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Analytical study of the development of Lahore during Colonial period and its impact on the culture of Lahore



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Abstract

Colonial period plays a pivotal role in shaping skyline of Lahore's architecture and urban design. Even today lot of colonial period buildings like Government College University, Punjab University, Old Campus, National College of Arts, G.P.O., Lahore High Court, Aitchison College etc. enjoys the protocol of master pieces of architecture of Lahore. It is beyond any doubt that these buildings brought a revolution in the indigenous architectural practice of Lahore and gave a new scale to the skyline of Lahore. It was felt that colonial architecture was also practiced beyond The Mall that needs to be studied. It was also felt that colonial architecture brought its own culture along with itself that was alienated to the local people of Lahore. Literature is available on colonial period buildings as pieces of architecture but their impact on society and culture of Lahore has remained untouched. This particular research deals with the impact of architectural development of Lahore during Colonial period and its socio-cultural impact on Lahore.

Keywords: Colonial period, Lahore, architecture, urban design, culture.

Literature Review

Conquerors like Shāhi kingdom, he Ghaznavids, Ghūris, Mughals, Sikhs and the British Rāj made Lahore as their seat of throne. All of them left their marks on the tradition, culture and social norms of Lahore. The people of Lahore have always been known for their hospitality and welcoming nature due to which monarchs and sovereigns found it easy to leave their cultural and social impact on the people of Lahore. Due to the fact the culture of Lahore is an inimitable mixture of different cultures including South-Asia, Persia, Central Asia and West.

Out of the above, the cultures that deeply inspired the socio-cultural life of the people of Lahore were the Mughals, Sikhs and British Rāj. Before 1947 i.e., independence of Pakistan, Lahore saw peaceful co-existence of Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs. Though, the areas of their settlement were different and they were settled in different interconnected

muḥallas. Each morning could hear mixed sounds of Muslim mosques, Sikh *gurudwāras* and Hindu temples. Cultural and religious celebrations like wedding ceremonies, barat, Eid-al Aḏha, Holi, Diwāli and Joṛ Mela remained peaceful and were respected by all groups of community.

Discussion

British Rāj paved way for industrial revolution and the British policies gradually faded away the centres of traditional learning of Lahore. Social and cultural behaviour of Lahore was changed by the industrial revolution along with the economic demography of the residents of Lahore. The industrial revolution not only paved way for a change in the public policies and values of Britain but also laid foundations for attitudes towards capitalist economy and industrialization across its colonies. The industrial revolution sparked production capability that ultimately led to the renovation of European society. Simultaneously, industrial revolution also put up a question mark on the existence of traditional societies across the globe.

Lahore has always been ruled by outsiders. Sikh rulers were an exception. Though, immense resources and geographic position of Lahore were a major attraction for invaders to rule this area but were also attracted by friendly social behaviour of the residents of Lahore who always provided the invaders with pleasing and subservient man-power.

Besides all of the festivities Walled City Lahore also had a dark side. At the advent of the British rule, there was a large number of drug addicted people including *afyūni*, *sharābi*, *chandubāz*, *bhangi* and *charsi* found everywhere in the Walled City.

Almost every house had seed vessels of poppy. It was a norm to give tea made of poppy seed to children specially during winters. Sweets made of poppy seeds was usually offered to minors before his circumcision by *nāi*.



Figure 1 Map of Lahore 1846 showing development of Lahore during Sikh period. Courtesy: Javeria Tariq.

Indian Sub-continent emerged as a challenge for the British Rāj. The construction of railways was of prime importance for the purpose of military expansion, annexation, internal security and defence of a large area. On one hand, construction of railways required imported technology but on the other it also required local support and expertise in order to maintain it. British Rāj initiated to give shape to social and economic development of Sub-continent.

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Basic reason of the selection of Lahore for the construction of railway workshop in India was its strategic location as Lahore connects South to North-West. Sub-continent got its share of technology from England and that led to the commencement of a journey.

A journey that transformed railway into a regional network based on iron and steel. The development of railway network not only laid foundations for industrial revolution in Lahore but also changed socio-cultural norms of the city. Commoners living in and around the city of Lahore felt an economic boom as many got jobs in railway workshops. The people of Lahore coined a new term *Rīlwāī* for such workers.

A new way of time telling was devised by the industry in the form of sirens (*ghūgu*) that used to ring as the shift changes. Perspective of the people of Lahore was changed towards service that was once considered as an insulting profession. *Awwal khaiti, doam hatī, nakhaid chākri* (first agriculture, second business and then, useless service) clearly reflects social acceptance and preference of different kind of occupations in Lahore.

Chal wiy chuddū, wajgya ay ghūgu (The clarion call has come, let us get to work, o lazy man) became a common saying upon induction of a new, lively and energetic social system into the sleepy and lethargic indigenous way of life. For a constant and steady availability of educated work force for North West Railway (NWR) locomotive workshop, colleges and institutions were required. In this regard British developed many colleges and training institutes. Regardless of the fact that Hindus and Sikhs used to control the economy of the city, at least one son of the family was encouraged to get education in order to join civil service, medicine or law. Contrary, Muslims did not exploit the new education set up and refrained from changing their routine. On one hand Muslims were economically challenged and on the other they refused to modify their existing social status of peasantry and land ownership or as labour in a Hindu or Sikh owned business. The first social change that was experienced was the siren of locomotive workshops instead of *Fajr* prayers *adhān* (call by *mu'adhhdhin*) or the bells of *mandar*. Vast industrial setup, network of colleges, universities and training institutes brought a change in the mind set and government service emerged as a new option for youngsters besides peasantry and working in the shops.

