Bagh and Golden Temple" was not part of the damaged areas. The objective of this project was different from the concept of re-development. It was to widen the road to 60' from the existing width which varied from 8' to 13'. No doubt this was an integrated plan, but the desired surveys and studies were not conducted. The whole project was divided into small projects such as Chowk Phowara, Jallianwala Bagh Scheme, Chowk Ghanta Ghar Scheme, Bazaar Sandukan Scheme, and so on. Some portions of the whole project were implemented. Many people were dislocated and not properly rehabilitated near the area. Similarly the detailed study of another project which was undertaken of the damaged area that is, Katra Moti Ram Area; has shown that the integrated survey techniques were not adopted. Moreover the basic concept of re-development has not been understood.

It seems, the same was the fate of the Walled City of Lahore. In the 1950's an organization called the Lahore Improvement Trust

attempted to install a plan for commercial development in the old city. The resulting commercial encroachment demonstrates a pattern of abuse of building stock through inappropriate re-use of structures intended for small scale (cottage) industry and residential use. There was also the destruction of older buildings replaced with quickly-erected, lower quality structures (Kron). Over time buildings and areas have suffered considerable losses of fabric from both natural causes such as weather and natural disasters and human causes, including welfare, vandalism and inappropriate or clumsy restoration techniques. (Toles, Kimbro, and Ginell: 2002: 10)

In addition to these projects another major project known as "The Project for the Redevelopment of Areas around the Golden Temple Complex" was undertaken in 1988. It has five phases. The last phase has started recently and lacks the harmonious principles of conservation. The required surveys were never carried out. The basic objective of this project was "To Beautify the Areas Around the Golden Temple". They demolished the 30' width wall around the Temple Complex and created an open space with trees, shrubs and grass. The press termed this project "operation demolition". It also became known as "the Corridor Plan". Thus the aim seems simply to demolish and either widen the road or create a corridor and an open space. Unfortunately, due to lack of expertise in the field of conservation, re-development was considered to be demolition. As a result a very rich tangible and intangible heritage has been demolished at the cost of WHAT? In the past, building elements were often replaced wholesale rather than repaired, and surfaces were renewed, not conserved, thereby reducing the authenticity of the whole. (Toles, Kimbo and Ginell, 2002:10)

To quote Mr. Amjab Bokumill from his book 'Introduction to Islamic Architecture' "It is not a good solution to surround old monuments by modern, heavy structures, or to leave them in open space, setting them into artificial parks, because neither is typical for the hierarchy of buildings for which the monuments were once intended. Therefore the only correct way at the moment is to keep the environment as near as possible to its original state, or at least to respect its original scale and possibly replace all incongruous subsequent innovation, thereby helping to underline the original meaning of the whole ensemble".

Under the name of Beautification Plan, the city's gorgeous buildings a and bazaars were knocked down and a corridor created which has encouraged traffic all around the sacred place.

The city still has a unique land use. One can find life, hustle and bustle, as there is mixed land use. But due to the change of land use it is losing its character both within and outside the walled portion. It is facing many problems such as vehicular pollution, encroachments even on footpaths and shopping corridors, traffic congestion, parking, garbage, choked drains and so on. Who is responsible for all this? The citizens, the lackadaisical attitude of the administration, poor enforcement, and above all the absence of conservation professionals, are the major factors. As far as the Walled city of Lahore is concerned the hygiene, choked drains, traffic congestion, parking, pollution and encroachments are common.

The latest threat to the old historic town of Amritsar is of an elevated road. Perhaps there is no such historic city in the world where such action has been taken. It will not only destroy the streetscape but will have other serious implications such as pollution for those whose properties are falling along the road, the effect of pollutants on Sri Harmandir Sahib (It is located on the leeward side of the proposed parking) and the increasing number of vehicles towards Sri Harmandir Sahib. Even this elevated road in the Walled City is against the guidelines of NCU (National Commission on **U**rbanisation) as well as of ICOMOS (International Council on Monuments **S**ites). No impact assessment study has been undertaken. The surroundings of Sri Harmandir Sahib should be declared as Traffic Free Zone. Battery operated buses should be started and there is a need to undertake a viability study of underground metro link to this important spiritual place. But the elevated road project is under the implementation stage now. Another proposal is on the cards for destroying the streetscape of the historic Walled City of Amritsar which will bring the sky car on an elevated platform.

While looking at the works through various reports prepared for the Walled City of Lahore, it seems some efforts have been made there. Study of an area is the first step and is an important one. Here it is vital to refer to a very comprehensive and useful study *"Urban Conservation in Pakistan: a case study of the Walled City of Lahore" by Mr Ali Reza H.* But, the next step is the implementation of the studies and plans prepared. How far the implementation has been done, this can be seen by physical verification only. The most important document is the Comprehensive Development Plan or popularly known as Master Plan which must have the flavor of the conservation components or in other words it can be termed as Integrated Conservation Approach.

Intergrated Conservation Approch

The basic objectives of Urban and Regional Planning are very closely related to those of conservation of historic towns, areas and monuments. Town Planning in the modern context originated from the desire of people to have certain self imposed norms and standards for the utilization and development of land in their cities. Comprehensive Development Plan is an instrument for the achievement of these objectives. Other instruments include zoning regulations, building bye- laws, development schemes, and re-development schemes.

Town Planning for existing old historic towns and areas need the application of similar will to take care of the gorgeous but otherwise neglected heritage buildings and areas. Thus conservation must be recognized as an integral part of the planning process that is, while preparing the comprehensive development plan, there is a need to lay stress on the integrated conservation approach which is missing till today in the preparation of all the development plans in the state of Punjab, India. It must identify both tangible and intangible components in Heritage zones in terms of *Katras, Mohallas, and Kuchas* which are an integral part of both the walled cities of Amritsar and Lahore.

Thus the comprehensive development plan of a city must be reviewed to assess its effect on the conservation needs of the city. It must reflect and respect the form of old cities, and must recognize the social needs of communities in old quarters. As is evident that an important constituent of all master plans or zonal development plans is a proposed land use map, according to which all future development must take place. The starting point for urban conservation is that this map must recognize the existence of buildings and areas (Heritage zones) to be protected. These must be clearly delineated on the map. In addition there is a need to evolve special urban design guidelines and building bye-laws for these areas which are missing till date as far as the Walled City of Amritsar is concerned. This is disturbing the streetscape and townscape. Above all, strict enforcement is needed in case of both these cities. No change of land use should be allowed in the Heritage zones.

Moreover, before initiating any intervention in the walled cities of Amritsar and Lahore, there is need to refer to the relevant sections listed below, at least two documents namely:

A."Report of National Commission on Urbanisation, 1988"

B. "ICOMOS: Charter for the Conservation of Historic Towns and Urban Areas".

A. National Commission on Urbanisation,1988

Traffic:

1. Old cities were not designed for automobile traffic. Further damage was caused to the traditional fabric of a historic town by "massive road widening" and "beautification schemes".

2. Uses that are likely to generate heavy traffic should be reserved for areas other than historic areas. For this reason the penetration of heavy traffic generating activities into heritage areas should be restricted by firm enforcement of the development plan.

Road Widening and New Roads:

1. The environmental impact of the construction of new roads or widening of roads needs very careful assessment, especially in respect of the surroundings before they are undertaken.

2. Road widening, in most cases, only brings in more traffic to the historic core and sets in motion a vicious circle of further congestion and further widening.

3. Regulation of traffic whether of private or public vehicles should take into account the requirements of conservation, Traffic should be restricted in favor of the pedestrian.

4. The world over pedestrian schemes have proved immensely popular with shoppers and shops in rich areas having appreciated in value. Resistance to such schemes from shopkeepers in India probably reflects a lack of experience with this concept and it is worth attempting such schemes especially in historic quarters. They require particular attention in creating an atmosphere satisfying to pedestrians through provision of street furniture.

B. ICOMOS "Charter for the Conservation of Historic Towns & Urban Areas"

Principles and Objectives: Some of the related objectives are listed below.

1. The values to be preserved include the historic character of the

historic city and all those material and spiritual elements that create character.

2. New activities should be compatible with the character of the historic town.

3. Traffic inside the historic town must be controlled; the parking areas should not disturb the historic fabric or degrade the environment.

4. When urban and regional planning provides for the construction of major motorways, they must not be permitted to penetrate an historic town, rather they should improve access to it.

5. Historic towns should be protected against natural disasters, pollution and vibration.

But till date these guidelines have been ignored in case of the Walled City of Amritsar, due to which the city has already lost and is in the process of losing its rich tangible heritage and thereby its intangible heritage. Even the Master Plan prepared for the city of Amritsar for the year 2010-2031 lacks the Integrated Conservation Approach. It lacks the concept of Heritage zones, listed buildings, height controls, especially for the walled part. No doubt superficial statements in an adhoc manner have been given at certain places. But intangible heritage is in a complete state of neglect. Once the tangible heritage is lost, the intangible will automatically get lost. Thus there is a need to make both tangible and intangible heritage a part of Integrated Conservation Approach. This will not only help in protecting our rich built heritage and the character of the historic towns but also the traditional values, way of life and life styles still existing in walled cities. Modern developers have too often failed to understand the cultural value of historic centres and with unquestioning acceptance of the needs of motor traffic have constructed wide, straight streets through sensitive historic centres. The small and human scale, the refined traditional structure of the urban fabric, the narrow winding streets reflecting the necessities of climate, as well as the relationship between public and private space are destroyed. The situation of the historic centres in developing countries is more serious because often urban conservation planning is a low priority compared with modernization.(B.M.Feilden ,1089:82)

To conclude: the words of Graham King have still relevance, **"**We must restore the city the maternal, life nurturing function, the autonomous activities, and the symbiotic association that have long been neglected or suppressed. For the city should be an organ of love;

and the best economy of cities is the care and culture of human beings".

Thus both these cities still have a rich tangible and intangible heritage which needs proper attention for bringing them on the map of the World Heritage list.

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Shrines Shaping the Cities
Lahore: A Case Study

Ghafer Shahzad, Ph.D

Exhibiting the architectural remains of various ruling dynasties, Lahore is an old city with a known history of more than one thousand years. Historians have explored its dynamics mostly keeping in view the ruling authorities and their contributions in the form of grand edifices. The vibrant role of Sufis and their hospices in the expansion of the city from within uts walls to its immediate surroundings and their impact on the suburbs of the Walled City has not been taken into account in the architectural, urban, anthropological, sociological and historical studies.

This paper explores the city at two levels, first, the urban fabric and its expansion during various ruling dynasties and second, the rituals and ceremonies performed throughout the year on the premises of Sufi abodes. Cities have acquired their identities with reference to the presence of shrines of prominent Sufis. The shrine complex, a component of an urban settlement and a place for performance of rituals and ceremonies throughout the year, seen as an integrated phenomenon, is the focus of this paper. It is believed that in the case of a shrine, the physical environment cannot be separated from its socio-religious ambience.

The Sufis who mostly migrated from Central Asia, interacted with the Indian natives holding a variety of beliefs, first adapted the local culture, habits of living and social norms, language and literature, and finally transformed their belief in accordance with their own Islamic ideology. During the 16th and 17th centuries, Lahore earned a reputation as a popular center of Sufism and its teachings, belonging

to the *Qadiri* order. This order believed in the ideology of *Wahdat al-Wajud*[1] and largly influenced the populace of Lahore at multiple levels.

The second part of this study, brings to light the rituals, ceremonies and other celebrations relating to the Sufis and their cults that effectively attract the devotees towards them. This socio-religious and cultural environment is an outcome of the spiritual and physical auras of the shrines.

Although Multan is popularly known as "The City of the Saints", Lahore has also preserved in its soil hundreds of Sufi souls who entered the sub-continent even before Hadrat Baha al-Haq Zakaria (d.1267 A.D.), Hadrat Shah Shams Sabzwari (d. 1276 A.D.) and others who settled in Multan and in its environs in the 13th century. Lahore was a gateway to the people coming from Central Asia, including *Sūfīs* and Sultāns, who came to trade with, convert or conquer the people and territory of the Indian sub-continent. Hadrat 'Alī Hujwīrī came to Lahore in compliance with the direction of his *murshid*, in the mid years the of eleventh century.[2] It was the age of transition of almost a hundred years between the fading Ghaznavīd power and the formation of the strong Delhi Sultanate.[3] Before coming to Lahore, Hujwīrī had a vast exposure to life, scholarship, erudition, and political happenings in the cities of Central Asia.[4]

The Sufi tombs inside the Walled City of Lahore are not ubiquitous[5], as dozens of Sufis settled outside the wall in its immediate surroundings[6]. Sufis preferred to live away from the populace and

1 The doctrine of *Wahdat al-Wujud* meaning "the unity of being or existence" asserts that everything that exists can only exist because it is an aspect of Divine Reality, hence an aspect of Divine Unity itself.

2 The exact date of arrival of Hadrat 'Alī Hujwīrī is unknown. Researchers are mostly agreed that he arrived somewhere in the mid years of the 11th century A.D.

3 Nizami, Khaliq A., (1987) *Historical Role of Three Auliyā of South Asia,* University of Karachi, Karachi Pakistan.

4 Hujwīrī, before coming to Lahore visited Khurāsān, Maverānnahāhr, Merū, Adherbāijān etc.

5 These mainly include Hazrat Shah Raza Qadiri, Pir Sherazi, Syed Ishaq Gazrooni, Saed Soaf, Syed Sar Buland, Pir Zaki, Saed Mithha, etc.

6 Hadrat Bibi Pak Damana, Hadrat Miran Hussain Zanjani, Hadrat Pir Aziz-ud Din Makki (d.1215) Syed Mūsā Āhangar (d.1519) Syed Jhūlan Shāh Ghorey Shāh Bukhārī (d.1594) Dadrat Meerān Mauj Daryā Bukhārī (d.1604) Syed 'Abd al-Razzāq Makkī Neelā Gunbad (d.1638) Sayyid Shāh Jamāl (d.1639) Shaykh Jān Muhammad (d.1671) Shaykh Muhammad Isma'eel Miyān Waddā (d.1674) Hadrat Shāh Abū al-Mu'ālī (d.1615) Shaykh Tāhir Bandagī (d.1630) Hadrat Miyān Meer Qādirī (d.1635) Syed Shah Muhammad Ghawth (d.1635) Hadrat Shāh Jamāl Qādirī (d.1639), Khwājah Khāwind Hadrat Eshān (d.1642), Hadrat Shah Kamal Qadiri, Khwājah Behārī (d.1655) Syed 'Abd al-Razzāq

dense residential areas and after death were buried in their *hujrahs* (small room). With the expansion of the city these shrines, being located in the urban and suburban areas, have become an essential part of today's Lahore.

The Sufi abodes in the immediate surroundings of the Walled City can be declared the earlier settlements that ultimately set the direction of the city's future growth that is, towards South-East and South-West. There were open agricultural lands and trees around the city where Sufis preferred to live and were finally buried. Later these open agricultural lands attached with the shrines were converted into gardens and public places. The footprints of the paths giving access from the Walled City to its surrounding areas where Sufis lived can be traced out by studying the layout of today's road network with contextual reference to these Sufi shrines.

Sufis and their Shrines

During the early Sultanate period (11th to 12th centuries), the shrines were simple burial places of the Sufis and no annual celebrations were conducted by the devotees. Multan was the capital during the Sultanate period. With the introduction of the Sufi orders in the 14th and 15th centuries, the construction of massive and grand shrines for the Sufis of the Suhrawardi order began along with the performance of rituals and ceremonies. Hadrat Ala' al Din Mauj Darya for the first time organized and patterned the various ceremonies at the shrine of his grandfather that is, Baba Farid (a Chishty Sufi). This tradition attracted the devotees for participation. These rituals were adopted by the *mutawallis* of other shrines and in this way, the *'urs* days of a Sufi became more attractive and encouraged the devotees to pay regular visits. Next, the Mughal era (starting 1526 A.D.) witnessed a strong tradition of constructing tombs and shrines within the premises of gardens or otherwise gardens were constructed on the land endowed to these burial places[7]. These enormous gardens in the immediate surroundings of the city attached to the shrines remained intact till the commencement of the Sikh period.

During the Sikh period, a spacious garden named as *Bagh-e*

Shāh Chirāgh (d.1658) Hadrat Shāh 'Ināyat Qādirī (d.1728), Syed 'Abd al-Qādir Shāh Gadā (d.1741), Hadrat Shah 'Ali Rangrez, Hadrat Shah Gadā, Hadrat Shah Hussain and many more.

7 Naqoosh Lahore Number (1962) Idara Farogh-e Urdu Lahore. p205

Zanjaan[8] was revived on the evidences of previous foundations around the shrine of Hazrat Meeran Hussain Zanjānī. This garden had been engulfed by residential units and a community graveyard till the shrine was taken over by the Auqaf Department in 1960. Another spacious garden was attached to the shrine of Hazrat Shah Isma'el located at Hall Road. Buildings of the European Cathedral School and the Roman Catholic Church[9] were constructed on the *waqf* land of this shrine in the colonial period.

The British rulers, first through the "Bengal Code 1810" and then "The Religious Endowment Act 1863", got full control over all the religious and *waqf* properties of the Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims. This enabled the colonial authorities, firstly to collect the income from these shrines and secondly, placed *waqf* lands at their disposal. With the introduction of a new government, the British required land for the construction of public buildings, hospitals and educational institutions. It was the *waqf* land attached to the shrines, used for performance of rituals and ceremonies, that was made available for constructing institutional buildings. The changes carried out on a large scale re-shaped the immediate surroundings of the Walled City of Lahore.

Mayo Hospital, King Edward Medical College, Women's Hospital, *Sarae* Ratan Chand and many quarters[10] were constructed on the open public land attached to the shrine of Syed Ya'qoob Shah. The remaining land was sold by the *mutawallies.* A piece land measuring 3 *big'ha* (24 kanals) was endowed by Hadrat Abd al-Jalil Chuhar Shah Bandagi in his lifetime to his devotee Shaikh Mūsā Ahangar[11]. It had also been encroached upon by illegal occupants. Towards the South-West of the shrine of Hadrat Miyan Meer, there was a large-sized garden where the shrine of Hadrat Mullah Shah Badakhshi[12] was constructed. After Mughal era (1759 A.D.), when plunderers started robbing, people took shelter inside the walled premises of the shrine of Hadrat Mullah Shah Badakhshi and started living there[13]. This turned the garden into residential quarters.

8 *Ibid.* p145

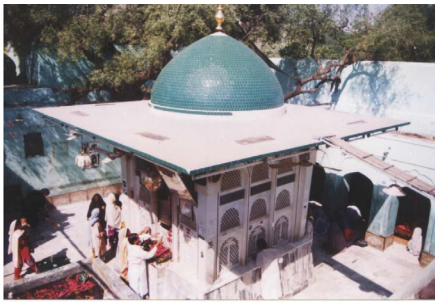
9 *Ibid.* p147

10 *Ibid.* p165

11 *Ibid.* p187

12 Mullah Shah Badakhshi was a murshad of the Mughal Prince Dara Shikoh who was killed by Alamgir in 1659 A.D. by taking verdict from Ulama' regarding the "*Mujma ul-Bahrain"* written by Shikoh.

13 Naqoosh Lahore Number (1962) Idara Farogh-e Urdu Lahore. p304


F. 3

Sufi shrines across Lahore

The Mughal Emperor Shah Jahan gifted one hundred thousand golden *tankas* to Hadrat Khwajah Khawind Mahmood Aeeshan who constructed a mosque, an amazing garden and shrine in his lifetime[14]. Ghulab Singh constructed a cantonment in the place of the garden after dismantling the boundary wall during the Sikh period. Local brick-sellers removed the bricks from the courtyard of the mosque and graves for selling purposes and Ghulab Singh stored ammunition inside the shrine's room[15]. The mosque and shrine still exist but are in a poor condition.

14 *Ibid.* p320-21
15 Hindi, Kanhiyya Lal (1894) Majlis Taraqqi-e Adab Lahore. p244

On the western side of the shrine of Hadrat Syed Mahmood (d.1640), there was a magnificent garden till the last decade of the Mughal era[16]. A grand mosque and garden were constructed attached to the shrine of Hadrat 'Abd al-Razzaq Makki[17]. The Garden was later occupied by the Sikhs and the shrine was turned into a warehouse for dumping the ammunition.

The buildings of the Lahore High Court, the Supreme Court Lahore Bench, Shah Chiragh Building, Aiwan-e Auqaf, and Auditor General Office were constructed on the *waqf* land attached to the shrine of Hadrat Shah Chiragh Lahori (d.1658) who settled in Mohalla Langar Makhdome in the 17th century. The Income Tax Complex and other related buildings have been constructed on the premises of the shrine of Hadrat Meeran Mauj Darya Bukhari (d.1604). Governor House has enveloped the grave of Muhammad Qasim Khan that still exists. King Edward Medical College University, Mayo Hospital, Anarkali Bazaar and Neela Gumbad Market are constructed on the premises of land attached to the shrines of Syed Ya'qoob Shah and Syed 'Abd al-Razzaq Makki (d.1638).

In general, historical studies reflect that gardens, water wells, wrestling arenas, *Saraes*, and older trees were essential components of the Sufi abodes and their shrines. The shrines at Lahore still continue to perform their role in providing space to the people for their socio-religious and cultural activities.

Rituals and Ceremonies: Ambience of the Shrines

The Dictionary[18] meaning conveys that 'ambience' is *"a feeling or mood associated with a particular place, person or thing"*. A Shrine is a building-type that is very rich in its ambience as all the three, that is, *"the place, person and thing"* jointly create an environment that enhances the *"feeling and mood"* associated with the mystical vibes.

A deep analytical study of the content and thought of *Kashf al-Mahjūb* reflects both, the state of mind and the nature of socio-religious institutions of the Muslims during the eleventh century A.D. In his

16 Naqoosh Lahore Number (1962) Idara Farogh-e Urdu Lahore p328
17 *Ibid.* p543
18 http.www.Merrian-Western.Com/dictionary

writings, Hujwīrī has made no direct reference to the social conditions of the local residents of India. He has deliberated a the religious and mystical concepts of Indian natives. In *Kashf al-Mahjūb*, he has described in detail about the dialogue that he had with the religious scholars of Lahore.

Hujwīrī, the Sufi and his treatise *Kashf al-Mahjūb* later on, created an impact on both; *khānqāh*-life and local residents. He laid down the principles of *khānqāh* organization. Hujwīrī defined the etiquettes for residents and travelers. He delineated the rules for devotees, regarding eating, sleeping, fasting, companionship, and *Samā'* etc. These principles of *Khānqāh* organization provided guidelines to the mystics for centuries and helped in establishing various *Sūfī* orders. Though he himself did not introduce any *Sūfī silsalah*, he instructed practicing *Sūfīs* on almost every aspect of life. He warned them against eating or drinking in excess.[19] He advised them to avoid visiting the houses of wealthy people or to beg anything from them.[20] He directed, "while walking with a number of people, one should not attempt to go in front of them".[21] Nizami writes[22] regarding the impact of *Kashf al-Mahjūb* on the Persian speaking people as under;

> "*Kashf Al-Mahjūb,* one of the earliest books on mysticism in the Persian language had a direct impact on the Persian speaking people. It elucidated the basic principles of Islamic mysticism in crystal clear language and paved the way for making mysticism a mass movement on Indian Territory".

Hujwīrī writes that *wadū* and prayer are two means for physical and spiritual purification. Man is composed of clay and clay has impurities. The ways and means of *Sūfī'* practices help a person in purifying impurities.

Besides the shrine of Hadrat Ali Hujwiri, there are many other Sufis buried in and around Lahore whose '*urs* ceremonies are celebrated with public participation[23]. Spiritual ambience at these shrines is created

19 Hujwīrī, Hadrat 'Alī;(1938) *The Kashf Al-Mahjūb* Trans. By Reynold A. Nicholson, Luzac & Co. 46-Great Russell Street London p. 347

20 *Ibid.* p. 349

21 *Ibid.*

22 Nizami, Khaliq A., Op.cit., pp. 33-34

23 These include Hadrat Bibi Pak Damana, Hadrat Meeran Hussain Zanjani, Hadrat Miyan Meer, Hadrat Madhu Lal Hussain, Hadrat Shah Jamal Lahori, Hadrat Shah Kamal Lahori, Hadrat Inayat

F. 3

Devotess at a shrine

by the practical followings set by the *sharī'at, harīqat,* rituals, beliefs, ceremonies, and other related activities performed by the devotees. The simplest gesture paying homage to the *Sūfī* starts with *fātihah* and reaches the biggest event of the annual *'urs*. Remembering Allah, that is. *Dhikr-e Jalī* and *dhikr-e khafī* are two common rituals performed by the devotees regularly on the premises of the shrines to experience the ecstasy.

Another common ritual is to drink water from the *chashmah* (fountain) located on the premises or to taste the salt placed towards the southern side of the grave of Hujwiri. Devotees believe that this would protect them from physical and spiritual disorders and discomforts. People are in the habit of visiting these shrines weekly, monthly, and annually to participate in the ceremonies. Devotees visit shrines especially on Thursdays and Fridays to pay homage to their spiritual leaders.

In the early decades of the establishment of shrines, devotees used to visit to say *fātihah* or to request the *Sūfī* to fulfill their wishes. To recite the holy Qur'ān at the grave of a Sufi was another activity. The *'urs* ceremony was very simple, spreading over one day. Later, *gaddī nashīn* and *mutawallis* started organizing numerous rituals and ceremonies to create a dramatic effect at *khanaqahs* to attract and involve of the devotees. Now *'urs* ceremonies are spread over three days formally, and continue for more than ten days informally at the shrines of prominent *Sūfīs*. On the first day, the *waqf* administration, government or political authorities inaugurate *'urs* ceremonies by spreading the *chādar* (cloth-sheet) on the grave and inaugurating the free milk distribution (*sabeel)*[24]. The Governor or the Chief Minister

Shah Qadiri, Hadrat Shah Abu al-Mu'ali, Hadrat Shah Chiragh Lahori, Hadrat Turt Murad etc

24 It has become a tradition since a long time that milkmen of Lahore and its suburban areas provide milk for three days, free of charges. Thousands of kilograms of milk is freely distributed to the devotees.

feels honored in availing the opportunity of inaugurating the '*urs* ceremonies.

The second day is reserved for the colloquium, *samā', na'at khawānī* and others. These activities start in the morning and adjourn late night. The second day ceremonies continue to the third day and finally end up with a big *Du'ā* in the closing ceremony. Tens of thousands of people participate in these events.

Mehfil–e na'at, 'īed mīlād al-nabī, m'irāj sharīf are the other regular events celebrated on the premises of shrines which have become community centers for socio-religious and cultural activities. Primarily, the devotees are in the habit of visiting the shrines to request the *Sūfī* for help in fulfilling their desires and wants. Visitors are increasing daily. People stay at these shrines round the clock and this socio-religious and cultural environment has continued since centuries. This has transformed the socio-religious ambience of the shrine into one which is Islamicate.[25]

25 The term "*Islamicate"* is used for those rituals, ceremonies, social activities which are neither Islamic nor anti-Islamic but are part of Muslim and non-Muslim cultures.

Conclusion

The shrine is a living thread of the urban fabric of Muslim settlement in the Indian sub-continent. It is not static but dynamic in nature. It is a dynamic culture, ever flourishing, changing, adapting to new versions and extending traditions. In the 21st century, the shrine has accepted the challenging responsibility of exhibiting cultural norms and religious ideology simultaneously in its multilayered ambience. It has successfully performed its role in the expansion of urban ambits of Muslim settlements in past years and now has managed its spatial configuration to take up its new task of bringing together individuals and groups having contradictory ideologies, religious sects, diversified cultures and territorial contexts. Its spatial configuration is elastic and resilient. On occasions, it provides space to perform purely religious ceremonies[26] and simultaneously it offers its premises to hold rituals, ceremonies, annual '*urs* celebrations, and *sama'* which are more cultural and spiritual. People achieve ecstasy through *dhamal* and *qawwali* on the rhythm of the drum and also recite the holy Qur'an and perform their prayers, being a compulsory act, on the same premises but at different time's. It is a continuous source of income for the *waqf* administration with zero investment. It has also become a hub of commercial activity for businessmen because of the regular and ever-increasing visits of devotees. It has also become a permanent security threat for law and order agencies.

26 Like *Mehil–e na'at, hed mīlād al-nabi, m'irāj sharIf*, *Jumma* prayers, *Eid al-Fitar and Eid al-Adha* prayers etc.

Public Sculptures of Lahore
Lahore: A Case Study

Syed Faisal Sajjad

In this case study, the reader will find neither a history of Lahore city nor a history of its life and still less an explanation of the former by the latter. Lahore, like any object of criticism, is ultimately the product of a certain history. However, there is an order of tasks: first of all we must restore to this city its coherence, recover the structure of an existence (if not life), thematic, if you like, or better still, an organized network of obsessions. Then will come the real critics, historians or phenomenologists or psychoanalysts. The present work is no more than pre-criticism. I have sought merely to describe a unity, not to explore its roots in history or in biography.[1]

Introduction

"Dying repeatedly and believing each crisis is the last; it is reborn all the more delightedly." [2]

This research paper looks at the role of public sculpture in the place-making in the city of Lahore, along with its political and historical significance. Public sculptures have always been an important element of urban environment. They contribute towards forming a city's image and identity. In Lahore this tradition started with the British figurative sculpture. After Independence the issue of identity became a major concern and preoccupation in the design of public sculpture and monuments.

We have also witnessed a loss of heritage that this paper attempts to trace. Many British period sculptures are either missing or removed from public places. This loss of urban heritage has impacted the city's image, identity and memory.

