

Processual Preservation of the City within a City:
The (in)formal Inhabitation of Heritage

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ABSTRACT

Globally, the practice of heritage conservation still presumes certain modes of history, authenticity, and permanence. However, the understanding of these modes are specific to various contexts across multiple time-frames. Within this framework, a universal methodology of preservation that attempts to restore sites of heritage to an original point in the past is problematic. In the South Asian context, this practice typically leads to the sanitization of the vibrant, (in)formal, living environments within such spaces of heritage, thereby instigating a disengagement with the present and the removal of traces of alternate histories.

This thesis aims to trace the ideological changes of how heritage has been dealt with in the Walled City of Lahore, Pakistan. I assess the conservation approaches in the city of Lahore and address the impact of colonial narratives by providing an alternate approach to conservation that is embedded in the culture. I focus on the palimpsestic and densely populated historic Walled City of Lahore, currently inhabited by lower-income groups. Further exploration of the present uses of heritage reveals a variety of what can be described as (in)formal inhabitations, through which I suggest a framework for the practice of conservation. Primarily, I address questions of, ‘Can these inhabitations be considered conservation and thus who has the right to conserve? How can spaces of heritage be used and, by whom?’

To this end, I identify three typologies and case studies of (in)formal inhabitation and the re-purposing of heritage: spaces of civic re-purposing; spaces of commodification; and the spaces of occupation/refuge. I focus on inhabitation that subverts the original intent of the historic built environment and may engender socioeconomic development for the community living within. Attempting to conceptualize the historic urban landscape together with the spatio-temporal landscape and depicting the ways in which the users and inhabitants of the built environment engage with and add layers to it over time. By integrating these inhabitations with the realm of concerns when engaging with heritage, a re-reading of the city and its conservation becomes possible—one characterized by a fluid and process-based approach that arises from the local context, narratives of co-creation, and socio-political awareness.

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Figure 1. The schoolgirls at the school in the Haveli Nau Nibal Singh play in the courtyard in their break. Source: LIDAR Fish eye lens image, AKCS-P

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Preface

The following work stems from personal motivations and thus reflects opinions of my own. That motivation stems from a long term engagement with the city of Lahore and its *galliyān*, shrines, scents, sounds, monuments of varying scales and the people while studying architecture there. I also experienced an accelerated relationship with the old city during my time as a conservation architect amidst its palimpsest. During field experience helping to conserve the 16th century urban square of the Wazir Khan Mosque, I witnessed the complexities and conflicts between the conservation processes and residents and informal workers. Whilst discovering ancient skeletons and hidden temples. I navigated the bazaars facing cultural challenges and gendered societal impediments. I witnessed the challenges of negotiating the right conservation methodology for an extensive figural tile mosaic wall, the Picture Wall on the Lahore Fort balancing its UNESCO world heritage designation, the recommendations of international experts and ideologies, as well as local concerns and desires which resulted in heated debates on what to conserve and what to restore or reconstruct. The most meaningful experiences were on the ground in conversations with many of the Walled City's inhabitants, that have since become family. During this rich experience I not only learnt immensely but also reflected on certain practices and strategies that at times seemed disquieting.

It is upon reflection of inherent city processes that the (in)formal inhabitation of heritage within this city stood out as an obvious but mostly overlooked method of addressing heritage. In the usage of (in)formal I intend to indicate both informal and formal processes at work in describing inhabitation. Usage of the term informality is described as the process operating out of formalized or legal frameworks. However as is pointed out in literature of these terms, the informal and formal constitute various degrees of informality and are not necessarily discretely defined descriptions. Keeping in mind the organic nature of the city and in dealing with the hitherto informal and undocumented processes lead to informality in the methods as well as the modes of discussion at times. Finally, it is worth to point out that this proposal is not aiming to replace or discredit the varied methodologies of conservation already at play that have merits of their own in certain contexts but rather to present a contextual reading and an alternate mode that may potentially alleviate the current discord and incompatibilities of the established conceptual method and the environmental context in the site of study. This Study can potentially create a framework for use in other comparable low-income historic city contexts.

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This thesis could not be possible without the various individuals that guided me, supported me and inspired me along the way. To the various inhabitants of the Walled City to whom I dedicate my thesis; my thesis advisor James Wescoat whose sage, support and guidance were essential to the makings of this thesis; my reader Azra whose creativity and spirit was motivating; professor Bisch for sharing a wonderful consciousness; the various individuals at MIT including my administrator Cynthia whose kind support was much needed; my many friends near and far countless to list and who were a constant relief, support and inspiration and last but not least my family including my sister whose wisdom has gotten me through much of life and especially my parents who are and continue to be the foundation upon which I support myself and finally gratitude to my very kind Wali.

1. Introduction

1.1 Thesis Argument

On November 11th 2018, around 1,800 informal shops, stalls and mobile structures¹ surrounding and inhabiting the nineteenth century colonial era building known as the Empress Market in Karachi, Pakistan were demolished as a part of the government’s anti-encroachment drive. In the name of preservation, the informal environment was sanitized, restoring the historical structure to an idealized aesthetic. This event attracted nationwide attention to a nature of activity that had already been long underway, particularly as part of attempts to conserve the Mughal-era capital and historic city of Lahore. The structure was originally constructed by the British administrators to erase the memory of colonial violence against native revolt. Which lends the question: is this a recent act of aggression? What is being conserved and for whom?



Figure 2. L. Empress Market as an informal bazaar. Source: Dawn News, C. 1800 informal shops in the Empress Market destroyed overnight as part of Anti-Encroachment Drive. Source: thenews.com, R. The Colonial Era Empress Market after “preservation” Source: Dawn.com

¹ Noman Ahmed, “The ‘clean-up’ of Empress Market Doesn’t Have to Be This Way,” DAWN.COM, November 16, 2018, <https://www.dawn.com/news/1445973>.

Lahore is a place of a contradictory present composed of multiple pasts. Its non-linear time and whirlpools of varying urban conglomerates engender the co-existence of alternate realities. Amongst this tightly-knit organic urban fabric are embedded various sites of memory, formed by a collage of ethnic groups and cultural eras sedimenting onto each other, forming multitudinous stratigraphic layers and contested histories from diverse viewpoints. Palimpsestic in nature, the city is a densely populated, constantly evolving and thriving body. Having once comprised the whole city of Lahore, the Walled City today is now relegated to a corner of the multiplying urban sprawl. Like many historical inner cities, here also the city has been stratified by class, with the wealthier inhabitants having moved out as the city center shifted under colonial urban planning, now residing in modern city centers and gated communities. A social stratum composed of lower income groups is leftover, inhabiting this space.

Drastic dichotomies of the current state of the walled city render two main operatives at work. Rapid destruction, development and commercialization cause the destruction of historic buildings in favor of concrete commercial plazas, while the musealisation of heritage freezes spaces to an imagined previous point in time. This often also constitutes a complete reconstruction to recreate or preserve a specific slice of historical era. The dichotomies occur against the backdrop of numerous other heritage sites falling into abandoned ruins through sheer neglect. Historic preservation strategies if carried out apply older western charters of preservation onto this native context. Once preserved the sedimentary layers of historic architecture often transform into a commodified hollowed-out object, accessible only to the elite few, rendering heritage a capitalist venture by displaying a reconstructed facade to attract one-time touristic visitors. This enthusiastic anti-encroachment drive sanitizes the city of the organic local activity that often lends the vibrancy and character making the context unique in the first place. In such a case of dichotomous antithetical approaches to the heritage of the city, how can we identify an intermediary? As a historic city embedded with numerous heritage sites and such contesting conditions, there should be a proposal for a reevaluation of a conservation theory for the city that engages with and includes the multiple pasts and contradicting present reality.

In this thesis, the historic city itself is re-examined, re-read and re-evaluated. As with cities everywhere there are various cases of spatial recycling. The diverse states and non-states of being, embedded with the signs of sociopolitical transformation over time, portray myriad and interesting after-lives of heritage. Inhabitation of heritage with varying degrees of formality creates an unconscious political subversion of the initial intents. This sets background for my thesis aim which is to study the modes of (in)formal inhabitation of heritage over time to develop an alternative conservation approach. An inhabitation that subverts the original intent yet in certain cases engenders socioeconomic development for the community living within. By assessing the existing conservation approaches in Lahore, and addressing the impact of prior narratives on conservation practice, developing analytical typologies of inhabitation, creating an integrative narrative approach and re-thinking conservation, conceptually and contextually. To this end three typologies of inhabitation are created, outlining a few of the prominent and distinct typologies of subversive inhabitation at work in the old city. These are the Spaces of Civic repurposing, spaces of commodification and spaces of occupation/refuge. This typology allows us to navigate the dialectic of spaces of memory and spaces of commodity. The first typology includes the spaces of civic repurposing encompassing both civic and educational re-use. These include the inhabitation of imperial mansions like the Nau Nihal Singh Haveli by a girls' school; the imperial defense barricade of the city, the Delhi Gate, as a girls' school, and the informal inhabitation of the Mughal era Royal Baths by a vocational institute for underprivileged citizens. A second typology includes spaces of commodification involving commercial repurposing. An example of this is the complete restoration of the royal kitchens into an aestheticized restaurant, that are commodification by the state and on the other side there are the case studies of informal economies surviving in historic spaces. A third typology comprises spaces of occupation involving residential repurposing. These include post-partition evacuated Hindu and Jain temples that have become inhabited by local homeless families, subdividing the space into densely packed settlements. These case studies such as the re-use of a Sikh princely mansion as a public girl's school or even the various forms of the informal economy propping up deteriorating buildings ask the question of whether they can be considered conservation. Leading to who has the right to conserve? And how can spaces of heritage be used and by whom?

While the typology of case studies may represent unintentional adaptations in the practice of preservation, they may nonetheless provide a model to learn from. This may present itself as the intermediary between the drastic dichotomies at work in the historic city. Against the musealization of heritage, this could be carried out as an intentional political act. Despite the prevalence of a linear model of history, the philosophy of history itself has been contested. Where linear notions of time as consequential and identifiable sequence of events, can be challenged by ones that are non-linear much more fluid and constantly engaged with the present. This notion of linear models of history have been challenged within the Western context, therefore the conception of history and heritage is even more fluid in terms of the South Asian context. Space, place and time are in themselves relative and not fixed units, thus leading to alternate ways of conserving such built environments. The remembrance of the past is and should be not always past, but also part of an active present, thereby allowing the creation of alternative reframed meanings, memories and interpretations. In this sense the case studies presented here provide an alternative of heritage that may enhance the previous history instead of replicating it or freezing it.

Such re-use which has existed in the city provides what can be considered living heritage, one that is still a meaningful part of the present. In particular, programs that were naturally adapted in these sites can be purveyors of social sustainability and development, contributing to the well-being of the city which is threatened by both commercialization and abandonment of residents, while extending the life of these buildings and preserving them through re-inhabitation. This provides a case for a theoretical critical conservation of heritage that is both socially and politically aware, encompassing ideals of social activism. This notion of heritage has the ability to engage far more and reach the untapped potentials of choreographing spaces of heritage, with the idea of a critical conservation that has an ideological socio-political objective. That could also enable and allow for change in urban and social conditions, spaces of heritage that make possible the goals of social justice, equity, and accessibility while also thinking of a concept of historical justice. In broader terms, this thesis argues that heritage conservation and urban planning need to

be combined endeavors rather than contradictory operative frameworks. It asks the question of can heritage conserve spaces of heritage as well as help the poor?

Can this be the conservation of heritage?
Who has the right to conserve? How can spaces of heritage be used and by whom?