Government service provided room for a new culture to emerge in which colonial

mannerism was imitated. The new culture was termed as Bābu culture (Bābu in local terms means gentleman or British style). Young people gradually started wearing pant and shirt and showed reluctance towards traditional *dhoti, lungi and kurta*. In this way new locals were added to an existing culture of the city. These new locals questioned the existing lethargic way of living based on farming and land holding and were attracted to newly developed social norms in which *ḥuqqa* (a large local gadget used for smoking and was considered as a compulsory part of gatherings) was replaced by cigarettes between fingers. It also gave rise to a new social behaviour in which life after *Maghrib* prayers emerged. Vibrancy in the culture was felt by the presence of new social activity magnets including clubs, cafes, cinemas, theatres etc., These new social magnets depict a more vibrant way of living and attracted more and more people who started to prefer training through college or training institute in order to make themselves compatible for industrial and urban tasks.

Lahore emerged as a land of opportunities as North Western Railway Locomotive Workshops provided chance to people to work for it. At the same time, it also created many opportunities for associated professions. The vast need of iron and steel in almost all of the activities of locomotive workshops could have been an excellent opportunity for the locals to give them an economic boost but people of Lahore refused to exploit the situation and waited for the outsiders to develop a technologically advanced set up which can assist locomotive workshops.

People from other areas like Bombay, Baṭāla and Kashmir etc., took advantage of the opportunity. Mukandilāl Foundries was shifted to Lahore from Bombay. Later on, it was purchased by Chaudhry Muḥammad Laṭīf who had his roots in Baṭāla. Mukandilāl Foundries found a new name “BECO” (Baṭāla Engineering Company). Similarly, Ḥussain and Karīm Bukhsh from Kashmir setup Qādri Steel Mills. Miān Muḥammad Sharīf founded Ittefaq Foundries. All industrial setups of such kind used to supplement Railway and Mukundilāl Foundries.

Lahore emerged as an industrial hub. It also experienced population explosion due to the introduction of British education system constituted by schools, colleges and universities. People from in and around Lahore, rather all over the country rushed to Lahore to get education in well-established institutions. It was purposely done as this new educated class of people provided support and gave boost to the industry, trade and

finance of the city. The process gave rise to a new financial class called as middle class. Middle class was constituted by educated youth who deviated from generations old family profession of farming. Though, a new middle class became part of the daily business of Lahore but it was hard to get rid of the agriculture-based lifestyle and family system and shift to a modernist way of urban life in which commercial activities were a major constituent. Due to the fact the ethnographical pattern and family structure remained unaffected of the phenomenology. People of Lahore tried to establish family-based business which in some cases remained vain. Lahore also experienced settlement of migrants from other areas who reached Lahore in search of enhanced employment opportunities in industrial, financial and commercial offices and setups.

Lahore experienced social and cultural deviation due to the changes discussed above. Local and traditional professions and architectural spaces were changed. Professions like *ḥikmat* and *ṭibb* were minimised. *Tharàs*, a traditional communal space used to discuss routine life issues by the locals of a *muḥalla* were converted to commercial spaces. The process of conversion further squeezed the already narrow streets and bazars of Lahore. With the advent of the British Rāj people shifted from family profession of agriculture to skilled labour.

“Shop” was the pivot of the ethnographical life of Walled City. It used to act as the hub of discussion on multiple topics ranging from daily life issues to international happenings and magnet for Locals with different point of views and age bracket. In this way “Shop” emerged as an institution for the locals. *Ḥukka* was considered as part and parcel of such discussions.

Bādāmi Bagh existed between Walled City and factories of *Bādāmi Bagh*. a lot of trees including *Fālsa*, *Jāman*, *Ām*, *Barè*, *Safaida*, *Kīkar*, *Jand* and *Bohrè* were planted in the garden. *Bādāmi Bagh* had Old River Ravi in close proximity. The land bounded by the garden on one side and river on the other was called as *Zakhīra* and was inhabited by red sparrows. The land was also a hunting place for the locals who hunt sparrows by using bamboo cages (cages made of bamboo sticks). The factory of Mukandilāl existed in the context so close that the siren (*Ghūgu*) could be heard in the garden. In order to meet the demand of commutation space for factory workers and people the garden was replaced with the bus terminal and hunters and red sparrows with chimneys of factory. Consequently, smoke through the chimneys became a continuous addition to the

environment round the clock.

Development of the city in order to meet the requirements of the local people, immigrants from around and the British army emerged as challenge for the British administration. The area near the tomb of Anārkali was selected for the establishment of the administrative headquarters and the offices of General Ventura and his military advisors were established here. Accommodation for the troops were built in Anārkali barracks. These barracks had already served the purpose of cantonment during Sikh period. Later on, the area was considered inappropriate for the accommodation of soldiers and administration due to multiple reasons like insalubrious atmosphere, inhabitation of sub-urban localities in near-by areas, uneven and rough nature of the land due to mounds, kilns, stones, broken structures and rubble and excavated land with a possibility to become collection point of stagnant water.