Place-Making - Theoretical Framework

The tradition of public sculpture in Lahore started during the British Colonial period. The first areas to be developed in the Civil

1 Adapted from Roland Barthes "Michelet'" (French Historian born in Paris. His liberal opinions twice caused his lectures at the College de France to be suspended) Hill and Wang, New York, 1987 p-3

2 *ibid* p-17

Station after the annexation of Lahore were the Mall[3] and Lawrence Road.[4] The earliest examples of memorials and figurative sculptures appeared in this newly planned Civil Station[5] with institutional buildings and a sense of zoning. Sculptures contributed towards forming a sense of place and a new urban identity.

The phenomenon of place-making depends on the tangible form of urban spaces as well as the intangible aspects of life in a city. It is a perceptual and psychological phenomenon. The life of a city is manifested in the city's urban form and determines its historicity. The classical Greek philosopher, Aristotle, in his discussion on poetics denounces the idea of episode as an event that is inconsequential in the bigger picture and the epic on the other hand focuses on the essence of life. Events in a larger span of time fall into a certain order to form a timeless narrative.[6] Milan Kundera[7] has reflected on Aristotle's discussion and questions that, ''If the episodes are put together would they form a bigger picture/ life and become consequential in any way[8]''? This rhetorical argument is based on the question ''whether historicity and timelessness of a place is essentially epical or episodic/ event-based?'' This historicity is closely linked with the memory of a city and therefore establishes the importance of sculptural memorials and monuments.[9] That is where the theoretical boundary between history and memory begins to blur. This blurring is caused by a constant exchange of categories between recorded history and oral history.[10] This memory/ myth frees a city from the bounds of time and place. This mythical timelessness gives an immortal character to a city and becomes a part of the subconscious of its residents.[11] Any historical city experiences this journey from being to becoming.[12] These layers of history and memory are embedded in the folds of its urban form, architectural character, sense of place and the urban culture.[13]

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3 Renamed as the Lower Mall after the planning of the existing Mall

4 Renamed as the Mall after 1876, the first section was called Exhibition Road after the Exhibition of 1864; it was later renamed as the Upper Mall and after partition again renamed as the Lower Mall.

5 A term used by Glover, William in "Making Lahore Modern", Oxford, Karachi, 2011 to describe the newly planned British areas of Lahore along the Mall

6 An idea put forth by the Greek philosopher Aristotle in his book Poetics, Hill & Wang, New York, 1961

7 Milan Kundera is a Czech writer who has lived in France in exile since 1975

8 Argument presented by Milan Kundera in his book "immortality" Harper Perennial, New York, 1999

9 Reference to Dr. Carl Jung's theory of collective unconscious and archetypes as opposed to Dr. Freud's '*tabula rasa'*

10 An idea put forth in the theoretical approach of New Historicism.

11 A reappearing idea in The Collected Works of C. G. Jung, Routledge & Kegan Paul, Ltd, London, 1956

12 Idea developed from Edmund Husserl's '*Formal Ontology'*

13 The idea of le plea (*the fold)* developed by the French philosopher Giles Deluze based on his works on Leibniz in "A Thousand Plateaus"

There is a spatial syntax[14] in every place that establishes the semiotics of place-making. All the objects and elements of an urban form are arranged within that syntax. This spatial syntax establishes the proximity and relationship of elements and a spatial dialogue is established. Complexity is added when the layer of history/ memory and culture is superimposed on the spatial matrix. This results in spatial semantics and place-making. It is only in a certain spatial syntax and historical context that urban spaces acquire significance and meaning. This historical process plays a significant role in place-making. There are always new connections and associations that individuals are forming with a place. The theoretical and perceptual frame of reference is continuously changing with the way we understand and construct past history and that change re-adjusts the present frame of reference. The past is altered by the present as much as the present is directed by the past. [15] Place-making is therefore a phenomenon in constant flux.

The meaning and significance of sculptures and objects changes when removed from public places and displayed in museums. This results in the erasure of a part of the city's memory. Selective retention of history/ memory results from the desperation to construct forced identities especially in post colonial cities. This hermeneutics of absence[16] is a common experience in the spatial syntax of Lahore. The attempt in this paper is to locate the public sculpture in its urban context to develop an understanding of place-making and the role of public sculpture as an important contributing factor.

The Mall, Lahore - Historical Context

The earliest public sculpture in Lahore appeared on the Lawrence Road (renamed 'the Mall' after 1876). This Road was planned by Colonel Napier in 1851 when the British Cantonment was moved from Anarkali to Mian Mir. Since then there has been a continuous change in the urban form of the Mall. Design changes were made to make through roads, especially in the case of the division of the Gol Bagh[17] into two parts. In certain cases we witness urban improvements especially when Basil M Sullivan worked on the design of Charing

14 Space syntax was a tool of analysis developed in the Bartlett in the late 70's to study the effect of space design on social patterns.

15 Idea discussed by T.S. Eliot in his essay "Tradition and Individual Talent" from the book "The Sacred Wood" The Modern Library, New York, 2002 p.101

16 A concept based on the *Philosophical Hermeneutics* of Martin Heidegger in which the main focus is on *being in the world* rather than a simple *way of knowing.* This was later developed into Derrida's *the presence of absence* as a core argument in his theory of Deconstruction.

17 Also known as Band Stand Gardens because of the weekly performance of police band, Anarkali Gardens due to the location and Municipal Gardens because of the Municipal Town Hall. It was renamed Nasir Bagh after Jamal Abdul Nasir of Egypt.

Cross in the early 20th century.[18] After Partition the loss of urban and architectural heritage on the Mall has been very high due to vandalism, neglect and commercial activity.

H.R. Goulding writes about Old Lahore and the Mall:

> "It is of interest to recall that the beautiful Mall of which we are so justly proud and which is admittedly one of the finest public roads in India was first aligned in 1851 by Lieutenant-Colonel Napier, the Civil Engineer, who described it as "a direct road from Anarkali to Mian Mir." [19]
>
> "No noticeable alteration either in alignment or width seems to have been made till Sir Ganga Ram was Executive Engineer, in charge of the Lahore Provincial Division. Extensive improvements were carried out in the sections east of the Post Office crossing. Later still the whole length of the Mall was remodelled on its present lines under the personal supervision of the late Mr. Du Cune Smythe, Chief Engineer, who, in turn, was supervised by the then Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Charles Rivaz."[20]

Old Mall

Colonel Goulding writes in his book "Old Lahore":

> "One seldom, if ever, hears of Donald Town now, but Anarkali and Naulakha, the two original sub-divisions, are still well-defined areas. The social life of old Lahore centred round the now deserted Lower Mall in days not too far distant, when the Police Band played regularly twice a week in the Gol Bagh, then known as the Bandstand Gardens, and the beauty and fashion of the Station gathered there to exchange gossip and listen to the music. The Bandstand and the masonry promenade are all that now remain as indications of departed glories. Before leaving the Upper Mall it may be of interest to note that the section between the Anarkali Bazaar and the Gol Bagh was at one time known as Exhibition Road, in commemoration of the Punjab Exhibition held in 1864 in the building now used as the Municipal (Tollinton) Market."[21]

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18 Geddes, Patrick. Urban improvements, commercial printing works (1917), Development commission, Lahore, 1965

19 Goulding, H.R Colonel. Old Lahore, Reminiscences of a Resident, Sang-e-Meel, Lahore, 1924 p.47

20 *Ibid*

21 *Ibid* p.48

Exhibition Road

This is the last section of the Mall on the city side. The only surviving British period public sculpture of Alfred Woolner stands in front of the Punjab University Old Campus. The area has a strong institutional character with fine Gothic and eclectic buildings. It is not clear when this Road was first officially named Upper Mall. It was shown as Lawrence Road in maps before 1876. Originally there was the one and only Mall, now known as the Lower Mall. It is probable that the new nomenclature was used when the Civil Station between Government House and Anarkali was christened Donald Town, in commemoration of Sir Donald McLeod's Lieutenant-Governorship.

There is an incident mentioned in Colonel Goulding's book that indicates the widening and up-gradation project of the Exhibition Road being carried out:

"On one occasion the writer saw the Chief Engineer kneeling on the ground with a measuring tape in his hands, while on another the Lieutenant-Governor, who never allowed the felling of a tree if it could possibly be avoided, was personally superintending the marking of certain roadside trees which had to come down when the Mall was being realigned and widened opposite the Mayo School of Art." [22]

F. 1

A map from 1920 showing the Mall

22 *Ibid* pp 47-48

In this map of 1920 the Exhibition Road is mentioned as Upper Mall and is of varying width throughout. It is wider in front of the Tollinton Market with a rectangular green space opposite it and narrower in front of the Museum but the presence of fenceless semi-circular green spaces in front of the Museum and the Senate Hall of the Punjab University gave it a wide and spacious look. The Mall again widened in front of the Mayo School of Arts with another semi circular green space opposite the University laboratory. There was a very strong sense of urban axis as the Mall terminated at the Gol Bagh. The British in the early 20th century pointed out the need for a number of urban improvements in this area and there were projects and proposals. Sir Patrick Geddes writes in one of his reports regarding urban improvements in Lahore:

"Another difficult point and one of most urgent importance, is the connection of Upper Mall, beyond McLagan Road into Anarkali, and beyond this to the University, the Museum, etc. I understand that this has been already considered by the council, but found too expensive. I have, however, asked the surveyor to prepare me a sketch survey of this area with its lanes between McLagan Road and Anarkali; and when this is ready, I do not despair of working out from it some practicable, and not too costly, improvement in this quarter." [23]

Public Sculpture on the Old Mall, Lahore

F. 2

Donald McLeod memorial in front of Lahore Cathedral

Donald McLeod Memorial, Secretariat building, Old Mall

"This beautiful monument stood on the Old Mall, east of the Government Secretariat Office. It was of marble placed on a square of red sand stone and was surrounded by iron railings. The entrance to which was to the east. The following was the inscription on the monument: 'In remembrance of one whom we loved DONALD FRIELL MCLEOD K.C.S Lieutenant Governor of Punjab Born 6th May 1800, died 28th November 1872. The Lord knoweth them that are his.'[24]

This monument is in the form of a Celtic Cross. This Cross was formerly at the west

23 Geddes, Patrick. Urban improvements, commercial printing works (1917), Development Commission, Lahore, 1965

24 Latif, S.M. Lahore, Sang-e-Meel, Lahore 1994, p. 319

courtyard of the compound and was brought to its present location opposite the main entrance of the Cathedral for the inauguration of its centenary celebrations on Jan 25th 1987.

Public Sculpture on the Lawrence Road (Mall), Lahore

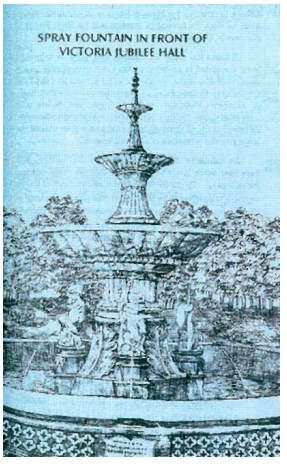
The Exhibition Road Area

Raja Harbans Singh's fountain, Victoria Jubilee Hall

S. M. Latif mentions in his book "Lahore":

"The Victoria Jubilee Hall building was constructed in the 1890's. Outside the building the fountain presented by Raja Harbans Singh constitutes a great attraction. The fountain is painted green in the imitation of Bronze, and the four cupids on the pedestal are white. It is beautifully situated in the enclosure in front of the building and is surrounded with plants and is intended to throw out jets in several designs."[25]

This fountain was more or less in complete form till 1960 when the Gol Bagh was not intersected. In 1960 a road was built and the fountain was badly damaged while making a stage on top of it. The intersecting road badly affected the spatial harmony of Gol Bagh and the idea of a garden as a setting for architecture was disturbed. Gol Bagh became a traffic island and lost its sense of place.



F. 3

Raja Harbans Singh's fountain in front of Victoria Jubilee Hall

25 Latif, S.M. Lahore, Sang-e-Meel, Lahore, 1994, p.874

F. 4

Fountain at Nasir Bagh

Nasir Bagh Fountain

This fountain was designed by Qadir Buksh in 1988. The garden was part of the Town Hall complex and was popularly known as Gol Bagh. The fountain is a part of an almost lake-sized pool designed in a curvilinear shape. The fountain is an A-symmetric rectilinear composition made of concrete and clad in white marble.

M.M.Alam's F-86 Saber plane, Town Hall, Lower Mall

"On the 6th September 1965 Squadron Leader Muhammad Mahmood Alam hunted down two Indian planes and damaged three and on the 7th September he hunted down four more Indian planes. He was awarded the 'Sitara-e-jurat''. This is the inscription on the plate under the plane. The plane is mounted at the main entrance of the Victoria Jubilee Hall.

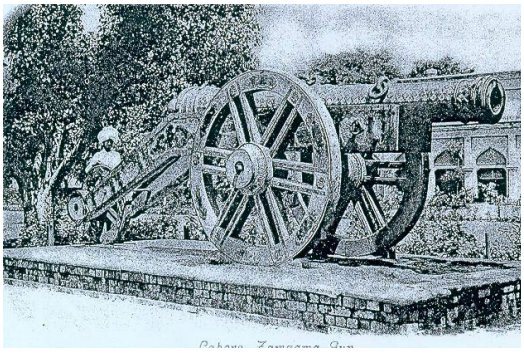
The Zamzama Gun

The Zamzama gun was brought to the Mall from its earlier location near Delhi Gate. Kipling and Thornton mention in their book 'Lahore As It Was':

"On a raised platform immediately in front of the entrance hall will be observed an ancient piece of ordnance. This is the famous gun, Zamzama, known by the Sikhs as the Bhangian-wali Top. The gun, one of the largest specimens of native cast in India was made in AD 1761 by Shah Wali Khan, Wazir of Shah Ahmad Durrani, by whom it was used at the battle of Panipat."[26]

F. 5

The Zamzama gun at the Mall



In 1802 it was obtained by

26 Kipling J.L and Thornton T.H, Lahore as it was (1860), NCA publications, Lahore, 2002 p.73

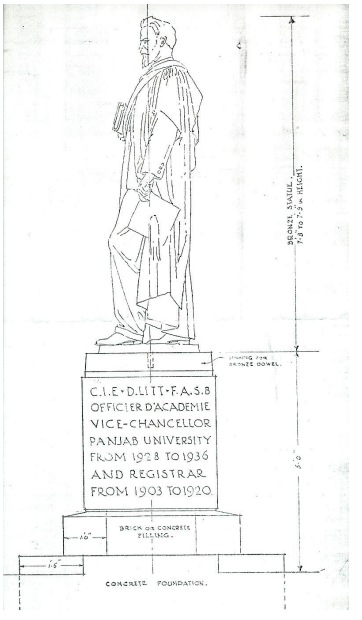
Ranjit Singh.[27] The gun was restored by 603 Combined Workshop, Electrical Mechanical Engineers (EME), Lahore Cantonment in October 1976. This gun is a major urban landmark of this area and is displayed in the centre facing east.

Statue of Alfred Woolner

This memorial statue was constructed, designed and manufactured by Gilbert Ledward R.A sculptor, Pembroke Walk Studios, Kensington, London WB, dated 27th May 1937. An original drawing of this memorial was found in the Town Hall record room. This drawing bears the description: "the pedestal to be executed in gray granite fine axed finish with gritted surface for the inscriptions. Inscription in 4 inches and 2 inches letters in sized V section."[28]

F. 6

Original drawing for the Alfred Woolner memorial



The statue itself is 7 feet and 9 inches tall and is in bronze. In 1951 an attempt was made to remove this statue but it fortunately survived. The inscription on the left of the statue bears the following statement, "Professor of Sanskrit, and Principal of the Oriental College from 1903 to 1936 and Dean of the University studies from 1920 to 1936". The inscription in front says, "Alfred Woolner 1878 to 1936 a great and beloved leader". The inscription on the right bears the words: "C.I.E, M.A, D.Litt, F.A.S.B. Vice Chancellor Punjab University from 1928 to 1936 and Registrar from 1903 to 1920"

In this excellent archival photograph of the Exhibition Road probably taken from the University roof top, one can see the Museum building, the Mayo School of Arts along with the sculptural Museum water tank and the statue of Alfred Woolner. The entire area is very leafy. The sense of enclosure is vast especially because of the absence of any fence. The two semi-circular gardens add to the spaciousness of the Road. Visually it gives the impression of one continuous

27 Gazetteer of the Lahore district, Punjab Government, Sang-e-Meel, Lahore, 1989 p.181
28 Information from the original drawing, Source: M.C.L record. Dated: 1937

space without boundaries or barriers. The eclectic architectural character of the surrounding structures is harmonious, evoking a strong sense of place.

Missing statues of Lala Lajpat Rai and Rai Bahadur Ganga Ram

These were two British period sculptures in life size that are not present today. The statue of Lala Lajpat Rai (1865-1928), who, while leading a procession with Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya to demonstrate against the Simon Commission, faced brutal baton charge and died of fatal injuries on November 17, 1928, was somewhere in the vicinity of Kim's Gun. This statue is not there now. It was removed to Simla where it still stands.

F. 7

Statue of Lala Lajpat Rai in Simla

Another statue (now missing) in this area was that of Sir Ganga Ram, who gave many beautiful landmarks to the city of Lahore. What happened to this statue has been narrated by Saadat Hassan Manto, the celebrated Urdu short story writer, in one of his stories on the frenzy of communal riots of 1947. Manto writes: "An inflamed mob in Lahore, after attacking a Hindu mohalla, turned to attack the statue of Sir Ganga Ram, the Indian philanthropist. They first pelted the statue with stones; then smothered its face with coal tar. Then a man made a garland of old shoes and climbed up to put it round the neck of the statue. The police arrived and opened fire. Among the injured was the fellow with the garland of old shoes. As he fell, the mob shouted: Let us rush him to Sir Ganga Ram Hospital."[29]

Ratan Singh's Fountain, Anarkali

This beautiful fountain was situated close to the post office, south of the firm for making ice. The fountain was Ratan Singh's. This fountain is not present now at the mentioned location. It was most probably a drinking fountain in stone with a cast iron gazebo on top.

King Edward's Square

The bronze statue of King Edward VII was at one time the centre of the Neela Gumbad area. The King Edward Memorial Scheme

29 From a short story "Sir Ganga Ram" by Saadat Hassan Manto

was started in 1914 but the development of this area was incremental. It was mainly open grounds during the Mughal period with the tomb of Hazrat Abdul Razzaq Makki constructed after 1673. It seems to be a large complex visible in a miniature painting of that time.

This garden was destroyed during the Sikh period (1762-1849AD). It was used as the parade ground when the Sikh and British troops were located here and the structures were used as military barracks and arsenal. In 1849 both the structures were used as the Cantonment Mess. In 1856 the British returned both the structures to the Muslim community. The Lahore Medical School started in 1860 and its first building was built in 1883. The Holy Trinity Church was inaugurated on March 22nd 1881. In 1889 the Lahore Mission School was shifted to Neela Gumbad from Rang Mahal and was later renamed the Forman Christian College. In 1910-11 the Mayo Hospital was founded and on 10th Nov 1915 the Patiala Block was inaugurated by Viceroy Lord Hardinge of Pankhurst. The Central Bank of India was built in 1911 and the Ewing Hall was constructed in 1916.

The original urban character of King Edward's Square was a strong sense of place and architecture. The urban and architectural character has changed in a major way. The statue of King Edward VII once stood at the Neela Gumbad. An old photograph shows the exact location in the public square. The statue stood on a high platform that in the photograph seems to be over 10 feet tall. Unfortunately there is no record of the exact size, material and details of the platform. The statue of King Edward was removed from the area at some point in time and is now in the Sikh Gallery of the Lahore Fort.

The Neela Gumbad fountain was part of a re-designing project of the complete public square. This huge structure is made in concrete. The pool is an asymmetric serpentine shape. The fountain is designed in the form of a sail boat. This renewal project along with

F. 8

Statue of King Edward VII at Neela Gumbad

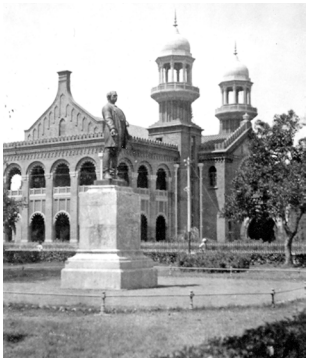
the encroachments in front of the mausoleum complex has completely changed the spatial and urban character of the area.

F. 9

Statue of Lord Lawrence in front of Lahore High Court on the Mall[1]

1 Photograph courtesy NCA archives

High Court, The Mall-Statue of Lord Lawrence



This statue once stood in front of the Lahore High Court, on the Mall. An old photograph of the statue shows a high platform on which the statue stood. Lord Lawrence was shown holding a pen in the right hand and a sword in the left. The statue was in bronze and the pedestal was in Nowshehra stone.[30]The sculptor took the liberty of paraphrasing Lawrence's declamation to the Trans-Sutlej States in 1848, "I have ruled this district for three years by the sole agency of the pen, and if necessary I will rule it by the sword". Lawrence's words have been compressed into the pithy warning, 'by which will ye be governed – the pen or the sword?' In the 1920's an agitation started against the condescending inscription that many nationalists found offensive. In October 1921 the General Committee of the Municipal Committee passed a resolution that 1- The statue should be removed. 2- It should be stored temporarily in the Town Hall, and 3- That a sub- committee should deliberate on the final disposal of the statue. The formation of the sub-committee ensured that no action would be taken, and the statue remained in place until its final removal on 25th August 1951 to the Lahore Fort.[31] The statue was taken to Foyle and Londonderry College in Northern Ireland where it stands today.

Cathedral Monument

The stone at the foot of the monument bears the following inscription,

> "The Cathedral Church of Resurrection Centennial monument 1887-1987
>
> Unveiling by General Zia-ul-Haq
>
> Dedicated by Bishop of Lahore, Moderator Church of Pakistan
>
> In the presence of the people of the diocese on 1st November 1987"
>
> "This monument represents an open alter in the midst of the

30 Latif, S.M. Lahore, Sang-e-Meel, Lahore 1994, p.319
31 Information from the archival record of Punjab archives, Civil Secretariat.

F. 10

Cathedral monument on the Mall

busy world around. The tower, arch and motif are prominent elements of the Cathedral. The Cross is highlighted in a stained glass panel which is a modern representation of the nineteenth century stained glass windows inside the Church. The challis signifies the celebration of Holy Communion. The fountain represents the fountain of life, the pool the baptism font and forgiveness of sins. The entrance of the pool is open symbolizing the words from the 23rd Psalm, "My cup floweth over". The alter is built to appear like open arms welcoming all people to its sanctuary of peace and everlasting life. Shiuli Phailbus (Architect)"[32]

Charing Cross (Queen Victoria's Statue)

F. 11

Qveen Victoria's Statue under the marble pavilion at Charing Cross

The Charing Cross was planned by Basil M Sullivan in 1914 and the project was completed in 1915. Before that the area was roughly in the shape of a triangle connecting Ferozpur Road with Montgomery Road and Nedous Hotel on the north eastern side. The Freemason's lodge and Shah Din building were constructed in the 1910's, giving the newly planned square a spacious urban character and a distinct neo-classical architectural vocabulary. The Punjab Assembly building was added in the 1930's.

The WAPDA House and Alfalah building were constructed in the 1960's and with that the architectural character and sense of enclosure changed. The most prominent monument of the British presence for many years was the bronze statue of Queen Victoria, wearing her small imperial crown on a veil of her favorite Honiton lace, cradling the sceptre and holding the orb. The statue had been cast in London by B. Mackennal in 1900, the year before Queen Victoria's death in January 1901.[33] The statue was placed under a marble pavilion designed by Bhai Ram Singh. Although the statue was taken to the Lahore Museum on a bullock cart in 1951, the marble pavilion remains with a bronze model of the holy Quran.

32 Information from the inauguration panel at the foot of the monument

33 Aijazuddin, F.S. LahoreRecollected, an album, Vanguard, Lahore, 2006 p.143

Faisal Chowk and Islamic Summit Minar

This Islamic Summit Minar commemorates the 2nd Islamic Summit Conference held at Lahore in 1974. It was designed by the Turkish architect Vedat Dalakoy. The minar is a square, thin, solid concrete column that rises high from the square pool at the basement level. The pool in the basement has halls all around for a museum. At the ground level there are sixteen camps like tapering forms clad in red sand stone surrounding the structure in the basement. The addition of this monument significantly changed the spatial character and shifted the optical centre of the space.

Public Spaces and Sculpture after Partition

Lahore saw rapid urban growth after Partition and it was developed as a city for the automobile. Existing roads were widened and new roads laid. This development also included the remodelling and design of traffic crossings and roundabouts. These traffic islands became focal points in the city. These spaces are more visual than anything else as they are inaccessible due to the fast moving traffic. Most of the new monuments and fountains were placed in these traffic islands. Abstract and symbolic forms were given preference over figurative sculptures because of iconoclastic controversy. The abstraction also suited the religious and nationalistic notions. There is a trend of displaying objects like aircrafts, submarines, tanks and guns in public places for the very purpose of evoking nationalistic sentiments. In certain cases replicas of missiles have also been installed.

Kalma Chowk Monument

F. 12

Kalma Chowk monument

The monument was designed by Professor Ahmad Khan in the 80's. The composed planes grew gradually and seem to be moving towards the sky. These forms were finished in red terrazzo and on each plane was inscribed the first Kalma using Naskh script in bronze. This monument was removed to make way for a flyover in 2011. Two small replicas of the monument are mounted on either side of the flyover marking the presence of an absence.[34]

34 A concept introduced by Jacques Derrida in his theory of Deconstruction

Mc Donald's Fountain, Main Boulevard Gulberg

This fountain was designed by Nadeem Waheed in the 90's. The fountain is in concrete and clad in white marble. The form is like a stepped pyramid with 32 small offsets/steps. One finds very few examples of abstract modern sculpture like this one in Lahore. The intimidating mass of the commercial buildings around the sculpture has overshadowed the otherwise monumental form and aesthetics of the sculpture.

Zafar Shaheed Memorial

This memorial is present on the west side of Lahore Railway Station and in front of the Landa Bazaar entrance. Its was constructedin memory of Zafar Shaheed who was a leader killed in a protest. The monument comprises a brass globe from which two geometric hands appear to be holding a brass dove.

Ghughoo Ghoray, Lohari Gate, Circular Road

This sculpture of giant size toy horses is at a roundabout between Lohari Gate and Urdu bazaar. These toy horses in metal are clad in mixed materials. There are two horses in different postures designed by Shahnawaz Zaidi. These horses are almost 20 feet tall and the design vocabulary is from regional crafts. The designer has taken inspiration from an ordinary regional toy and made it into huge size sculptures bearing a faint resemblance to the Trojan Horse.

F. 13

Ghughoo Ghoray, Lahori Gate

Ghora Chowk, Defence

This chowk contains sculptures of three horses made by Shahkar. These horses facing one direction are in action postures and the centre one is standing on its hind legs.

F. 14

Defence Ghora Chowk

Animal Sculptures, Lahore Zoo

These are realistic life-size sculptures of an elephant, a giraffe, a mountain goat and a bear outside the main entrance of the Lahore zoo on the Mall by Prof. Ahmad Khan and Prof. Muhammad Asif.

Monument of Girja Chowk, Lahore Cantonment

F. 15

Monument of Girja Chowk

This monument is at the main roundabout short of the old terminal of Lahore airport. This triangular composition was designed by the sculptor Khalil Chishti. On one panel we see a tank in 3D and armed soldiers in action above it. The second relief shows victorious soldiers celebrating in a group by raising their arms in joy and on the left in the background at the bottom we see soldiers alert in a trench. On the top left in the background we see a group of archers. The third relief displays a heavy gun in foreshortened perspective.

Ghazi Chowk Fountain, Defence

F. 16

Fountain at Ghazi Chowk

Earlier at the site there was a sculptured group of soliders in the centre of the roundabout. Later on it was removed because of a dispute as the army objected to the figures of soldiers at a roundabout as disrespect. A new more abstract and geometric form stands at the roundabout now.

Missile, Railway Station

F. 17

Model of the Chaghi mountain and Ghauri missile at Railway Sation

This huge fibre glass mountain model of Chaghi and Ghauri missile is in the front garden of the Lahore Railway station. The Chaghi Mountains are in the south west of Pakistan in the Baluchistan Province where the nuclear tests were carried out in 1997.

Post Face

Every city has a peculiar culture that is manifested through the city's life and built form. Public sculpture of a city reflects the history, temperament and aesthetics of the people. The city's image and identity is significantly formed by the public art. The public art reflects the culture, ideology and political history of a city. A city needs to have public places and public art as an integral part within its built form. The city's built form and spaces teach the citizens the maintenance of public property and respect for art. This civic training is based on a historic tradition through which people are sub-consciously trained to use and maintain public property. Public art therefore has a humanizing effect on society at large.

It was during the Mughal times that fountains started appearing as 3-dimensional sculptural objects. But these fountains did not appear in the city squares. The British period fountains were either drinking fountains or designed for aesthetic purposes. The British also introduced figurative sculpture as an element of urban space (the figures were mainly of their rulers and officials). After 1947 almost all the British figurative sculptures except that of Alfred Woolner were removed from public places in Lahore to the Museum and Fort. The one of Lord Lawrence was exchanged with Ireland in lieu of an ivory model of the Taj Mahal.

After Partition a new trend began of placing objects as public sculpture in the city. Some of these objects have a historic importance like the Sabre jet of M.M Alam. Certain objects were to serve the purpose of propagating patriotic and nationalistic sentiments. These objects were missiles, models of Chaghi Mountain, tanks, submarines and fighter planes. Post Independence monuments and fountains more or less followed the same representational themes based on religious and political ideologies.