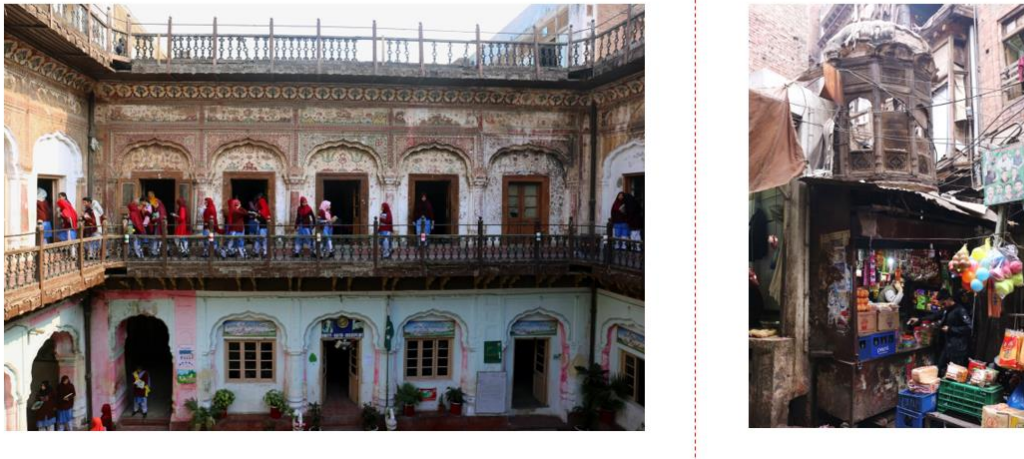


Figure 3. L. The Sikh Haveli of Nau Nihal Singh repurposed as a Girls school, R. Informal Street vendor propping up a Mughal era window. Source: Author.

1.2 Conceptual Framework

Conceptually this thesis questions static or stationary notions and definitions of what it means to conserve or preserve heritage by proving that both heritage and thus conservation claims to retain are not linear or fixed notions but in themselves relative and transformative to different spaces and people. In this sense a question is what constitutes and represents heritage, as well as what should be conserved. These questions have over time gained a wider range of possible answers, as heritage transforms from a material form to a more conceptual meaning; the tangible to the intangible,² from object to process. Heritage has moved from the idea of an authentic original to the deconstruction of authenticity itself³; from inimitable materiality to authentic

² “UNESCO - What Is Intangible Cultural Heritage?,” accessed May 22, 2019, <https://ich.unesco.org/en/what-is-intangible-heritage-00003>.

³ Falser, Michael S. 2010. "From Venice 1964 to Nara 1994: changing concepts of authenticity?" *Conservation and Preservation* / Ed. by Michael S. Falser, Wilfried Lipp, Andrzej Tomaszewski. 115-132.

replicas⁴, from physical objects to moments in the digital realm, from ancient to modernist.⁵ Heritage need also become from a relic of the past to an engagement in the present.

Besides the former, a number of questions are critical and need to be kept in mind for this reassessment. The question of what it is that merits conservation is also one of continued discourse, especially in an era when spaces and processes of heritage no longer carry single monolithic importance but multiple meanings and alternate interpretations. Historically, conservation has often also been a tool for cities and nations to construct narratives and form identities from the heritage they choose to conserve as well as the ones they choose to erase, a recurrent practice in state and ideological formation.

Another issue pertinent in this field other than “*What to conserve*” is the question of “*Conservation for whom?*” During the implementation of conservation projects, we must ask who the intended audience is, and after their completion, who the site is accessible to and who benefits from the conservation of heritage. Often the answers to these questions are not as forthcoming as one might expect given the ostensible public-oriented goals of conservation, as is the case in the monetization of heritage for the benefit of a small group of people.

Navigating to another fold in the analysis of the process of conservation, when discussing the stakeholders of conservation, we must discuss not only the beneficiaries of a heritage project, but also who administers the conservations and who is the discerning aesthete? In places where the divide between high and low-income individuals is large, this privilege and class difference is often even more pronounced. These questions shall remain embedded in the core of the understanding and arguments of this thesis.

The term **informal** or informality is often meant to those actions and activities that are usually beyond the legal structure and ownership bound by law. As well as those activities and initiatives that are initiated or created by public individuals and not the state. In architectural discourse informality can mean those

⁴ Barassi, Sebastiano. “The Modern Cult of Replicas: A Rieglian Analysis of Values in Replication.” Tate Papers Autumn 2007.

⁵ “UNESCO Adds 17 Le Corbusier Projects to World Heritage List,” accessed May 22, 2019, <https://www.dezeen.com/2016/07/19/unesco-adds-17-le-corbusier-projects-world-heritage-list/>.

structures that are often self-made by individuals, temporary and makeshift in nature reflecting the kinetic city.⁶ Defining the informal in terms of historic cities may include informal activities as those that allow for the sustenance of those essential socio-economic and socio-cultural needs otherwise not provided or suppressed by the formal sector. Essentially the fulfilling of these needs by the urban poor is a struggle for their survival.⁷ This is also denoted by the flexible, adaptable and often very effective filling of the voids left by the formal sector.

The nature of informality in the built landscape addressed in this thesis differs from informal settlements as here there is a pre-existing built environment which the informal inhabitants inhabit, adapt and utilize in subtler visual changes. Thus it is the mode of spatial inhabitation that goes beyond intended use and is manifested in the act of inhabiting with traces of changes more often in the interior than in the exterior. While the use of the term informal is contested in this thesis it replaces ‘encroachment’ a term prevalently utilized in conservation and which has a negative connotation.

The **formal** refers to those officially sanctioned or authorized, by formal inhabitations meaning those conversions and repurposing that are sanctioned by the state or law and are legal under the current administration in terms of land use and property use. In an architectural sense this can mean structures created more permanently and in relatively durable materials, and sanctioned legally. These terms are defined while understanding that neither of these two terms are discrete entities within themselves and there is a great variety of formalities and informalities in any definition of these terms. The informal is not synonymous with the poor and the formal is constantly connected with the informal, blurring a notion of boundaries.⁸ In

⁶ Rahul Mehrotra, “Negotiating the Static and Kinetic Cities: The Emergent Urbanism of Mumbai,” in *Other Cities, Other Worlds*, ed. Andreas Huyssen (Duke University Press, 2008), 205–18, <https://doi.org/10.1215/9780822389361-009>.

⁷ “Approaches to the Conservation of Islamic Cities: The Case of Cairo | ICCROM,” 82, accessed May 1, 2019, <https://www.iccrom.org/publication/approaches-conservation-islamic-cities-case-cairo>.

⁸ Roy, Ananya. 2005. "Urban Informality: Toward an Epistemology of Planning". *Journal of the American Planning Association*. 71 (2): 148.

current discourse this is also defined as urban informality that is emblematic of an organizing logic or a system that govern the process of urban transformation itself.⁹

In this thesis I use the term **Processual** to simply denote to something of or relating to processes in this case inhabitations. Where the engagements of the use/users with the spaces of heritage add new layers to the space.

By **Inhabitation** I mean the “act” of inhabiting, the spatio-temporal dimension of engagement within a space over a prolonged period of time. E.g. the various lifeworld processes including dwelling.

1.3 Methodology

As an initial idea to investigate the thesis aim of proving the relativity of heritage conservation conception from the grass-roots level, the idea was to interview the everyday inhabitants and users of the walled city to ask them about their conception of heritage and conservation. The consequent replies I received included one that was “*beti humaray paas roti nahi hai tau hum virsay ka nai soch saktey,*” which roughly translated to, “daughter we don’t have bread, so we can’t think about heritage.” Other answers were a brief response simply stating this is good, whereas mostly there was a negation of knowledge about the term. Thus formed the idea of investigating how heritage is being utilized by the public, to lend insights into alternate heritage conservation conceptions. Within a similar vein, it can also be seen that as prevalent is writing about history, the subcontinent region has a tradition of oral history and generational story-telling that is often the primary mode of the recording of history.

The modes of inhabitation of heritage in both informal and formal cases have rarely been documented or extensively written about specifically within the context of Lahore’s walled city. As such it is a historic city that still retains a wealth of scattered heritage as yet undiscovered and unidentified. In many cases the informal inhabitation of a heritage structure has been carried out by lower income refugees post-partition and recent immigrants from northern areas of Pakistan, including at times marginalized communities. In such

⁹ Nezar AlSayyad and Ananya Roy, *Urban Informality: Transnational Perspectives from the Middle East, Latin America, and South Asia* (Lexington Books, 2003).

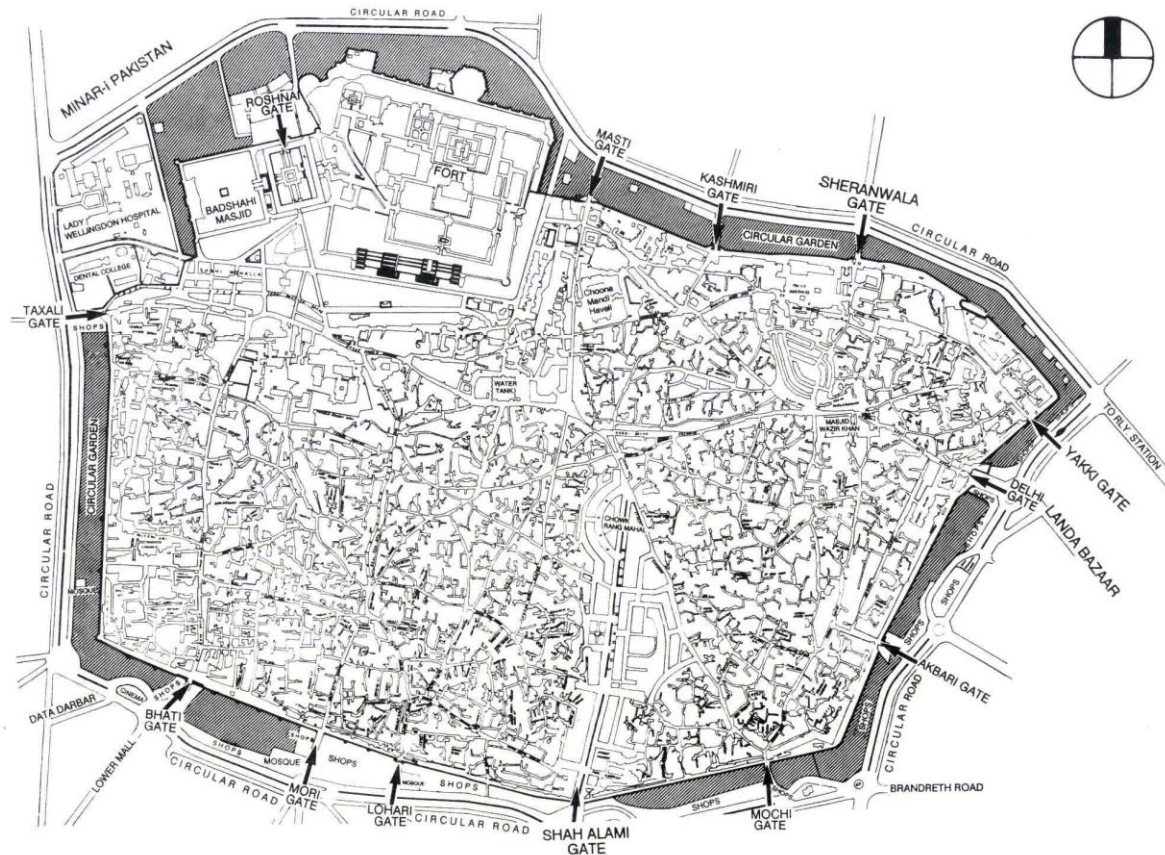
instances these groups are inhabiting these spaces without a formally recognized legal framework, and knowledge of these spaces is scarce. One of the aims of this thesis is to include voices and spaces hitherto under-represented in the discourse. With this in mind oral history becomes a vital component besides archival sources. Under these circumstances this thesis will rely on multiple methods and sources.

The varied inputs utilized here include both text and cartographic sources, namely historical and archaeological accounts of the city of Lahore, early travelogues during the colonial period, recent conservation reports from the Walled City of Lahore Authority, maps from the Punjab Archive, news reports, and legal manuals. The main methodology of this thesis however is intensive field-work. This derives from a long term engagement with the city of Lahore studying architecture there and doing projects in the Walled City. As well as personal experience and observations from working at the Aga Cultural Services Pakistan as a conservationist. I experienced an accelerated relationship with the old city during my two years from 2015-2017, amidst its palimpsest. With on field experience helping to conserve the 16th century Mughal buildings, I witnessed the complexities and conflicts between the conservation processes and the inhabitants and informal workers. This led to the research conducted during my masters in the summer and winter breaks with in-depth in person interviews with senior conservationists and prominent thinkers of Lahore, detailed interviews with the walled city's inhabitants, and numerous intensive walks and observations through the walled city. Intensive photography and videography of the spaces visited from the exterior to the interior and above, as well as some attempts at mental mapping of participants and assessing quality of life statistics, provide an additional dimension of analysis to support inferences.