It was an uphill task to locate the cantonment besides administrative headquarters. For the purpose, the British consulted Sir Charles Napier (Army's Commander in Chief), Henry Lawrence (Political Agent), his brother John (Chief Commissioner), Charles Mansel (Member Board of Administration) and Robert Montgomery (Judicial Commissioner). It was decided to locate the cantonment four miles south-east of the town at the site of Miān Mīr. grid-iron style of planning was adopted harmonizing military discipline and precision. Two focal points were provided in order to break the monotony, one toward north at Sadar bazar and the other in the south where cantonment church became the vista. Water was drawn from Bāri Doāb canal for watering plantation. As the plants matured, the greenery broke the glare caused by metalled roads.

Two roads, Upper and Lower Mall were built in order to link cantonment to the Lahore Fort and the secretariat. The two roads emerged as main arteries of early colonial Lahore. Many buildings including government offices, schools, colleges, Punjab University, Mayo School of Arts, Museum etc., were constructed along the two sides of the roads. Many European firms established their headquarters either nearby or on The Mall. Settlements like Donald Town, Civil Lines and lieutenant Governor's house was designed halfway between the cantonment and the secretariat, on the north of The Mall. Mayo hospital and medical college was erected close to the town. Governor's house was designed at the site of the tomb of Muḥammad Qāsim Khān, the cousin of Emperor Akbar, thus engulfing it. Lawrence garden, one of the most beautiful English gardens

was built in front of the Governor's house.

Bāri Doāb canal, excavated north-east to south-west during this time, separated the cantonment from the city. Lawns and important settlements erected for British bureaucracy were irrigated through Bāri Doāb canal. Walled City was encircled by Circular Garden. It was also irrigated through a sub-canal drawn from the Bāri Doāb canal.

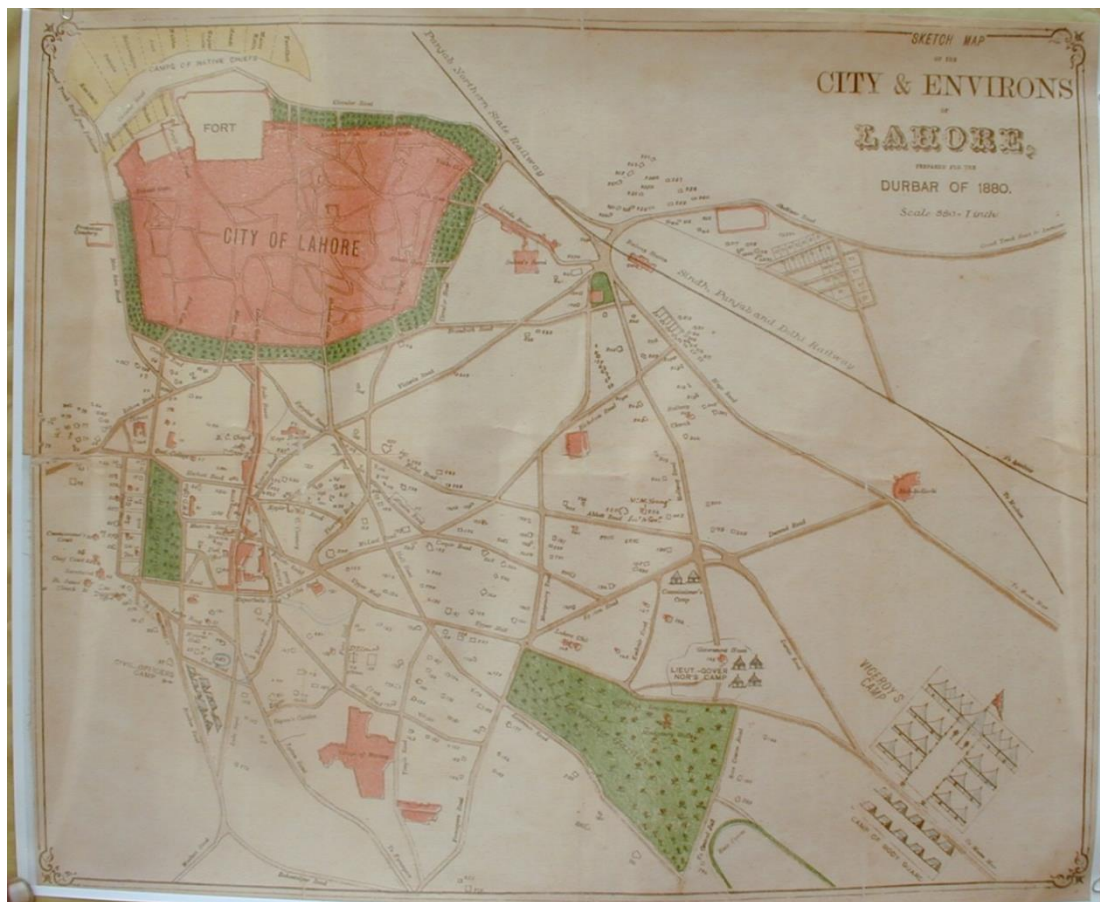


Figure 2 Abdul Rahman, Map of Lahore 1880, Sketch Map of the City and Environs of Lahore Darbar of 1880 (Lahore: Al-Meezan Publishers, 2013), 73

The map shows Circular Garden around Walled City, road network developed during the colonial period with buildings at Lower Mall, Lawrence Garden and Viceroy's camp.