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The Infrastructure of Lahore

Imran Yasin Sheikh

Background

This paper is an effort to highlight the shortcomings in the existing water and sanitation system in the city of Lahore and the need for a new framework of Urban Planning and the Water Vision that needs to address these flaws. In Lahore, with the development of the social economy and the quickening of urbanization, it is more and more obvious that urban planning is important, complicated and formidable. However, the present state of urban planning has fallen short of the needs of the expanding city, which inevitably leads to confusion and generates more planning issues, which in turn prove to be harmful for the formation of a stable society and developing economy of Lahore. This paper, analyzes the Potable Water needs, Sewage Disposal and Storm Water Drainage of Lahore city, their inadequacies and the resulting deterioration of natural waterways. A dynamic and visionary change in the strategic infrastructure planning of the growing city of Lahore, in the context of strategic infrastructure planning, is proposed.

The geographic expanse of Lahore district has witnessed random and accelerating growth giving rise to congestion, commuting problems, improper provision of civic amenities to the citizens and environmental pollution.

An Overview of the Natural Topography of Lahore

Before drawing attention to the Water Vision for Lahore, it is important to take a quick tour of the history of Lahore in the light of its birth and expansion.

History reveals that the inception of every settlement in the world and especially in this region, was water dependant. Wherever water was available and accessible for human consumption, a settlement started to grow. Whether it was surface water or ground water, access to water made the people settle.

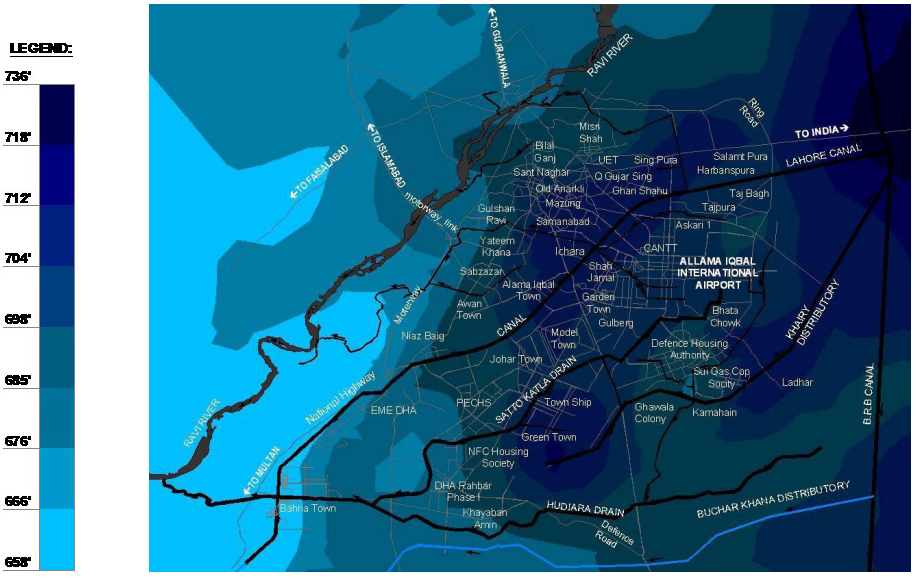
The River Ravi flowing along Lahore is nature's gift and a basic reason behind the inception of Lahore. The flow of the Ravi from North to South, recharged the subsoil water, which remained accessible through shallow wells to fulfill the domestic water consumption of people and so a small settlement grew to a city of more than 10 million.

Earlier Lahore

Potable water needs were met by open wells 30' to 40' deep. These wells trapped the seepage water of the River Ravi which was then collected at the upper layer of the soil.

F. 1

Topography of Lahore



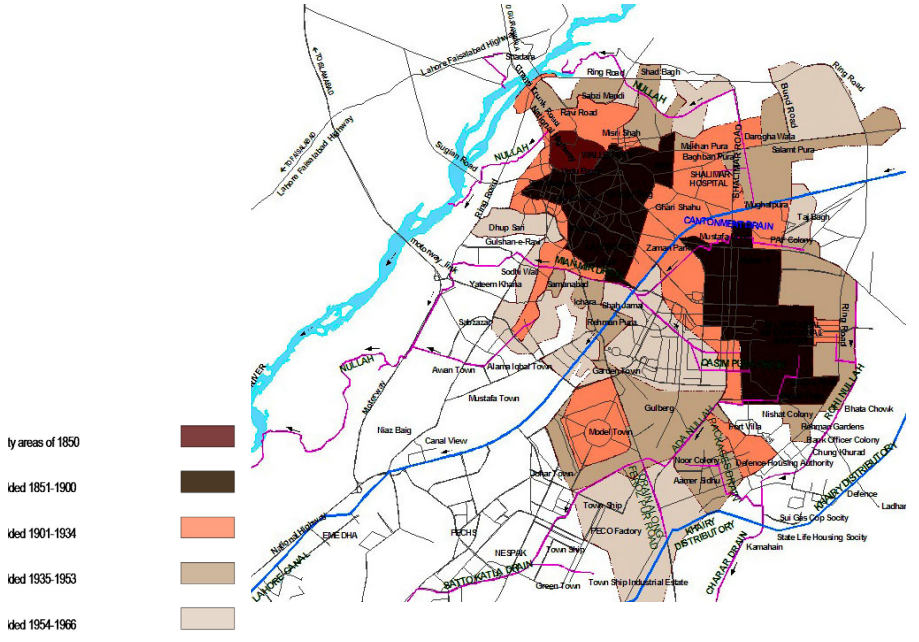
After use, the sewage was disposed off into open drains which ultimately lead to the River Ravi through the Chotha Ravi (the old route of the Ravi). In those days, care was taken to segregate soil and waste. Soil waste was collected separately and treated as solid waste and recycled at dumping sites for making manure. The best example can be seen at the Model Town, where solid waste was collected, transported and used in the Power House for the production of electricity. The remains of this system can still be found in the Model Town Society but not entirely in its original form.

The storm water of the city also used to pass through open drains and be discharged into a *Nullah* and ultimately disposed off into the Ravi. The earlier Lahoris knew the importance of ground water recharge, as it fulfilled their domestic water needs; thus they kept all

parks and green areas lower than the paved areas. *Dungi* (low-level) Grounds were present all over Lahore.

Development during Colonial Rule

As the city grew with the addition of a cantonment, the situation deteriorated. Open wells were replaced by hand pumps and open drains with soakage wells. The invaders brought their own idea of hygiene-management and discouraged the use of soil collection. All sorts of waste began to be dumped into the soils of Lahore through soakage wells, polluting clean and pure sub-soil seepage of the Ravi. The result is that clean water which used to be available at only 20 ft., and within reach of all the citizens, had now gone beyond 750 ft. depth.



F. 2

Spatail Growth of Lahore

The expansion of Lahore changed its original topography and the natural drainage paths were intercepted. Due to the new development, storm water which used to travel through the *Nullahs* could not flow along these natural drainage paths any more. The Cantonment, Samanabad, Gulberg, and systam construction of roads along both sides of the Canal, split the city into halves.

Lahore – Today

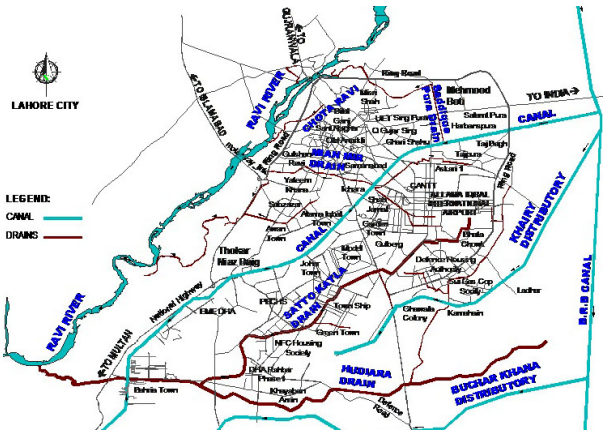
To protect Lahore from the flood waters of the River Ravi, an embankment, called the Bund, was built during the Mughal Period tothe North of Lahore. It continued along the river in a South-West direction. Later, as the city grew, the Bund too was enlarged, raised and lengthened, to provide the requisite protection. An aeriel view of Lahore shows the Bund Road, now a part of the Ring Road, starting from Mahmood Boti in the North-West and ending at Thokar Niaz Baig, the South of Lahore. Unfortunately, while the Bund protected Lahore from floods of the Ravi, it changed the whole drainage pattern as it also blocked the natural flow of surface drainage. The builders of the Bund blithely ignored the drainage of the land. The Bund protected the city from the floodwaters of the river but condemned the city to drown in the monsoon rains.

Now the only drainage paths left for Lahore are the huge natural drains, namely the Mian Mir Drain, the Satokatla Drain and the Hudaira Drain. Unfortunately, the development of new housing colonies, where the road patterns are not in harmony with the surface drainage requirements of the city because of the height in road levels, has made things more complex and difficult. This is an indication of the lack of any co-ordination over the growth of Lahore at the city level. The result is that today, water cannot drain into the River Ravi without being pumpinged.

Raising road levels and the development of new areas seems to be a cyclic operation among planners/engineers and citizens. Planners propose the higher levels of roads to protect the roads from storm water and so depressions are created for storm water to remain collected.

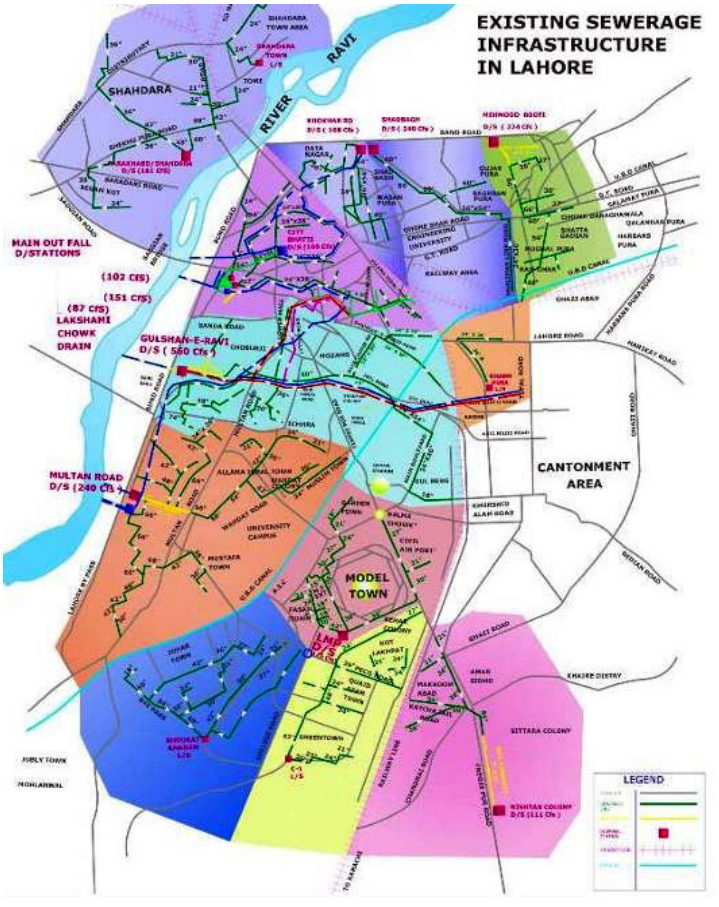
F. 3

Main Drains and the Canal of Lahore



Citizens in turn, build their houses higher to avoid storm water from entering their houses. Also the value of the existing houses takes a plunge as they become open to likely flooding. This operation has been in practice for the last few decades and the results can be easily observed along the newly constructed Ferozpur Road. As the level of the house, relative to the road, lowered, water entered the houses with the slightest rain. People raised their floors and in consequence had to lift the roofs using hydraulic jacks at great expense leaving the Ferozpur Road in a depression again.

Today a lot of areas are in depression. Sewers are laid deeper and deeper and waste water is then lifted through pumps and drained into *Nullahs*. The end result is that as the storm water does not find a way to run off, every year during the monsoon water accumulates. The lesson to be learnt is that storm water is best drained through natural drainage of land.



F. 4

Existing Sewerage infrasructure in Lahore

The most critical parts of the city are the southern and central parts, which are always submerged during the monsoon. Central Lahore includes Lakshmi Chowk, General Post Office (GPO), Egerton Road, Cooper Road, Anarkali Chowk, Rehman Gallian, Ek Moria Pul, Lytton Road, Plaza Cinema, Nabha Road, Church Road, Mozang Road, Shadman, Shah Jamal, Waris Road, Galaxy Plaza, Park Lane Road, Chauburji, Lake Road, the Punjab University Ground, FCC, Riwaz Gardens, Sandha Road, Fazilia Colony, the Senior Superintendent Police Office and Dev Samaj Road. The posh areas of South Lahore that are affected are Gulberg, Faisal Town, Model Town, Johar Town, Township, Allama Iqbal Town, Firdous Market, Kalma Chowk, Centre Point, Gari Shahu, Muhammad Nagar, Bibi Pak Daman, Empress Road, the Railway Station, Akbar Chowk, Hussain Chowk, Barket Market, L-Block Gulberg, Tipu Block Garden Town, Model Town Link Road and Mini Market Gulberg.

WASA has enhanced the capacity of 11 disposal stations and 88 lift stations to discharge rainwater at the earliest. Around 543 dewatering sets are operational.

WASA remains busy round the clock with dewatering sets, transporting the stagnant storm water collected at depressed roads to drains in the outskirts of Lahore. These efforts are necessary because most of the green areas of Lahore are not being utilized to collect the storm water to be disposed through gravity-based flow. Green belts along roads should have been kept lower than road level to accommodate the storm water of the road. Rather than pumping the rainwater, transporting and then discharging it to far off areas via dewatering sets and water bowsers, it would be more efficient to divert the water to the green belts and parks beside the roads.

F. 5

WASA Sanitary Workers busy in dewatering a busy road in posh area of Gulberg

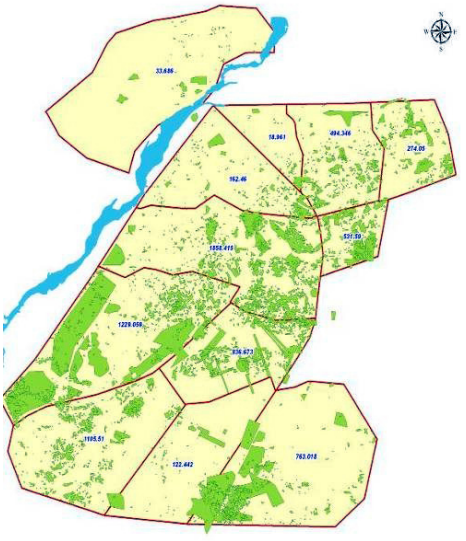
F. 5

Collected Storm water discharged to far off green area near a drain in WAPDA Town

Of the total area of Lahore citys almost 20% of the area is identified as green areas that include playgrounds, parks, greenbelts, agricultural fields and unplanned open lands. House lawns and housing societies' plots are not included in the green areas. Very little storm water from the roads' runoff is able to enter these green areas basically because of the opposite direction of the slopes of the roads and the higher levels of the green areas in relation to the road levels.

F. 7

Green Areas of Lahore City



The Way Forward

Unplanned urbanization has played havoc. The city continues to widen its boundaries without any proper strategic infrastructure planning. Then the population also has increased by leaps and bounds. Large parts of for residential localities are continuously being allowed commercial usage, increasing the demands on the already over-loaded sewage and drainage. With such wild changes, the physical infrastructure should also be upgraded on a continuous basis as per the new demands. Upgrading an existing underground infrastructure is cumbersome, creates difficulties for the residents and is expensive. There is no option except to rationalize the surface drainage that does not require great digging.

Nature has gifted Lahore with a natural topography. The Ravi fulfills its water needs, while the drains help the sewage and storm water to exit out of Lahore. It is high time to get rid of water inundation.

The drains can be used for transporting treated water instead of raw sewage and industrial waste. There exist 11 sewage disposal stations and 4 drainage disposal stations busy pumping raw sewage and storm water into the 8 major drains of Lahore. Odor and sub-soil water pollution is a major contribution of these drains. At every disposal station, we should provide sewage treatment plants and stop throwing raw sewage into these drains.

Daily, 5600 tons of solid waste are collected from different parts of Lahore. About 300 vehicles transport this solid waste far out of the city but still Lahore is not clean. It can be easily arranged for this solid waste to be used for composting, production of methane and, alternately, producing power for sewage treatment plants. This could be a sustainable project.

Imagine Lahore free of garbage, free of sewage smell; imagine beautiful streams passing through the city. See Lahore from this angle and join in converting a vision into reality.

The Architectural Saga of Two Tombs

The tomb of Anarkali and the tomb complex of Jahangir

Saba Samee

Traditionally, the documentation and investigation of a historic monument and its architectural character is carried out by employing an architecturally focused documentation, surface observation of the structure, ignoring its cultural context. The records produced after such documentation are mainly comprised of architectural drawings. In some instances where surface decoration is predominant in a historic structure, the motifs and material details of the craft are also documented. Essential components as these are, nevertheless, the documented structure consequently presents an incomplete story of the evolution of the monument which is oblivious to its intertwined myths with oral legends and cultural associations, symbolic importance and contextual integrity. These components when combined together can raise a historic monument from the level of a single entity into a much larger treasure of the Built Heritage.

On the other hand, religion and politics-based interpretations unnecessarily narrow the perspective of a monument; from being a part of the national heritage it is turned into a controversial symbol of this or that viewpoint resulting in the fragmentation of its historicity. The unavailability and scarcity of written records, lost or damaged in time, further subjugate the history of the monument to available circumstantial evidence and folk narrative. This situation is most pronounced in the historic Tomb of Anarkali which should have been treated as a Built Heritage rather than just a single historic entity. Irrespective of who rests in that noble building, it is a significant part of Lahore's cultural heritage.

Through this paper I shall attempt to investigate the socio-religious reservations encountered by this tomb in the writings of national and international scholars. I shall then build up an analysis based on the urban, mythical and symbolic importance of the tomb of Anarkali emphasizing, what historians and conservationists call the 'Associative Values' this tomb embodies in the shape of its architecture and urban context. I shall also debate upon the possibility of the existence of an urban link between the tomb of Anarkali and that of the tomb complex of Jahangir, hence establishing its Urban Context Value. On

the other hand, this paper will not be investigating the personality for whom Emperor Jahangir commissioned this tomb because the values and significances of the tomb itself portray and reflect the importance of the personality, whoever he or she may have been.

In this paper I shall also emphasize the importance of the oral traditions and myths associated with a particular monument. These can be tested and most of the time prove worthwhile, if a changed perception of investigation is employed which focuses on the establishment of the varied values that the structure embodies.

The Reservations: Social, Political, Cultural and Religious Distortions

The discussion of whether the tomb is of a condemned slave girl or a legitimate wife of Jahangir has by far overshadowed the importance of this structure both as a monument of architectural as well as cultural heritage. Nazir Ahmed Chaudhry's writings[1] are proof of this approach. He states that, "All of them (the narratives of different historians) appear to be the fiction of (a) maid servant in (the) harem of Akbar (who was) punished for the crime of exchanging a smile with Prince Salim in the Palace. But it has no documentary proof in contemporary chronicles. Emperor Jahangir, who has otherwise so faithfully recorded each and every event of his life, has nowhere mentioned such a love affair…"; He does not realize or refuses to acknowledge that the memoirs of an emperor are not without political and dynastic biases. Condemning the entire literary discourse on this fact alone and describing the incident as 'fiction' demonstrates his dismissive approach which reflects his own particular bias.

Further, Nazir Ahmad Chaudhry states that Dr. Baqir[2] and Maulana Ilm-ud-Din Salik[3] are in agreement that the tomb in question is that of Jahangir's wife, as "the Emperor, of course, could not afford to build such a grand monument for a house-maid who has been condemned by the Emperor Akbar". The whole issue of the identity of the entombed personality of Anarkali is given the shape of a class-based and an Islamist approach rather than that of a historic and mythical occurrence, thus challenging its authentication. Chaudhry comments that "The undue publicity attached to the story by Urdu dramatists and fiction writers needs to be ignored which are to defame the Muslim rulers…"As regards the Persian couplet carved on the tombstone, he says that "…could an emperor (and that too a Muslim) afford to publicly make such a wish to his beloved …"

In another instance he seems to mock the physical proofs on

the tombstone by stating that "If she was an accused person there was obviously no need to commemorate her death and story through a majestic monument…if she was a condemned slave what was the fun in having a sarcophagus with 99 attributes of Allah on it……..Many Muslim writers assert that it was an effort by non-Muslim historians to defame the Muslim rulers". Strong statements indeed, completely belittling the power of oral traditions and mythological associations. It is my view that while analyzing history nothing should be left without examination and all the evidence must be taken into consideration, not only the written and physical but also the oral and mythical.

In contrast with the 'Islamized' approach of Nazir Ahmed Chaudhry, Ebba Koch[4] compares the tomb of Anarkali with certain European structures which are reputed to have strong 'Christian' associations. Establishing "remarkable similarities" between these structures is indicative of her western biases of placing conceptual inspiration within the western culture. Prominent among these comparisons is the instance where she compares the tomb's building with Castel del Monte, Italy, and its plan with that of San Giovanni dei' Florentine, Rome.

The history of Castel del Monte is dominated by war – Crusades. It was built by the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick II as part of his efforts to fortify southern Italy during the Crusades. The World Heritage listing describes it as "a unique masterpiece of medieval military architecture". It was later turned into a prison and then used as a refuge during a plague, finally falling into disrepair. The octagonal plan is unusual in castle design and historians have suggested that Frederick II may have been inspired by the plan of the 'Dome of the Rock', Jerusalem, which he had seen during the Fifth Crusade. Similarities between the outer octagonal turrets and the central octagonal space can be observed in both the tomb and the castle.

San Giovanni dei Florentine is, on the other hand, a church and is dedicated to St John the Baptist, the protector of Florence. The main façade faces the Via Giulia. This straight street was an urban initiative, carried out in 1508 at the instigation of Pope Julius II. It cuts through the irregular urban fabric to the Ponte Sant'Angelo, the bridge which crosses the River Tiber connecting the Castel Sant'Angelo and St Peters in the Vatican. The dominant idea for the plan was of a centralized church arrangement and in 1559 Michelangelo was asked to prepare designs for the church but his centralized church arrangement was not adopted. The final design however was organized as a Latin cross plan. Similarities between the two patterns of cross axes in the plan can be

seen in both the tomb and the church. The resemblance in the layout of the four diagonally recessed rooms present in both the structures is striking .There are also proportional similarities in the outer appearance of the tomb of Anarkali and that of the Castel del Monte except for the dome which the latter lacks.

These reservations and inclinations have deflected the contextual importance of the tomb of Anarkali towards the existence or non-existence of the entombed personality which in itself is surrounded by many myths. Subtracting these myths and oral traditions from the tomb, and the entombed, has distorted its evolutionary story whilst the dominance of continuous transformations and neglect in the history of the tomb indicates the loss of respect towards this structure.

The Structure: Architectural Value

Since its construction as a mausoleum, Anarkali's tomb has been subjected to a variety of usages. Maharaja Ranjit Singh decided to transform the character of his forces on the lines of well-disciplined European troops. He commissioned General Ventura an ex-officer of Napoleon's armies and asked him to train and station his troops south of the city with ample space as training grounds away from the citadel. This location is now called the Anarkali precinct. The General moved into the tomb and used it as a part of his residence which he also built alongside the tomb. The gardens surrounding the tomb must have been an attractive place to live. When the British annexed the Punjab Henry Lawrence used Ventura's house and the tomb as part of his secretariat, housing the Board of Administration. The tomb was vacated by the government functionaries when proper offices were constructed as an expansion of the secretariat but was then converted into a church. When the church moved to its new building on the Mall, the tomb was dedicated for use as the archives department. Extraordinarily through all these changes the tomb managed to keep its original name and the legends connected with it are still told.

The tomb of Anarkali is described by Ebba Koch as "the most outstanding and ingeniously planned octagonal building, not only of Jahangir's period but – next to Humayun's Tomb – in the whole history of Mughal Architecture……..which originally stood in large, architecturally planned gardens….."[5]. The uniqueness of this tomb can be observed through its building typology and plan layout. The tomb's radical nine-fold plan has been compared with that of the tomb of Humayun, in Delhi, and with the Hada Mahal, at Fatehpur Sikri, all of which are composed of the two patterns of cross axes (+ and x). In

another instance, Koch compares the plan of the Taj Mahal with that of the tomb of Anarkali stating that "Radial symmetry is observed in the gatehouse and the tomb proper, both of which follow the ninefold plan" and that the plans of the tombs of Anarkali and Humayun "may be more creative and original".

The Timeline: Historic Value

A chronological representation of the tomb building activities during Mughal rule will provide a comprehensive analysis of the sequence of events which surrounded the construction of the tomb of Anarkali and that of the tomb complex of Jahangir. It can be observed from the dates that since 1527 the area north of the River Ravi was used for laying out gardens by the Mughals and much frequented by the Emperor of the time while residing in the historic city of Lahore. It is recorded that in this year Mirza Kamran[6] planned and planted a garden on the banks of the River Ravi. On the other hand, an old image of the tomb of Anarkali taken from the *Gulgashat-i-Punjab*, a book compiled during Sikh rule, shows the same river passing right at the foot stone of the tomb of Anarkali with some of its *chajjas* located at the corner turrets broken. The events surrounding the tomb building activities are as follows:

1566	Emperor Akbar was crowned the Padshah of Hindustan.
1569	Prince Salim was born – The future Emperor Jahangir.
1589	Akbar makes his first visit to Kashmir, his first encampment is at the *serai* of Madhu Singh and then at Shahdara.
1591-95	Akbar makes recorded visits to gardens across the River Ravi including Kamran's garden, the garden of Ram Das (1592), *Dilamiz* garden and *Ram Bari* (1595) while residing in Lahore.
1592	Prince Khurram was born – the future Emperor Shah Jahan.
1599	Anarkali, a name assumed to be given to Nadira Begum or Sharfun Nisa (of Akbar's harem), dies.
1605	Emperor Akbar dies and Prince Salim is crowned as Emperor Jahangir and takes upon himself the task of

building a magnificent tomb for his father.

1606 Emperor Jahangir takes up residence in Mirza Kamran's garden in Lahore while crushing the rebellion of his son Khusraw.

1611 After a delay of six years NurJahan agrees to marry Emperor Jahangir.

1612-13 The tomb of Akbar was completed.

1615 The date of the completion of Anarkali's Tomb.

1627 Emperor Jahangir dies in Kashmir and his body is brought to Lahore. Construction of his tomb begins.

1628 Prince Khurram was crowned Emperor Shah Jahan

1637 Emperor Jahangir's tomb comleted.

1641 Asaf Khan (brother of NurJahan, father-in-law of Shah Jahan) dies and is buried to the west of Jahangir's tomb's forecourt.

1645 NurJahan dies and is buried to the west of Asaf Khan's tomb.

1632-53 Construction and completion of the Taj Mahal.

1666 Emperor Shah Jahan dies.

Through analyzing the dates and corresponding events it becomes evident that one person was common throughout the tomb building activity that started from the tomb of Akbar till the creation of the Taj Mahal, and that person is none other than the 'Architect' Emperor Shah Jahan, who is acclaimed for bringing the Classical Period of architecture to the sub-continent[7].The marked grey area within the chronological list presents the period during the lifetime of Shah Jahan. In this regard the future Emperor may have experienced the construction of the tomb of Akbar and that of Jahangir, Asaf Khan, NurJahan and Anarkali. Furthermore, he may have been aware of the possible urban arrangement followed by the tombs of Anarkali and Jahangir.

The Progression: Dynastic Value

Shah Jahan was 20 years of age at the time of the completion of the tomb of Akbar and may have been acquainted with the desire of Jahangir to follow the combination of the Timurid and indigenous styles of architecture in the tomb of his father, an experiment appreciated and already undergone by Akbar in the construction of Fatehpur Sikri, especially in the structure of Punch Mahal. However Jahangir was much disappointed when he saw the tomb two years into its construction and it is recorded that he ordered its "immediate destruction"[8] by stating that "the tomb did not come up to my idea of what it ought to be"[9].

Emperor Jahangir fell ill in Kashmir and was on his way back to Lahore when he died. Some historic records[10] claim that the dying 'request' of Jahangir was to take him back to Verinag, his favorite Kashmir spring where he and NurJahan had spent 'so many happy summers'. Other sources state[11] that it was the 'will' of the Emperor that he should be entombed in the garden of NurJahan, the Dilkusha Bagh, which is now popularly known as the Akbari Serai.

In the case of the latter, the wish to be buried in the Dilkusha Bagh may possibly have arisen during 1606 when, after the death of Emperor Akbar, Jahangir resided in Kamran's Baradari in order to crush the uprising led by his son Khusraw[12]. Maybe this was also the time when he decided to construct a tomb for his long dead, beloved Anarkali. It is noteworthy here that the tomb of Jahangir was commissioned by Emperor Shah Jahan while the place was identified prior to the construction either by NurJahan or, considering the above circumstances, by Jahangir himself.

The Location: Contextual Value

Observing the urban setting of this tomb through the 1893 map of the British colonial Lahore, it can be established that the tomb of Anarkali and the tomb complex of Jahangir have been indicated on the map, the detail of the latter can be seen in the right hand corner. However, the tomb of NurJahan has not been indicated. It may be observed from the two diagonal red lines, that the two tombs of Jahangir and Anarkali lay along a straight line, the angle of which coincides with the angle of the Shalamar Gardens. The line generates from the tomb of Jahangir and, cutting across the River Ravi upon the bridge of boats, passes through the irregular urban fabric of Lahore towards the tomb of Anarkali, similar to the setting of San Giovanni dei Florentine.

Similar observations can be seen in other archival maps such as the ones reproduced by F. S. Aijazuddin in his two books[13]. The detail from the 1867 map of Shahdara bears no indication of the tomb of NurJahan, however the surrounding *serai* and water wells are meticulously recorded. The second map[14] indicates the tomb of NurJahan and once more a straight red line can be drawn between the tomb complex of Jahangir and the tomb of Anarkali.