To organize the various creative types of (in) formal re-use, I developed a characterization of three designated inhabitation typologies, each representative of a broad category of re-use. The characterization draws on first-hand field and work experience research; historical written sources authored by Kanhaiya Lal, S.M Latif and Thornton and others which discuss the re-use of several heritage buildings; as well as the aforementioned oral history sources including interviews with senior directors of conservation in the field as well as Walled City inhabitants.

Within the comprehensive list of such spaces discovered, visited and documented, a few case studies were selected to represent each category. The case studies focus on spaces which exhibit the greater degree of subversion of the original intent of the building, usually lending to the most pronouncedly creative and unique re-use. In particular, spaces that aid the socio-economic development of the inhabitants as well as cases of extreme of misuse represent a broad spectrum that best challenges our conceptions of (in)formality within the Walled City. The selection of these unique spaces as foils for the discussion at hand means that that these spaces are not necessarily spread out evenly in different parts of the Walled City.

The methodology adopted here involved an iterative approach, whereby the methodology itself also transformed from its conception based on actual groundwork. Initially, the research was conceptualized around choosing a specific well-known trail (such as the Bhatti Trail) as a focus point to demonstrate the existing urban differentiators of space within this historic city, i.e. the ways in which the city has been organized over time. However, even before beginning field work, historical research demonstrated the complexity of organizational typologies within the Androon Shehr's divisions: for example, the *mohallas* were different than one of the historical divisions of the city, *guzars*. The field-work and on-ground participation further complicated the issue, showing that the perception of the city by its inhabitants differs from that of planners, conservationists and tourist guides. The inhabitants do not perceive the city in terms of the major trails but in terms of the gates, galis, koochas, and other spaces that are functional to them. Interestingly, people can also constitute an element of spatial organization, as the well-known personalities of each neighborhood often demarcate spaces. Nonetheless, the major signifiers of spatial regions remain gates, a recurring denominator of all conversations with inhabitants.



2 Map of Walled City of Lahore.

Figure 3. Map of the Walled City Lahore depicting the gates, many of which are not physically remain yet are landmarks. — Source: Walled City of Lahore Monograph, PEPAC.

A great deal of on-ground participation and experiences informed this thesis. Semi-structured interviews with inhabitants uncovered local knowledge and oral histories about the spaces, their re-use and origins.

Interactions and activities, along with photographic and video-graphic documentation, allowed observations of interventions and processes of inhabitation throughout the space. Specifically, this required photographing the exterior and the interaction of the community in this context, as well as the interior of the modes of inhabitation as the inhabitants interacted with the heritage structure. To discern the conception of heritage exhibited by the walled city community, one method involved asking them to draw a mental map of the old city from their perception. These interactions with the inhabitants themselves lead to local knowledge about new places and types of re-use, and thus more spaces are informally categorized in the process. After conversations with various inhabitants they would often lead me to their suggested place through a shortcut

of intersecting winding alleys, paths that only someone who has lived in the spaces for a long time can possibly trace out. This leads to the idea that informality is not only in the ownership and modes of inhabitation, but also in the flows and networks that determine navigation at the urban scale. This study thus begins with the framing of a conceptual alternative, followed by a historiography of conservation, categorization of inhabitation into typologies, and finally an alternative framework for conservation policy.

1.4 Structure of the Thesis

This chapter includes a brief introduction of theories to set the stage for alternate conceptions and assert my thesis about the relativity of heritage. It presents the problem statement of object-based or material-oriented conservation practices that lead to fixed narratives and ideas of conservation. This involves critiquing present conservation methodologies and suggesting a consciousness towards how conservation impacts urban-scapes, outlining who benefits, as well as who decides what is conserved and how. To prove that existing definitions of heritage are not fixed, I utilize the ideas of inhabitation and relativity of heritage conservation and experience.

The second chapter begins with tracing through a history and historiography of heritage preservation theory discourse, highlighting major transformations of debates including from colonial monument and crafts debates to local projects of urban renewal and heritage conservation, postcolonial global heritage, and then finally down to meta-critiques and current thought including critical conservation and ‘right to the city’ bases. These are applied within the South Asian context, beginning with heritage as conceived and dealt with historically, followed by the advent of conservation discourse in the colonial rule, and finally the recent history of conservation projects and evaluations. These provide a nuanced perspective from early projects working towards urban revitalization and re-use to a current return of sanitization and monument focus. Finally dealing with the conceptual framework of the liquescence of conservation, by which I mean that it first dismantles stationary or solid notions of methodologies of conservation by deconstructing the arguments utilized for prevalent modes of conservation. On the forefront of this rests the concept of an identifiable specific historical period in the timeline of a heritage structure to which the place needs to be restored. This is done by showing that history as a model itself is relative and thus heritage can be more fluid in different

contexts (in addition to the questions of what is meant by the term heritage itself as a concept to different groups of people, beyond solely the content of what they wish to preserve).

The third chapter focuses the lens on introducing the city of Lahore within a macro geographical context and then presenting its Walled city and the internal dynamics at a detailed metropolitan scale. Lahore's relevant history and characteristics are presented, including the consequent eras of various cultural groups and palimpsest of layers. Furthermore, it includes primarily the shifting of the city center in colonial rule, and its subsequent impact on the change of the demographics of the walled city. The part of this chapter involves describing and analyzing the walled city and its dynamics. As the inner spatial structure of the city is unique to this context it includes various elements which are broadly the gates, *galis*, cul de sacs, *chowks* and *mohallas*. Alongside a description of the structure and tangibility, I describe the intangible characteristics of the city within a city. Further on when addressing the question of "whose walled city is it anyway", I outline the makeup of various ethnic and religious groups as well as the political context. Finally, I briefly go over the conservation history of the walled city, up to the current conservation curation and practices. This discussion leads up to the realization of conflicting dichotomies that call for an intermediary and alternate approach for conservation informed by the city itself.

This is followed by a chapter on the typology of inhabitation of heritage within the walled city, studying how the city has dealt with its own heritage. Beginning with the map of the city, envisioned through the re-use of heritage, the introduction describes typologies of inhabitation that concretely demonstrate the different processes at work in this theory. The characterization starts with spaces of civic repurposing, comprised of havelis converted into girls' schools as well as vocational institutes, or a historic gate converted into a police station. Secondly, I consider spaces of commodification or commercial repurposing, including both heritage spaces utilized by informal economies within the city as well as the upscale commodification of spaces by the government to attract high-end tourists. Finally, I turn to spaces of occupation/refuge or residential repurposing, including post-partition casualties such as temples inhabited by many refugees coming into the state. A conclusion calls for the synthesis of these typologies and an advanced typology that collapses many of these categories.

After the synthesis and collapsing of the typologies there is a detailed analysis of selected case studies, demonstrating the narratives of co-creation. Thus the consequent chapter demonstrates the possibility of an alternate approach to conservation. Written through a narrative approach of the case study, this chapter also depicts the contextual relativity of heritage, making the case for lived history and the narratives of heritage co-creation. This also provides a framework that can be applied towards other modalities of urban conservation in the South-Asian context.

This is followed by a final chapter that presents the alternate theory of conservation for imagining better possibilities by rethinking conservation conceptually and contextually. This involves engaging the present in conservation with a political awareness and repurposing and reclaiming of spaces of heritage, proposing a processual preservation approach and the dialogic dimension within it, with social equity in spaces of heritage, finally future questions and implications by the question of historical justice, creating future histories and whether conservation can conserve and help the poor.



Figure 4. Can this be called preservation?

Source: Archnet - Aga Khan Historic Cities Programme

2. History and Historiography: Liquefying Conservation

2.1 Re-purposing of Heritage and the Advent of Conservation Discourse



Figure 5. Ranjit Singh's Durbar in the Lahore Fort.

Source: <https://www.ebay.co.uk/itm/Sikh-Soldiers-Maharaja-Ranjit-Singh-atop-the-Lahore-Fort-Repro-Art-Print-7x5-/151458294545>.

2.1.1 Pre-colonial Re-purposing of Heritage: Sikh Reign (1767-1846)

At the very creation of the semblance of a city which has now transformed into Lahore as we know it, we notice the practice of a layered inhabitation modality. Beside the aggregation of Rajput mud houses in the precinct of the old fort, the first governor of the city of Lahore, Malik Ayaz (d.1522) solidified the eponymous old fort of Hindu origins and re-inhabited it¹⁰. This was a trend continued by the emperor Akbar

¹⁰ Ian Talbot and Tahir Kamran, *Colonial Lahore: A History of the City and Beyond*, 2017, p.4.

(d. 1605), who changed the material of the outer walls into red bricks.¹¹ Along with Ayaz and Akbar, the successive rulers and occupiers collectively created the chronological layers of not only the Lahore Fort, but also the walled city of Lahore. The Mughals were master builders shaping new forms into the city of Lahore, the city they built provided a palimpsest for later reigns.¹² Contradictory to notions formed in colonial as well as later local sources there was continued architectural development in the Sikh period with the difference of fewer new monuments in comparison.¹³ The creation of a large state did allow for the socio-political condition conducive for new styles of architecture to emerge¹⁴, however these began at a more stabilized state in the reign. The initial period when the Sikh rule was still establishing itself we see how many of the grand structures of the Mughal era were re-used by Maharaja Ranjit Singh and his entourage.

Before conservation as a discipline was formally created, heritage was dealt with in a manner that may be thought of as the precursor of conservation itself. While a comprehensive study of this may go far back into ancient times and beyond the scope of this thesis, for the purpose of remaining as close to the South Asian context I begin a brief history of the ways in which buildings of age or value were dealt with in Lahore by starting in the Sikh period before conservation as a field was introduced. Reuse during the Sikh era led to the survival of structures such as forts and other buildings of significance. These were able to be re-used for pragmatic purposes thus survived time and its ravages. While this phenomenon may not be unique to this context or time, it is understudied as a historical phenomenon.

After a succession of attacks from Ahmed Shah Durrani as well as the Sikhs and Marathas, the inhabited city decreased to the limits of the defensive structures within Lahore. European travelogues describe vast areas of ruin and remains of tombs, gardens and brick kilns on the outskirts of the functional city at that time.¹⁵ Thus of the early periods of Hindu and Pathan rule little remained, and it was the Mughal period that left the most

¹¹ Nur Bakhsh, "Historical Notes on the Lahore Fort and its Buildings," in *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India* (Calcutta: 1904), 218.

¹² William J. Glover, *Making Lahore Modern: Constructing and Imagining a Colonial City* (Oxford University Press, 2011), 11.

¹³ Ian Talbot and Tahir Kamran, *Colonial Lahore: A History of the City and Beyond*, 2017, p.9.

¹⁴ J. S. Grewal, *The Sikhs of the Punjab* (Cambridge University Press, 1998), 111.

¹⁵ John Lockwood Kipling and T. H. Thornton, *Lahore as It Was: Travelogue, 1860* (Lahore: National College of Arts, 2002), 145-146.

structures in the built environment.¹⁶ With comparison to built structures on the land which may have been thirty-six guzars only a portion of the city was inhabited that was estimated to about nine *guzars*¹⁷, with the rest remaining as ruins.¹⁸ During the Sikh period, Lahore remained the capital of Maharaja Ranjit Singh's new empire. The beginning of the Sikh era was a consistently turbulent period with many attacks as well as internal strife during the reign, this may have contributed to the relatively lower new construction and greater re-use.

The image of the Sikh empire of this time constructed by European travelers depicted them as barbarians with little aesthetic sense for art or architecture, not to mention a penchant for pillaging the glorious Mughal monuments of their materials and re-using them on Sikh temples. Thornton himself carries on in a similar vein yet conceded some attributes to the Sikh. Using derogatory epithets for the Sikhs like "peasant race with martial habits," he described how besides Ranjit Singh's unpolished and illiterate qualities he was in fact cognizant of architecture. He was depicted as one who, whilst "stripping the Mohammedan tombs of their marble facings" also restored the Shalimar gardens that were in ruin during the Ahmad Shah era.¹⁹

Nonetheless, Thornton suggests that besides the creation of some "unsightly temples to Shiva...and tasteless additions to the Lahore fort", he did create the Hazuri Bagh Baradari, which being the masterpiece of his reign, was characterized as representative of Sikh architecture in its "judicious spoliation and hybrid design."²⁰ The Hazuri Bagh itself was converted into the garden from its form as the Mughal caravanserai. James Wescoat describes the present iteration of it as a "Pakistani conservation of a British reconstruction of a Sikh imitation of a Mughal garden located in a space that was used as a caravanserai in Mughal times."²¹

¹⁶ Michael Herbert Fisher and William Dalrymple, *Visions of Mughal India: An Anthology of European Travel Writing* (Berkeley: I B Tauris & Co Ltd, 2007).