In order to link the cantonment to the city, two more routes were developed. One was the Mayo Road that linked Railway station to the Sadar bazar. The other was Jail Road that linked cantonment to the Multan Road. Both roads intersect each other near Chauburji. Development around Mayo Road includes railway colonies, hospital and Mayo Gardens. Jail Road linked Oval ground and cantonment in the east to Miāni Šāhib

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graveyard in the west. On the way it also linked graveyard for British elite, Mental Hospital, Kinnaird College, Lahore College, Race Course Park, Jail and Bahawalpur House.

A number of roads including Railway Road, Brandreth Road, McLeod Road, Empress Road and Nicholson Road connected Railway station to the city. ***

Lahore had a network of some roads laid before British rule. British laid eastern and southern routes which were linked through cross roads. South of British Lahore was densely populated. The tracks developed during Mughal and Sikh period due to the presence of mosques, tombs, *samādhis* and *gurudwāras*, later on, emerged as permanent routes

A new and modern Lahore was developing with a new culture and architecture replacing centuries old indigenous architecture and culture of the Walled City. Areas around Cantonment, Secretariat and Railway station became the focus of British development. Most of the British period development including the Civil Lines, Governor's House, the Lawrence Gardens, and Race Course was made along the cantonment. These were mainly residential and recreational areas equipped with different amenities like clubs etc. These areas were designed with enhanced safety and security measures. Wide and spacious roads with trees on both sides were laid to connect residential areas, offices, cantonment and clubs for easy commutation of *Ṣāhibs* (British Elite). The indigenous and organic street pattern of Lahore was replaced by designed layout plan of road network. Indigenous house was replaced by bungalow with a private front lawn which added value to the spatial dimensions of Modern Lahore. A new system of communal spaces based on private communal space like front lawns of bungalows and social communal spaces like bars and clubs thus emerged. It was different from the *tharā* culture of Walled City. The tunnel like streets and small and dark houses with *deorhis* of Walled City failed to offer space and light to its inhabitants as that of the areas of modern Lahore.

The easy-going life of the Walled City sometimes get disturbed by the disturbance in social relationships like mother-in-law, daughter in law, brother, sister, husband and wife. Poverty, illiteracy, insecurity and other social pressures made it difficult for the inhabitants of Walled City to provide conducive environment for a peaceful life to the children. High divorce and separation rate along with other social insecurities played

their part for widening generation gap between parents and children. The insecure indoor environment played a pivotal role in making children of the Walled City lose their interest in their houses. Due to the fact, the children were compelled to spend time in markets and squares. *Hammāms*, *Baithak*, *Takyay* and *Akhārāy* became centre of social gatherings.

As economic prosperity and socio-cultural environment act as foundations for architectural and social development, British paid attention to enhance the economic condition in general. For the purpose many projects were carried out like construction of a canal system to irrigate the far-off areas, development of new towns, residential settlement of sub urban areas, establishment of railway network to transport crops where required etc. The requirement of heavy finances was met from agriculture and real estate business by selling land in the newly established towns. As a result, infrastructural facilities were developed and public buildings were constructed with in the newly built road infrastructure of Lahore.

Agricultural development, steady population growth and ample of food brought economic prosperity. The establishment of road and railway network paved way for the development of other community service elements like police stations, cantonments, churches, schools and telegraph. In this process private civil society and religious organizations also played an active part and many schools were developed by them.

The development was interrupted in 1876 due to two major events. One was the great famine (1876 – 1878). Along with it came cholera and plague as contagious diseases. In order to mitigate the problem, Lahore was isolated and two hospitals were erected at the entrance of Lahore to examine every traveller to Lahore. These hospitals were constructed at *Kāhnakācha* and *Barki*. The other event was second Afghan war (1878 - 1880). In order to meet the need of inflated population, Punjab was converted into surplus food production area by initiating many irrigation projects. Population of Lahore was 9400 (census 1854). According to census 1881 (27 years after census 1854) there was an increase of 60 % and the population of Lahore reached to 149,369. Education sector was focussed and, in this regard, many public welfare projects were introduced. *Bhāi Rām Singh* and *John Lockwood Kipling* played a pivotal role by designing and constructing number of projects in Lahore.

All of the development discussed above took place in the Modern Lahore of Colonial

period during which the Walled City remained neglected and out of sight. Due to neglect, the problems of Walled City worsen further. *Iyh galyān sadiyān māwān nai tai sādī qabrān wi, par inhān qabrān wichon khorai kuī wi na kadh sakai* (These streets are like our mothers as well as our graves. No one can drive us out) became a common thought of the inhabitants of Walled City Lahore.