A more comprehensive and meticulous study of the map-image[15] of Lahore establishes that indeed there exists a straight line between the two sites of the tombs located on opposite banks of the River Ravi. The straight line intersects the main gateway to the tomb of Jahangir when it was drawn from the center of the tomb of Anarkali. A romantic might conjecture that the gateway to the Emperor is through the heart of his beloved Anarkali. The logical idea that these two tombs could belong to a larger urban scheme or could be part of a singular complex was, however, never imagined nor analyzed, if ever investigated. Furthermore, two straight lines, each from the center of the tomb of Jahangir and the tomb of Asaf Khan, when drawn towards the tomb of Anarkali, are the same distance apart. Assumptions may be made that these lines can possibly indicate the outer limits of a garden named ***Bagh-e-Anarkali***[16] which is mentioned only in the *Sakinat-ul-Auliya*, written by Dara Shikoh. Some of the remaining fresco embellishments still show the 'Anarkali' flower.

On the other hand, and in contrast with the above, the tomb of NurJahan does not comprise any such geometrical link with the tomb complex of Jahangir or any layout similarity with the Taj Mahal. All the lines projecting straight out of the tomb of NurJahan towards the tomb of Jahangir intersect within the southwestern corner. The garden limits overlap with that of Asaf Khan's tomb gardens and it seems that only in the plan did NurJahan identify herself with the Emperor. She did not share his 'lines of geometry'.

Assuming that Emperor Shah Jahan was familiar with this urban symbolism his father laid out during his life time, he constructed the mausoleum on the site of his father's choosing. It seems that he perfected this urban scheme of incorporating the river inside the whole tomb complex in his architectural master-piece, the Taj Mahal. The layout of the Taj Mahal and the Mahtab Bagh, which contains the water pond that reflects the Taj Mahal in the moonlight creating the legendary Black Taj[17], is in perfect accordance with the initial layout concept of the tomb complex of Emperor Jahangir and the tomb of Anarkali. Once again the setting and plan of these two tombs may be linked with the

setting of the Taj Mahal and, if investigated, may be compared even in its layout geometry.

It is in fact documented[18] that Shah Jahan took architectural elements from his ancestors' tombs and incorporated them in the singular structure of the Taj Mahal, hence creating a perfect symmetry through his chosen elements. It is documented that he took,

1. Minarets from the tomb of Jahangir – the symbol of elevation and prosperity.

2. Chamfered corners with corner *burjis* from the tomb of Humayun – the four corner stones of perseverance.

3. Entrance portals from the entrance gateway of the tomb of Akbar – the gateway to kingship.

4. The magnificent dome from the tomb of Timur – the crown of the Timurid dynasty.

Metaphorically, in this building not only did Emperor Shah Jahan physically incorporate all the vital elements from the tombs of his ancestors, the symbolism behind the tomb of his father was also incorporated. Thus he created a 'perfect example of love' towards both his ancestry and his wife, the link for his future generations.

The verse below sums up the Architectural Saga of the Two Tombs, one a monument of absolute and legitimate love, the Taj Mahal, and the other a monument of lost love that could not merit a single word of recognition in history except in the couplet of her beloved,

Ah! Could I behold

The face of my beloved (*yar*) once more

I would give thanks unto my God

Unto the day of resurrection

Majnu Salim Akbar

Endnotes

1 Chaudhry, N. (2002) *Anarkali:Archives and Tomb of Sahib Jamal.* Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications

2 From his write-up in his publication on Lahore.

3 From his article in *Nairang-i-Khyal*.

4 Koch, E. (1991) *Mughal Architecture*. Munich: Prestel-Verlag

5 *ibid*

6 Mirza, Kamran – Son of Mughal Emperor Babar and brother of Emperor Humayun

7 Koch, E. (1991) *Mughal Architecture*. Munich: Prestel-Verlag

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11 Latif, SM (1892) rpt (2005) *Lahore-Its History, Architectural remains and Antiquities*.p 50.Lahore: Sang-i-Meel Publications.

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14 Courtesy PEPAC, *ibid*

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16 Nadiem, IH (2005) *Gardens of Mughal Lahore*.Lahore: Sang-i-Meel Publications

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Portraits of Lahore - Through The Centuries

Kanwal Khalid, Ph.D

All the important centres of art and culture in the world have a distinct characteristic of their own; Lahore is also one of these. The study of its art reveals a very interesting feature. The artists of Lahore tend to lay great emphasis on the portraiture of people both in sculpture and in painting. We come across many examples, both from the distant past and in the recent past, where the Lahori artist shows he is a great believer of the true representation of the people around him.

The Walled City of Lahore is a highly valuable place commercially and many buildings and markets are under construction in the area. Demolition and reconstruction is an on-going activity. Traditionally, Purani Kotwali (the old Police Station) is known to be one of the oldest Muslim inhabited areas of Lahore. In June 2007 at Purani Kotwali, laborers were working at a plaza site. The owner required a basement, so the digging was carried out deeper than usual. During the digging, at the depth of almost 30 feet, they began to discover broken pottery, animal figurines, lamp holders and some building materials like latticework and bricks. The material used was terracotta.

During the digging it was observed that the clay underneath had twelve very clear layers that differed from one another in colour. The deepest and last layer was dark colored and it had no sign of any human activity. It was virgin soil. Every layer was two or two and a half feet in height. It was important to determine the time period of the findings and thus different sources were employed, and the findings co-related, in order to arrive at a definite answer.

F. 1

Pottery dug up at Purani Kotwali

The most important factor in determining the time period was the material. It has been documented that

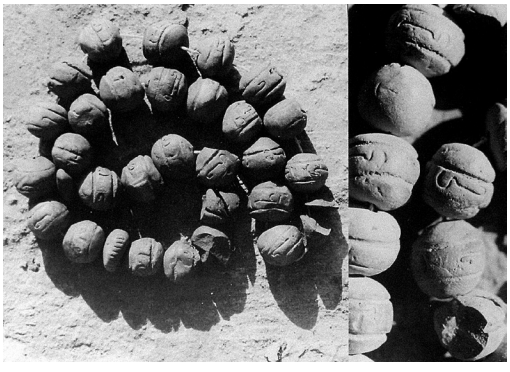
terracotta and wood were the main materials for the art and craft of Lahore in the pre-Muslim and early Muslim days because stone or marble were not available in the alluvial plains of the Punjab.[1] The objects were found at a depth of thirty feet and this showed human activity of the distant past. A comparison was made with the digging at the Lahore Fort by the Archaeology Department of Pakistan in 1952. By comparing the findings of both diggings, the objects found in Purani Kotwali were given a tentative time frame, that is, the early Muslim era. A decisive factor was the discovery of some clay plates that had archaic Suls and Kufic inscriptions of the early Muslim period in India. All this indicated that the findings of this locality belonged to the early centuries of Muslim rule in Lahore, which was the Ghaznavide Saljuqian Period.

Further research revealed that there were two main centres of pottery-makers in Lahore, one was near Bhati Gate behind the tomb of the famous saint Data Ganj Bakhsh and the other was at Purani Kotwali. Many potters had their wheels and kilns in these localities. The People of Lahore used to buy the terracotta objects, especially pottery, from these centres as late as the 1960s. Even today we can buy bowls, vases and cooking utensils from Delhi Darwaaza, that is, near Purani Kotwali. Sayyad Muhammad Latif in his book, Tareekh-i-Lahore, discusses the art and craft of Lahore. About the utensils of the city, he writes, "Lahore is not famous for its *Zaroof Sazi* (vessel making) except for the clay pots that are of a very high quality and people use them in abundance."[2] Terracotta objects have been a speciality of Lahore since centuries.

Specimens of latticework, animal figurines, pottery of many styles, small lamps and lamp holders, decorative objects, ink pots, whistles of different sizes and shapes, and even little stringed terracotta beads, were discovered at Purani Kotwali (Fig. 4). However, the most amazing discovery came to light when some small terracotta human heads of brilliant quality and style were found in the trench. Their sizes varied from one inch to four to five inches. These were the faces of the people of Lahore, depicted in a highly realistic manner.

F. 2

Stringed terracota beads discovered at Purani Kotwali



The *Kullals* (clay artists) of Lahore

When the Muslims arrived in Lahore, a popular medium of artwork of the city was baked clay and many people were associated with this profession. They were called *Kullals*. It is a Persian word used for the potter. Later on a side business was added and that was the making and selling of wine. To differentiate between these two branches; another word was employed and that was *Kallal*. The difference is very subtle but the *Kallals* were those who were potters and wine sellers while the word *Kullal* was reserved for the potter/clay artists alone.[3] The study of the archaeological remains of Lahore reveals that *Kullals* were not only involved in the making of clay pots; one of their specialties was the small sculptures that depicted the personalities who caught their attention. There are many verbal references made by the old men of Lahore to Kumhars (which is probably a mispronunciation of Kullal), who used to make many Mitti Dian Murtian (terracotta figurines).[4]

Apart from this there are late 19th and early 20th century photographs of the important professions of Lahore in which potters with their wheels have been photographed with the caption '*Kukkeyzye* or Muhammadan *Kallal* Lahore', 'Hindoo *Kullal* Lahore' that is Hindu and Muslim potters of Lahore.

When the British came to India they recorded the landscapes, arts, crafts and professions of this region. For this purpose most of the British officers were given a formal training in drawing and drafting. In the second half of the 19th century photography was introduced in the Punjab. This made life easier for British officers and henceforth this medium was used to preserve and document the life and professions of India. Photographic albums were prepared and they were kept for future reference. One such album is at the Lahore Archives. In this photographic album, the different professions of Lahore have been recorded. Most of these photographs have been shot in a studio. The famous 19th century photographer Hooper, who covered Indian life and culture through photography, also shot some of the photographs.

An important photograph is preserved in this album. The main purpose of this particular photo was to show the potters with their wheel but an interesting feature to notice is some figurines that are in front of the potters. They seem to have been made recently by these potters. There are three animals and two human figures. The three animals are a donkey, a dog and a lion and they are no bigger than two to three inches. The two human figures are almost five to six inches

F. 3

Clay sculptures discovered in Lahore

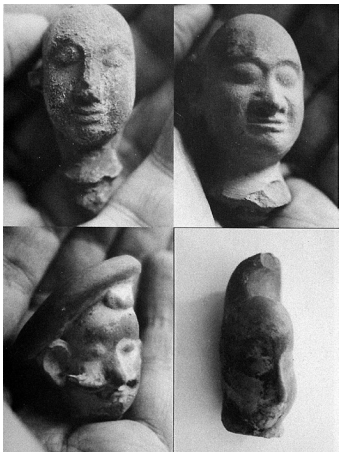
tall. One figure is with an English cap, wearing an overcoat. The other figure can be seen partially and that is of a European lady in a skirt. The main focus of interest is the male figure because it is of the same size and style as was observed in the old sculptured faces discovered in Lahore. This was the time when the British were in Lahore and they were a common sight. The presence of a European figure at a potter's place means that as late as the 19th century, the clay artists of Lahore were making 'figurines of people' living here in a very realistic manner.

Before the arrival of the Muslims, Lahore was a city of idol worshippers. An authentic reference to this fact was found in a compilation, Hadood ul Alam written by an unknown author in 982 AD. He wrote;

"Lahore is a city with a vast area. The ruler of Multan governs it. This city has many bazaars and temples. Trees of chalghoza (a small nut like a pistachio), walnuts and almonds are in abundance. The whole population consists of idol worshippers and there is not even a single Muslim in this city."[5] This is evidence to prove that there were people in Lahore who were already making statues that were bought and worshiped by the citizens. During the excavation of the Lahore Fort in 1959, the finds of the pre-Muslim era are noteworthy because many religious sculptures and reliefs were found. The latest findings of human sculpture in Purani Kotwali reveal that the Muslims enhanced the element of portraiture to an already established tradition of sculpture in Lahore.

The amazing quality of these faces is the observation of the artist because these are the faces of individuals. They are not generalized features of some religious figures but are living people whose personalities have been preserved in these old terracottas. This shows another dimension of the city, that in Lahore art has been based on the true likeness of the models. Priests, soldiers, women and even

children are sculpted. There are faces of monks with shaven heads, big eyes and small chins. Another face is that of a soldier who has a scar on his face. There is a small head, not more then two inches high, of the face of a woman who is wearing a Chinese headdress. Some faces are hardly one inch in size but the modelling of their features is beautiful. There is a very strong face, sculpted with a large moustache with a look of authority on it. All these faces are of different sizes but even the smallest one is highly detailed. The expressive eyes, delicate cheeks, sensitive lips and soft chins are sculpted very skillfully. No complete figurine has been discovered so far and perhaps this is because most of these sculptures are hollow cast, a technique that is quite difficult to master. The artist, however, was able to handle it skillfully to produce, impressive results.



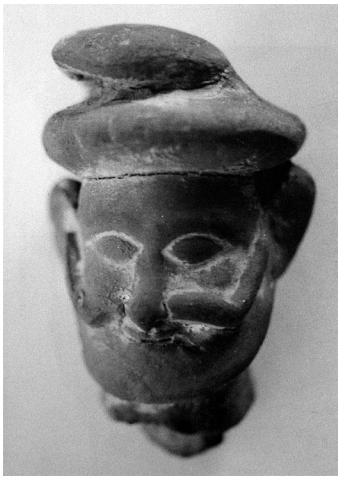
F. 4

Faces of monks in clay

F. 5

Faces of a woman with a Chinese headdress, face of a soldier

A great number of other objects and some more faces have been discovered in other parts of Lahore. They include pottery of various types along with lamp holders, smoking pipes and beads. There are riders mounted on horses and elephants and a human figure holding a musical instrument. The maturity of the style of these objects reveals that Lahori artists were experts in their expression even in the early Muslim Period of Lahore.[6]



F. 6

Face of a figure of authority

In the light of these discoveries, the concept regarding the artists of Lahore has undergone a change and later art has been the further development of past artistic activities. Unfortunately we have no evidence of the art of the later centuries. The little proof that keeps on appearing, shows that the art of Lahore was of a high quality and only declined when different

conquerors destroyed the city and it was abandoned for years afterwards. Perhaps the most devastating conquerors of them all were the Mongols who invaded Lahore in the 13th century and left behind ashes, of a Lahore that was once the pride of the Muslim world. It was said that if Shiraz and Isphahan were united, they would not make one Lahore of the Ghaznavide period.

F. 7

Detailed sculpture of a human face

Due to this massive destruction no known specimen of painting has been found so far and the above-mentioned terracotta sculptures are possibly the only reference we have of the pre-Mughal art of Lahore.

F. 8

Clay sculpture of a rider mounted on an elephant

Portraits in Mughal Art

The tradition of portrait making, which was established in the early Muslim period, is an indication of the abilities of Lahore artists and has a direct bearing on the art of the coming centuries, especially the Mughals. The arrival of the Mughals in the Sub-continent was an important factor in the development of its art. Although they were Central Asian, their true inspiration came from Iran. The famous *Hamzanama* was one of the earliest major projects of the Mughals regarding their artistic patronage. Humayun initiated and Akbar completed it.[7] It was a big assignment that took a long time to finish. The initial illustrations of the *Hamzanama* were completely under the stylistic influence of Persian art because the leading artists were brought from Iran by the previous king Humayun. *Hamzanama* paintings have the buildings, faces, flora and fauna of the Persian miniature.

F. 9

A Miniature Painting in the *Hamzanama* showing stylistic influence of Persian art.

There are numerous characters in

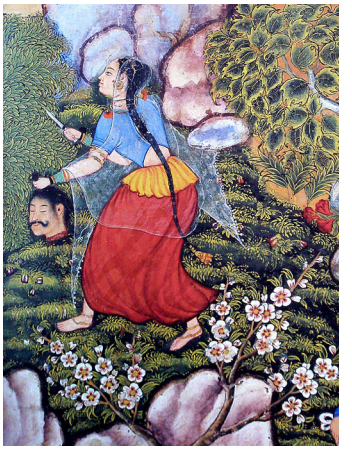
this great epic. We see them in different scenes, fighting the demons and genies and struggling against natural disasters. These are all imaginary faces that have idealized features that were painted according to the demand of the story. They were heroes and villains and their features changed accordingly. Since they were the product of the artist's imagination, we cannot say that they were the faces of living people of a particular era or region.

A very important event of the late 16th century was Akbar's arrival and stay in Lahore in 1586. At that time the Mughal atelier was in the process of development. The whole setup was shifted to Lahore. This shifting brought a dramatic change in Mughal Art because the artists of Lahore influenced future creations. The leading artists were Persian but now the local Indian, especially Lahori painters also joined the Mughal atelier. They were trained by the Persian masters and worked under their supervision but maintained their identity. An important name in this regard is an artist named Basawan, who contributed paintings to the *Hamzanama* also. He was active in the making of this manuscript before Akbar's arrival in Lahore[8]. If we compare his work with the other artists of the *Hamzanama*, we can see a clear difference in approach. Basawan is more realistic and his portraits and figures are people of real body and flesh.

'Anvari's Divan: A pocket book for Akbar', by Stuart Cary Welch, is a very informative book about the arts of Lahore during Akbar's period. While discussing its illustrations, the author writes , "One of the outstanding pictures, 'The Hunter Sells the Mother Parrot to the King of Kamro',

F. 10

Basawan's miniature in the Hamzanama



F. 11

A close-up of the above miniature painting

F. 12

'The hunter sells the mother parrot to the King of Kamro' in Anvari's Divan

is already fully attributable on stylistic grounds to Basawan, whose name is inscribed on it. Even at this formative stage of Akbari painting, Basawan's psychologically observed figures, masterful and painterly brushwork, and sculpt risqué view of form reveal him as one of the atelier's avant-garde artists"[9]. All the faces depicted in the painting have individual features and they look like real people from the real world. They are not imaginary characters with idealized lips and the long Mongolian eyes that were in vogue among the Persian artists. Even the folds of the dresses are treated very differently. They move with the body. They are not rigid designs as was the style of a typical Persian miniature.

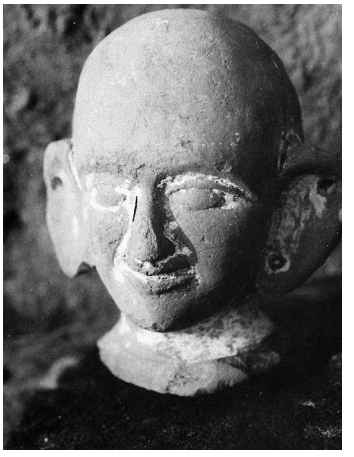
Amina Okada, in her book, Indian Miniatures of the Mughal Court, gives another reason for the realism of Basawan's painting when she writes, "Basawan's interest in psychological portraits was undoubtedly nourished by his thorough study of European engravings, with their stress on modelling and volume to enhance naturalistic effects and a realistic approach to the subject."[10] Local artists of India were very familiar with the works of European painters because Akbar's Lahore Darbar was open to all who desired to share their knowledge. The European priests and travellers were on top of the list and they brought artistic trends of their region with them. Along with this, the ancient local sculptural and painting traditions of Lahore also influenced the artists working in Akbar's atelier.

At another point in his book 'Anvari's Divan: A pocket book for Akbar', Welch describes the contribution of the Lahori artists to the manuscripts of Akbar's period, "Many of the *Darbarnama's* 157 miniatures bear in their lower margins attribution to court painters. These include several new artists, recently hired at Lahore, with names such as Ibrahim Lahori and Kalu Lahori, whose somewhat crude, angular manner, with attenuated figures, represent the bazaar level recollections of a now little known Sultanate Style."[11] Although Lahore painting lacked the finish of the traditional miniature painting, it had the capacity to represent forms in a naturalistic way and portrait-making was highly significant.

An interesting comparison can be made between a painting of Akbar's era with a sculpture that was found in the depths of Lahore. It is the portrait of a Yati or Jain ascetic. Amina Okada describes this painting in these words, "Mughal painters in Akbar's days were more likely to portray Hindu ascetics and Muslim dervishes than the rare Jain monks. There is, however, a portrait of a Yati, or Jain ascetic, that is

F. 13

Portrait of a Yati or Jain ascetic by the artist Basawan



F. 14

Old terracota head, Walled City of Lahore

attributed to Basawan, based on an old inscription partially erased"[12]. This is one of the best works produced by the artist. The pious facial expression along with an absence of worldly grandeur shows the true spirit of the Jain religion and its followers. There are some trees and birds behind the figure of the Yati but beyond that the background is hazy, giving the painting an ethereal quality.

If we study the face, especially the eyes, it seems that the man does not belong to this mortal world. The same kind of treatment can be seen in one of the old terracotta heads found in the Walled City of Lahore. Clearly this is also the face of a monk and the stylistic resemblance between the two faces is amazing. The expressions are the same, that is, very calm, serene and devotional. Chubby cheeks, long eyes and elongated earlobes are the features adopted by Basawan and the old *Kullal* of Lahore. Although one is a painter and the other is a sculptor and their creations are of different time periods, both have portrayed faces that have an identical look of devotion for their religion. Here we can see the similarity of style in sculpture and painting.

This type of religious sculpture was a routine sight for the artists working in Lahore because many sculptures of monks have been discovered. Not much record is available of the Sultanate period painting or sculpture of Lahore, but with the help of present day findings, we can assume that the quality of the portraits of the Lahore artists was always high.

Recently discovered evidence of the terracotta figurines reveals the earlier art of Lahore. It shows the familiarity of the artist with the reproduction of human faces. Later in the city of Lahore, Mughal Art

F. 15

Members of the Mughal Darbar, miniature painting

underwent a change and the generalized, imaginative features of the faces of Persian miniature paintings were replaced by the portraits of individual people. As a result the main characteristic of later Mughal Art is its quality of portraiture. This serious change was the influence of the local artists of Lahore who had been making the portraits of the personalities around them for centuries. From now on this characteristic would dominate Mughal miniature painting also. Later on we can see that all members of the Mughal Darbar can be identified in the miniatures because of their individual faces, that is, their portrait quality.

The clay artists of Lahore were no ordinary people. Some of them were highly learned and talented personalities. There is a Quran at the Chughtai Museum in Behari Script and it has an inscription that says, "Makhdoom Musa *Kullal*, Dar ul Sultanate Lahore, dated 1055 Hijra" that is. 1645.[13] It is possible that either Makhdoom Musa did the calligraphy of this Quran or he had some calligrapher to write it. A poet named May, who was the son of a *Kullal*, was also mentioned in history books. Empress Noorjahan liked his poetry so much that she tried to promote him to Jahangir's Darbar.[14]

The above-mentioned names show that the potters of Lahore were active during the Mughal era also. It was the tradition of the time that artists practiced in more than one art form at a time. Some of these potters were involved in the art and culture of the Mughal Darbar and influenced the artefacts produced there.

The Mughal family came in Lahore and soon this became their favourite city. Jahangir spent the early years of his life here and his love for this city is evident in his memoirs. He was a frequent visitor of the Mughal atelier where he used to study with and instruct the artists. Akbar and Jahangir shared a passion for paintings and spent hours together discussing them. In this way Jahangir received his initial training in miniature painting from Lahore.

Stuart Cary Welch, while discussing the illustrated Divan by the famous Mughal poet Anvari, writes about the interest of Prince Saleem

F. 16

Miniature painting of Darbaris

in the Mughal atelier. He narrates, "A further reason for the unprecedented delicacy and naturalism of the Divan might be the presence at Lahore of Prince Saleem, who was the most enthusiastic and discerning lover of fine paintings in the dynasty's long history. He remained at his father's court for thirteen years after his marriage at Fatahpur-Sikri in 1584, when he was fifteen. But, in 1591, according to Badaoni, 'Akbar suffered from stomach-ache and colic …… [and]…….in this unconscious state…….. uttered some words which rose from suspicion of his eldest son, and accused him of giving him poison.' Until this falling out, Saleem must have had access to the imperial painting studio, where his devotion to art would have been influential. Very likely father and son discussed painting often during these years."[15]

It is a well-known fact that Jahangir's era is a celebration of portrait painting. He inherited his father's atelier that consisted of hundreds of artists but he hired only a few masters and let the rest of them go. Of all those masters that he kept, most were brilliant portrait painters. "Manohar, Basawan's son, was approximately the same age as Saleem, and it is hardly a coincidence that he painted several outstanding portraits of the prince."[16] The Lahori tradition of portrait-making influenced the art produced in Jahangir's atelier and the later Mughal emperors also followed this tradition.

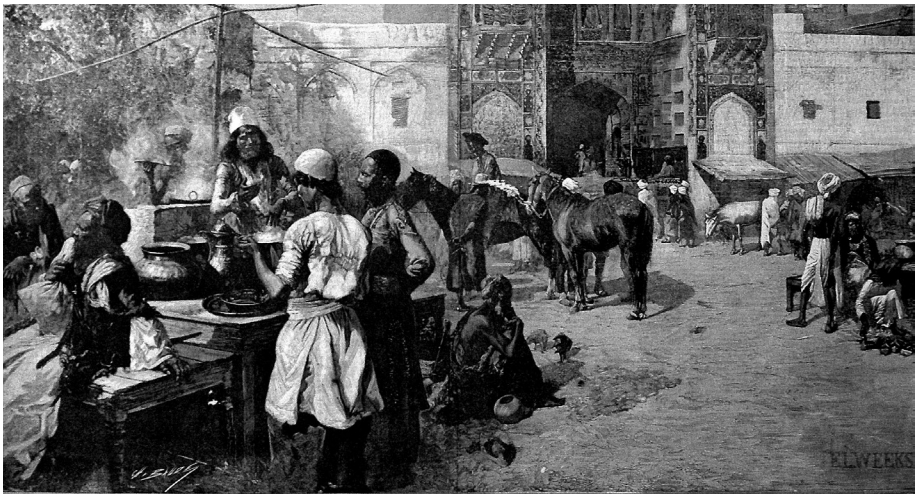
19th Century Portraits of Lahore

The decline of the Mughals and the unrest of later years, do not provide much record of the pictorial art in Lahore but the stable government of Maharaja Ranjit Singh brought back prosperity and art to the city. The Lahori nobles hired artists and the main form of their expression was again portrait painting, the most dominating feature of 19th century art. Sikh Ashrafia loved to have their likenesses painted and Lahori artists painted so many portraits that Sikh art is known for its art of portrait painting either of individuals or of groups in the Darbar paintings.

We do not have many evidences of Lahori sculpture in the 19th century but we do have a few literary references where it has been

F. 17

An etching titled 'An open air restaurant at Lahore'



mentioned that there was a tradition of sculpture in this city. On 14th December 1889, an etching titled 'An Open Air Restaurant At Lahore' was published in The Illustrated London News. Its description is at the back of the same newspaper page and gives a brief introduction to the art and architecture of Lahore, "It (Lahore) contains several grand mosques and superb tombs of the Mogul Empire, and its suburban gardens are very beautiful though robbed of their decorative sculpture by the Sikhs.....The picture by Mr. Weeks, which was in the last exhibition of the Paris Salon, gives an idea of the aspect of a street in Lahore"[17]. It appears that in Lahore, sculpture was very much in vogue.

A 19th century reference to the sculpture of Lahore was found at the Fakir Khana Museum. This is the small head of a young European girl. The archival material of the museum reveals that this is the head of General Allarde's daughter named Felicie Marie Allarde that was made by Rulia Ram who was a Lahori sculptor/potter. It is almost one and a half inches tall and broken from the neck down. The modelling of the face is beautiful. Her head, eyes, straight Roman nose, delicate lips, chin and long neck are worth noticing. As late as mid 19th century, the sculptors of Lahore were making portraits of high quality.

Many courtiers who belonged to the Sikh Darbar used to live in Lahore. The patrons were from Lahore and the artists usually painted them here. Some portraits of high quality are discussed below to prove that the tradition of portrait painting saw its golden age in the 19th century, when the Lahori artists were producing one masterpiece after another.

Shabih Maharaja Kharak Singh, Crown Prince of the State of Kapurthalla

Maharaja Kharak Singh (1850-1877) was one of the rulers of Kapurthalla, a very rich state. He naturally attracted the attention of gifted masons, architects, artists and designers of a high order. The Kapurthalla Darbar also patronized Keher Singh *Musawwir* of Lahore and Amritsar in the 19th century.[18] There is a signed and dated portrait by Keher Singh who was a painter of high merit in Maharaja Ranjit Singh's court.

The portrait shows Kharak Singh in a very majestic manner, seated with all his finery and gems glittering. The most dominating feature is the headdress, the Gugha, that is highly decorative. It was a family ornament inherited by Kharak Singh. It had emeralds, rubies and many other precious stones. Keher Singh was a master in painting gems and jewels and his mastery is evident in this painting. Strings of pearls and other necklaces are painted in great detail. There is an intricately painted golden belt. Kharak Singh is holding a sword in his powerful hands and sitting on the royal chair with blue velvet upholstery.

The Portrait of Badami Begum or Gul-i-Badam

This is a beautiful portrait in the Fakir Khana Museum where it has been documented as the portrait of Badami Begum. Faqir Sayyad Qamar ul Din heard from his father, Faqir Sayyad Aziz ul Din about a lady and discussed her with Sayyad Muhammad Latif who wrote in Tareekh-i-Lahore, " The place where Badami Bagh is now situated, in the old days was named after a princess, Gul-i-Badam. Her tomb was in the middle of Masti Darwaaza and Khizri Darwaaza. The tomb was decorated with very expensive marble. It also had a garden but all was destroyed during the rule of the Sikh Trinity."[19] The present Siyah Qalam is a portrait of the same lady that was drawn in Lahore in the 19th century. The treatment is very different from the portraits of the Mughal ladies because it is the face of a Lahori woman depicted in a realistic manner. Her features are not Persian or Central Asian.