¹⁷ A measure of land in the Mughal period.

¹⁸ John Lockwood Kipling and T. H Thornton, *Lahore as It Was: Travelogue, 1860* (Lahore: National College of Arts, 2002), 145.

¹⁹ Ibid, 158.

²⁰ John Lockwood Kipling and T. H Thornton, *Lahore as It Was: Travelogue, 1860* (Lahore: National College of Arts, 2002), 146.

²¹ James Wescoat, "Gardens, Urbanization, and Urbanism in Mughal Lahore: 1526-1657," *Mughal Gardens: Sources, Places, Representations, and Prospects*, 141.

Broadly a lot of Mughal monuments were re-used by the Sikh king and his army. The Lahore fort was the first to be occupied, which Ranjit Singh made his residence, setting up his court in the Summer Palace and Sheesh Mahal. On his peak within the Sheesh Mahal, Ranjit Singh held receptions, displayed the Koh-I-Noor diamond and resided in the space that later became the stage for his concession of the sovereignty of the Punjab to the British government.²² The various Mughal structures in the fort were used for relatively similar functions to their original use, along with various miscellaneous contributions including a new court adjacent to the Shah Burj quadrangle.

However, in contrast to the use of the fort, the adjacent grand Badshahi mosque was used as a military magazine and stable for the horses of Ranjit Singh's army, while the 80 hujras (small rooms surrounding the courtyard) provided residence for the Sikh army. The practice of converting mosques into gunpowder factories or magazines was not limited to the Badshahi, however, and numerous mosques including the Maryam Zamani Mosque (which was used as a gunpowder factory and re-christened as the Barudkhana Wali Masjid), the mosque of Dai Anga, Naqib Wali Masjid, the mosque of Mohammed Saleh and the mosque near Nila Gumbad. A similar function was also extended for buildings such as the Golan Wali Sarae, the tomb of Ali Mardan, and similar tombs. In a Sikh era, account of history by Lala Sohan Lal Suri, the emperor Ranjit Singh was very proud of the military magazine at the Badshahi mosque which was called a *topkhana* and often visited it to inspect it. He would also take visiting *sahibs* to display the *topkhana*, eliciting responses from them of its uniqueness of scale, extolling emperor's hard work in collecting it.²³ The Lahore Fort is also mentioned as a blessed place which a visiting "Captain Sahb" is accompanied with the Sikh *Wazirs* to show and takes great pleasure in.²⁴

²² Kipling and Thornton, *Lahore as It Was*, 72.

²³ Sohan Lal Suri and Vidya Sagar Suri, *An Outstanding Original Source of Panjab History: Umdat-Ut-Tawarikh, Daftar III, Parts I-IV: Chronicle of the Reign of Maharaj Ranjit Singh, 1831-1839*. (Delhi: S. Chand, 1961), 65.

²⁴ *Ibid*, 66.

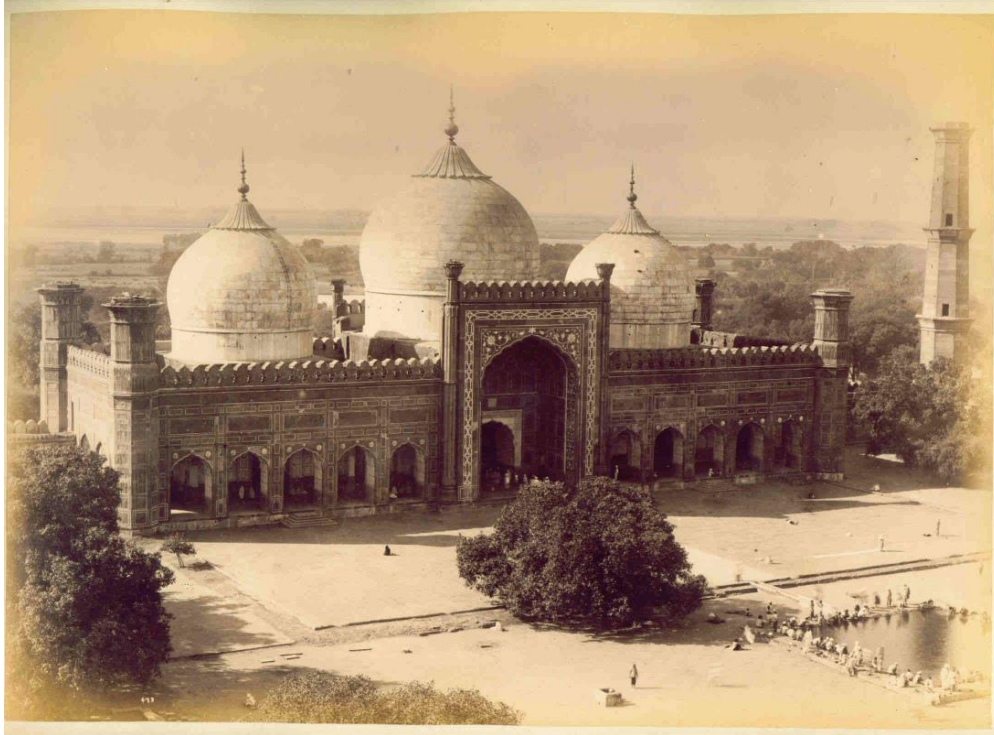


Figure 6. : Badshahi Mosque in 1880's. Source: Columbia University Website.

Later during internal strife within the Sikh empire and the resulting war, the Badshahi mosque's minarets were also used to aim guns at the Lahore Fort, and both historical monuments were significantly damaged. Such repurposing that is deemed inappropriate may be interpreted as the subjugation of the people that the ruling empire had conquered with difficulty. However, from a practical standpoint, these monuments were also ones with some of the thickest walls in the city, making them a safeguard for explosive material. While this type of reuse afflicted the majority of the Muslim religious buildings during this era, numerous Hindu temples in Lahore flourished. Thus the question arises of whether the reason for such treatment of the mosques stemmed from religious motivation or animosity. Latif believes that the Sikhs attempted to "hinduise" Muslim names, changing the name of Moti Masjid to Moti Mandir and Rasul Nagar to Ram Nagar, "to divest them of their inherent muslimness."²⁵ Latif has been proven to emulate the colonial

²⁵ Syad Muhammad Latif, *Lahore: Its History, Architectural Remains and Antiquities, with an Account of Its Modern Institutions, Inhabitants, Their Trade, Customs, & C.* (Lahore: Syed Mohammad Minhaj-ud-din, 1956), 125.

propaganda in a negative portrayal of the Sikh empire preceding them.²⁶ However, it is valid to note that the Muslims were the Sikhs' competitors to the throne.

While there were moments where the Sonehri mosque was covered with cowdung, and the *Granth* placed in it in an effort to convert it into a Gurudwara, upon the plea of a high level minister close to Ranjit Singh, the building was restored back to a mosque on the condition that the shops economically supporting the religious institution would from then on fund the Sikh *Darbar*.²⁷ While most mosques were used as magazines, many of the shrines were still venerated. These various shrines of holy Sufi saints including Baba Farid, Data Ganj Baksh and more were venerated by Ranjit Singh, the Sikhs and Hindus alike, and the ruler regularly gave money for their upkeep.²⁸ These Sufi saints would attract followers from all three religions and bring various people together. Therefore, not all Muslim monuments were converted into spaces for the military.

Another act carried out in the Sikh period was the removal of bricks from ruined structures or un-used structures and their re-use in constructing new buildings, which led to a new business of brick selling, with Kashmiri brick sellers.²⁹ This was a practice that continued in the British period, when many commentators praised this clearing out of the ruins and construction of metaled roads and new colonial settlements.³⁰ The major charge against Ranjit Singh, especially highlighted in British writings and their later imitators including Latif, was that the Sikh stripped numerous of the special Mughal monuments of their marble and precious stones and sent them to Amritsar or elsewhere to adorn Sikh temples and new structures in Lahore.³¹ Ranjit Singh adding the marble Baradari in the Hazuri Bagh facing the mosque, was charged with constructing it of marble allegedly plundered from other Muslim monuments.³²

²⁶ Banga I. 2013. "J.S. Grewal on Sikh history, historiography and recent debates". *Journal of Punjab Studies*. 20 (1-2): 301-326, 306.

²⁷ Latif, *Labore*, 222–23.

²⁸ Latif, 195.

²⁹ Ibid, 94.

³⁰ Ibid, 87.

³¹ Ibid, 144.

³² Marshall, Sir John Hubert (1906). *Archaeological Survey of India*. Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing.

Thus it can be seen that besides being mentioned for plundering the precious materials of the Mughal era structures, Ranjit Singh is also credited with restoring the grand garden of the Shahjahan period, the Shalimar garden, to something of its former glory.³³ Besides the bias of British and later Muslim historians and along with the aforementioned repair of various Sufi shrines, , these acts depicting care in the Sikh reign are also recorded. A parallel can be made with the pre-partition situation when all the still extant Hindu temples and Gurudawaras were re-used as residences for incoming refugees as part of the refugee housing crisis of the 40's and 50's. Whereas in the Sikh period the crisis was more of an unsettled military standoff at a time when the threat of war was imminent and the need for proper preparation of war was constant. In both cases practical needs were fused with the erasure of the aggressor's religion.

2.1.2 Colonial Appropriation of Heritage (1846 – 1888)

In 1849 the glorious Sheesh Mahal of the Lahore Fort was yet again chosen as the backdrop of a seminal event, in this case for the accession of the Punjab to the British empire, which would retain the city of Lahore as the capital. The British empire began to administer its hold on the province from the city's primary monument, the Lahore fort, as had the foregone rulers before them, continuing the legacy of resettlement and re-use. As William Glover notes, they were "asserting the authority to rule by physically appropriating...a previous ruler's buildings."³⁴ This symbolic act of inhabiting the most significant monuments of power legitimized their reign in the eyes of the public by forming visual connections.

While Lahore Fort had been the primary monument of the seat of power since times immemorial, under the long-arms of the British monarchy, it became synonymous with the physical presence of the British military. The imperial fort was thus transformed into a sort of military and administrative barracks, where specific structures catered to the everyday needs of the British army officers. As Thornton describes, "the stern necessities of English military life have got no reverence for the relics of departed greatness."³⁵ A variety of

³³ Glover, *Making Lahore Modern*, 12.

³⁴ Glover, 19.

³⁵ John Lockwood Kipling and T. H Thornton, *Lahore as It Was: Travelogue, 1860* (Lahore: National College of Arts, 2002), 70.

the Mughal interventions into the layered fabric of the fort were re-used, similarly to Sikh period re-purposing; for example, the Moti masjid, enjoyed continued use as the government treasury. However these monuments were now retrofitted based on the new rulers' set of cultural-religious ideologies to administrative, residential or religious purposes.³⁶

The Khwaab-gah of Shah Jahan, a place where the emperor slept and performed the custom of *darshan*³⁷ upon awaking, was converted into a garrison church.³⁸ Meanwhile, buildings in Jahangir's quadrangle were retrofitted into a dining hall and a ball room' even the traditional *chahar bagh* was turned into a tennis court for the homesick soldiers. The *hammam* became a cabinet council chamber, and was later converted into a hospital and sleeping quarters.³⁹ In other instances, parts of the fort became spaces of control, such as the royal kitchens that were compartmentalized into an interrogation and torture chamber for political prisoners. The kitchens' thick brick barrel vaulted structure provided the necessary defense needed for imprisonment. Satiating the British perspective of grandeur and befitting spatial representations of their administration as well as the Imperial empires requirement for control, the majestic and monumental Mughal structures proved to be suitable spaces of colonization. Most of the historic buildings chosen for re-use by the British dated from the Mughal era, ostensibly due to their echoing an architectural grandeur in the Anglo-European mind.⁴⁰ In this way the British were able to appropriate the highly symbolic visual icons of their predecessors. Tombs also fit this description well, as the governor's house was built encircling the tomb of Muhammad Kasim khan. Muhammad had been a cousin of emperor Akbar; his tomb was a space that had earlier been occupied as Khushial Singh's residence in the Sikh period, and then later by the British officer Sir Henry Lawrence for public offices.⁴¹ In this case the classical Mughal tomb became appropriated as a domed dining room, formed

³⁶ Ibid, 14.