Though, the anarchic Sikh period had an effect on the culture of Walled City Lahore, but during the colonial period when it re-flourished, it was pure and different from the culture of British Modern Lahore. The organic street pattern of Walled City, climate responsive architecture, availability of potable water through water wells, outdoor public gathering spaces whether paved or green played pivotal role in shaping a peaceful planned city. In this city Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs co-existed peacefully. Well planned education and administrative sectors of the Walled City were in debt to many Muslims and Hindus like Dīwān Bija Nāth, Dīwān Ajūdhiya Parshād, Dīwān Shānkar Nāth, Pandat Prem Chand, Shiwnāth, Sardār ‘Abdul Qādir, Maulāna Zafar ‘Ali Khān, Mīr Ghulām Bhīk Nirang, Miān Muḥammad Shāh Dīn, Maulvi Maḥbūb ‘Ālam, Pandat Shiv Narāin Shāmīm and Munshi Muḥammad Dīn Fauq, etc. People of Walled City were known for their hospitality. Guest of a house was considered as guest of all and before guiding him to the desired address and street it was a routine practice to offer *Fālūdah or Lassi* (local dessert and drink) to the guest by the inhabitants of the area.

The culture of Walled City also got affected by the culture of Modern Lahore to some extent but generally remained connected to the roots. The settlers of Walled City used to enjoy *Muḥalla* type settlement which was based on family or cast unit system. Besides the fact that different *muḥallas* had different type of family or cast living there, the life style, social standards and entertainment attractions were same. People were fond of good food so eateries in the streets were common and people used to enjoy street life. The boost in the eatery business also paved way for *Hikmat* profession. Many *Hakīms* or *Dawakhāna* (pharmacy or clinics) were established beside restaurants and *tandūrs*.

Besides eateries there were many other activities that compelled the residents of Walled City to stay and enjoy street life. *Chaupat* is one of such activities. It was widely played in the streets and squares of Walled City. Other activities include kite flying and pigeon flying. Minto Park was the hub of kite flying competitions. Winning a competition was

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also celebrated publicly and the winner used to take a round of the Walled City with his supporters and friends in the form of a procession. A person who had mastery of kite flying skill was known as *Ustād*. *Ustāds* have their own *baithaks* where people come to learn about kite flying and discuss general social matters. Some other sports patronized by the people of Walled City include *Pihlwāni* (wrestling) and *Kabaddī*. Many *Pihlwāns* (wrestlers) include locals of the Walled City. There were many *Akhārās* within the Walled City where people used to come frequently to watch *dangal* (wrestling competition).

Another feature of the people of Walled City was that they were warm and friendly. Due to the fact they used to become friends easily. At the same time, they also get annoyed easily but could be made friends again with just a friendly embrace. As they were also fond of chit chat, *tharās* and *baithaks* emerged as cultural architectural elements where long discussions could happen. At the same time, they were contented and happy with their lifestyle and the changes happened in Modern or British Lahore did not bother them.

The irrigation projects initiated in 1880(s) began to appear physically in 1890(s). In 1892 Lower Chanab Canal was completed. Due to the canal the economics of the Punjab in general and Lahore in particular was uplifted as many *mandi* towns, small villages and *chaks* emerged alongside the canal. After some years, these towns were connected to Lahore through newly laid railway and road network. As a result, Lahore became magnet to the migrants from around and the enhanced influx of migrants affected the future growth of the city.



Figure 3 Map of Lahore and Environs 1893. Courtesy: Javeria Tariq.

The map shows Bāri Doāb Canal, Central Jail, Punjab Chief College, Donald Town, Cantonment and Shālamār Garden

Lahore kept on developing in the 20th century. John Begg served as the consulting architect to the Government of India. Many buildings in Lahore were designed and constructed under his consultancy. These buildings include Biology and Physics department at Government College, Veterinary College, The Railway Church and Time keeper's Office in Mughalpura. Besides public buildings, a number of residential ventures were also designed and constructed in Lahore by local architects especially in the area of Gowalmandi and Donald Town.

Department of irrigation was given prime importance and many new irrigation projects including Triple Canal project (1905 - 1917) were initiated. The decision allocated a large area of land for irrigation purposes. It also brought prosperity that acted as a base for many architectural projects in Punjab. For the purpose, Basil Martin Sullivan was appointed as first Chief Consulting Architect who designed many important projects in Lahore including schools, courts, administrative offices and hospitals.

Lahore experienced rapid population expansion after World War 1. Many housing and industrial projects were designed and built in Lahore which attracted many labourers to Lahore due to high wages and better living conditions. Some became part of the

building industry while some were attracted to many other industries that arose during World War 1. During the process Lahore also experienced divergence of income groups and housing projects were designed on the bases of income groups. Model Town and Muslim Town areas were designed and developed for high income groups. People from low-income group settled in areas like Gowalmandi, Walled City and Muzang. Government Officers Residence (G.O.R.) and Mayo Gardens projects were designed for civil bureaucracy and railway officers respectively. Both of the projects were planned on Garden City concept.