Drawings and Sketches of the 19th Century

A complete painting has its value but there are times when the process of painting becomes a piece of art in its own right. In painting,

this process consists of sketches and drawings that an artist makes to reach the end product. These sketches have freedom of expression and are not as carefully planned and composed as are the final paintings. If we study the drawings of Leonardo da Vinci or Michelangelo, they reveal their skill and mastery. Although the final paintings and sculptures do not lack artistic expression, the drawings are more refreshing and spontaneous. They tell a lot about the method, skill and technique of the artist.

The painters of Lahore sketched and painted the courtiers and guests of the Sikh Darbar on different occasions. Artists accompanied the rulers in important meetings where they used to sit and draw sketches of the main participants. When a German, Von Orlich visited Sher Singh's Darbar, he observed the presence of an artist. He writes, "On occasions of this kind, it is customary for the Indian nobles to bring the artist attached to the court, to paint the portraits of those present: the painter of Sher Singh was, therefore incessantly occupied in sketching with a black lead pencil those likenesses which were afterwards to be copied in watercolours, in order that they might adorn the walls of the royal palace; and some of them were admirably executed. I was among the honored few and the artist was very particular in making a faithful representation of my uniform and feathers."[20] A significant example is a sketch of British officers that testifies to this fact. The faces and the hats along with their decorative feathers are recorded very realistically. The words Map Sahib, Nawab Sahib, Lord and Clark Sahib are written above their heads. The artist has recorded these faces to use them for some future painting.

There are many other drawings and sketches of different faces. The main thing to notice in these faces is the skill of the artist. The way he recorded the features, the beards and hair is remarkable. The simple sketch of a seated nobleman with a shawl is astounding and the light beard on his face is very realistic and acutely observed by the artist.

The same is true of the seated old man with a rosary in his hand. The drawing of his body is weak but the grey of the beard is striking. A small drawing of a female face opposite the old man is also noticeable. It looks like a practice sketch of the artist but the flow of line and the spontaneity of the stroke are excellent.

The portraits of Lahori artists were even used as reference by Europeans especially by Auguste Schoefft, a famous Austrian painter

F. 18

'Darbar of Mahraja Ranjit Singh' by Auguste Schoefft

who painted many Sikh paintings including the world famous 'Darbar Maharaja Ranjit Singh'. W. G. Archer testifies to this fact in these words, "Schoefft himself wished to draw as many Sikhs as possible and throughout 1841, the year of his stay in Lahore, he sketched the principal characters at court and copied portraits of those who were recently dead. He learnt in this way, how to paint famous figures such as Ranjit, Kharak and Nau Nihal and thus acquire material with which to reconstruct historical scenes. These sketches and copies were to prove their value when, later in life, he worked at Vienna from 1844 to 1846, and held an exhibition there in 1855."[21] When he painted the 'Darbar of Maharaja Ranjit Singh', many of the people he portrayed were dead. Schoefft must have used paintings of the local artists as references for his large canvas. The foreigners saw the skill of the Lahori artists and they acknowledged their brilliance.[22]

All these portraits and sketches reveal the sensitive work done by the Lahori sculptors and painters in the 19th century and before. They were keen observers and believed in the true reproduction of what they saw, especially in portrait painting. They established the concept of presenting a true likeness of the personalities painted or sculpted, discarding the idealised presentation of the human form in miniature that was the trend of that time. This characteristic has been persistent over the centuries and the recent discovery of terracotta heads is a distinct example of this.

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Street Children and the Right to Public Space
Towards an Inclusive Urban Design and Planning

Jawaid Haider, Ph.D

> *"The fact is that the phenomenon of street children is global and escalating. Poverty, family disintegration due to health or death, neglect, abuse or abandonment and social unrest are all common triggers for a child's life on the streets."* (Boer-Buquicchio, 2007)

> *"First, and most importantly, it should be emphasized that street children are, in fact, children! Child behaviors like playing with toys, crying, and sucking of thumbs, for example, are likely to go unnoticed amongst routine "adult" activities …"* (Kilbride, et al 2001)

Introduction

This paper explores the lives of children residing and working on the streets, and draws from in-depth studies of street children from several countries revealing valuable information about their perceptions and experiences of their urban environment. Child poverty is no longer confined to international geographical boundaries, as the situation of street children evidently demonstrates. Street children are a global phenomenon, common to most cities of the world - even the most affluent cities of developed countries. According to United Nations' estimates, there are currently more than 150 million street children worldwide and their numbers are increasing at an astounding pace (Boer-Buquicchio, 2007). Table 1 shows the approximate breakdown in Africa, America, Asia, and Europe. It is therefore not surprising that street children are becoming increasingly noticeable in cities and in public spaces. The United Nations has defined the term "street children" to include "any boy or girl … for whom the street in the widest sense of the word … has become his or her habitual abode and/or source of livelihood, and who is inadequately protected, supervised, or directed by responsible adults" (Inter-NGO Forum, 1985).

F. 1

Estimates of population of street children

Region	Population (million)	Street Children (million)
Africa	973	32
Asia	4,054	30
Europe	732	25
North America*	443	4
Latin America	577	50

Note: Estimates based on reports by WHO, UNICEF, UNEP, and Casa Alianza in 2008.
*North America includes United States, Canada, and Mexico

What are the factors that force children to live and work in streets? Many kinds of explanations can be offered for this complex phenomenon: structural, such as poverty and parental unemployment; social, such as large families and lack of support from family or state; economic, such as migration from rural to urban areas; or psychological, such as parental abuse and neglect, family conflict, or children's reaction to unstable and broken families (Consortium for Street Children, 2004). Street children live in obscure open spaces, parks, abandoned and empty buildings, or buildings under construction. Many street children stay in touch with their families and work on the streets to augment their household income, while others have run away from home in response to psychological or physical abuse. The majority is male, but the number of females is increasing steadily (UNICEF, 2005). Although girls on the street face a different set of problems, this paper will not examine gender differences. What is crucial is that once on the street, children become susceptible to different kinds of exploitation, mostly by adults, including law enforcement agencies and other authorities.

Street children are frequent victims of human rights violations and they are invariably marginalized and abused. Traditionally, Human Rights Watch has stressed compliance with civil and political rights but not specifically with economic and social rights, which include the right to basic education, shelter, and healthcare (UNICEF, 2005). Due to this shortcoming, street children have not been able to fully benefit from the enforcement of civil and political rights.

In today's global economy, street children represent an international phenomenon; many similarities exist between street children in various countries and cultures. Although their presence is readily visible, as street children live and work on the streets and public spaces of cities around the world, they are paradoxically "invisible" as they are deprived of vital services, such as education and health care, and are the most difficult to protect (UNICEF, 2005).

Given the seriousness of this issue, a human rights-based approach is the only way to address the predicament of street children. The Convention on the Rights of the Child was adopted by the UN General Assembly in 1989 and endorsed by 192 countries.This convention unequivocally stressed that street children's protection, development, and access to basic necessities for survival can no longer be regarded merely as altruistic concerns, but rather as essential issues of legal, ethical, and moral obligation (UNICEF, 2005).

This UNICEF perspective is revealing as far as children and public space are concerned. Children in general are not always welcome in the public spaces of contemporary cities. Street children in particular are often demonized and regarded as a potential threat to the sanitized urban environment, and ultimately find themselves completely excluded from essential services and protection.

The Privatization of Public Space

We are currently witnessing an erosion of public space, which is a direct and predictable outcome of the commercialization of the public realm—a manifestation of the growing tendency to commodify everyday life. The privatization of public space for commercial profit-making is the major motivating force for the increasing exclusion of children and youth (Giroux, 1998). As a result, time-honored public spaces, such as squares, alleys, and streets, are becoming inaccessible or inhospitable to children. These places have succumbed to growing commercial pressures and are being transformed with little or no thought given to the community's need for gathering and cultural exchange.

Mitchell (2003) has likened this trend to a conscious "annihilation of space by law," as "anti-homeless laws and the shrinking landscape of rights" in the United States and many other countries where there is little concern for the economically deprived population. The commercialization and privatization of social life have profound consequences for children, and undermine the current

generation's sense of ownership of public spaces and their commitment to contribute to the public realm. Street children have a few more strikes against them. Not only are they excluded from public space because they are predominantly minors, they are also marginalized because they are homeless and exhibit so-called "deviant behavior" (Young, 2003). Without an inclusive strategy for the design, planning, and management of public space, the problems these children face will grow rather than diminish.

Public space, by definition, is inclusive, democratic and inviting; and these central principles must be extended to include street children. In fact, cities should be consciously planned to be inclusive and responsive to street children as a social group, and should recognize them as responsible individuals who belong to a productive community (Christensen and O'Brien, 2003). Furthermore, the design, development and management of public space must be based on free dialogue about its use or adaptability to various public functions; methodologies for encouraging the active participation of street children based on an understanding of the childhood domain are an indispensable part of this process (Ataöv and Haider, 2006).

Despite the recent surge of concern about children's poverty throughout the world, the childhood domain is demonstrably missing in the study of the built environment and public sphere and street children continue to be ignored in the planning of public places. The design and planning disciplines have yet to recognize childhood as a distinct and critical phase of life and it is not surprising that street children are either overlooked or are conspicuously absent in critical scholarship regarding architecture, planning and the environment. Another reason for the ignoring of street children is the increasing commodification of social life, which is undermining or substantially reducing childhood as a distinctive phase, since children are consistently expected, if not coerced, to behave like adults (Valentine, 2003). Given the complex nature of their problems, an investigation of the relationships street children have as social actors with the street context and their work based on everyday interactions with space, place and nature - could yield productive results.

The Global City

Street children are commonly regarded as a separate and socially discrete group, but this description is an oversimplification of the street children phenomenon. A comprehensive study of street children in Kenya by Kilbride, Suda and Njeru (2001) reinforced the

notion that street children depend on institutions, cultural beliefs, work habits, and family dynamics similar to those of the urban poor. This finding does not indicate that street children do not manifest distinctive characteristics, but that their exclusion from public space is not unlike that of other socially deprived urban groups.

Notwithstanding its advanced economic development, the United States has its share of poverty and homelessness and what is particularly disturbing is that a majority of the poor and homeless are teenagers and children who live and/or work on the street; moreover, one in four homeless persons in the United States is a child (The National Center on Family Homelessness, 2002). Despite these alarming and disconcerting statistics, street children remain undetectable to society. In fact, new laws against the presence of the homeless in public space continue to be enacted (Mitchell, 2003).

In Europe, every city has street children, and recently they have become much more conspicuous. However, little dependable demographic information exists on street children--making it difficult to fully understand the enormity of the problem and developing effective policies to help them (Council of Europe, 2010). There is also a general tendency to ignore these children despite their visible presence on the streets because it is easier to blame street children for the ills they face, rather than view them as a policy or societal failure. In 2008, one of the Plenary Sessions of The Child in the City Congress called for the social reintegration of street children and emphasized the fact that they are a critical part of the challenge of building child-friendly cities (Council of Europe, 2008). It goes without saying that the design of public space is crucial to the concept of child-friendly cities. At the 20th Anniversary of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, the European Federation of Street Children (EFSC) underscored several issues pertaining to street children. The EFSC (2009) emphasized the need for education and healthcare and defense from human trafficking, prostitution, drugs, and crime as critical issues and made an impassioned plea "for the protection from criminalization of street children." In addition, the EFSC emphasized the need for a viable partnership of public and private effort to effectively address the issue of street children.

Worldwide, new policies and laws are based on the premise that the homeless are a threat to public life; but the reality is that the presence of street children challenges the established artificial hierarchy of the public domain. As Hecht (1998) states in a study of Brazilian street children: "Brazil's street children challenge the hierarchical worlds of home and school and threaten the commercialized 'public' space

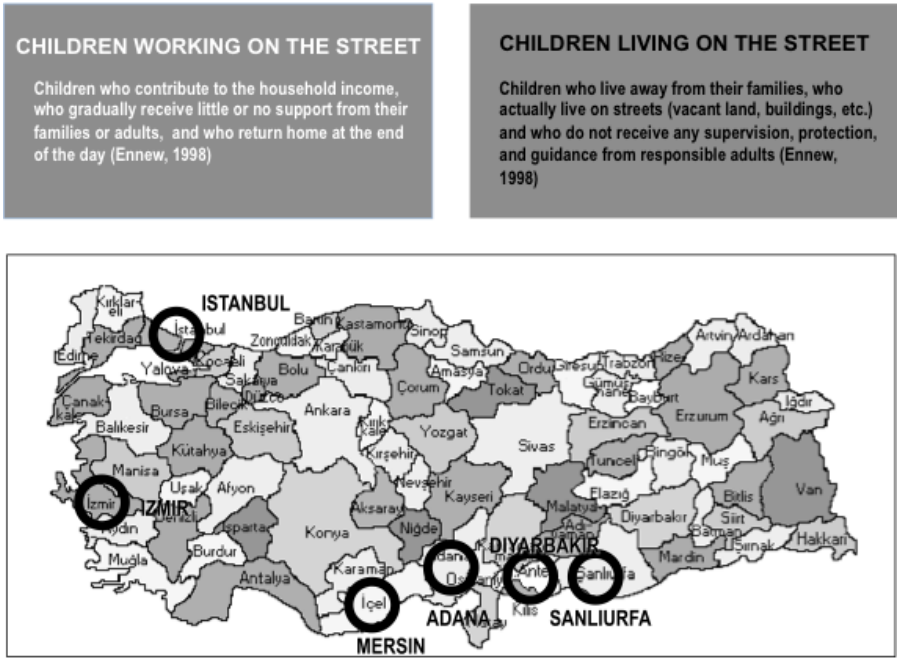
such as stores and shopping centers." This attitude applies to all kinds of public spaces, including urban squares and streets. Historically, streets have contributed to the public realm by providing engaging play spaces for all ages. Valentine (2004) has argued persuasively that the current tendency to withdraw from the street has negative consequences for children because it reinforces the idea that streets are exclusively designed for adults, while children are not welcome if they are unaccompanied by adults. This notion severely limits children's mobility in public space and has a devastating impact on street children who depend on the street for their survival.

Young (2003) has examined street children's imaginative use of the urban environment in Kampala, Uganda, and believes that their relationship to the street is an intrinsic aspect of their identity. Focusing on these interactions is critical in understanding how street children create unique socio-spatial relationships and determine viable survival strategies. Thus street children have a lot to contribute to our understanding of children's spatial mobility; empowering them and enabling them to participate in discussions of public space can accomplish a great deal by creating more responsive planning and design strategies.

Based on her research on street children in Delhi, India, O'Kane (2003) argues that participation empowers children and encourages them to voice their feelings on their unique street experiences, thereby becoming advocates for their own rights and challenging the current state of affairs. The participation of children in the decision-making process can also stimulate adults in the community to become involved and sensitize them to the plight of street children. O'Kane suggests that while the childhood domain is influenced by the social, political, and cultural context, childhood should be recognized as a "social construction," with children as active agents in the resolution and construction of their own lives. Thus street children's views and perspectives are crucial in understanding their problems, as well as their interactions in public space.

The United Nations study, "Play experiences of children living and working on the streets," focused on a group of four hundred children working and living on the streets in six Turkish metropolitan cities (Tas et al, 2001). Figure 2 graphically shows the cities included in this study. The phenomenon of street children in Turkish cities is not new and efforts to "resolve" the problem date back to the 1940s. However, street children have received more attention in the last decade due to negative publicity and growing public awareness. In the

recent past, street children have gained further notoriety because they have been identified as a "social threat." The appalling condition of these children has drawn some national and international institutions to study the children's experiences on the streets and find solutions to their problems. The study was critical of the government's policy of protecting the residents of the community rather than the children. This attitude manifested itself in new urban revitalization strategies that were singularly designed to keep street children out of certain neighborhoods. For example, in the Cihangir historic residential area in Istanbul, gated communities were proposed to prevent access of the "undesirables," which explicitly include street children. In addition to the lack of basic needs, such as personal hygiene and education, "play" or lack thereof was identified as one of the significant issues of the street experience. More than seventy-five percent of the working children could not play due to lack of time.



F. 2

Map showing six Turkish cities involved in the UN study

These studies highlight the negative effects of excluding children from urban space and ignoring their unique needs. For the urban designer, this finding should accentuate the importance of empowering street children in the design and planning of public space, in conjunction with the involvement of the community, to understand and respond to their needs. This can only be achieved by the children's active and organized participation in the decision-making process

through participatory methodologies that focus on engaging street children beyond pure tokenism.

Street Children In Lahore

Once a thriving Mughal capital, the historic city of Lahore was radically changed by the British to a modern metropolis adjacent to the old Walled City in response to the new emerging needs for governance. In his book *Making Lahore Modern*(2008), William J. Glover argues that the colonial history of the city brings up the question of cultural difference. His assertion that colonial urbanism was not simply imposed, but was instead an outcome of co-operation between the locals and the colonizer is questionable. However, the legacy of the collaboration between the local elite and the British certainly continues to affect urbanism even today. It continues to guide Lahore's overall planning and urban design approach of denying the universal right to public space. The plight of street children should be viewed in conjunction with the exclusion of most major groups of locals from public spaces and amenities in the colonial city. In addition to the many excruciating problems confronted by street children in many other parts of the world, Pakistan's colonial legacy also colors the way we treat street children. The notion that all citizens have certain rights --including the right to the city and its public spaces -- is completely trumped by illiteracy, greed, rampant privatization, and profit motives.

Aggravating this accumulation by dispossession thrust upon the least well-off is the voracity that seeks to colonize space for the affluent (Harvey 2008). In this urban milieu, it is astonishing, if not utterly absurd, to consistently see bad copies of mega-urban structures found in Abu-Dhabi, Dubai and elsewhere in the Middle East, as well as in the Western World. Alraouf (2006) describes "Dubaization" as a process whereby cities in the Middle East lose their original identity and character. He argues, most cogently, that Dubai represents a model based essentially on branded images and icons that are not sustainable even in presently rich Middle Eastern countries (Alraouf 2011). The ever-growing world of shopping malls, fast food diners, parking lots, backyards, multiplex theaters, and amusement parks represents the most socially unjust and wasteful development in Lahore and in other Pakistani cities. Ironically, these new developments do not provide adequate or suitable employment to the most needy segments of society, including street children. Meanwhile, the number of street children in Lahore -- children who live on the street to beg, work, or hangout -- is increasing rapidly and urban areas lack the necessary infrastructure to support the increasing population.

Estimates of street children in Pakistan are non-existent and the issue is further compounded because many children who use streets live or operate from off street locations where they are subject to gross maltreatment and abuse by authorities or police. The majority are boys, but a significant number are girls, who face even worse conditions. These children engage in a wide range of occupations such as selling newspapers or flowers, picking garbage, shoe shining, begging, soliciting customers for sex, in the form of bonded labor, living in abandoned buildings, wastelands, obscure sidewalks, and alleys. While issues of health and disease among street children is beyond the scope of this paper, a study conducted by The Azad Foundation in Pakistan titled, "Street Children In Pakistan: A group at risk for HIV/AIDS", reveals extremely disturbing facts about the sexual behavior of street children that requires urgent attention -- it is a ticking time bomb that can potentially play havoc with the entire population. Iqbal (2008) discusses the reasons for leaving home identified by street children in Lahore, which include broken homes, domestic violence, extreme poverty, parental remarriage, and drug abuse by parents. It is worthwhile to note that the more street children are alienated from their families, the more likely they are to take risks and engage in antisocial behavior. The nature of neighborhood and public spaces, as well as contextual social issues such as poverty, unemployment, inadequate law and order and corruption have a profound effect on street children (Benitez 2007).

Over the years, a few small organizations have focused on the rehabilitation of street children in Lahore. Some NGO's (such as Insaan Foundation Trust and The Azad Foundation) offer limited assistance to street children during the day, but not during the night, when these children are most susceptible to dangerous situations and abuse (Zia 2006). Given the scale of the problem, which is likely to grow exponentially in the future, it is surprising that the authorities have completely ignored street children. It is even more surprising that this problem is not even acknowledged by various professionals, including engineers, architects, and planners who deal with public space. It is indeed appalling that professional educational institutions that consistently deal with the design, planning, and management of the environment, remain ignorant of the plight of street children and their right to public places. Educational institutions can play a pivotal role in creating necessary awareness by addressing the concerns of street children through service projects or courses in architecture or planning schools.

A concerted effort is required at both national and city levels to

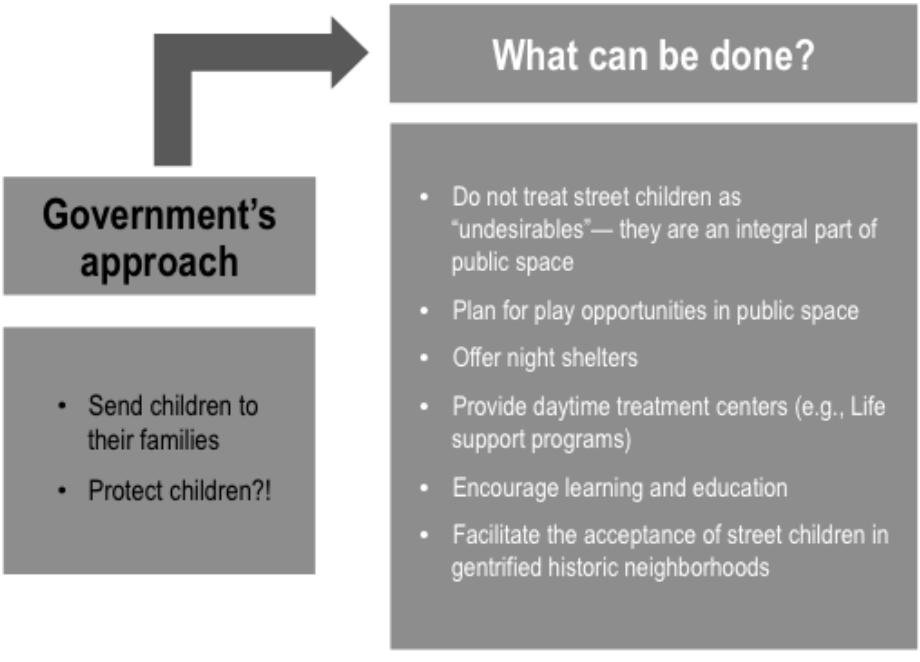
develop viable strategies to address critical issues street children face on a daily basis. These strategies must recognize the right and need of street children to occupy public space for their survival. Establishing shelters that provide basic health and education and are easily accessible from streets or public spaces where street children seek their livelihood is crucial to pull these children out of the dangerously exploitative and sometimes criminal world in which they have become entangled (Zia 2006). Why is it necessary to focus our attention on street children in Lahore? Of course, compassion for these innocent children who have involuntarily lost their childhood and dwell in subhuman conditions comes to mind. It needs to be said, however, that the hefty price the city and the society at large will eventually pay by ignoring this problem is undeniably consequential and could affect each and every one in the community in profound ways.

Street Life and Public Policy

The foregoing studies, especially the Turkish and Pakistani studies, clearly indicate that the dilemma of street children cannot be isolated from its setting - that is, the street. Ataöv and Haider (2006) have

F. 3

Reflections based on UN studies



used the Turkish study sponsored by the United Nations to critically examine the participation and empowerment of street children in the context of urban space. The studyaimed at empowering the children

to articulate their problems and seek solutions for themselves. Like many other studies worldwide, this study highlighted the risks - crime, drug use, physical and sexual abuse, beating, robbery, rape, trading in children, and theft - that children who live and work on the streets consistently encounter. These risks increase exponentially when children have to spend the night on the street. In response, their instinct for survival compels them to use public space in deliberately specific ways, as they confine themselves to crowded areas, such as sidewalks and squares, and try to stick together.

According to the studies, the key aspects of the street experience that appealed to children living and working there related to environmental elements that had meaning in their everyday lives. Three quarters of the children's responses to a targeted survey in the Turkish study revolved around people in their lives (adults, police officers, guards in the police station, and other children), natural elements and animals (forests, trees, natural settings, and dogs), and physical elements (living spaces, such as hollow trees, vacant houses, construction sites, working spaces, other reference points such as police stations, and vehicles, including cars and ambulances). The study concluded that these findings allow insights into social policy and have substantial implications for the design, planning, and management of public space.

The policy of most governments is to treat street children in the same way as foster children, and excessive emphasis is placed on returning the street children to their original families. Consequently, these children are forced to or choose to live and work on the streets, as they have either run away from their families due to an abusive or dysfunctional home environment or find street life rewarding in itself because it potentially enhances their independence, self-confidence, and identity in the community.

Conclusion

The commonality of issues confronted by street children in various cultures offers valuable insights into their plight and bolsters the need to reclaim the public realm for all children. Despite socio-cultural differences among the various examples cited in this paper, there are universal lessons to be learned that can help us focus on the critical needs of street children, vis-à-vis public space and generate viable design, planning, and management guidelines.

Admittedly, the phenomenon of street children is extremely

complex and needs to be addressed at the policy level; however, a substantive study of street children's lives and experiences also has concrete and practical implications for planning and management strategies of public space. The problem of street children cannot be isolated from its context -- that is, the street -- and while it is worthwhile to encourage families to act upon their responsibilities for their children, the holistic wellbeing and the future of street children are of paramount importance. Providing public or private educational opportunities for street children would help them become integrated into their communities. In addition to helping street children lead a healthy and drug-free lifestyle, they should be considered important social actors in the planning of public space and urban recreational activities.

These studies unequivocally indicate that policy-makers must acknowledge children who make their lives on the urban street. Planning and design of public spaces must accept this cardinal reality as apoint of departure. Organizations interested in child poverty and street children's issues need to develop perceptive strategies that encourage communication and the active participation of street children in design and planning processes. Successful methodologies for children's participation must go beyond tokenism and engage street children by genuinely empowering them as independent social actors who have human rights. Without a significant change in our attitude, inclusive planning and design strategies could remain an elusive dream.

The consequences of this plan for street children are substantial and transformative, but the agenda that emerges is by no means modest. Such a comprehensive and democratic framework would begin to sensitize the community, including law enforcement agencies, to the sad plight of street children and to society's responsibility to accept them as productive citizens. This framework could subsequently lead to insightful strategies for public space and become a catalyst for developing a new genre of socio-spatial concepts to cater to the growing number of street children in modern cities throughout the world, including Lahore. Finally, this inclusive approach could trigger a humane and imaginative way of thinking about the dilemma of street children - so that a new kind of policy formation and implementation strategy emerges in the foreseeable future.

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The Lost Romance of the Streets of Lahore

Anila Yasin

Introduction

I remember my first visit to the Walled City during the course of my studies at the University of Engineering and Technology, Lahore, (UET), and my fascination with it. It stayed in my mind and when I got the chance to conduct research, the first proposal that came to my mind was about my lingering fascination with the Walled City streets. I visited the walled city once again with questions in my mind like: what makes the Walled City streets unique and different from other streets, particularly those of the new Lahore? What is the quality of the Walled City streets that is different from that of contemporary streets? Why had the change become inevitable? I studied the Walled City streets and also the contemporary streets to find out what had changed.

Streets serve the purpose of connecting spaces, allowing movement of goods and people. They also act as places of social gathering, of the informal assembly of people, where children play and emulate other people and learn from them; also where the culture of communities takes root and where integrated services are performed. As Noberg Schulz says, 'The Street, in the past ... was a "small universe" where the Character of the district and of the town as a whole was presented in condensed form to the visitor. The street represented, so to speak, a section of life – history had shaped its detail's.[1.] In terms of the public realm, no element of the urban environment is more important than the streets. This is where we travel to work, shop, eat, and engage in social interaction. Streets join the public and private domain and link various parts of a city. According to Moughtin, 'The Street has not been a mere means of access but essentially an arena for social expression'.[2]

After the French revolution (1789–1799), the development of new military tools and physical patterns for war led to an era in which all postulations and empirical standards about town planning were questioned *ab initio*. The old defense system no longer provided security against the innovative weaponry. War had taken on new facets and city walls lost their importance and were demolished. Defensive measures, to date, had played a defining role in city planning. The decline of

the use of the city wall overlaps in time with the onset of industrial development, which led cities into unique and unprecedented growth.[3] The twentieth century further brought a change in the use and design of the streets. The interactive ambience and affluent culture of the street was replaced by the efficiency of roads. Some roads partially serve the integrated purpose of streets, while others are meant just for vehicular movement. The supremacy of pedestrian rights, one of the traits of the street, was lost in the process.

So far several terms such as, street, way, path, highway, avenue, route, have been employed almost interchangeably. It would be possible to expand this list to include other words such as, boulevard, road, mall and promenade, which have related meanings. Without going into a detailed debate on definitions, the major differentiation is to be made between "street" and "road" in this paper. The street simultaneously acts as both *"path" and "place"* and is characterized by the virtue and quality of the *street life and the facilities it offers* to pedestrians. It may be temporarily barred to traffic in order to secure or facilitate some other user, for instance: a street-fair, a procession, play space for children. Roads, on the contrary, offer supremacy to cars in comparison to public gathering and social interaction and all other users being of secondary importance, no blockage is encouraged. The increasing trend of street usage as roads, with the supremacy of vehicular movement in urban areas, has resulted in social as well as physical decline[4].

Walled City Street

The Walled City, lying on an ancient mound in north-west Lahore, traces its history for over a thousand years. Latif in his book claims that to know the exact date of its foundation is impossible, but concludes that Lahore was an important town in the mid-seventh century[5]. The Walled City evolved slowly, preserving historical structures, planning principles, traditions and cultures for each successive generation. It has been created neither by a single man or ruler, nor in one period. Urban development took place as an organic process along established planning principles, accommodating growth with a concern for the human senses. Like all informally planned cities, from Spain to India and the Middle Eastern cities, as Broadbent reported, the labyrinthine planning with narrow, sometimes, blind alleys often covered and ending in private courtyards, enhance the feeling of security and strong social interaction[6]. Streets are straight for a short distance but mostly winding, twisting and turning into each other providing security and privacy, along with the delight of surprise.