³⁷ A Hindu custom of an opportunity for the auspicious sighting of a holy person or image of a deity is emulated by the Mughals to instill the divinely appointed authority of the Mughal King and allow for his viewing by his subjects.

³⁸ Ibid, 70.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Glover, *Making Lahore Modern*, 19.

⁴¹ Ibid, 97

from the upper part of the tomb itself. While Kasim Khan's subterranean burial chamber became the kitchen of the Governor's house, the sarcophagus served as a chopping board.⁴²

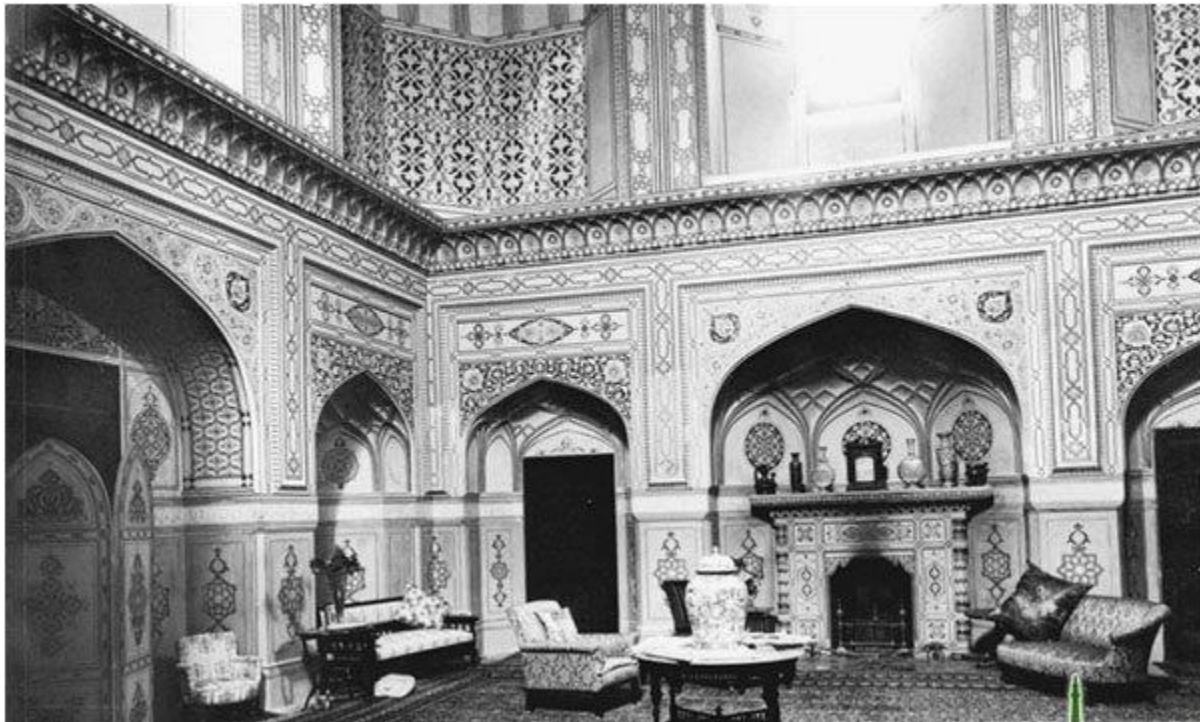


Figure 7. The dining room of the Governor's House in Lahore in 1870, which is Kasim Khan's Tomb. Source: *The Friday Times*.

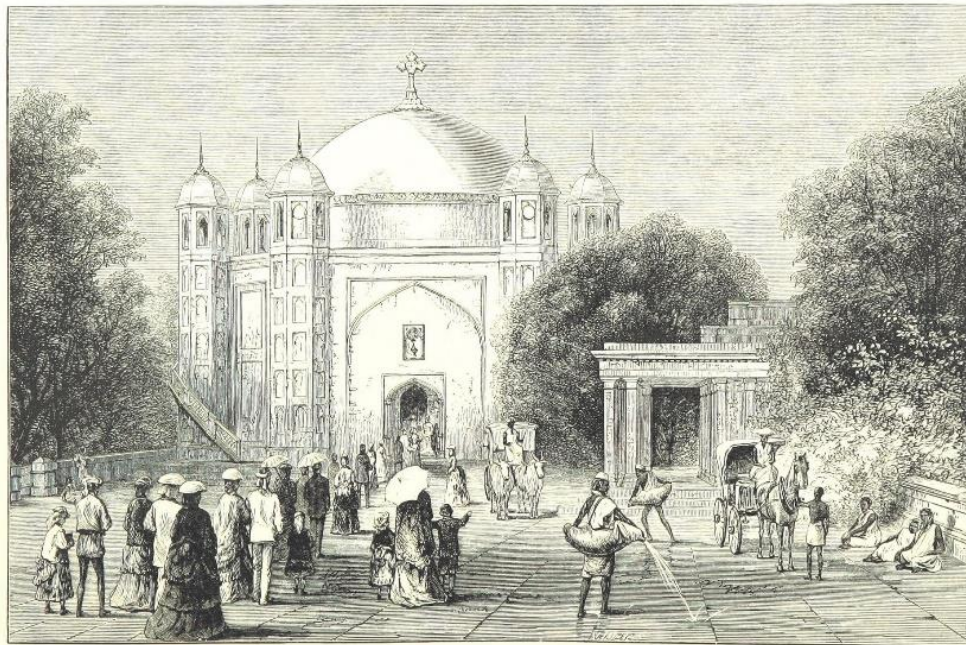
One of the most iconic monuments had several afterlives with appropriations that continue to date. This was the tomb of a noble woman named Sharif un-Nissa in Shah Jahan's period, more commonly known as 'Anarkali' (Pomegranate Blossom) and forever captured in the popular imagination as Jahangir's infamous tragic lover, with a play by Imtiaz Ali Taj of the same name.⁴³ The enshrinement of this monument in the popular imagination was reinforced by its role in the legend of Anarkali's death: the immurement of a beautiful woman of royalty or entangled within. At first the great white tomb served as offices and residence, but soon was converted for a function deserving of its stature and became the primary Anglican church of Lahore, formally consecrated as the St. James Church in 1857.⁴⁴ One should also note that the conversion of

⁴² Ashley Jackson, *Buildings of Empire* (OUP Oxford, 2013), 6.

⁴³ Taj, Syed Imtiaz Ali. 1989. *Anarkali*. Lahore: Sang e Meel.

⁴⁴ Henry Raynor Goulding and T. H Thornton, *Old Lahore: Reminiscences of a Resident* (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 2006), 12.

these historic spaces for their new functions was a cost-effective mechanism for the new governors of the occupied territory. Simple alterations such as replacing Anarkali's marble cenotaph with wooden pews compensated for the lack of capital and labor that would be needed to construct a new building. In 1891 the structure was once again retrofitted into a document repository for the Civil secretariat, and continues to house the Punjab archive until today.⁴⁵



MUHAMMEDAN TOMB, TRANSFORMED INTO A PROTESTANT CHURCH.—SUNDAY AT LAHORE.

[Page 147.]

Figure 8. Anarkali's Tomb as St. James Church. - Source: J. Duguid letters from India and Kashmir.

Power, though perhaps the strong underlying motivator, was not the sole one, and pragmatic concerns along with economical ones dominated the utilization of heritage at this time as well. This was a period when the later consciousness regarding the importance of archaeological findings had not yet become normalized. The vast ruins of the city beyond the walls were deconstructed, and historic bricks were re-used in road making, ballast for railways and new constructions, similarly to what occurred in Sikh times.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ Kipling and Thornton, *Labore as It Was*, 97.

⁴⁶ Kipling and Thornton, 24.

However, as the colonial rulers became more engaged with their native subjects, they gradually become more conscious of political influence and appearance. It was actually a local native group called the Anjuman – Islamia that first raised funds to repair the Badshahi mosque and restore the shops attached to the Sonehri mosque from Sikh aggressions.⁴⁷ Religious sentiment inspired these local organizations to petition for the restoration of the ‘desecrated’ mosques, including the Badshahi mosque, back to their original function, along with necessary repairs to these historic structures. While it took some convincing, the British eventually acceded. This was later noted in their records, as well as those of anglicized historians like Latif, as evidence of their benevolence: saving and restoring the Muslim sacred sites from the Sikh rule’s aggressions on them.⁴⁸

Yet in contrast, and as a consequence to the 1857 native revolt there emerged a greater push towards colonial constructions with the potential to be used as defensive structures. The most prominent example is the Lahore Railway station, designed to be used as refuge for the colonial rulers in the specific event of a native revolt. The station resembled a medieval fortress, complete with battered defensive walls, arrow slits and crenellated towers. The new railway station was also sited in a location that Robert Montgomery notes was previously “marked only by memorials of Muhammadan bigotry and Sikh fanaticism.”⁴⁹ Uncovering the British politics of erasure, we can compare this move to the construction of the Empress market in Karachi, which was created to prevent natives from conducting memorials for native individuals who had been beheaded on that site by the British due to their participation in the revolt, thereby erasing the memory of the mutiny.

Religious buildings were also converted into a variety of different functions of British use. After serving as the residence of a British Officer R. Temple, the 1621 Mosque of Dai Anga, near the newly-erected railway station, became the office of the chief engineer of railways.⁵⁰ Nearby, the tomb of Nawab Bahadur Khan was retrofitted into a theatre to entertain the officers. However, after these radical appropriations, around a

⁴⁷ Ian Talbot and Tahir Kamran, *Colonial Lahore: A History of the City and Beyond*, 2017, 33, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780190642938.001.0001>.

⁴⁸ Latif, *Lahore*, 87,107.

⁴⁹ Robert Montgomery, *Ancient Lahore: A Brief Account of the History and Antiquities of Lahore* (Lahore: Gautam, 1995), 111.

⁵⁰ Kipling and Thornton, *Lahore as It Was*, 90.

decade later the Colonial administrations shifted policy focus and geared itself toward ruling through amendments in the education system and establishing Anglo-European institutions in the urban setting. Initially, it had been a local organization called Anjuman-I-Punjab that initiated the installation of the first school and college in historic Sikh havelis by founding the oriental college and district school in 1865, the Haveli Dhian Singh.⁵¹ The British continued this practice and re-used Sikh havelis for various government schools. As they gained a firmer grip in governance, they begin the colonial era project of urban development in this historic city.

2.1.3 Conservation as a Discipline: Colonial Surveys & Listing (1888 – 1947)

During this period, updates in British urban theory connected the state of the built environment with the moral aptitude of the citizens within. After a significant amount of writing on the poor conditions of the native population and descriptions of the walled city as a hotbed of disease, the Public Works Department initiated a vast public health and sanitization campaign, followed by a full-scale measure of new and improved urban development. As the hotbed of disease, the Walled City of Lahore, was dismissed as a suitable urban environment to live in. Thus the new urban development involved shifting the old city center and creating a new one in a form that was more suitable to the Anglo-European utopic ideals of a city. While this took place, migration of wealthier inhabitants continues from the walled city to newer, regularized centers.