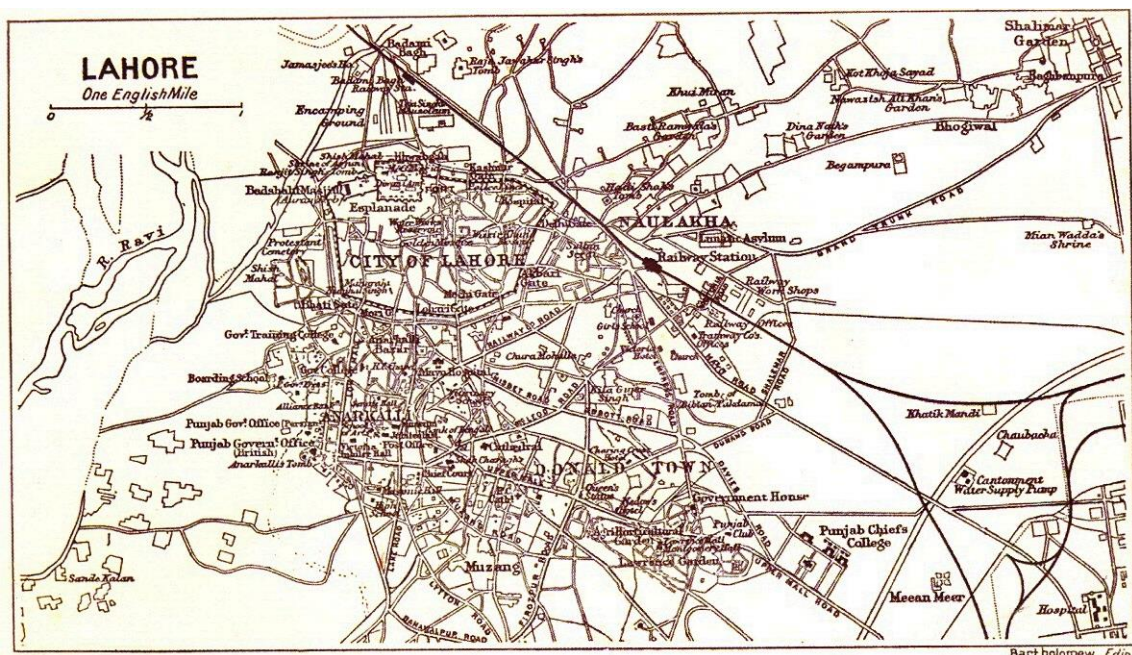


Figure 4 Abdul Rahman, Map of Lahore 1912, Lahore 1912 (Lahore: Al-Meezan Publishers, 2013), 110

The map shows areas of Donald Town, Gowalmandi, Muzang and Government Officer's Residence.

of their area as heroes and proudly display photos of their heroes in their shops

The rapid increase in the population of newly developed areas of Lahore was based on two types of immigration: intra-city immigration; inter-city immigration. People who wanted to adapt to better material life migrated to newly developed areas and immigrants from other cities migrated to Lahore in search of better living standards and settled in newly developed areas. The phenomenon gave rise to a new type of culture. Residences were located in the modern areas of Lahore whereas business setups were still in the Walled City. The Bhati *Chauk* area which once was the centre of social life of Walled City with cinemas, hotels, shops of *pān*, cigarette, *murgh halīm*, *nān*, *Machhli*,

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kabāb, *kalīji* and colourful *sharbat* etc., and was called as Chelsea of Lahore merely became convergence of roads routed to various parts of Lahore. People from across Lahore used to visit Bhati *Chauk* area as passers-by for one purpose or the other throughout the day and by different means of communication including buses, wagons, tongas, rickshaws, mini-buses etc. Due to the unwanted hustle and bustle and noise throughout the day, the area lost its identity as an area of festivity and gained a new identity as a passage and stand for buses, wagons and tongas.

The hustle and bustle of the passengers and noise due to buses, wagons, tongas and shouting of conductors made the area lose its tranquillity. The nature of the visitors of the area also changed to passers-by instead of those who used to come to the circular garden in search of tranquillity and to listen *Hīr Warith Shāh*. The photos of the heroes of the area were replaced by stickers of numerous kinds. The deafening sound and disownship of the area by its people made passers-by alienated to the area and in return Walled City specially Bhati Gate area became alienated to the people. In this way, the process of change brought minimized sense of ownership.

As a matter of fact, Bhāti gate area was never conceived as a market place. One could find astrologers (*najūmi*), physicians (*ḥakīm*), a religious mendicant (*sanyāsi*), black magicians and augers (*taqdīrshānās*) more commonly in the streets and on footpaths in the Walled City with a concentration in Bhāti gate area. Dejected and afflicted people used to visit fortune tellers and leave happily after a parrot picks up a fortune card that suit their needs and wishes. Activities of such kind collectively paved way for the tranquillity of the area. It is assumed that after the construction of railway station, most of the visitors of the Bhāti *Chauk* were passers-by that need to cross the *Chauk* for one reason or the other. In such a case the area experienced an increase in the number of pick-pocketers, shop lifters and beggars. The area also experienced an increase in street hawkers that cause hindrance in the flow of pedestrian traffic as well as pollute the area as they do not belong to the area to own it. The scenario depicts social deterioration.

In 1916 Patrick Geddes visited Lahore in order to propose a comprehensive development master plan of Lahore. What he saw and felt about Lahore was reflected by one of his letters that was written to his son. In the letter he explained Lahore as a gorgeous old city crowded and filled with lofty buildings that depict wealth and art of

Muhammadden Empire. He also felt sad and sorry after noticing the damage caused by European and Anglicised India. According to him electric light installations, poles, wires, girders etc. deteriorated the beauty of the city.