The city lay-out forms a complex web of social and cultural

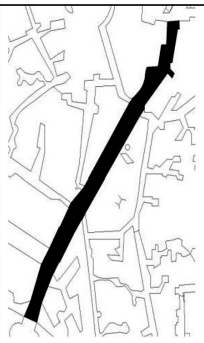
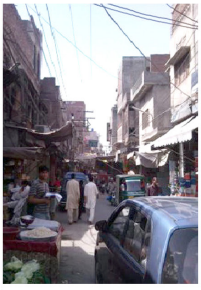
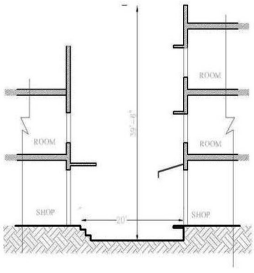
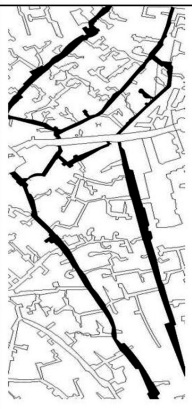
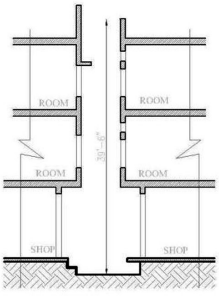
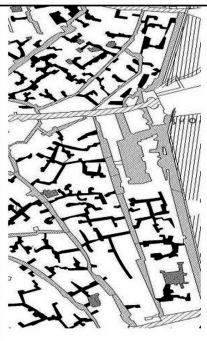
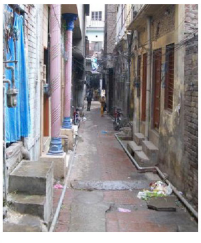
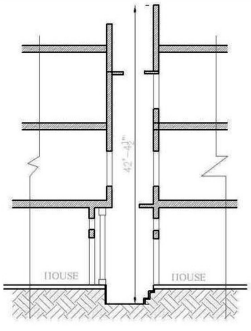
Type	Plan	View	Section	Use
Main street		 width varies from **20'0" 22'6"**		Ground floor Commercial & upper 2 or 3 storeys are residential
Secondary street		 width varies but normally it is **6'-0"-12'0"**		Residential but mostly With shops at G. floor
Tertiary street/alley/Cul de sacs		 width varies but mostly it is **2'-6"-6'0"**		Purely Residential

Figure 3

F. 1

Types of streets, Guzar of Delhi Gate

activities with private and public places merging into each other. Inside the Walled City, one moves through convoluted routes that are often only as wide as necessary for pedestrians. Tall buildings provide cooling relief below by protecting the narrow streets from severe sunrays excluding the rays with a shadow line (alleyways). The minimum open

space left is for circulation along the narrow streets, and the bordering buildings are typically in use for shops at the ground level, with family quarters on upper floors with a flat roof[7]. These rooftops facilitate not only the sleeping in summer but also social exchange the year round.

I chose the *Guzar* of Dehli Gate for analysis, as it was the preferred entry for foreigners in the past[8]. The streets have an hierarchy descending from Guzars (the main spine) to the *Mohalla* (neighborhood) then the *galli* (individual narrow Street) and finally the *band galli (cul de sac)*. The main thoroughfare is the main axis. Secondary streets were perpendicular to these primary streets and, as these secondary streets went deeper, they assumed an organic form of tertiary streets that were more convoluted and generally blind-ended. Prior to the introduction of automobiles, people used bullock-carts, horses, camels and oxen for transportation[9]. Streets were not only used by pedestrians but also by other modes of transportation as stated by Fra Sebastian, a Spanish preacher, who visited Lahore in 1641:[10]

> *"It is a handsome and well-ordered city, with large gateways and pavilions. I entered the city, a very difficult undertaking on account of the number of people who filled the streets, some on foot, some on camels, some on elephants, others in small carts, jolting one against the other as they went along. Those who could best, passed on first, this being the receiving hour at Court; many of the gentry were proceeding there, accompanied by as many as five hundred followers on horseback".*

The Street as an Informal Social Place

According to Trancik *'a space acts as a place when it addresses human needs within their natural, cultural and historical contexts. For public space cultural values, social values of users are as important as enclosure and linkage values[11]'.*

F. 2

A cul-de-sac in the Walled City

The Walled City street acts as a place, as it provides the setting to the users according to their culture and natural context. Women in streets often stand in doorways or sit on the steps of doorways and

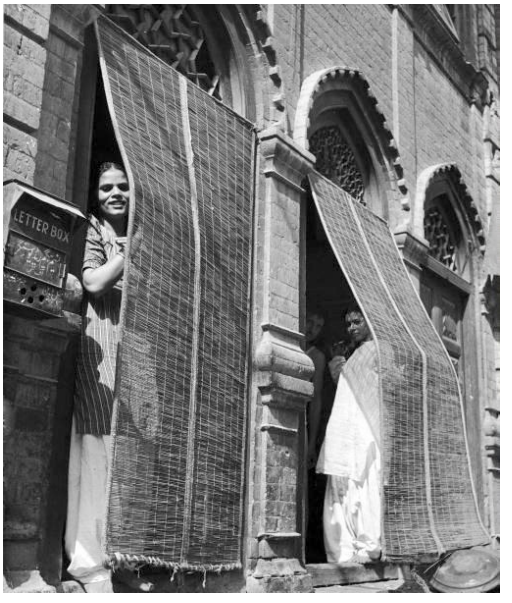
chat informally with each other because the physical design of a street provides privacy and shade from scorching summer sunlight. There is provision of some spaces in the Walled City's physical layout that fosters sociability among the residents, that is, *Katrah*. It acts like an outdoor room, a platform that attains a greater measure of privacy due to the blind end of the street. In it, social activities take place such as neighborly interaction, children's play, conversation and an occasional fight! The *cul-de-sac (band gali)* gives an attenuated privacy as no stranger can come through.

Robustness

"It is the flexibility to make use of a place for diverse purposes". Places that are used for several different purposes offer more choices to their users than those places which are designed to restrict them to their single use. The quality of an environment that offers such choice is called robustness[12]. This quality of urban space is usually achieved by the diverse use of the space. There is no segregation of activities in the streets of the Walled City. A street working well for residential activity also does well for commercial activity. This type of mixed use adds life and vibrancy to the streets of the Walled City. Robustness causes the intermingling of various people and activities and thus enhances the chances of sociability among people of that particular area.

Sense of Safety and Security

For a stranger, narrow streets look like a maze of *cul-de-sacs*, but in fact these streets offer a subtle, reference system of thresholds and buffer spaces which act as filters to keep strangers out. Thresholds are usually in the form of arches, door steps, low stone posts or simply the sudden narrowing and curving of a street. Women stand at door steps to watch people passing by and also keep an eye on their children playing in the streets, thus, conforming to the 'eye on street' concept by Jane Jacob.[13.] Windows open onto the street as a neighbor is



F. 3

'Eye on street' concept, Walled City

more familiar than a stranger, underlining security as the private space opens onto the semi-public space, offering more sociability and 'eye-on-street' by the household. Houses and other buildings address the street with entries, balconies, windows, *Jharokas* with woodwork detail, other architectural features and activities. They also help to generate a pleasant walking environment. Extensions from the house into the streets or a physical link of the house with the public space (the street) enhance the sense of ownership and natural surveillance as described by Oscar Newman[14]: *"windows and doorways, when facing streets, extend the zone of residents' territorial commitments"*. Bentley talks about it under the name of "visual permeability"[15]. Windows, doorways and balconies add visual permeability between private and public spaces. This quality generates the feeling of safety among the users of the street with the feeling that they are not alone in the public space thus offering comfort and convenience by diminishing the feeling of being detached. Walkability is encouraged by variety and human-scale detail. These physical features manipulate the way a pedestrian feels about the surroundings as a place to walk as compared to the urban motorized road.

A Place to Linger and for Spontaneous Social Encounter

Culturally, shopping in Lahore in a bazaar is a long, drawn-out affair as goods are examined, selected and then bargained for in prolonged discussions in which all those present in a shop might also join. This also leads to spontaneous encounters with friends or new friendships might develop through the experience. Eateries like shops of Halwa and Lassi and the informal seating provided by street cafés, are the places where people linger. Alexander says that "people choose to linger in public spaces where they can enjoy a view toward some feature of interest"[16]. Perhaps to watch people is a great feature of interest in our culture. Spaces in front of homes that are technically not part of the public realm but have acquired a character through use, are favorites to sit upon and watch the world go by. Christopher called these types of seating "secondary seating" that encourage the effective use of place[17].

Enclosure

"Enclosure" refers to the extent to which buildings, trees, walls, and other elements define spaces (streets and squares) visually. Work in neurophysiology suggests that enclosure is such an important feature of the environment that there is a specific region in the brain that responds directly to environmental enclosure[18]. Feeling for enclosures is enhanced by the heights of buildings on both sides of streets which in

turn lead to sociability among the users. Sitte states that[19], "Streets that are visually enclosed avoid the impression of being a thoroughfare and provide a better setting for the architecture". Carrying the argument further Gibberd's recommendation[20] for the design of the street is '*...to reduce the width of the road itself and the dwellings brought realistically close together, then it is likely to evoke an urban quality which lifts the spirit*.'

Buildings here respect each other and despite being different in detail, display enough commonality to be an integrated part of the whole composition. This adds to the quality and unity of the urban fabric. A curve also provides visual closure. A narrow curvilinear street, generates interest as the end of the street is not apparent from the beginning, converging into a spacious pedestrian space giving a pleasing surprise. Alexander also emphasizes the importance of enclosure in street design: '*Streets should be for staying in, and not only for moving through, the way they are today*.' Therefore he proposed, *'make a bulge in the center of the public path, and make the ends narrower, so that the path forms an enclosure which is a place to stay, not just a place to pass through*'[21].

Contemporary Streets

Brief History: The annexation of the Punjab by the British in the middle of the nineteenth century and the construction of the Cantonment and the Civil Station started the expansion of Lahore beyond the Walled City. A new urban network of roads lined with trees was evolved[22]. A new rectilinear urban pattern of wide roads[23] was introduced in contrast to the Walled City's labyrinthine pattern. Residential and commercial areas were separated and the Cantonment had wide, tree-lined roads[24]. The most distinguishing character was a regular road network with the separation of residential, commercial and recreational activities.

Soon after the Civil Lines developed, indigenous communities were developed with the clear demarcation of streets and plots surveyed by municipal engineers and sites were set aside for parks, clinics, school, mosques and temples.[25] At the time of Independence road network with a water supply system and sewerage at places was well-established. The Lahore Improvement Trust (LIT), was set up in 1922, for the development of the city in a planned manner. The LIT and its successor the Lahore Development Authority (LDA), developed housing schemes along 'modern' lines for instance, Shadman, Samanbad and Gulberg, with rectangular blocks, and wide streets in a regular layout. The absence of facilities for pedestrians on wide and long roads made a personal car a necessity for daily activities like a

'pick-and-drop' for children to schools, and buying of daily grocery needs.[26.]

Johar Town's Streets

Johar Town (named after Maulana Muhammad Ali Jauhar) is located south of Lahore. This newly-established planned scheme is the largest residential society in Lahore developed by LDA[27]. Its link to the rest of the city is mainly by the Canal Road, where the Johar Town Underpass provides the link.

The whole scheme is laid out in a grid-iron pattern with wide and broad roads, having an hierarchy descending from the main road (connecting Johar town to the rest of city), the primary roads (connecting different blocks to the main road with plot size of minimum 1 kanal), the secondary roads (within one block with the plots of 12 Marlas) and the tertiary roads (within the block with small sized plots like 5 or 7 Marlas[1]). Although separate residential and commercial areas were marked in Johar Town (according to zoning laws true for all planned schemes), unofficial development of commercial activity, by conversion of residences into shopping plazas and restaurants on the main road is evident in Johar Town, like other planned schemes, in defiance of the zoning bylaws of the city[28.]

I chose 3 blocks, L, P, Q, in Johar Town, which share facilities of recreation and shopping, to analyze for this study.

An Informal Sociable Place

The three blocks have one common park situated in P Block, which is the only space for the children to play. This park may, perhaps, be considered sufficient for the residents living in P Block, as it offers them a sense of security and safety, but for the people living in L and R Block it is not adequate. It does not meet the condition mentioned by Jacob that mothers would like to watch their children playing outside through the window while working in the kitchen[29]. The streets are designed only for the purpose of vehicular movement as no footpaths or pedestrian domain is established. Therefore they do not offer an opportunity for people to go out for leisure walks and informally meet their neighbors.

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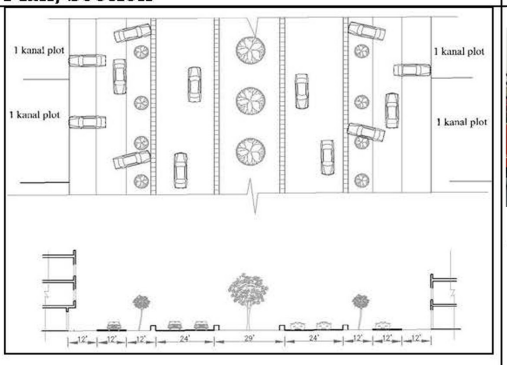
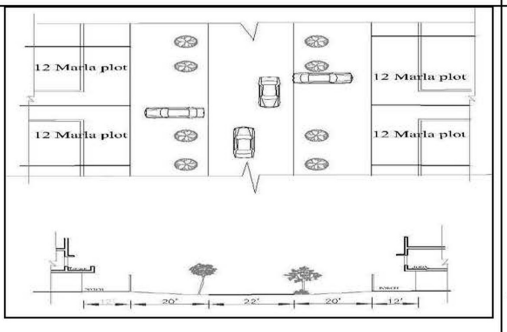
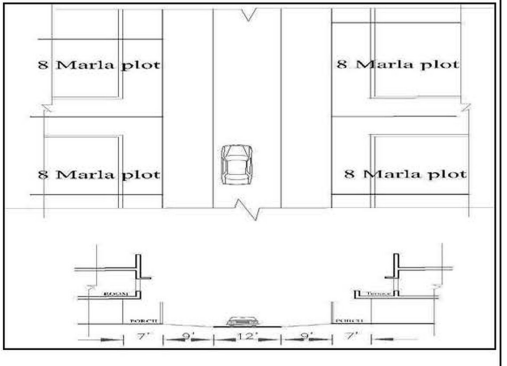
1 I Marla = 225 sft.

Type	Plan/Section	View	Use
Main street		 Street width 125 ' along with 12' of set back for building on each side	Commercial
Primary street		 **Street width 62 ' along with 12' of set back for building on each side**	Residential
Tertiary street		 **Street width 30' along with 7' of set back for building on each side**	Residential

F. 4

Types of streets, Johar Town

A Sense of safety and security

According to building bylaws for residential areas, setbacks are necessary for each plot even if it is just 5 Marlas. Hence, no house owner can have windows directly opening onto the street on the ground floor[30]. The sense of ownership of the street and public place is thus reduced as opposed to the Walled City streets where the streets were considered as semi private space particularly in the poor residential areas.

If we compare the sections of the streets in Johar Town with those of the Walled City we find that these houses are set apart from the street and do not overlap the public space as in the Walled City.

Places to Linger and for Spontaneous Social Encounter

There is a dedicated small commercial space (for daily life needs like groceries) in P Block. This space is sufficient for the grocery needs of all three blocks. People go there to shop in their personal cars although the distance is not much. People do not want to walk as the roads are uninviting for pedestrians. The trend of using a car even for small trips makes the spontaneous social encounter rare. There are no house extensions (stoops or secondary seating) as mentioned earlier, where people can sit and watch other people. The features of visual stimulation, windows opening onto the street, *Jharokas* with woodwork detail, other architectural features and activities that help to generate a pleasant walking environment are uncommon. These physical features manipulate the way a pedestrian feels about the surroundings as a place to walk rather than using the urban motorway. As Colin Buchanan says, '*Walking is also an integral part of many other matters, such as looking at shop windows, admiring the scene, or talking to people. In all, it does not seem to be far from the truth that the freedom with which a person can walk about and look around is a very useful guide to the civilized quality of an urban area*.[31] Even the street amenities like benches (primary seating facility[32]) and paved walkways to attract and facilitate pedestrians are missing. As a result of the absence of such amenities of the public realm people prefer to live in seclusion and indifferent behavior is becoming common in our society. The absence of pedestrians on streets makes spontaneous social encounter a forgotten tradition.

Robustness

Streets, with diverse functions invite different people at different times to the same place, offer an opportunity to the people to meet and enhance their acquaintance thus improving social cohesion. Different theorists like Alexander and Jane Jacob discussed the importance of diversity and emphasized that in "the City is not a tree". Alexander argued, "If design of a place does not consider the diversity among connections of activities, places and people it would be a failure of the design".[33] The variety of uses helps to determine the vibrancy and life of a place. As mentioned above, all planned schemes are designed with the segregation of different uses. This is also the case with Johar Town. As a result one might have a feeling of monotony and boredom while walking down a street as there is no diversity or complexity.

Enclosure

The enclosure of a space also adds to its quality to facilitate users. It refers to the extent to which buildings, trees, walls, and other elements define spaces (streets and squares) visually. Spaces have a room-like quality provided the height proportionally relates to the breadth of the space. The street is an area which serves a group and not one specific family. As a space serving a group, it is to some extent a closed social system. It has a predominant function as an enclosed space rather than as a public thoroughfare. The narrow walking street with enclosing walls higher than the width of the street works well for its function as well as being an attractive place. The street presents a sense of enclosure and completeness when, streets are 20–30ft and bordering buildings 3-4 storeys high.[34] According to Fig we find a weak definition of enclosure in the roads of Johar Town according to the above mentioned statement of Raymond Unwin. People simply pass through without any desire to stay on the road.

Conclusion

In street designing there has always been a great concern for travel and transportation along with a social and psychological impact. Furthermore, the widths of streets always catered for the ways of transportation, whatever means for movement were used in those times. For instance, in the medieval period street width was determined according to the width and area required by laden camels or the bullock carts and more importantly the necessity to make a straight street was only felt to facilitate the carriage[35]. Social and defensive concerns are also evident, for instance, the concept of the Fina and *cul-de-sac*. Several examples in history show the concern for designing a street as a 'place' for the public rather than a mere path. The twentieth century brought a one eighty degree shift both in the use and character of the street, with the frequent misunderstanding that transportation is the defining characteristic or even the ultimate purpose of the street.

Defining a street as a road is not the same as designing it as a 'place'. Roads designed by engineers to provide so many passenger car units (PCUs) per hour makes a street a conduit which facilitates the efficient movement of necessary activities like, going to work or school, waiting for a bus and shopping. People's quality of living can be improved if the places in which these activities take place are healthy and well-designed. Optional activities like, sitting, standing and walking for fresh air, can only take place if the weather or place make the setting pleasant. Propagation of social activities takes place with both optional and necessary activities. Social activities entail the

presence of another person for example, conversations and greetings, and passive activities entail examining and watching other individuals or groups. The design of the public space, particularly the street, has apparent effect upon the prospect that can happen for such social activities. The reduction of the use of streets by pedestrians, because of traffic, pollution and noise, induced the diminution in social interaction of adults and play for children. As Roger pointed out, "The problem is that we don't think of cities as people friendly space".[36]

The intent is not to present a recipe or a formula, but to make ourselves conscious about the present condition that might help to improve the street condition of Lahore in the future. In most areas the street has become a place of risk for pedestrians due to fast traffic and so it is unsocial and unsafe. People tend to stay within their houses and move about only in their personal motor car. The street's significant purpose is its use as a place of casual interaction, including conversation, entertainment and reaction and as a site for ritual ceremonials[37]. It strengthens people's social desire. As Allan Jacob wrote, "if you can't walk along the street, you possibly can't meet any other person".[38]

Endnotes

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Diplomacies in Architecture During the British Raj

Response of *"Lahoris"* to Colonial Culture

Amna Jahangir

Introduction

Interaction between various cultures, with different distinct geographical and social setups, values, lifestyles, concepts of aesthetics and built environmental design notions, is the area of investigation in this paper. I am interested in understanding what happens when such variant cultures come together in a particular geographical plane as a result of a wide range of practices (be it commerce, politics, warfare, rebellion, travel, trade etc.). The idea is to highlight how these different cultures cope with each other, particularly when one ends up as the Ruler and the other, the Ruled. This paper attempts to present the Interaction in a cultural discourse where the Ruler acts by imposing its concepts and the Ruled tries to survive diplomatically under the shadow of the dominant culture. The expression of such attitudes in tangible heritage, that is, architectural space, is worthy of study in order to understand the relation between politics and the resulting built environment in the recipient society.

The case in point is the British Colonial Rule in India. The British Raj, according to various architects and historians, introduced new architectural theory, vocabulary and aesthetics in India.[1] The long span of the British presence (from around 1600 C.E. to 1947 C.E.), in India is seen in phases to view the extent of diplomatic negotiations between the ruling British Culture and the ruled Indian Culture. Examples from the built environment of Lahore, the capital city of the Punjab, which came under the British rule in a later phase, that is 1849, are studied. Examining history, the paper addresses and tries to answer the important question: How does a subservient culture respond to adominant culture?

Levels of Interaction from the viewpoint of the British

The Europeans established colonies from the 16th - 20th centuries primarily for the purpose of trade. It is interesting to note that the first

F. 1

Portugese Fathers visiting the Court of Akbar, miniature painting

visit of a western delegation took place in Lahore when the Portuguese Fathers came to visit the court of Akbar where the Emperor was stationed. They came as supplicants and had to wait at the pleasure of the Emperor for an opportune time to be presented at court.The early traders of the Company were 'supplicants-in-the-court', followed the dress codes and etiquette of Mughal courts and admired the magnificent monuments of India in the hope of getting trade benefits and preference over other competing European traders in India.

The attitude of the British towards local Indians, however, changed over time with the changing politics of the region. From being merely traders on Indian soil in the beginning, with aims to increase commerce, the British extended their interests in Indian society due to the weaknesses of the declining Mughal Empire in India.

Gradually the role of the British changed in society from traders to military allies and administrators as regional kingdoms started emerging from the weak central authority of the Mughals. Providing military and naval support to the local princes and kings in this transition phase of power struggle, the shift of the British loyalties to the local rulers became decisive for the victory in conflicts and wars.[2]Territories were thus negotiated with the local princes for the welfare of the Company, while being portrayed as being done for the good of the local princes, providing peace and order. Due to political instability, the British started governing their presidency states with an army of their own, starting from port towns to the inland cities. In these British presidency states, their interaction with locals reached beyond commerce, the interaction was more profound on the grounds of politics, judiciary, socio-cultural and architectural realms. In these states, who was once the ruler became the subject with a restricted role in society, while the one with limited and indirect impact as trader was now put in the shoes of the ruler with direct involvement in social and built environment.

Though India from the coming of European traders, appeared to be "exotic" and "inferior" to the British[3], influences of such conception

were not profound on local culture, the British role in Indian society was confined mainly to commerce and thus to their factories. However, with the extended role of the British as holders of the presidency states, their deep influence can be seen not only in politics but also in socio-cultural life and the built environment. The local Indian society viewed as being 'oriental' in nature[4], was reshaped according to the cultural values and visual aesthetics of the British, and not to forget, according to Britsh 'knowledge' and understanding of Indian society.

Company paintings by British artists, painters and amateur officers portrayed the understanding of Indian landscape, culture and people by the British. These paintings in the absence of photographic facilities were used to record and report major events, the scenic landscape of Indian society, various aspects of Indian life and the heroic achievement of the Company soldiers to the audience back in their homeland, Britain.

F. 2

Indian culture and people as portrayed by British artists

F. 3

Company painting by British artists

A later phase of the British presence during Direct Crown rule in India reflected the implementation of the British understanding of India on Indian soil in a most direct and inflexible manner, where the Indians were civilized through what is termed as the 'civilizing mission'[5],visible the in Indian landscape through large-scale projects including the railways, canal colonies and educational institutions.

Policies of the British and the Extent of Diplomatic Negotiation

In the initial phase of the British presence in India, British policies of interacting with Indians were dominated by the theory of similarities together with orientalist notions. The transition phase of their changing role, from traders to administrators[6] [is] depicted in the works of William Jones who with his linguistic research paved the way for theory of an Indo-Aryan race and thus argued for Europeans and Asians having the same racial roots. In judicial matters William Jones, however, doubted the loyalties of Muslim *Ulemas* and Hindu *Pundits*,

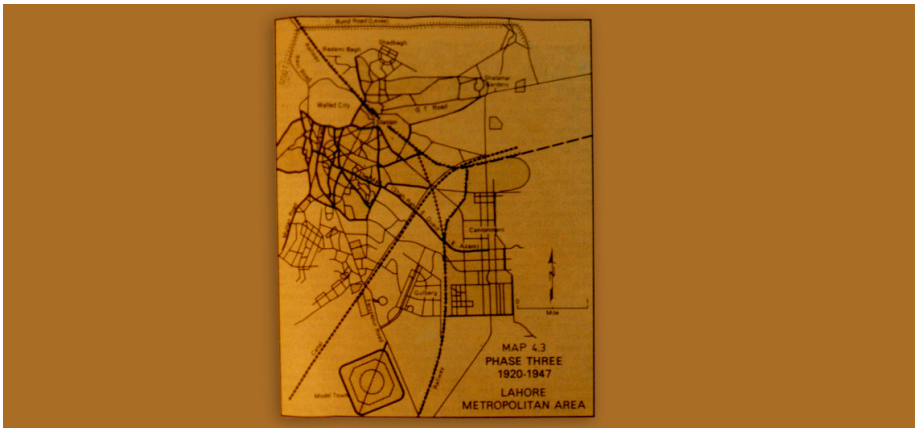
but did involve Indians in administrative matters and thus negotiated with the local gentry to implement his underlining interests. However, this involvement of locals in decision-making was more a matter of British dependency on locals due to linguistic barriers. Limits of such interaction were defined by establishing the British as an authoritative figure passing the final word, enclosing the role of local within confined boundaries in which the local was more of a spectator than a performer. In the field of architecture, the British impact in the early phase can be seen as the one bringing new visual aesthetics on Indian soil; for example. early factories and the rising administrative buildings in British presidency states were built in western styles.

However, the princely states and their architecture draw my attention. On one level, these princes, having the British military support, developed Colonial architecture to show their loyalty to the British while on the other hand, they maintained their Indian ways of living in an architectural space.

In the later phase, after the implementation of Direct Crown Rule, the British started developing their position in the Indian Sub-continent on the basis of differences, stressing the 'strangeness' of the Indians as opposed to the British; the 'inferior' Indian culture with reference to 'superior' British values, and the 'lower' artistic character of India as compared to 'higher' levels of British/Western aesthetics.[7]This can be viewed in terms of the rising consciousness of the British as imperial rulers of India. The event of 1857, seen as the Great Mutiny of 1857 from the viewpoint of the British, strongly confronted the British to review their policies in India and change them according to their role as the rulers. Although, the story may appear much simpler, it has a great deal of complexity due to the contradictiory policies of the British which sway from orientalist conceptions and the conservative Victorian thoughts to the rising liberal ideas in their homeland (Britain). In this scenario, the scholars like James Fergusson gave their understanding of Indian history based on a theory of decline, in which Indian society was viewed as heading towards its dark end, while the British were portrayed as heroes saving the Indian civilization and putting it back on the road to progress.[8] Knowledge of India thus helped the British to fulfil their imperial vision as saviours of Indian society; this also provided them with a reasoned explanation to justify their rule of India before their liberal citizens in Britain.

In terms of interaction with locals we notice increasing cultural and spatial distinctions after 1857; the locals were restricted to lower ranks in administration/offices while in the social life of the British, the

locals were not allowed to participate except for the developing Anglo-Indians under the British tutelage (Performances at Lawrence and Montgomery Halls in Lahore during the British Raj in India). The built environment was equally affected by the location of British garrison (Cantonment) was established away from the premises of the locals



F. 4

Map of Lahore, 1920-1947

with their role in the cantonment as the ones providing commodities and services to the elite British rulers.

In building activity (architecture), the British rulers were confronted with questions of style and aesthetics.Their contradictions in establishing a particular style of architecture in the Indian Sub-continent is clearly visible from the discussion among them in 1873, the debate which resulted in establishing two schools of thought.[9] Nevertheless, the involvement of locals in this debate was not considered necessary by the colonial rulers.[10] The British in this debate were, however, faced directly with the problem of tackling the orphaned yet strongly-rooted culture and aesthetics of the Indian Sub-continent and their own imperial vision which should be reflected in the visible display of art (architecture) in the Indian landscape. This resulted two main

F. 5

Jinnah Library
Lawrence Garden

streams in architectural discourse on Indian Soil: one supporting the pure western forms with total neglect of local aesthetics, while the other imitated the local Indian form.

With time, however, another style of architecture rose, incorporating Indian elements in western forms. This can be viewed as a negotiation from the side of the ruler serving his purpose to deal with local aesthetics and cultural heritage with his own understanding of it. Also, to legitimize their rule, showing their aesthetic supremacy over Indian art and at the same time portraying themselves as the rulers in the continual line of Indian history. The 'new' rulers established themselves as the 'White Mughals' with 'complete' knowledge of India.[11]In the British attempt to use architecture as a medium of propaganda[12] for their own welfare, however, the local suppressed culture found a way to survive and make an appearance in the Indian landscape under the dark shadow of the dominant ruling culture.