After the early periods of adventurism and travelogues introducing the subcontinent to European audiences, more sustained research and study of the antiquities of greater India begins lending itself to antiquarianism. Antiquarianism, as the predecessor of the field of archaeology, was also essentially the study of the relics of the past with a more scientific lens. In this initial period the sporadic digging up of ancient sites by self-motivated collectors, profiteers or even missionaries often led to the removal of local valuable antiquities to the west. Even respected antiquarians like Sir Colin Mackenzie were reported to have extracted fine sculptural reliefs from Amaravati back to England in 1816. The home department from 1868 recorded in the archive

⁵¹ Kipling and Thornton, 58.

that, “Mr. Wilson the sub-collector tells me that he visited Omrawuttee, and that nearly every sculpture has been dug out. Some are said to have been sent to England and some are in the library at Bezwada.”⁵²

This however eventually led to more rigorous scholarship with a shift from treasure hunting to scientific research. In 1784 the Asiatic society was created in Calcutta under Sir William Jones along with 30 other European antiquarians.⁵³ Across greater India, repairs to old monuments including the Taj Mahal and Fatehpur-Sikri were sparsely sanctioned by individuals starting in the early 1800s. While there existed some private funds for the repairs of historic monuments, during the term of Lord William Bentinck there also emerged a proposal to demolish the Taj Mahal and auction its marble. It took until 1861 for the government to create the Archaeological Survey of India (ASI), covering a majority of the subcontinent, and appoint Alexander Cunningham as the lead Archaeological surveyor. This was done in the context of the transfer of power from the East India company to the British crown, accompanied by a sudden realization and re-evaluation of the ill-treatment by earlier generations of India’s historic monuments.⁵⁴ 1863 also witnessed the passing of the Act (XX) lending the government power to “to prevent injury to and preserve buildings remarkable for their historical or architectural value.”⁵⁵

Emerging from its beginnings as antiquarianism in the enlightenment era, archaeology represented a conversion and formalization of the practice into a science. Archaeology then formed part of the toolkit used by the imperial empire to study the foreign and exotic lands of indigenous people. Many contemporary scholars argue that far from being an objective science, archaeology was consistently utilized for imperialist agendas and attitudes. As stated by Himanshu Ray, The European models used for historical and religious development and conservation practices in particular were of lasting damage to the development of Indian

⁵² Archaeological survey of India, Gautam Sengupta, and Abha Narain Lambah, *Custodians of the Past 150 Years of the Archaeological Survey of India* (New Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India, Ministry of Culture, Government of India, 2012), 19.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Ibid, 31.

⁵⁵ Archaeological survey of India, Sengupta, and Lambah, *Custodians of the Past 150 Years of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 10.

archaeology post-independence.⁵⁶ The discipline was similarly touted as the most empirical and evidenced based survey; archaeology was presented as a precise science. Beginning with travelogues and engravings that conveyed to the empire back home the histories of the other, archaeology as a science required the accurate recording and documentation of ancient sites. Thus began the period of extensive archaeological surveys by the British administration.

In its initial decade the aim of the ASI remained archaeological investigation through excavations and recording, whereas building repairs came under the responsibility of the engineers of the public works department. While the ASI was suddenly suspended five years after its creation, the government passed a resolution on the conservation of ancient monuments enlisting the inclusion of a briefing on archaeology in every annual administration report. A decade later the Secretary of State issued a directive making the care of historical monuments the duty of all local governments and changed the focus from archaeological excavation to architectural documentation and preservation. In 1871 the ASI was reinstated with Cunningham returning as the Director General and setting the basis for the introduction of the concept of national monuments.⁵⁷ This was a period of a focus on the survey of monuments, with an emphasis primarily on their listing and documentation. Documentation transformed with the advancement of technology and from etchings, paintings and drawings the mediums of photography were introduced. With a monument based approach these entities were posed as reliable document of the past, and as part of empirical knowledge untainted by the floriated historical accounts of the native historians. Mrinalini Rajagopalan points out, that the colonial administrator's primary motivations to preserve India's heritage included, "the ignorance and lethargy of Indians towards their own heritage," and Lord Curzon echoes this in stating that "while the public in western countries could be entrusted with caring about their own heritage, Indians had neither the foresight nor the facility to protect their own heritage."⁵⁸ These surveys then in turn also affected the local

⁵⁶ Ray, Himanshu Prabha. 2008. *Colonial archaeology in South Asia: the legacy of Sir Mortimer Wheeler*. Delhi: Oxford University Press, 5-10.

⁵⁷ Archaeological survey of India, Sengupta, and Lambah, *Custodians of the Past 150 Years of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 10.

⁵⁸ Rajagopalan, Mrinalini. 2017. *Building Histories: The Archival and Affective Lives of Five Monuments in Modern Delhi*, 7.

histories and accounts during the British Raj, with authors like Maulvi Nur Buksh, Kannahya Lal and Sayyed Ahmed Khan among the native historians writing architectural history. However, amongst them, Maulvi Nur Baksh tended to followed earlier native traditions of writing, which the British officer commissioning him reportedly found odd.

These developments led up to the formal creation of the post of curator of ancient monuments, filled by Henry Hardy Cole in 1881.⁵⁹ Duties entailed supervision and creation of systematic policy of conservation, as well as protection of celebrated and important historic national archaeology and architecture defined as principal monuments. Besides undertaking the herculean task of the documentation of all of India's prime monuments, H. H. Cole also made significant contributions in conceptualizing and defining a conservation methodology for the region. Cole became an advocate for in-situ preservation, remarking that despite the temptation to carry out original treasures from India (similar to the Elgin marbles and Egypt's treasures), such behavior should not be appropriate for Indian monuments.⁶⁰ Cole also laid out a comprehensive definition of conservation before the Venice Charter itself was rolled out, preserved in his "Memorandum on the Conservation of ancient and other architectural remains in India." He suggested that conservation itself was the most comprehensive term to encompass all methods and criteria for preserving works of art, covering all of the concepts of custody, preservation, restoration and illustration.⁶¹ He was deeply engaged in the context of Lahore, and his work and impact resounded in conservation efforts to the present day. Cole also made the case for the creation of an architecture division within the ASI that he recommended could leverage the Mayo School of Arts in Lahore. This school founded by John Lockwood Kipling, initiated as a technical crafts institute for native individuals to be skill-trained, was a major player in the fate of consequent architecture and

⁵⁹ For detailed discussion see, Dutta, Arindam. 2007. *The bureaucracy of beauty: design in the age of its global reproducibility*. New York: Routledge. <http://public.eblib.com/choice/publicfullrecord.aspx?p=282802>.

⁶⁰ Henry Hardy Cole. 1900. *Preservation of national monuments, India Meynar*, 11, **quoted in** Archaeological survey of India, Sengupta, and Lambah, *Custodians of the Past 150 Years of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 10., 36.

⁶¹ *Ibid*, 37.

art education.⁶² Thus there was a strong colonial impact on architecture and art education, seen especially in the creation of this institute and its aims.

To the first report on the preservation of national monuments in India, H. H. Cole also attached a descriptive damage analysis of various prime monuments throughout India.⁶³ The analysis described their material damage, general character, measures to be taken for repair, their current and recommended custody by the government, state of preservation, possibility of restoration, and any available photographs and drawings and plans. Within this it can be noted that Cole is critical of the military use of the structures of the Lahore fort and other prime monuments, as he immediately orders their clearance and evacuation and restoration to the previous state.⁶⁴ However, and crucial to this thesis, his theory of conservation also includes restoration and removal of encroachments for proper sanitized display of buildings. Cole recommends that these structures be fenced in and that, "they be kept up solely as show places and as the only means of perpetuating some of the most beautiful and interesting specimens of Lahore Imperial Mogul art."⁶⁵ Ranjit Singh is also implicated as a looter of the precious materials of various monuments, and Cole describes the various structures that have been stripped of their materials.⁶⁶ He outcries the 'occupation' of the Sarai near Jahangir's Tomb by railway employees and their families which he says is "an evil which has caused, and is still causing unceasing and cruel destruction."⁶⁷ His conceptions of conservation also match the Anglo-European concepts that were unravelling in the western hemisphere at that time. Citing usage as a major cause for damage to architectural buildings as well: in the case of the Wazir Khan Mosque and the Badshahi mosque, he highlights

⁶² For more reference see, Catherine Arburthnott et al., *John Lockwood Kipling: Arts and Crafts in the Punjab and London*, ed. Julius Bryant and Susan Weber (New York : New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017), and Tahir Kamran, "Lockwood Kipling and Establishment of Mayo School of Arts," accessed May 22, 2019, https://www.academia.edu/19448507/Lockwood_Kipling_and_establishment_of_Mayo_School_of_Arts.

⁶³ Cole, Henry Hardy. 1882. *Preservation of national monuments: ... report of the Curator of Ancient Monuments in India for the year*. Simla: Govt. Central Branch Press. Appendix H. iii.-Lists., lii.

⁶⁴ Cole, Henry Hardy. 1882. *Preservation of national monuments: ... report of the Curator of Ancient Monuments in India for the year*. Simla: Govt. Central Branch Press. Appendix T., clxxxvii.

⁶⁵ *Ibid*, Appendix H, xxiv.

⁶⁶ *Ibid*, xxi.

⁶⁷ *Ibid*, xxii.

the “great damage done by the natives who use the mosque.”⁶⁸ describing the inherent tendencies towards preservation in the colonial rule. He also demonstrates a constant desire for British custody of many of these ancient and architectural buildings as he enlists them, elsewhere voicing his concern of Dravidian temples being in the possession of natives.

During the latter part of the 19th century, the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act was passed under Lord Curzon, which remained un-amended until 2010.⁶⁹ Native historians that gained prominence were also writing architectural histories with a similar approach of listing and monument-centric approaches. Syad Muhammad Latif’s 1892 *Lahore: its history, architectural remains and antiquities* included an account of its modern institutions, inhabitants, and their trade and customs, remaining a seminal volume on the architecture of Lahore. However, it can be seen that the author often imitates colonial narratives of the history of architecture. The beginning of the 20th century saw various other prominent figures, especially in the conservation of Indian monuments, effectuating the heritage of Lahore. John Marshall was one such person, who as the director general of archaeology modernized the approach further and helped supervise the discovery of the Indus Valley cities and Buddhist sites including Taxila. These constituted discoveries that garnered world-wide attention and remain iconic sites in universal world history. Marshall published a conservation manual setting the methodology for conservation, providing detailed instructions and specifications for the care and conservation of monuments with the scientific accuracy and empirical truth of a technical and structural approach.⁷⁰

For the influence on the development of conservation in India, it is important to note the beginnings of it in Britain and the dominant schools of thought that influenced individuals like H. H. Cole, Lord Curzon and John Marshall (among others): the individuals in whose hands were the fate of India’s built environment, the people surrounding it and the consequent models of how to deal with it. The formal institution of the

⁶⁸ Cole, Henry Hardy. 1882. *Preservation of national monuments: ... report of the Curator of Ancient Monuments in India for the year*. Simla: Govt. Central Branch Press. Appendix H. iii.-Lists., lii.

⁶⁹ Archaeological survey of India, Sengupta, and Lambah, *Custodians of the Past 150 Years of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 12, 37.

⁷⁰ Marshall, John. 2014. *Conservation manual: a handbook for the use of archaeological officers and others entrusted with the care of ancient monuments*. Delhi: B.R. Pub. Corp

practice and discipline of conservation itself may have arrived in 19th century Britain. The definition of heritage conservation at this time may be broadly defined as an endeavor that attempts to conserve buildings/artifacts of historical importance for posterity. A movement however that can be viewed in the context of the modernist movement, a reaction to the latter as well as a combination of scientific advancement leading to the discovery of many ancient archaeological sites. This reaction however presented a dichotomy of conservation theory often in contradiction and heated debate with the other. The dominant preservation being a state to simply preserve an object of heritage in whatever state it is to save it from further loss of form or identity. This most notable proponents of this theory included John Ruskin and later William Morris.⁷¹ The alternative theory was one of restoration of how a historic building can be restored to its original glory with the possibility of completing the ‘incomplete’ structure using new materials, techniques and design. French architect, Viollet le Duc, pioneered this and also suggested at times that the prior building can be enhanced at times he suggested the removal of later additions of interventions whilst himself creating new additions primarily to a designer’s aesthetics.⁷² While these concepts were contradictory they both led to an inevitable idea of an identifiable specific moment of history that should be preserved or restored, the authentic historical moment. Camilo Boito reconciled these theories to a degree later, and his conceptualization continues to be followed.⁷³ However, neither of these theories reconcile heritage with use, whereas the concept of tradition and heritage passed on from generation to generation can be seen quite prevalently in the South Asian context. For example, an heirloom would carry with it an expectation to be worn, re-used and functional while still constituting a part of tradition. These early conservation ideas and movements later transformed into globalized concepts in the post-war and post-partition era.