The overhead electric cables in the streets and even on the walls of buildings like Wazir Khān mosque deteriorated the streetscape of Lahore. Basil Sullivan also took notice of the phenomenon. In order to improve public health, water supply and sanitation conditions, suggestions were framed by Patrick Gedds. He also proposed landscape plan of Lahore in order to bring back the lost glory of the city.

Lahore continued with the same conditions as discussed above till 1930(s). during ten years i.e., 1921 to 1931 the number of housings was increased by 60 % which made Walled City and the areas around even more congested. In order to meet the increased need of housing new housing schemes i.e., Krishan Nagar and Sant Nagar were developed towards south-west side of the city on a vacant land adjacent to town. First ever plan to conserve Walled City was drafted that also included a comprehensive plan to minimise encroachments on The Mall. King Edward Scheme was developed and materialized in order to develop the Nila Gunbad area.

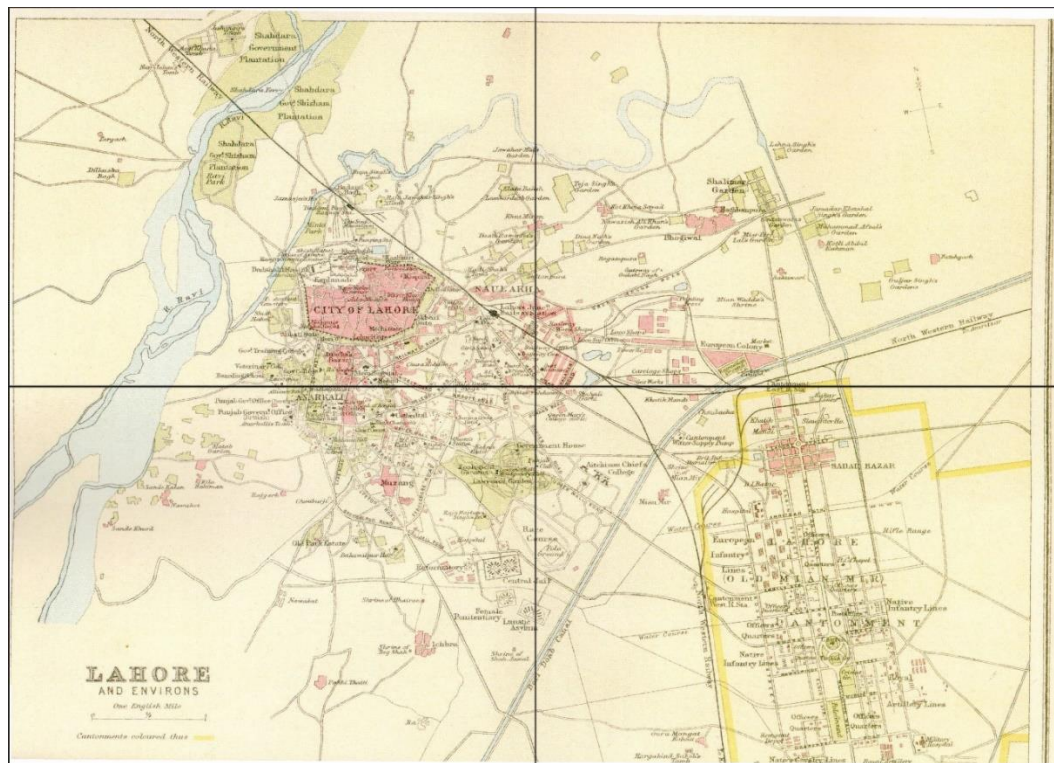


Figure 5 Abdul Rahman, Map of Lahore 1931, Lahore and Environs 1931 (Lahore: Al-Meezan Publishers, 2013), 185

The map shows areas like Chaburji, Karihan Nagar, Rajgarh, Sant Nagar and King Edward Scheme

In order to mitigate the issue of rapidly growing population, the administration decided to establish Lahore Improvement trust in 1936. The trust and Municipal Council imposed strict building codes. As a result, the building sector saw a boom as people wanted to complete their projects before the implementation of the building codes. This was followed by a slump as many proposals for the development of residential schemes got rejected as the plan failed to abide by the bye-laws.

Housing and urban development continued to become more and more complex during 1940s. Numerous housing schemes were designed and plans submitted to the trust for approval in order to meet the growing need of housing and urban settlements. Aylmer Coats was given the task as town planner to scrutinize the plans. He prepared a comprehensive land use plan that suggested the shift of industrial growth towards Lahore mint and reserving a large chunk of land for university towards south of Lahore. Detailed planning for the development of vacant land was done on the bases of new bye-laws and it was suggested to develop a linear park along the canal.

Though, Modern Lahore was developed considering new technology and after applying new ideas and theories of urban planning but it was felt that these new localities miss the essence of culture, warmth and festivities for which Lahore was famous. The hot and humid climate specially in the months of *Jaiṭh* and *Hārḥ* made indoor life a great challenge and therefore carved way for outdoor living. This phenomenon made streets and *Chauks* of the city lively and became magnets where folk lures like *Hīr Wārith Shāh* were usually sung and enjoyed collectively by the people.

Gardens, river side or the Tomb of Jahangir acted as outdoor resting places for the people of Lahore during the hot and humid noon and afternoons of summer especially during the months of *Jaiṭh* and *Hārḥ*. As the city life used to come to a halt practically due to harsh hot and humid climate, people of Lahore had enough leisure time for picnics. These picnics quite often emerged as a festivity due to the friendly and sharing nature of the people.