Local Culture, Architecture and Diplomatic Responses

To write from the viewpoint of the ruled/colonized/subject about their culture and architecture is to conjecture in loudspeaker without a script as no direct architectural narrative/literature is available or written from the side of the subject on which the British culture became dominant. However, the continuity of local culture in visible and physical forms of art can reflect on the condition in which the once dominant local culture was being affected by the new established dominant culture and vice versa. With the change in Indian politics during the mid-eighteenth century together with role the of the British in India, local culture suffered from the patronage of the ruler. Being most visible of all the arts in a society and also viewed as the ultimate expression of a society and culture, architecture is universally exploited by invaders to show their mark in history. This characteristic of architecture makes it vulnerable to be consciously developed by the ruler to portray his own supremacy in society and thus leaves a little room for continuity of the local suppressed culture. Though the British, while forging their imperial vision in India did not include the local architects directly in architectural activity, their urge to justify and legitimize their rule by showing their better understanding of India provided the negotiated situation for local culture. While the consulting architect/engineer for a building activity came to India fa a short stay, the a few of the British in India favoured the locals. The British had to involve local craftsmen, labor and even draftsmen during the later phase in building activity. The British preconception about the

architecture of the Saracens, developed from the Western forms, led to making it more likely to be useful as compared to the architecture of Hindu temples. The architecture of Saracens too, however, was strongly influenced by British understanding of its forms and elements, codified and classified by James Fergusson and Alexander Cunning to aid the British understanding and easy use of it in Colonial Architecture.[13]

In administrative buildings, though the composition of an architectural form was now conceived as per British conceptions by British architects/consultants/engineers, the local architectural elements, under the influence of British understanding and their will to dominate by knowledge of India, begin to appear in facades and interiors of British-styled buildings in order to be claimed as being

F. 6

High Court Lahore

designed in an Indo-Saracenic style. From the subject's side three attitudes were clearly visible in the transition and later phase: one group who wanted to leave their local values and to continue with the new values of the rulers in their attempt to associate themselves closely with the rulers of the time. The other having a Contra Culture[14] condemning British values wished to give worth to their local wisdom only, while there was yet another group who recognising and respecting their local traditions wanted to learn modern British ways and develop contemporary values in continuity of their traditions. The ruling princes and local elite, for instance, wanted to live like rulers and adopted the ruling culture, their language and lifestyle, an extreme example of which in the city of Lahore is Model Town developed in

1923-24 by a local named Dewan Khem Chand. In Model Town, the suppressed culture was hard to abandon and the bungalow style was indianized to suit the requirements of the Indian elite. Similar was the attitude of the people who were inclined towards local tradition and wanted to isolate local culture from any foreign influences.

The third group however, in my opinion, tried to cope with the needs of the time while also keeping in mind their cultural roots. Throughout India, there are two examples of such sorts: one type of such buildings were designed by European consulting architects/engineers. Their effort to incorporate local traditions in the built environment was to fulfil the will of the ruler who needed to incorporate Indian architectural elements in order to accomplish imperial vision. While the other also came out of the need of the ruler to incorporate Indian forms in Industrial art which were in demand in the global market as a result of the Great Exhibition of 1851 in London, which led to establishing Schools of Industrial Arts in the later phase of British rule in India.[15]The courses in these schools were purely of western aesthetic standards, however, certain individuals/teachers in these schools could not neglect the rich local culture and aesthetics. In the case of Lahore, the outcome of such as individual's effort is worth mentioning. Individuals like the Principal of the Mayo School of Arts at Lahore, John Lockwood Kipling, included local gentry in art training at the School and stressed that local aesthetics be studied as part of the education of the artists. Under Kipling's tutelage, the artist/architect Bhai Ram Singh received training which influenced built environment of Lahore by giving the city its major architectural master-pieces. Negotiating with the interests of the rulers, Bhai Ram Singh is one of the locals who managed to secure his culture while also incorporating new demands of society. The buildings of Bhai Ram Singh reflect the struggle of local culture to cope with the foreign influences in such a way as to incorporate both the western and eastern visual vocabulary in a harmonious and beautiful manner. Lahore Museum, Punjab University (old campus building) and Aitchison College, though following the British standards of site layout, have the building style and aesthetics which mingle beautifully and proportionately with the dominant Western ruling aesthetics while also giving equal respect and understanding to local Indian aesthetics in a single structure.

Conclusion

The built environment of India was greatly influenced by the ruling culture of the British which left little room for the local subservient culture to manoeuvre. People living in older quarters of the Walled City throughout the British times were affected by changing elite areas of the city, adopting the new/modern ways of living in bungalows. The secondary culture continued to be practised by the local elite who at one level wanted to live like their rulers and on the other level were confined within their traditional lives; examples of such negotiated attitude is the change of dress for males only due to their corporate interactions with the rulers, while the women continued to follow their traditional dresses during the British Raj. Local elite in their attempt to show their loyalties to the British rulers practiced Indo-Saracenic Architectural styles as the British rulers in their later phase gave it preference.

Other than the ruler's will to portray themselves as a part of the Indian ruling lineage providing an outlet for the continuity of local aesthetical elements in colonial structures, the struggling Indian tradition and aesthetics continued to be of emotional value for the locals; nostalgia about the Mughal monuments of Lahore, for instance, remain even in post-colonial times in Pakistan. Further, the local building tradition constantly appears in religious buildings such as Mosques and Shrines and even in the houses of the lower classes of society (Mozang, Icchra).

The survival of local culture and aesthetics continued throughout British times either under the tutelage of the British rulers with their diplomatic policies to strengthen their interests or by the local gentry to cope with the new ways of the times in their traditional settings. The levels of diplomatic negotiations in interaction between dominant and suppressed cultures act as a means to link the dissimilar and distinctly rooted cultures in a common social and built environment. These are however dictated mainly by the ruler's aspirations and manage to continue the subject's desires to adopt new living ways while at the same time being linked with their own rich traditions.

Endnotes

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2 Vandal, Pervaiz., Vandal, Sajida. 2006. p 17.

3 Partha Mitter in her book "Much Maligned Monsters" published in 1992, describes the accounts of the early travellers and traders in India and their interpretation of Indian Art.

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7 Ibid.

8 Prof. Dr. Thomas. R. Metcalfin his book '*Forging the Raj: Essays on British I dia in the Heyday of the Empire'*.published in 2005, describes Fergusson's claim to give India its first proper history.

9 Ibid.

10 Vandal, Pervaiz., Vandal, Sajida. 2006

11 William Dalrymple in his book "White Mughals" used the term 'White Mu ghals' for the British in India.

12 Prof. Pervaiz Vandal and Prof. Sajida Vandal used this term 'Architecture as a medium of propaganda' by the ruler.

13 Swinton Jacobs, Jeypore Portfolio of Architectural Details.

14 Term 'Contra Culture' was used by Prof. Pervaiz Vandal in his unpublished PhD thesis for opposing cultures.

15 The Great Exhibition of1851, was held in London in which the most success ful stall was that of Indian handicrafts.

Rise and Fall of Cinema on Mcleod Road

Sumera Jawad, Ph.D

The history of cinema in Pakistan is actually the history of cinema in Lahore. And Lahore, everybody well understands, has always been the hub of the Pakistani film industry. This briefly skims the past account of cinema in the sub-continent while focusing on Pakistani cinema. Lahore has always been considered a metropolis where thinkers, writers, scholars, poets and artists flourished. The city ignited several significant cultural, social, political, intellectual and artistic movements, which affected the lives of the people of the sub-continent in numerous ways. The Pakistani film industry is credited with having produced some of the most distinguished filmmakers, actors, writers and directors.

Cinema was introduced to India on the 7th of July 1896, when the Lumiere Brothers' *Cinématographe* showed six short silent films at Watson's Hotel in Bombay. French film company, Pathé opened an Indian office in 1907; the first foreign film production company in the country. In the same year, a purpose-built cinema theatre was constructed. The year 1918 saw the introduction of the Indian Cinematograph Act modeled on that of Britain defining issues like censorship and cinema licensing. With the establishment of Phalke's Hindustan Film Company, the first Indian serial, Patankar's *Ram Vanvas*, with a length of 20,000 feet was made.The same year witnessed the release of the first South Indian feature, Rangaswamy Nataraja Mudaliar's *Keechaka Vadham* by *Draupadi Vastrapaharanam.*

Following these successes, film operations were initiated in Lahore. At first, the silent film, *The Daughters of Today*, was released in 1928. But it was to be later in 1929–1930, when's *Husn Ka Daku* was released that the film industry was established in essence in Lahore's Bhati Gate locality. At the time, the city had nine operational cinema houses. Films shown at these cinemas were mostly local productions from Bombay and Calcutta, while seldom from Hollywood and London. Kardar, a

F. 1

Poster of the film, "Teri Yaad" Pakistan's first feature film

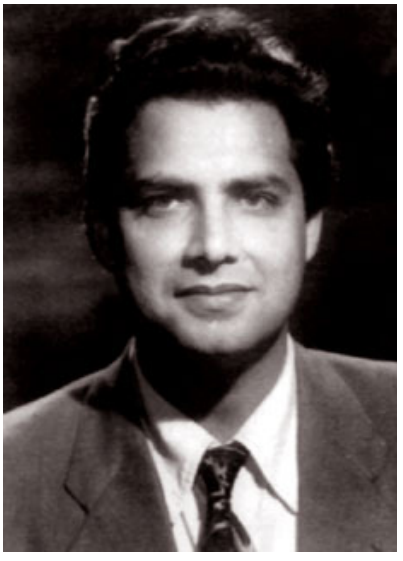
professional calligraphist, was accompanied by his fellow-artist and friend Muhammad Ismail, who would make the posters for his films. These early efforts of film production would later be called *Lollywood*, a blend of Lahore and Hollywood.

The creative energy of Lahore's film crowd began to express itself as soon as the trauma of partition subsided. Cinematographers were not prepared for the Partition.They had no choice but to migrate. At that time the centre of all film activities was Bombay and the Pakistani film industry had no proper equipment for making films which was a major factor in the downward trend at the time. Pakistani film directors, faced with scarce resource, adopted a minimalist approach due to the non-availability of technical equipment and the lack of artists as well. All renowned directors, producers, music directors were in India but luckily Noor Jahan, Khurshid Anwer, Rashid Atry and Nisar Bazmi were in Pakistan to sustain the film industry in its infancy. Against all odds, the fledgling Pakistani film industry was able to produce its first feature film, *Teri Yaad* on 7th August, 1948, premièring at the Prabhat Theatre in Lahore.

F. 2

Santosh Kumar, a legend of the Silver Screen

The 60's decade is often cited as being the golden age of cinema in Pakistan. Many star-actors were introduced during this period who later became legends of the silver screen like, Santosh Kumar, Mohammad Ali, Zeba and Rani. In September 1965 in the aftermath of the armed conflict between India and Pakistan, all Indian films were banned in cinemas in Pakistan with immediate effect. The ban already existed in 1952 in West Pakistan and since 1962 in East Pakistan, but was exercised rigorously after the '65 war. Pakistani cinemas did not suffer much from this verdict. Instead they gained better viewership for their films.



F. 3

Zeba and Mohammad Ali, legends of the Silver Screen

Eventually the ban on Indian cinema rebounded on the industry it sought to protect. Without competition, Pakistani cinema went into a decline churning out cheap imitations of Indian products and stereotypical films devoid of innovation or creativity. Talented directors like Ahmed and Shaukat Hussain Rizvi, legendary film maker of the classic, *Jugnu* soon stopped making films altogether.

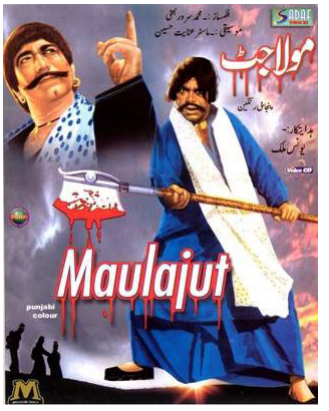
Following the separation of East Pakistan, the Pakistani film industry lost its Dhaka wing and the number of cinemas speedily declined. This generated a massive brain drain and singers like Runa Laila departed for Bangladesh leaving Pakistani industry on the brink of disaster yet again.

The mid-70s saw the advent of video cassette recorders in Pakistan. Films from all over the world were copied on tape and the audiences at cinemas dwindled. The majority of people preferred to watch films in the comfort of their homes. This led to the beginning of film piracy, and movies were sold in the cassette market on the day they premiered in cinemas. This further added to the decline.The current owners of the cinemas confess that financial constraints left them with no choice but to auction the family theatres.

Following Zia-ul-Haq's military coup (1979-87), the attempts to Islamize the country were launched and one of the very first victims of this effort towards a socio-political change was the film industry. The imposition of the new registration laws for film producers was filmmakers be degree holders. This proved to be a major constraint as many of them were not educated to that degree and this led to their abandoning the industry. New tax rates were introduced which further culminated in decreasing cinema attendances. The government, as part of its new ideology had obviously decided to discourage the industry and thus closed most of the cinemas in Lahore by force for paltry reasons.

F. 3

'Maulajut' portraying the 'gandasa culture' in film industry



The city, nevertheless, kept producing films. The period between '94 and '96 saw a 50% rise in the production of Urdu films despite stifling censorship policies and a culture that never recovered from the setback of the 80's. Growing censorship policies, that discouraged displays of affection, induced filmmakers to focus on violence as an attraction for the audience. As a result, violence-ridden Punjabi films overshadowed the Urdu cinema. This film sub-culture came to be known as the '*gandasa culture*' in the local industry. In addition the quality of the ambience of the cinemas declined and the middle class began to avoid the 'increasingly dilapidated and rowdy cinemas'.

F. 4

From 'gandasa culture' to soft-core pornography

Backed by powerful politicians, Pashto filmmakers were able to get around the censor policies and infested their films with cheap styled soft-core pornography to get maximum viewership. This tossed away the romantic and loveable image of Pakistani cinema. Being a female actor associated with film productions became,understandably, taboo. Enthusiasm for visiting the cinema soon disappeared and not even Pakistan's first science fiction film *Shaani* in 1987, directed by Saeed Rizvi and employing elaborate special effects, could save the industry from failing.

The factors which contributed to the decline of the Pakistan film industry were: the loss of East Pakistan's talented actors and singers; the inception of television and the infiltration of non-artistic financiers, who had no or little background, either in the arts, or business. Consequently, senior film-makers (directors and composers) went into voluntary exile and the industry was taken over by those rich people who invested money for purposes other than artistic ends.

McLeod Road – the Cinema Node

The prime location of theatres was on McLeod Road, named after Sir Donald Friell McLeod, Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab, 1865-70, who was also one of the founders of the Punjab University.

F. 6

Decline of the cinema industry

It was designed as a broad avenue at the time of the layout of the 'civil station' of the city by the British. It was easily accessible for locals as well as visitors, linked directly with the Railway Station, and provided spacious parking facilities. Cinemas that catered for large scale movement of people found this road attractive and it became the focal point of the film exhibitors. Lakshmi Chowk, the prominent crossing of the McLeod Road, and its surrounding area was the focal point of Lahore's film industry crowd. By the evening, Lakshmi Chowk would be full of *tongas*, with film stars, top film directors and producers thronging the teahouses and discussing of films. Large numbers of Lahore cinema-goers have their excellent memories attached to the Ratan, Moonlight, New Empire, Mubarak, Odeon, Naz, Capital and the Plaza Cinema; much to their despair cinemas are rapidly becoming history. Royal Park, opposite Lakshimi Chowk, was the hub of the film industry and people from outside Lahore would visit and wait for hours to have a glimpse of their favourite actors and singers.

An epoch making event occurred when the movie *Aan*, was first screened in the Ratan Cinema. The film, having super-star actors such as Dileep Kumar, Premnath, Nimmi and Nadira, was directed by the legendary director Mehboob Khan. The film was the first of its kind to earn a gross total of more than Rs15 million, a huge amount at the time. *Aan* was one of those films that set new standards and completed its golden jubilee at Ratan Cinema. *Aan* will always be available on recorded DVDs; the cinema that first featured the film in Pakistan will now have only memories of the pioneering theatre. The cinema served as one of the main sources of entertainment to those who migrated from India to Pakistan and for those who felt the need to vent in the depressing times of early partition. "*Aan, Babul, Anokhi*

Ada, *Chaman* and many other famous movies were released first at the Ratan Cinema and they did excellent business. It appears that the cinemas of the McLeod Road have only a short life left. They will soon become just another memory of their historic role. Nevertheless, they leave an indelible mark of their former glory.

Cineplex or smaller cinemas should be introduced for the revival of cinema for more professional work and Indian films Should be shown in our cinemas. Cinema is not just a place to watch films, but should also be a place of enjoyment for the whole family. Cultural changes cannot be interrupted by films; we should be confident of what we are doing. There should be more competition without any state help.Women should be given respect so that they would not hesitate in coming to cinemas, even when not accompanied by a male.

Now it appears that all those talented people either disappeared or are lost somewhere during the blind march for so-called progress. And, it is extremely important that almost all the people of Pakistan should try their best to find that lost genius.While concentrating on the many challenges yet to be met within the dominion of media and cultural representation, it is strongly advisable to continue to rediscover, reclaim, rewrite, and support cinema culture in Pakistan.

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Architecture in the Post-Colonial Lahore

Pervaiz Vandal

August of 1947 brought independence, joy, and sadly, also horror to Lahore. The author remembers, as a boy of six, taking part in rallies calling for Pakistan, accompanying his mother, and also hiding in safe houses as the city burnt. Millions were forced to move from one country to the other and a million were killed in the process. The 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 people driven out of India as part of the greatest movement of forced migration. Colonialism had ended and Post-Colonialism had begun. Writing sixty-five years after the event gives the advantage of perspective, and an opportunity for dispassionate appraisal, if that is at all possible, with the still lingering images of a million killed on both sides.

During the colonial period text books in school stook great pains to point out the benefits that the British had brought to the country such as the railway, legal system, schools, universities *et al*, yet the talk among the people around a fire or a hookah focused on the oppression and arbitrariness of the *gora* and the promise of self-rule. The benefits of the British rule were undoubtedly visible, nevertheless, at some level there was a desire for a change. In August, therefore, independence was celebrated; parallel to that was the collections of clothes, food and other items for the hapless and hungry thousands who descended upon Lahore.

In the city, gangs of marauders went about killing with impunity, looting the belongings of the victims, raping and abducting their women.[1] Law and Order completely broke down with some accusing the law-keepers of actively participating against the 'others'. Large swaths in the congested Walled City were burnt to the ground

1 The author is an eye witness to the burning in Lahore as the horizon turned red every night in one direction or another; hiding in collective safe housing for fear of invasion of rival gangs, and doing night watchman duty at the roof top.

F. 1

Destruction of Lahore during the Partition

and the neighborhood of Shahalami was worst hit. The physical infrastructure ceased to function under the strain and the absence of hygiene services made the matters worse as sewage collected in large ponds breeding disease. The homes and buildings of those forced to flee were broken into and looted, leaving behind a picture of devastation and abandon. Many among the Muslims, who did not have to leave, saw an opportunity to grab valuable property and thence onward, the erstwhile grand mansions of Sikhs and Hindus were taken over by the influential with contacts in the newly set up Department of Rehabilitation. Lahore became a Uni-Religion city, desperately trying to restore the municipal services and some semblance of order.

Settling the Displaced

To accommodate the hordes of displaced people driven out of India, a refugee camp was setup at the Walton Railway Institute and the open space around it. Another came into being near the railway terminus of Lahore. The homeless were settled in makeshift structures on the only convenient public land, which was the railway track right-of-way running from the Walton Institute to the Railway station. A distance of 12 miles, it became Lahore's largest slum which at its width was the 220ft right-of-way wide on either side of the tracks. The city itself was full of people looking for sustenance and respite. Any job was welcome … erstwhile professors took on jobs as care-takers, and night watchmen.

This was the new Lahore, bereft of almost half of its people, desperately trying to take care of those arriving from across the border, and not yet without hope. Government functionaries, helped by large numbers of volunteers, slowly restored the city back to sanity and a cleanup operation was launched as the rubble from the Walled City began to be removed. The gaps created by the burnt houses, very much like broken teeth in a human face, left a reminder of the evil times.

For almost a year no major construction was carried out as the vacant premises were used for the new needs of the Government of Punjab and Pakistan. Palaces of the departed Rajas, rich Sikhs and Hindus of the East Punjab, such as the Patiala House, the Faridkot House, the Chamba House, the Shadilal Palace and a host of other residences were taken over and converted to public usage as offices and schools. In view of the large demand, a number of buildings were arbitrarily partitioned into smaller units and allotted to different families for living. While it solved the problem in the short term, it created massive problems of responsibilities of maintenance, leading to serious degradation of the structures in a short time.

There emerged two distinct aspects of the government led by the bureaucrats; first, those who looked after the multitudes of hungry, ill and tired people giving them protection, food, shelter, treating the sick and the traumatized. They showed remarkable dedication and courage, successfully bringing back some semblance of order and sanity. The other part of the Government was busy grabbing the properties left behind by the departed non-Muslims. Those with bureaucratic connection were given choicest areas and houses. Corruption and loot set in from day-one of the new country. Influential families managed to obtain whole areas / *mohallas* for use by the family. One such instance is that of Zaman Park, founded by Khan Bahadur Mohammad Zaman Khan, Post Master General, an official of the new Pakistan Bureaucracy in Lahore.

Colleges and schools of non-Muslim organizations were taken over and given to Muslim organizations like the Anjuman-e-Himayat-e-Islam. Hospitals built and donated by non-Muslim benefactors like Sir Ganga Ram were taken over and turned to Fatima Jinnah College. Only the institutions run by Christian missionaries survived and continued to function.

> "Half the houses in Krishanagar lay abandoned. Qilla Gujjar Singh, where many Amritsar refugees had settled, was still largely empty. You could get into any unoccupied house

> that you liked. Their non-Muslim owners had fled and left everything behind. Looting was rampant. We would listen to the radio playing in a neighbor's house, our ears glued to the wall. The majority of Amritsar people had begun to move into the Gawalmandi area, but we preferred Faizbagh because we liked the green fields that lay around it. Gawalmandi streets were quite clean then, not as they are today. Outside Gandhi Park, labor leader Bashir Bakhtiar's brothers had got themselves an oil-compressor unit. A number of teashops and eating places had also come up in Gawalmandi, all run by Amritsaris. That was where my restaurant-going days began. I had yet to move to Pak Tea House". *Lahore Lahore Aye: The Lahore of 1947*. A. Hamid, Journalist

Lahore Improvement Trust

The Lahore Improvement Trust (LIT) had been set up in early 1936, under the Town Improvement Act 1922, to provide a channel through which the government could provide funds without having to go through the Lahore Municipality. This was thought to be more efficient and it avoided putting funds in the hands of the politicians who managed the Municipalities. This was in keeping with the British distrust of the Indian men of public, politicians, and strengthened the hands of the bureaucrats which the colonial system easily controlled. This distrust continued after Independence as most of the funds were directed through such agencies rather than a system of local government. It alienated the people and drove a wedge between the bureaucrats and the politicians. This is essentially the colonial system of governance whereby despite agreeing to empower the people, the government is not willing to pass on real power. All successive efforts and acts, such as creation of development agencies, such as the Lahore Development Agency, are in this manner a continuation of the colonial mind-set: distrust the people (call them illiterate and irresponsible) and work through officials.

The catastrophe accompanying the Partition challenged the best management capabilities to the limit. Lahore was lucky to have one Mr. Zafarul Ahsan, member of the Indian Civil Service (ICS), that elite corps of officers called the steel frame of the British Administration, as the Deputy Commissioner. Mr. Ahsan worked with inexhaustible energy to cope with the demands of rehabilitation of infrastructure of water, sewage, shelter and food in the refugee camps. He had the patience to listen, act promptly and cut through all hurdles to provide succor to the needy. Imbued with courage and foresight, he initiated a

F. 2

Rebuilding of Shahalam Market. A crude intrusion into the Walled City.

number of housing schemes through the Lahore Improvement Trust for the different classes of the society in the city. Along with Sheikh Abdur Rahim , popularly known as S. A. Rahim, Town Planner, he was instrumental in planning the removal of rubble and the rebuilding of the gutted Shahalami area. He also initiated housing schemes which bore fruit later. Schemes known as Gulberg, Samanabad, Shadbag, Rifle Range on Multan Road were initiated with an eye to the future. The town planners, however, failed to integrate the efforts into a wholesome master plan thus leaving the various schemes as isolated housing developments. The present inadequacies of infrastructure and non-functioning of surface drainage in Lahore are a direct result of that piece-meal thinking.

The introduction of a poorly designed semi-modern precinct in the heart of the Walled City reflects the lack of understanding or feeling for the value of the rich heritage of Lahore. The stamp of colonial architecture on the new buildings, mainly houses, was clear. For new construction, plastered surfaces had replaced the brick facades of the city since the coming of Portland Cement to the city in 1930s and white washes, dull yellow washes for government structures, became the norm.

The post-colonial history of architecture in Lahore divides itself into the initial phase where the momentum of colonial architecture by the engineers and draftsmen trained in the Public Works Department (PWD) tradition continued; the second phase was one of introduction of modernity as a reflection of the western industrialized states promoted by Ayub Khan and his western looking army; the third phase is one of reaction to the modernist talk with a back to 'Islamist' architecture led by the policies of Zia-ul-haq. The present phase is one of a potpourri where all forms, ranging from the glass-wrapped commercial buildings, copying the Dubai experience next door, to throw-backs on traditional crafts, to those using local materials to find a more region-based expression are all mixed together. The people-with-money

reflect their cultural inclination in demanding 'westernized modern' houses and structures from the architects. Most of the architects have just do their bidding. The city that has resulted is a spread out set of housing estates, covering miles upon miles, with an architecture that is cacophonic. The only parts of value continue to be the Walled City, the Colonial period Mall and its aging buildings and the Model Town. Some valiant pieces of good design by the post-colonial architects can be seen dispersed over the entire landscape. The cohesive character of a happy city is missing.

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 arts and architecture, indeed the whole gamut of culture. Pakistan is a country that emerged out of the partition of the British Colonial Sub-continent, laden with the biases, prejudices, divisions, confusions and the smothering effect of an autocratic system. Architecture in the country, without the steadying influence of well understood history and philosophy, 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 powers, with its various legal instruments and codes, that the colonials designed, have been passed onto the successor states. Under this dispensation, architecture is dictated, rather than allowed to organically evolve. The clients, private or public, have shown little understanding of history and the present needs of a sustained direction in a developing economy. Changes of governments, transfers of a concerned official can change the directions of an ongoing project bowing to whimsical opinions.

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. Cultural maturity, high esthetical considerations so evident in contemporary architecture of Turkey, Egypt, Iran and 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.

The first major program of construction of houses by the government, after Independence, was the Wahadat(Unity) Colony built to accommodate the expected influx of officials when Lahore was made the Capital of all West Pakistan after the unification of the provinces into One Unit. The pattern, designed by the PWD, was a replication of the Colonial period Chauburji Quarters, constructed for the lower formations of the bureaucratic structure. Built in brick, single to double storey in height, wide roads and access streets, the colony soon became popular for the middle level officials also. Later, the government built housing colonies for its officers wherein multiple storeyed flats were also provided. Called the GOR II, GOR III to V, they were simple structures in keeping with the economic constraints. Commercial buildings in the Gulberg Market followed the pattern of the ground floor shops with two floors of residential flats some of which were converted into offices.

Chisti Brothers - the bridge between the Colonial and the Post-Colonial

Drawing, in addition to sketching, that is., making of plans, elevations and sections, was taught to students at the Mayo School of Arts as one of the basic skills. Armed with that, some talented students like Ram Singh, basically trained as a carpenter, moved on to design buildings such as the Mayo School Buildings, Lahore Museum and others. Others joined the PWD as draftsmen in the engineering or the architectural sections. Upon retirement and even earlier, these draftsmen put up offices to serve the growing upper native classes' need of house designs.

Syed Moinuddin Chishti joined the PWD architect's office in 1921 and left in 1928 to start on his own. Along with designing building he started a furniture shop which won a merit award. The company, Chishti Brothers, was started in 1930 when Syed Naqi Raza Chishti, an engineer, joined his brother and by 1945 it was flourishing due to its well-earned reputation. Upon Independence, it was the only surviving architectural consulting firm in Lahore as the rest had had to leave. The period between 1947 to 1952, was particularly difficult for the company as work dried up due to the upheavals, however, it is the architectural practice that bridges the colonial and the post-colonial periods, combining elements of large-scale residences with the new demands of

more economical use of resources. Private housing construction slowly picked up momentum as the housing schemes mentioned earlier took shape; large houses in large plots were shaped after the bungalows of the GOR and Mayo Gardens, with the addition of serpentine veranda surrounding the front façade. A circular room, *golkamra*, a throwback to the traditional domed rooms of the royalty, became the distinguishing feature. Chishti Brothers went on to win the major competition for the design of the Governor's House and the Court Building in Dacca Mr Chishti moved there to supervise the construction, passing away in 1967[2].

Pervaiz Raza Chisti and Asma Chishti, members of the class of 1968 (year of joining), graduated from the University of Engineering and Technology, began to contribute to the office through their own unique stamp. They continued the traditions of the office and molded it into the current time with more economical use of space, that moved effortlessly from room to room, to generate an integrated form answering the new demands of the articulation of space and materials, and carried forward the tradition into the modern period of Pakistan. Their particular forte became the design of industry and dominated the field in design of textile and other mills. They introduced elements that gave the otherwise somber look of industry a pleasing ambience. They have covered the complete spectrum of typologies from housing to industry, hospitals, universities and office buildings.

Modernism comes to Pakistan 1947--1965--Modernism and President Field Marshal Ayub Khan

Since Independence, and through the 50's, the emphasis was to make Pakistan a 'Modern' country to 'stand proudly among the comities of nations' – a phrase much used by the leaders of the time. The over-riding ambition was modernization, which translated into industrialization and thus westernization. Leaders of both India and Pakistan spelled out these goals which led to adoption of modern technology, modern art, modern architecture, and modern painting, with the concomitant neglect of the local tradition.