2.2 Post-colonial Conservation: Institutions and Projects

⁷¹ Ruskin, John. 1874. *The seven lamps of architecture: with illustrations, drawn and etched by the author*. New York: J. Wiley & Sons.

⁷² Dupont, Jacques. 1970. "Viollet-le-Duc and restoration in France". *Historic Preservation Today*. 3-22.

⁷³ Boito, Camilo. 1883. *First Charter of Restoration*. III Conference of Architects and Civil Engineers of Rome.

2.2.1 Partition and Independence: State of Destruction and Emergency Re-use (1947- 1975)

In 1947, new borders were laid out overnight dividing land in the partition of India. The contested city of Lahore, contested from either side, found itself on the side of the newly created Pakistan. Pakistan was conceived under the two-nation theory as an independent country composed of the Muslim-majority areas of what was formerly British India. In the initial panic of inhabitants determining which side of the border they belonged too, a wave of anger and animosity hit the cities, and violent riots followed. Lahore's location on the border of the new state made it particularly vulnerable to all forms of violence. Millions migrated to either side of the border, in what would be the greatest mass migration in history. Beyond the merciless massacre, rape and abductions committed by each ethnic group of the other, British India's cities endured violence, destruction and arson. While Sikhs and Hindus killed Muslims and Muslims killed Sikhs and Hindus in a mutual genocide, they simultaneously destroyed and desecrated each other's neighborhoods and the associated built environment.

During the partition the area of Shah Alami, a predominantly Hindu neighborhood in the Walled city, was razed to the ground.⁷⁴ Various remnants of the historical legacy of the Hindu parts of the old city were incinerated along with it. As Lahore became part of the new Islamic republic, a huge exodus of the former Sikh and Hindu population left behind their havelis, temples, shops and institutions. This was coupled with a corresponding mass influx of Muslim refugees from throughout the rest of India. Those who did not have relatives with whom they could settle sought refuge in the plethora of abandoned Hindu and Sikh properties. The disenfranchised refugees often found refuge in abandoned buildings of the conflicting religion which played out inversely on both sides. The new occupants of these abandoned properties were later granted ownership in whole or in part of the buildings they had settled in, often based on claims and documents of property they left behind before migrating. These rights were formalized in the Displaced Persons (Compensation and Rehabilitation) Act, 1958 (XXVIII of 1958), or the Displaced Persons (Land Settlement) Act, 1958 (XLVII of 1958). The incoming Muslim refugees not only filled the voids of space but also

⁷⁴ Talbot, Ian. 2007. *Divided cities: partition and its aftermath in Lahore and Amritsar*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 44-45.

replaced absences left in trades and skilled work, such as metalwork and jewelry, that had previously been dominated by the departed religious groups.⁷⁵ The historic city's evacuee property was less favored compared to the larger bungalows beyond it and thus served as shelter for the poorest immigrants. However, these were also the results of a housing crisis in which the hastily created state was not equipped for unexpected events of such magnitude. As refugees restarted their lives from scratch, there was once again an increase in the re-use of existing buildings for makeshift shops and workshops. The evacuated Hindu and Sikh properties were termed 'evacuee property' and eventually came under The Evacuee Trust Properties Act many years later.



Figure 9. Inner City after the partition. – Source: LIFE Magazine

The Lahore Improvement Trust (LIT) was left to tackle the city's destruction and drastic housing shortage. By 1950 a resolution called the Punjab Development of Damaged Areas Act of 1952 allowed the LIT to propose redevelopment and reconstruction plans for the devastated areas. The LIT as a colonial era

⁷⁵ Ševčenko, Margaret., Makhdum, Rashid., Pakistan Environmental Planning & Architectural Consultants, Metropolitan Planning Wing (Lahore Development Authority), & Sustainable Development of the Walled City of Lahore. 2009. *The Walled City of Lahore*, 16.

development trust was seemingly unequipped to handle these unprecedented changes.⁷⁶ The state-sponsored redevelopment plan involved the creation of commercial markets to generate revenue and solve an urban issue that was then and continues to be controversial, namely that of private encroachments in bazaars and public spaces. In the emergency state, the economy, industry capacity building and infrastructure were of the utmost concern to keep a seemingly unstable country afloat. Thus, development plans involved medium-rise, low-density commercial areas with office development on wider roads for vehicular access into the old city. This was in direct contrast to the prior urban character of the old city with its winding alleyways and organic growth. To accommodate this in part, they also created pedestrian markets of denser rows with smaller shops, in an expectation of formally integrating the informal markets.⁷⁷

The creation of these new development typologies introduced a new style and scale into the old city, specifically one similar to the model of colonial planning beyond the old city, but in a neighborhood that had previously consisted of residential areas. Due to flexible building laws, expansion and extension of this market carried out mostly unchecked. Since the wider avenue allowed for vehicular access, the transport of goods flowing to and from the markets became easier. All these factors contributed to the rapid conversion of land use through increasingly intense commercialization. Various similar redevelopment interventions were carried out in other areas. However, a few new interventions encountered unexpected hindrances, such as the Pakistan cloth market, which stayed vacant for two decades owing to its incongruence in scale, texture and design compared to the context into which it was inserted in and replacing.⁷⁸

In the backdrop of these attempts at progression and modernization through urban revitalization were broader attempts to solidify and shape the identity of the new country. Formulated by its founder Muhammad Ali Jinnah as a country equal for all minorities, Pakistan was necessarily a product of the

⁷⁶ For further development, Hala Bashir Malik, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and Department of Architecture, *“Enabling and Inhibiting Urban Development: A Case Study of Lahore Improvement Trust as a Late Colonial Institution”* (2014).

⁷⁷ Ševčenko, Margaret., Makhdum, Rashid., Pakistan Environmental Planning & Architectural Consultants, Metropolitan Planning Wing (Lahore Development Authority), & Sustainable Development of the Walled City of Lahore. 2009. *The Walled City of Lahore*, 17.

⁷⁸ Ibid, 17.

circumstances of partition and the basis of division along religious lines that created it. While the country was created first as a dominion, with West Pakistan and East Pakistan (modern day Bangladesh), its dominion status ended in 1956 with the creation of the Islamic republic of Pakistan, officially a nation built on religious identity. Pakistan as an Islamic Republic underwent nation-building on the basis of a Muslim identity that increasingly shaped its customs, cultural traditions, literature and textbooks. One of the primary literary magazines begun in 1948 by Ahmed Nadim Qasmi, called *Naqoosh*, aired the views and sentiments of the new citizens. The *Naqoosh* printed a special edition in 1962 called Lahore Number, which talked about the political, cultural, religious and literary history of Lahore. In the special edition, local writers wrote about the history of the city after the change of state post-partition. As a collection of authors, the opinions were varied yet in whole depicted a narrative style reflecting on past Mughal traditions.

After a period of political instability, war with India and an economic downturn, democratic rule resumed from 1972 to 1977. Beginning with the rule of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, this era witnessed increasing self-consciousness, intellectual leftism, nationalism, and nationwide reconstruction, all still replete with its fair share of controversy and conflict. Ayesha Jalal describes Bhutto as essentially a populist leader. When Bhutto set about rebuilding Pakistan, he stated his intention was to "rebuild confidence and rebuild hope for the future."⁷⁹ It is in this period that various government institutions entrusted with heritage were created, and many of these still remain as key stakeholders of heritage management in the Walled City of Lahore.

Specifically, 1975 saw the formation of various urban management and development authorities in an aim to effectively deal with the new states' problems that emanated from the chaos of partition and had never been properly dealt with. The Provincial Assembly of Punjab passed an act called "The Lahore Development Authority Act, 1975 (Act XXX of 1975)" to constitutionally establish the Lahore Development Authority out of the colonial era institution, the LIT. This Authority was created with the aim of establishing a comprehensive system of metropolitan planning and development in order to improve the quality of life in Lahore, that is "to establish an integrated metropolitan and regional development approach and a continuing

⁷⁹ Ayesha Jalal, *The Struggle for Pakistan* (Harvard University Press, 2014), 179.

process of planning and development, to ensure optimum utilization of resources, economical and effective utilization of land and to evolve policies and programmes relating to the improvement of the environment of housing, industrial development, traffic, transportation, health, education, water supply, sewerage, drainage, solid waste disposal.”⁸⁰ Interestingly some of the main themes proposed were the preparation of housing schemes, beautification and ejection of unauthorized occupants, setting the direction of the institutions’ energies and efforts towards shaping Lahore into the city it is today, a city of large gated communities and urban villages. The LDA was created due to the failure of the LIT to deal with the crises that arose out of the partition including a housing problem. Essentially it was a corporate body to generate revenue, as the older model was not profitable enough. Consequently, it operated in a similar business fashion especially in the Walled City where as previously discussed, the Shah-Alami area that razed to the ground was developed by the LIT into a commercial area. The same trend of commercialization was continued by the corporate body that was LDA. Essentially never fully addressing the issue of low-income housing, it was a continuation of the disenfranchisement of the poor.

Besides the LDA another institution was created in 1975 that impacted the heritage of the walled city and continues to play a key role to this day. The Displaced Persons (Compensation and Rehabilitation) Act, 1958, also known as the Displaced Persons (Land Settlement) Act, 1958 lent itself to the creation of a new act in 1975⁸¹. The Management & Disposal – Act No. XIII of 1975 established the Evacuee Trust Property Board. This was an institution created to provide for the management and the disposal of evacuee properties attached to charitable, religious or educational trusts or institutions.⁸² Essentially it took care of all of the Hindu and Sikh properties left behind, many of which were now starting to be considered as valued sites of heritage. The Evacuee Trust, however, has consistently been accused of neglect and misuse of the Hindu-Sikh heritage they possess.

⁸⁰ “The Lahore Development Authority Act, 1975,” accessed April 24, 2019, <http://punjablaws.gov.pk/laws/308.html>.

⁸¹ “THE PUNJAB WAQF PROPERTIES ORDINANCE, 1979,” accessed April 25, 2019, <http://punjablaws.gov.pk/laws/336.html>.

⁸² “Management & Disposal – Act No. XIII Of 1975 | Evacuee Trust Property Board (ETPB),” accessed April 24, 2019, <https://www.etpb.gov.pk/management-disposal-act-no-xiii-of-1975/>.

However, while the LDA and Evacuee Trust were more secular institutions, in 1979 a third regulatory body was formalized out of a prior form of land management. This was during the rule of the infamous military dictator, Zia Ul Haq, who is credited with the increased ‘Islamisation’ of the country. His rule also had a direct effect on increasing the power of government over land management. The Auqaf and Religious Affairs Department was created out of the previous Auqaf, managing the *waqf* system based on a historic land management system developed in early modern Islamic empires and established in the area by the Mughals. The Waqf system and the Auqaf were previously present but under the management of a voluntary local organization.⁸³

Based on “a constitutional obligation of an Islamic state to bring about improvement in the administration and management of Waqf, Auqaf Organization was constituted as legal entity through the Punjab Waqf Properties Ordinance, 1979.”⁸⁴ The act was described as “an Ordinance to provide for the proper management and administration of waqf properties in the Province of the Punjab.”⁸⁵ The act bestowed upon the Auqaf the power to possess property that is termed with Islamic use, as well as administer the sale, transfer, registration and evictions regarding the same. The act placed the administration of mosques, shrines and other religious institutions under the control of the Chief Administrator of Auqaf, Punjab. Thus many of the city’s historic monuments still in use, including the Badshahi Mosque – for which they were responsible for management and repairs – came under the Auqaf’s purview.