In the absence of properly designed water supply system in the Walled City, ladies used to transport potable water to their homes from the wells. Muslims and Hindus had separate wells. Some wells were eminent for honey water like *Māmūṇ Bhānjay ka kuṇṇwan* (well of Mamūṇ Bhānja) in the Said Mitha area, the well of Ilāhi Bakhsh, a

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Muslim General, in the Moti Bazār area and the well of Bāu' Ishāq, etc., These wells were dug in streets or haveli. As far as streets are concerned, some of the streets with wells were blind alleys with no passers-by. These streets also acted as bathing places for the ladies.

The hot and humid summer carved the culture of the city. Nights were usually spent on roof tops. The brick tiled floor of the roof was sprinkled with water to increase the comfort level. Hand driven fans made of palm leaves were also used. Breakfast was usually taken early morning due to early sun rise and one could find gush of people at the shops of *sharbat*, *dūdh* and *dahi* (milk and yogurt). Sun failed to penetrate the narrow streets of the city and these streets remained comparatively cool even at noon and afternoon. As the life of the Walled City used to come to a halt during day time of summers, the *tharā* life of streets remained live. The evenings were spent at gardens like Bādāmi Bāgh.

The clothing of the people of Walled City was also channelized by the climate. The type of clothing was well acquainted with the nature of the people and therefore became culture of the city. *Dhāka ki malmal aur wāil kay kurtay*, *patent kay pump shoe*, *kālī kināri wāli dhautiyāñ aur parnay* were routine wear of the people of Lahore. Due to the mixed-use development the shops and residences were located within the streets. Out of different nature of shops the shops of *fālūda*, *lassi* and *Bādāmūñ ki sardāi* acted as magnets during hot and humid summers. Calling *Adhān* (call to Allah) and offering prayers (*Namāz-i istasqa*) for rain showers was a routine. Besides spiritual connection with the God, some superstitious activities like burning dolls, walking in the streets with a "*Raurā*" (stone) and sprinkling water on the passers-by were also practiced.

The hot weather was marked terminated by the rain showers of monsoon. Monsoon was characterized by specials victuals and rituals. Streets of the city were flooded with children during the rain shower where they play different games. People of Lahore used to go for picnics with specially cooked food and mangoes to enjoy weather and rain showers.

The houses of the Walled City were small and stood side by side. Narrow streets of the city brought windows of houses so close that different matters could be discussed with the neighbour while being with in one's own house. Due to the limited space available with in the small houses locals and neighbours used to gather at outdoor spaces usually

ḥamāms or *tharās*. Drawing room (*baithak*) was only meant for guests. These *ḥamāms* or *tharās* acted as universities and news room for the locals as these used to play an important role in shaping personalities of the youth besides spreading news from personal level to *muḥalla*. Irrespective of the weather conditions and climate, male members of a *muḥalla* used to spend evenings at a *tharā* or *ḥamām*.

As discussed earlier, *tharā* acted as newsroom and university for the locals. It was not a place for daily chitchat but was a place where people gather to discuss different social issues and politics and share solutions. *Tharā* emerged as an important part of social life of Walled City as besides social issues upcoming festivals and events like wedding ceremonies in a *muḥalla* were also part of the discussion. Male members of a *muḥalla* also play different games at *tharā* to enjoy and keep themselves busy. *Tharā* acted as a pivot in the maturity process of children of Walled City. They get matured early as compared to the children of modern areas due to exposure to unfiltered news and knowledge. It was considered important for the personality development of the boys who had to get vocational training or learn business tactics at an early age as they get exposed to the practical life quite early as compared to the children of modern areas of Lahore. There were multiple reasons for the fact out of which economy was the pivot. Use of slangs was considered part and parcel of *tharā* culture. People of Lahore invented many slangs during *tharā* meetings and were considered matchless in this art. *Tharā* emerged as an important cultural architectural element of Walled City. It used to act differently during different times of the day. It was a place of male get togethers where different games like *chaupat*, cards and chess were played. *Tharā* of a milk shop remained more busy as people of Lahore were fond of milk instead of taking tea resultantly, during winters *tharā* life of a milk shop was at full swing. Early comers in a winter evening used to get space with in the shop whereas, the rest on the *tharā* but gathering was must.

Walled City Lahore contained buildings and architectural elements that were designed according to the nature of the people and their cultural needs. Due to the fact, people were connected to their area, buildings and architectural spaces like *tharā* etc. The phenomenon developed a connect between the people and the space that later on converted that space into a place. As a result, the culture and architecture as a by-product or vice versa became identity of Lahore. Architecture was subservient to

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residents and their needs contrary to the architecture of Colonial Lahore where architecture was developed according to standards and rules and people were bound to live accordingly.

Conclusion

Undoubtedly, British developed Lahore based on modern theories and concept with wide roads and ample spaces for infrastructure but some-how it lacked the essence of cultural and architectural identity of Lahore. The architecture and culture of the people of Lahore developed and grew together as cause and effect and therefore was well connected. This connection was either missing or redefined by colonial architecture of Lahore according to needs and customs of British.

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