To build a new capital of East Punjab, India, the Government of East Punjab requested the French architect Le Corbusier on the insistence of Nehru, and in Pakistan the Government invited Constantine Doxiades to design major housing projects in Karachi, Lahore and the new Capital at Islamabad. Both impacted heavily on the modernist trend in the respective countries. Another step that both

2 Interview with Mr. Pervaiz Raza Chishti on 19th Sept 2012, 7.00 pm

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 as the leading vehicle of progress and modernity. This drive to eulogize everything western, impacted, by neglect, on the rest of the cultural components such as music, literature, crafts, furniture and therefore also architecture.

The Federal Government initiated construction of office blocks for its departments of taxation including the Income Tax, Excise and Customs Department and the first multi-storeyed buildings (more than four floors) came to Lahore. The style reflected the thinking adopted by architects led by the chief architect Mr. Mehdi Ali Mirza, which had been adopted for office blocks in Karachi: utilitarian, modern and plain, with windows protected by sun-breaking horizontal and vertical louvers. The quality of workmanship was less than the Brazilian and the Mediterranean-Europe examples that these hoped to emulate and yellow wash of paint did little to enliven the ambience. As the first tall buildings in the city, they attracted attention but for those having to climb, in absence of elevators, the five floors, it was not comfortable. The Alfalah Building designed by a foreign architect J. A. Ritchie, sponsored by the Government, set the tone of modernism on the Mall, and it had the required elevators. Wapda initiated construction of its offices in 1965 with a building designed by Edward Stone located in the central public space of Charing Cross, adding to the composition begun by Basil Sullivan with the statue of the Queen as the center point, the legislative assembly building, the Free Mason Hall and the Shadilal Building bringing up the southern part of the crescent. Basil Sullivan, of the PWD had shown greater sensitivity, both in the design of the Legislative Assembly, now the Punjab Assembly, and particularly in the modification and realignment of the Charing Cross, and the roads surrounding it[3].

In this drive for modernism, the rich heritage of Lahore, its climate and particularities of culture, its tradition of garden and landscape, were all swept aside to create a city more in the image of the humid, maritime, lackluster interpretation of new Karachi. As an ironical climax to this mindset, a building of the National Bank of Pakistan, seven storeys of concrete, with brick infill, painted surfaces unsuitable for the alternating heat and cold of Lahore, was situated next to the Lahore High Court. A greater dismal juxtaposition could not be

3 See Naz, N. 1 and Ashraf, Z., Transformation of Urban Open Spaces of Lahore: From Charing Cross to Faisal Square, in *Pak. J. Engg. & Appl. Sci. Vol. 2 Jan 2008*

imagined. Denying Lahore's identity and character, it is an unthinking replication of what was considered the work of the Modern Masters. Somjee and Murat Khan, as the consulting architects, following the footsteps of Sullivan, continued sensible and simple modifications of the government buildings.

The coup led by General (later to be Field Marshal) Ayub Khan was welcomed by people, hoping for a savior who could provide better quality of life. The homeless in Karachi were promised a better future with the start of the Korangi Colony, designed by Constantine Doxiades, introduced to the government by the Ford Foundation. He was assigned another project of low cost housing in Lahore, called the Kot Lakhpat Township. He also designed the new campus for the University of the Punjab along the canal then outside the city.

F. 3

Kot Lakh Pat Housing. Cheap housing with poor specifications

The Township had very small houses without even the damp-proof course, but had lavish broad main streets. The Township has amply proven the folly of a government building houses to give to the poor to move them from their slums. First, in the bureaucratic working, the deserving could hardly manage the complex procedures and people other than the targeted poor benefitted, and secondly those who did manage to get the house simply cashed their windfall and went back to living in slums. The University campus has been a successful design of a university with a pedestrian spine linking the various departments. The design of individual buildings is strictly utilitarian but the overall proportions, along with the green spaces left between them gives, a good academic ambience, where students intermix and socialize. The location, along the canal, was, in hindsight, an unfortunate decision as the roads, on both sides of the canal, have been treated as a highway through the city with the canal in the middle.

The Government decided to build a monument to mark the Pakistan Resolution, moved at a park outside the city on 23rd March 1940. Architect N. Murat Khan was chosen to be the architect. A committee headed by the Governor was to monitor and advise on the project. The committee-architecture has resulted in a literal interpretation in stone and brick, an Eiffel Tower like structure with a Pathan cap as the crowning canopy. It has become a symbol of Lahore, adorning trucks and buses and is a pop-icon of the city.

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) 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 a different perspective.

The War of 1965

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, 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 in response, the government ordained a re-interpretation of history, denying the forces of regional identity. All leading architects of the country attended along with some foreigners whose numbers were deliberately kept small. The author attended them and vividly remembers the contribution of

Yasmeen Lari and Kamil Mumtaz. There were other young architects, like us, from East Pakistan and we all spouted modernism and were dismissive of those who professed local traditions. In time, it is interesting to note how the three of us have changed our view points.

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.

Liberalism and Bhutto period (1971-1977)

Bhutto came to power after the defeat of the Pakistan forces by the Indian and the secession of East Pakistan as Bangladesh. The traumatic event, with a huge loss of life, resulted in the end of another Military Rule in Pakistan and the beginning of an elected civilian government. There was a distinct feeling of a new democratic start and Bhutto took a number of important and symbolic steps. A conference of architects was called in Karachi, with the Prime Minister in Chair, a unique step for the profession, wherein the intellectuals and architect were exhorted to develop a nationalistic vision. The Government, aiming to nationalize various aspects of life, pooled technical resources to set up state--sponsored firms for engineering (NESPAK) and architecture and environment (PEPAC). As an erstwhile student of architecture, Bhutto took keen interest and personally involved himself in design of buildings for Larkana, his home city. He attempted to promote local

F. 4

Alhamra Arts Council
(Nayyar Ali Dada)

talent, and even when looking abroad, chose architect Vedat Dalokay from the Muslim, modernized, Turkey. The Summit Minar in the middle of the Charing Cross and the accompanying structure struck a welcome modernistic note.

The building of Alhamra Arts Council was begun and after a confused hesitant start, the Council, fortunately, engaged Nayyar Ali Dada to take the full responsibility of the design. At last an architect educated in Lahore and sensitive to its traditions, the first since Bhai Ram Singh, came to design a large commission. The building is a huge success and successive additions have created a center for culture which has rightfully won many awards in the Agha Khan Award for Architecture.

Bhutto period held out a hope for the development of an architecture that responded to regional parameters. The department of architecture at the University of Engineering and Technology, started in 1962, matured and initiated a program of study, of local conditions and people's culture, to develop an architectural sensibility that was rooted in the local conditions. Called the 'Comprehensive Optimum Environment Design (COED)', by the initiator, the author, it required students to carry out field-surveys of all aspects of housing such as social, economic, neighborhood human interaction, the physical conditions and styles of buildings. It was a wide multidisciplinary approach to which the students responded whole heartedly spending nights in the slums to get a better understanding; as a result, their professional output has been exemplary. Among these, to mention just a few, are Pervez Salahuddin (Munty),Kaleem Siddiqui, Samina Omar, Shama Usman Pervez Mirza, Mohammad Arshad Chaudry, Pervez Qureishi, Azra Bano, Mohammad Farooq and others.

The National College of Arts, which had the first five year course was unfortunately downgraded to a 3 year course of technicians under the new Education Policy. The College, with Kamil Khan Mumtaz at the helm, made efforts and was successful in upgrading to a five year course again. The College was given a degree awarding status in 1985.

Zia Period

However, the coup carried out by General Zia-ul-Haq 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 peccadilloes influenced architecture at all levels. From his particular 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 the octagon in plans and facades as surface decoration. The emphasis shifted from content to surface treatment, from design of space to mere embellishment of facades. 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 Mrs. Yasmeen Lari, 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.

The Governor of the Punjab, General Gilani, showed concern for the declining standards of Lahore's environment and took important steps to improve that. His main contribution was the provision of parks and green spaces for public use. The race course park, in the heart of the city is now appropriately named after him. He also encouraged the setting up of the parks on the periphery of the city such as the Jallo Park and the accompanying Zoo. He stood fast against efforts to convert open spaces within the city into housing. A particularly pleasant point created was at the crossing of the Mall and Davis road, which is now named after Mohtarma Fatima Jinnah. A monument of sorts has been built in the park, taking away from its serenity with a pavilion and statue of the lady.

It was during this period that Lahore got what is now mistakenly called the Defence Society. It began as the Lahore Cantonment Cooperative Housing Society with clear and vital support of the armed forces. Its managing committee had both nominated members by the Cantonment and elected members from the land owners. Its success, mainly due to the management and support of the forces, led to its expansion and was turned into the Defence Housing Authority with managing body of nominated members.

Nawaz Sharif, the Chief Minister of Punjab, initiated developments along the Raiwind Road and Lahore soon began to expand southwards along the Multan Road with mostly industry, and along the Raiwind Road with housing. Johar Town was a major thrust continuing the expansion beyond Model Town as theTownship and further south with Faisal Town. Speculation in property started in real earnest as the country was flush with money with the spin-off from the

Afghan War and the favorable conditions that Pakistan traders enjoyed because of the government's support of the Mujahideen against the USSR.

Graduates of the local schools contributed with high level of esthetics and skills and the quality of design of housing showed a distinct improvement, led by Nayyar, young architects like Pervez Chishti, Aslam Khan, and Wasif Ali Khan. Fuad Butt in partnership with Kamil Khan built some rationally developed forms for houses with his use of bricks as the external façade.

Nayyar Ali Dada – the Rejuvenator and the Pace Setter

It was in 1985, more than a quarter of a century ago, that I first wrote about Nayyar Ali Dada. I sensed in him a bubbling sense of energy and gushing creativity that was reminiscent of Bhai Ram Singh. His designs spoke of boldness, unlimited creativity, and experimentation with available building materials to create an architecture that sat

F. 5

Open air Theater and Bank (Nayyar Ali Dada)

comfortably in the culturally rich historic context of Lahore. His versatility in handling all typologies leaves one astounded. His ability to inspire young talent is manifested in the number of dynamic architects that his office spawned, the most important being Wasif Ali Khan and further the firm of Raees Fahim and Associates. They all augur well for the future.

Arshad Chaudry– Housing the Middle Class

The 1980s saw a major change come to the city of Lahore. Architects, who were a rarity in the 1960s, began to increase in numbers with the graduating classes of University of Engineering and Technology and the National College of Arts. It was also the time when

the economy of the country had begun to pick with the stimulus of the foreign exchange remittances from Pakistanis in the Middle East. Pakistan's assistance to the American effort of support for the Afghan Mujahideen fighting the Russians had also begun to attract huge amount of money, not always legal or ultimately useful, and the country seemed to be flush with cash. The natural form of investment, if not the only viable one for the people, was real estate into which the money flowed. Mohammad Arshad Chaudry, with an extraordinary talent of creativity and organization, launched the first of his housing estates. His projects were consistent, meticulously well planned, financially as well as architecturally, and proved a huge success. A revolution in Lahore in house construction, a new trend in the housing market, and a huge thrust to the growing Lahore was given by this young man.

The journey started as Developers Group in 1981, which later became Eden Developers before turning into Eden Housing as of today. The company started with a meager paid-up capital of PKR 250,000. Today this figure is exceeding PKR 6 Billion. But the fiscal gains are not the only parameters to gauge successes of this futuristic organization, having so many other notable achievements. The first project was Race View Villas, which was also the first town housing project in Lahore. After completing few projects of small sizes, Eden ventured into larger housing projects in different areas. These are a display of adroit work by the company. After achieving enormous successes in housing, Eden diversified into Multi-storey buildings. Eden Center was the first multi-storey building by the company. From 1990 to 2001, two more multi-storey buildings, Eden Heights and Eden Towers, designed by Shaukat Nawaz Raja, were completed by Eden. Shaukat also designed their Eden Canal Cottages. The success is on-going with other projects, multiplying on the way, into a rich portfolio.

The works of Shaukat Nawaz Raja stand apart for the fundamental quality of going beyond mere function.Whether in his design of residences, where he creates multiple layers of space, from the un-

F. 6

Eden Projects. Housing, Eden Towers (Shaukat Nawaz Raja)

derground to the roof terrace, or the office / residential tower blocks, he shuns the routine glass and concrete replicas of so called 'modernity'. Shaukat Raja spent twelve years in France to further his studies and gain invaluable insights into esthetics and its modulation in the modernist air of the West. A man of great personal charm, he has striven, ever since his return to Pakistan, to introduce concepts and philosophy of design and form, something beyond the narrow confines of function and western eclecticism that other architects are caught in.

The cacophony of the commercial multistore buildings along the Gulberg Main Boulevard, euphemistically called the plazas, clad in glass, of all colors available in the market, speaks volumes about the esthetic maturity of the clientele and the architects serving such masters. A particularly sad case is that of the STP tower near Model Town which could be perfect in the northern latitudes but completely out of place in the hot climate of Lahore.

Educational Buildings

A number of important buildings have been built in the educational sector. The Lahore University of Management Sciences (LUMS), designed by HabibFida Ali from Karachi, the campus of Mohammad Nawaz Sharif Institute of Technical Training (MNSITT) presently used by COMSATS Institute of Information Technology, designed by Sajida and Pervaiz Vandal, Beaconhouse National University (BNU), designed by Nayyar Ali Dada, FC College (A Chartered University), Kinnaird College for Women by Sajida and Pervaiz Vandal, are the main examples. These have added to the quantum of well-designed buildings of Lahore.

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Kinnaird College for Women
(Sajida and Pervaiz Vandal)

F. 8

Armacost Building, F.C.C Lahore (Sajida and Pervaiz Vandal)

In the works of Sajida Vandal and Pervaiz Vandal, the molded bricks came into their own as brackets for the sun shades and mostly in their design of the Lahore Grammar School, Phase 1, Block E, Defence Society. It has caught on to become a dominant face work material as *gutka*. It was best articulated in their designs for the Kinnaird College Lahore and the Lahore campus for the COMSATS Institute of Information Technology.

Seminars

In 1978, the UET organized a seminar called the Seminar Architecture – 78, which set the trend for the future seminars mainly organized by the Institute of Architects, Pakistan. The seminar set the trend of accompanying building materials' exhibition. Molded bricks of the colonial period, called the *Glalat* and *Kubat* by the local masons Pak Brick Company, located on Multan Road and other brick manufacturers were exhibited. This juxtaposition of a scholastic seminar with a building industry exhibition has become the standard format for such events. A follow-up seminar called the Seminar – 79 was held in Karachi.

Zahir-ud-Deen Khawaja, having served the Government of Pakistan PWD in Karachi and as Director Planning for CDA, came to settle in Lahore after the 1965 war, with an office in Gulberg. This was a significant addition to the number of senior architects in the city

and brought the Institute of Architects, IAP, to Lahore with himself being the President and I as the Secretary. IAP, in Lahore, developed the tradition of holding annual exhibitions along with a seminar and their other functions. It has enlivened the profession with regular gatherings, lectures and the building material exhibition. The leading role in strengthening and firmly establishing the IAP was that of Pervez Mirza, Mohammad Arshad and Kaleem Siddiqui. They have steered the ship through some difficult waters but have now set the course which promises a mature development.

Dubaization

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 sensitive and intolerant of any adverse comments passed on their buildings.

General Pervez Musharraf (1999-2007)

When the Army, under Musharraf, took over in 1998 there was a surge in the value of properties in the Army controlled housing schemes. The Government transformed the Defence Housing Societies which was turned into an Authority, the DHA,with the army having supreme power in its running. The DHA expanded and an arranged speculative bubble began to grow. Hundreds of acres were brought into the net and declared parts of the DHA. Prices went out of all proportions. Gulberg Main Boulevard experienced a growth never

before seen as new construction boomed. Freed of any stylistic (read Islamic) restraints architects experimented with the modern vocabulary of steel, glass and aluminum. Thousands of square feet of space in the upper floors of these 'glass towers' is unusable due to the heat intake and the very expensive means of climate control.

Bahria Town, presently the largest real estate development in the country, took off through the great business acumen of its proprietor who understood the advantages of working with the military and civil bureaucracy. Working the land tenure system in the country, with the appropriate links with power brokers and understanding the need of the petty and the high and mighty, he displays a genius in manipulation of the land market. His investments run into trillions of rupees all sunk into the ground. He has been able to galvanize the greed of the people into the speculation mode as they have bought, with legal and illegal wealth, huge areas in the hope of increasing prices and great returns. In architectural terms, ideas reminiscent of the Hollywood / Bollywood film sets are implemented. In the Bahria scheme, there is the Egyptian Block, the Greek, the Gandharan and others with structures showing elements of the various periods.

Architects continue to build as if the country has no power shortage, and that it is located somewhere in the northern latitudes where there is shortage of light. The buildings are thus huge energy consumers and overly exposed to the hot sun and glare. This is particularly true of the multi-storey buildings for which the architects are still failing to find an expression other than some version of the European glass tower.

A very sad influence on the architects and the clients in Pakistan is Dubai and other emirates. With seemingly endless money, the Emirates and Saudi Arabia have spawned an architecture that

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A contextual mis match. Glass Walled buildings in the heat of Lahore

celebrates modernism in the shape of replicating building with glass, steel, and aluminum, regardless of the blazing sun of the region. Frightfully wasteful in resources, the buildings and towers, along the Main Boulevard, celebrate the technologies of the curtain wall, colored glass, steel and concrete. The evolving spaces within require expensive air-conditioning. During the frequent electricity break-downs each office and shop switches on the generators, running on diesel and petrol, not cheap items on their own, which generate fumes and heat in the public spaces as corridors and lobbies. It borders on the farcical when architects seriously come together and ponder why the buildingsalong the Main Boulevard are not fully occupied.

The most favored office space in Lahore continues to be a low rise structure, protected from the sun with verandas, shades and plenty of foliage, giving an ambience of comfort and ease of access. If the architects could apply themselves and develop spaces at upper levels accessible with lifts (which could have dedicated generators paid for collectively by the residents) but, above all, so organized to cut out the sun with appropriate shading devices, foliage at the upper levels, and courtyards to allow the heated air to move in a designed and controlled manner, they could make the spaces, thousands of square feet of them, comfortable, useful and valuable.

In the residential genre, the architects continue to serve the rich and the super-rich for that is where the money is, they are the only ones who can afford to pay the fees. There is a large number of well-designed houses with very honorable contributions from the younger generation. However, the majority is still out to do something 'DIFFERENT', new and special. The results are not always pleasant and sometimes border on the grotesque.

The educated public, in Pakistan has, generally, thanks to the colonial experience, a West-based appreciation of arts. From painting to drama and architecture, the effort is generally to emulate and 'catch-up' with the west. The elite of the city, potential clients of the architects, evoke their visits to Europe, UK and USA in commissioning architecture. More often than not, they carry magazines to illustrate their ideas and the architects in their turn happily reproduce the same.

In the teaching institutions, there is less emphasis on theory and philosophy of architecture and the educational process is essentially a training based on the routine. A favorite question by examiners is 'What new thing have you done?' An understanding of the past combined with an examination of the present to generate solutions

for the future is not demanded; students work with an eye to the proclivities of their teachers and the prospective examiners. Blandness leads the blind to generate worse blandness. To attempt to remedy this situation is precisely the objective of THAAP. With windows opening toward all directions: West, East, North, South, and a willingness to learn from all, we have to look at our own particularities to set our house in order. At THAAP, we are focusing on Art and Architecture Education, as a start; for we are equipped to contribute to the cultural values in this region and our immediate audience are the teachers of the subjects. This audience will widen to include other scientific disciplines. Together, old and young, we propose to learn from each other and develop a consensus on our objectives and methods, and coordinate and cooperate in the implementation so that we can refine them further. As we achieve success in one particular field, the process can be expanded and extended. This would be a continuous and an unending endeavor.

Contributors

Amna Jahangir, an architect, is Assistant Professor and Head of Department of Architecture at School of Art, Design and Architecture (SADA), University of Gujrat (UOG), Gujrat, Pakistan. Amna graduated with honors degree in Architecture from University of Engineering and Technology, Lahore and was awarded COMSATS Scholarship to pursue her Master of Architectural Studies from The University of Sheffield, U.K. She is the Honorary Secretary to THAAP, a Lahore based organization working for improvement of education and research, where she has organized international conferences as Secretary to the Conference. Her field of interest in research is the study of Colonial Development in towns and cities of West Punjab.

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Ishtiaq Ahmed obtained his Ph.D. (FD) in Political Science from University of Stockholm. He has completed Master of Arts in Political Science from University of Punjab, Lahore and Bachelor of Arts from Forman Christian College, Lahore. Professor Emeritus at Department of Political Science, Stockholm University, he has been an educationist since 1984. He is also an Honorary Senior Fellow of the Institute of South Asian Studies, National University of Singapore. He has over 60 publications and articles to his credit and has edited a number of books. Being acquainted with ten languages and participating in many international seminars and conferences,he has

membership in many academic organizations across the world. He has been honored with a number of research grants and awards.

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Kanwal Khalid obtained her Ph.D. in Fine Arts (Miniature Painting) from University of Punjab, Lahore. She has completed Master in Philosophy in Research Methodology, History of Western Art, South Asian Art and Islamic Art, Master in Fine Arts (Graphic Design) and Bachelor in Fine Arts from University of Punjab, Lahore. Being in the profession since 1989, she is currently Keeper Paintings at Lahore Museum and has been Visiting Faculty at several institutes including University of Punjab, National College of Arts and Beaconhouse National University. She has also made documentaries about the Art and Culture of Lahore with Asian Television Network and has six international publications to her credit.

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Pervaiz Vandal is an architect/educationist working in Lahore since 1965. As a pioneer in the field in Pakistan he has advocated a Nationalist centric approach as opposed to the Eurocentric approach in teaching of art and architecture. He has taught at all the leading Institutes of Art and Architecture education in Lahore, and helped found the Department of Architecture and Design, COMSATS IIT, at Islamabad and Lahore which is now moving towards a Faculty of Art and Culture. Along with Professor Sajida Vandal, he authored the book 'The Raj, Lahore and Bhai Ram Singh'; the two also run an architectural practice.

Priyaleen Singh obtained her Ph.D. in Architecture from the Institute of Advanced Architectural Studies, University of York, U.K. She completed her Master of Arts in Conservation from the same institute, Master in Landscape Architecture and Bachelor of Architecture from School of Planning and Architecture, New Delhi, India. Presently, she is Professor at Department of Architectural Conservation, School of Planning and Architecture, New Delhi. Being in the profession since 1981, she is a member of various organizations and has been honored with several awards. She has around sixty publications to her credit.

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Shahnawaz Zaidi is Master in Fine Arts from University of Punjab, Lahore. Beginning his career in 1969 as a lecturer and later as Professor and Principal of College of Art and Design, University of Punjab, Lahore, he is presently Advisor at COMSATS IIT, Lahore Campus. He has also taught at University of Nairobi, Kenya. For the last 27 years, advertising consultancy and illustrations for several private sector organizations have been his other focuses. He has participated in numerous national and regional exhibitions in Pakistan and abroad.

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Waqar Ahmed, a Formanite (Graduating class of 1970), is since many moons working for an International organization based in London. A qualified business manager with specialty in central London real estate market, he is actively undertaking niche projects for restoration and development. An ardent traveler, Mr. Ahmed distributes his time between Europe, Middle East and Pakistan.

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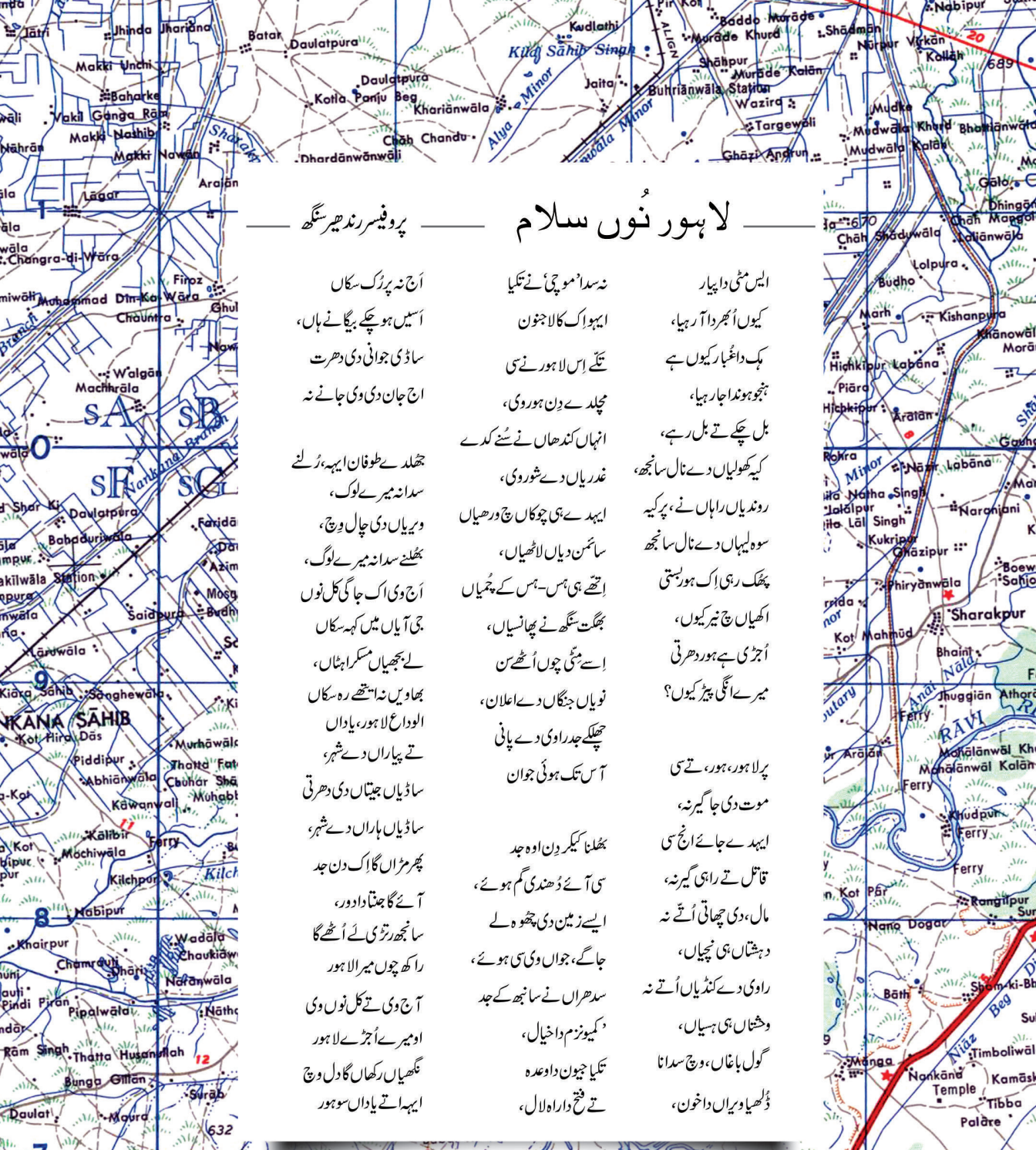

لاہور نُوں سلام

پروفیسر رندھیر سنگھ

ایس مٹی دا پیار
کیوں اُبھر دا آ رہیا،
ہک داغُبار کیوں ہے
ہنجو ہوندا جا رہیا،
بل چکے تے بل رہے،
کیہ کھولیاں دے نال سانجھ،
روندیاں راہاں نے، پر کیہ
سوہ لیہاں دے نال سانجھ
پھُک رہی اِک ہور بستی
اکھیاں چ نیر کیوں،
اُجڑی ہے ہور دھرتی
میرے انگی پیڑ کیوں؟

پر لا ہور، ہور، تے سی
موت دی جا گیر نہ،
ایہدے جائے انج سی
قاتل تے راہی گیر نہ،
مال، دی چھاتی اُتّے نہ
دہشتاں ہی نچیاں،
راوی دے کنڈیاں اُتے نہ
وحشتاں ہی ہسیاں،
گول باغاں، وچ سدانا
ڈُلھیا ویراں داخون،

نہ سدا 'موچی' نے تکیا
ایہو اِک کالا جنون
تکّے اِس لاہور نے سی
مچلدے دِن ہوروی،
انہاں کندھاں نے سُنے کدے
غدریاں دے شوروی،
ایہدے ہی چوکاں چ ورھیاں
سائمن دیاں لاٹھیاں،
اِتھّے ہی ہس۔ہس کے چُمیاں
بھگت سنگھ نے پھانسیاں،
اِسے مٹّی چوں اُٹھے سن
نویاں جنگاں دے اعلان،
چھلکے جدراوی دے پانی
آس تک ہوئی جوان

بھُلنا کیکر دِن اوہ جد
سی آئے دُھندی گم ہوئے،
ایسے زمین دی چھُوہ لے
جاگے، جواں وی سی ہوئے،
سدھراں نے سانجھ کے جد
'کمیونزم دا خیال'
تکیا جیون دا وعدہ
تے فتح دا راہ لال،

اَج نہ پرُک سکاں
اَسیں ہو چکے بیگانے ہاں،
ساڈی جوانی دی دھرت
اج جان دی وی جانے نہ

جھُلدے طوفان ایہہ، رُلنے
سدا نہ میرے لوک،
ویریاں دی چال وِچ،
بھُلنے سدا نہ میرے لوگ،
اَج وی اک جاگی کل نوں
جی آیاں میں کہہ سکاں
لے بجھیاں مسکراہٹاں،
بھاویں نہ اتھے رہ سکاں
الوداع لاہور، یاداں
تے پیاراں دے شہر،
ساڈیاں جیتاں دی دھرتی
ساڈیاں ہاراں دے شہر،
پھر مڑاں گا اِک دن جد
آئے گا جنتا دا دور،
سانجھ رتڑی لے اُٹھے گا
راکھ چوں میرا لاہور
آج وی تے کل نوں وی
او میرے اُجڑے لاہور
نگھیاں رکھاں گا دل وچ
ایہہ اتے یاداں سوہور