Officially the cultural heritage of the region came under the care of the Federal Department of Archaeology & Museums. Due its expansive role it was difficult for the Federal Department to deal with all of the county’s heritage. Only a small unit for the conservation of Punjab’s heritage was being operated within the Auqaf department after 1971. Due to the difficulties faced by the only Federal Department of Archaeology & Museums in preserving and protecting all of the nation’s heritage effectively, the provinces were enlisted to

⁸³ “History | Punjab Portal,” accessed April 27, 2019, https://www.punjab.gov.pk/a_and_ra_history.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ “THE PUNJAB WAQF PROPERTIES ORDINANCE, 1979,” accessed April 24, 2019, <http://punjablaws.gov.pk/laws/336.html>.

create their own respective Archaeology departments echoing the historical controversy of the creation of Department of Archaeology circles. The Punjab Government established its Directorate of Archaeology in 1987 under the Information, Culture and Youth Affairs Department. “Punjab Special Premised Preservation Ordinance 1985” was the legislative support and mandate of this Directorate. The department operated based on nationalistic narrative building, as still echoed in its current mission statement: “The built heritage of Pakistan symbolizes our past glory and it is an integral part of our sense of identity. It may not only serve as a source of inspiration but also heightens the national pride with consequential effect of providing incentives for fulfilling our future inspirations.”⁸⁶

Pakistan Conservation Timeline – Lahore
Stakeholders in the Conservation of Walled City of Lahore

Early Institutions

- 1958 — Displaced Persons (Compensation and Rehabilitation) Act, 1958 (XXVIII of 1958)
- 1971 — Archaeology cell working in Auqaf Department
- 1975 — **Evacuee Trust Properties** (Management and Disposal) Act, 1975. To manage leftover Hindu and Sikh properties.
- 1979 — **The Auqaf and Religious Affairs Department**: To manage Religious properties and restore *waqf*.
- 1987 — **Directorate of Archaeology**: To manage the heritage of Punjab.

Figure 10. Pakistan Conservation Timeline of early institutions. - Source: Author.

However, under the auspices of the Department of Archaeology and Museums of Pakistan, global connections were being made around heritage. Global interest was especially piqued by the site of the Indus Valley civilization and prime sites of the Gandhara. The Pakistan Department of Archaeology Director General, Ahmed Nabi Khan, cited a list of international organizations that had communication with the department, including UNESCO, ICCROM, World Heritage Fund, ICOMOS, ICOM, Getty Foundation,

⁸⁶ “About Us – Directorate General of Archaeology, Government of the Punjab,” accessed April 25, 2019, <http://www.dgarch.gop.pk/about-us>.

and the Aga Khan Trust for Culture, some of which were to conduct major projects within the country.⁸⁷ Due to the lack of the needed conservation professionals, the department decided to propose a training research center. In 1988, the Pakistan Institute of Archaeological Training and Research was founded in Lahore, fittingly housed in seven buildings of Mughal, Sikh and British origin within the Lahore Fort.⁸⁸ These historic monuments were adaptively re-used and repaired, included among them the Royal Kitchens that had erstwhile been used as a prison since the colonial era.⁸⁹ Sixteen diverse individuals representing varied international organizations were invited to Lahore to conduct a workshop training, including Sir Bernard Feilden, the Director Emeritus of ICCROM.⁹⁰ The first heritage charter in Lahore was created, espousing a message of inclusivity of different spheres of people, but at the same time placing emphasis on the removal of encroachments. The charter also highlighted authenticity⁹¹ as a major goal, a theme borrowed from global and western-dominated conservation approaches and contradictory to what had been carried out in the city and country itself.

⁸⁷ Department of Archaeology & Museums Pakistan, *Pakistan Institute of Archaeological Training and Research – First Annual Report – 1989*, (1990) Kifayat Academy, Foreword.

⁸⁸ Department of Archaeology & Museums Pakistan, *Pakistan Institute of Archaeological Training and Research – First Annual Report – 1989*, (1990) Kifayat Academy, Foreword., 15.

⁸⁹ *Ibid*, 18.

⁹⁰ *Ibid*, 28.

⁹¹ *Ibid*, 87.

2.2.2 Urban Infrastructure and Upgrading (The 1980s)

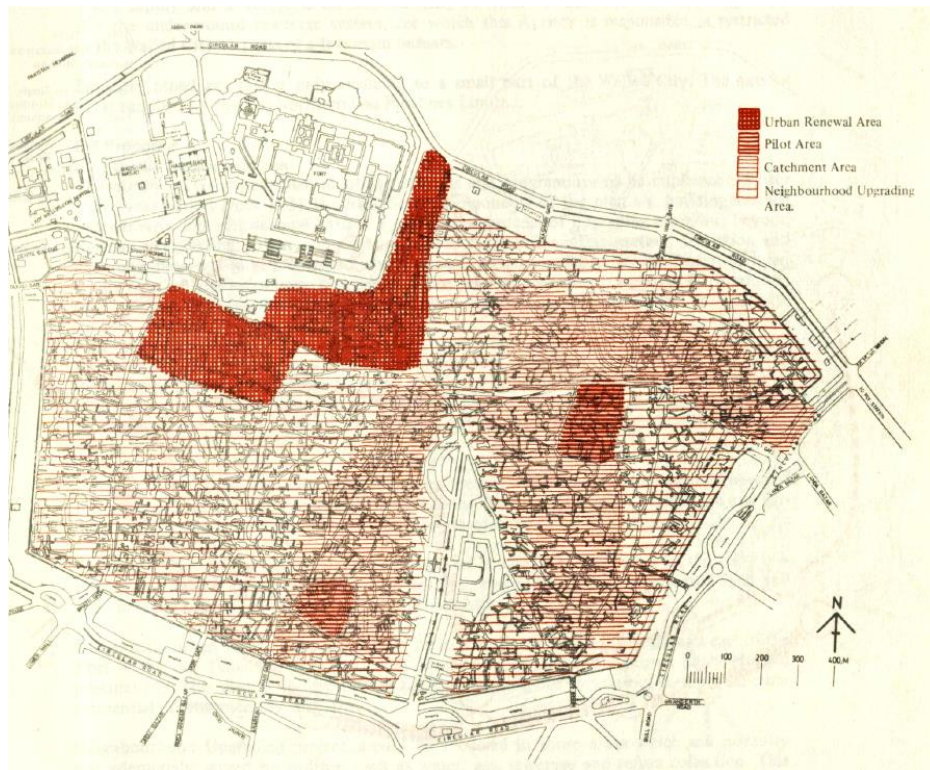


Figure 11. Map from Walled City Neighborhood Upgrading Project. – Source: LUDT, LDA.

The institutions created during this brief period of stability played a significant role in creating effective institutions to stabilize the urban management of the country as well as allow for a focus on conservation efforts. This also occurred during a period of intellectual leftism when the “peoples’ mandate” was said to be increasingly under consideration. During the 1980’s, these institutions sought to bring about a range of changes both in the local sphere as well as in global and international interactions. The site of Mohenjo-Daro was one of the earliest global projects that UNESCO was involved in, attempting to protect the historic urban site’s foundations from saline deterioration.⁹² The organization’s work on heritage directly led to the 1972 Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, establishing the

⁹² UNESCO World Heritage Centre, “Archaeological Ruins at Moenjodaro,” UNESCO World Heritage Centre, accessed May 21, 2019, <https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/138/>.

World Heritage Committee in 1976.⁹³ The Committee inscribed the first sites two years later, with Mohenjo-Daro becoming part of the World Heritage List in 1980. By now the heritage of Pakistan was well on the radar of the world. This was also a period when postcolonial debates within historic preservation gained increasing prominence, as well as the concept of a global or universal heritage through UNESCO. In 1981 the Lahore Fort and the Shalimar gardens were added to the UNESCO World Heritage List as one listing of two separate monuments. However, the walled city did not make the list.

A significant change in the preservation of heritage occurred at this time both as a result of the concern of economic stability and lack of infrastructure, as well as global move towards the finance and development of developing countries. In 1980 a significant study called the Lahore Urban Development and Traffic Study (LUDT) was undertaken by a joint team of local and foreign consultants for the Lahore Development Authority and financed by a loan of the World Bank/IDA.⁹⁴ As the second master plan of Lahore post-partition, this included the urban planning of Lahore, neighborhood upgrading for improving the quality of life of lower income groups, improvements in the traffic conditions of central Lahore, and finally a focused component on the Walled City of Lahore to improve living condition of inhabitants by upgrading environmental sanitation and providing social support programs. Among local experts, the team leader was Kamil Khan Mumtaz, an architect, planner and conservationist who continues to be one of the figures and thinkers at the forefront of urbanism in Lahore.⁹⁵ The report emphasized ways to improve living conditions in the Walled City, particularly for residents in lower income groups, without getting into the depth of conservation issues of the city. Focusing on the objectives of improving sanitation, encouraging building renewal, strengthening community and social infrastructure, strengthening the economic base and conserving culturally valuable elements.⁹⁶ It touches open conservation with a recommendation to create a conservation

⁹³ “Records of the General Conference, 17th Session, Paris, 17 October to 21 November 1972, v. 1: Resolutions, Recommendations - UNESCO Digital Library,” accessed May 21, 2019, <https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000114044>.

⁹⁴ *Lahore urban development and traffic study: final report*. 1980. [Lahore]: Lahore Development Authority, Metropolitan Planning Wing.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ Ibid, 20.

plan with all stakeholders.⁹⁷ The report focuses on urban renewal and upgrading of the built structure. It also states how in conditions of a dangerous or dilapidated building, the building should be repaired or replaced.⁹⁸

Six years after the LUDT, another mission of the World Bank visited Lahore to begin a large scale project in collaboration with the LDA and PEPAC (Pakistan Environmental Planning and Architectural Consultants) for the Conservation plan for the walled city of Lahore.⁹⁹ This was ultimately where urban heritage and character were linked to the infrastructure and development needs highlighted by the previous study.

Members of the LDA and PEPAC met with David Cook of the World Bank for a preliminary visiting mission. The meeting included discussions on questions of the economy, how to strengthen and increase the regular income of the population, as well as how to induce upper income residential use amongst tourism, traffic and urban markets. However an increasingly important goal was also to introduce conservation-related elements into the Lahore development project.¹⁰⁰ This is also where the idea of bilateral and multilateral aids and grants were presented, with agencies like the UNESCO and Aga Khan Foundation setting the course for the future conservation projects in the city. At this point conservation regained significance, and measures for strategies to preserve historic buildings were renewed.

As a consequence of these studies, a range of physically implemented conservation projects were undertaken. In addition, a full scale Master Conservation Plan for the Walled City of Lahore was prepared, and studies such as a monograph on the Walled City of Lahore were conducted based on all the previous work completed. The 1990's saw a number of restoration projects including the Shahi Hammam, the Five Gates of the Walled City (the Lohari, Bhatti, Kashmiri, Delhi and Sheranwala), the Akbari gate of the Lahore Fort and the reconstruction of the northern side of the city wall. A number of Sikh era buildings, including the Victoria

⁹⁷ *Lahore urban development and traffic study: final report*. 1980. [Lahore]: Lahore Development Authority, Metropolitan Planning Wing, 29.

⁹⁸ *Ibid*, 40.

⁹⁹ Lahore Development Authority. Conservation Plan for the Walled City of Lahore, *Working Paper: File VI Presentations, Discussions & Preparations of Reports & Documents. Working Paper: 14001 through 14012*. 1986. PEPAC.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid*, 2.

School (Haveli Nau Nehal Singh) and Chunna Mandi (Dhiyan Singh Haveli), were also restored, but repurposed as girls' schools and not evacuated for exclusive preservation of the monument

Pakistan Conservation Timeline – Lahore

Stakeholders in the Conservation of Walled City of Lahore

Recent Walled City Institutions and Projects:

- | | |
|------|--|
| 1980 | World Bank - Lahore Development Authority / PEPAC with Gilmore Hankey Kirk – Punjab Urban Development Program and Master Conservation Plan for the Walled City of Lahore |
| 1980 | UNESCO Listing of Lahore Fort and Shalimar Gardens |
| 1990 | LDA/PEPAC – Upgrading Walled City Conservation Projects |
| 2006 | World Bank and Government of Punjab - Sustainable Development Walled City of Lahore Project (SWCLP) |
| 2007 | Aga Khan Trust for Culture (AKTC) PPP for Technical Assistance |
| 2012 | Walled City of Lahore Authority and Walled city of Lahore Act established. |

Figure 12. Pakistan Conservation Timeline showing later Walled City institutions and projects. – Source: Author.

2.2.3 Walled City of Lahore Authority: Conservation as Urban Heritage (The 2010s)

At the advent of the 21st century, a whole new set of ideas and methods about conservation began to penetrate the mainstream on a global scale.¹⁰¹ Locally as well, the creation of organizations like the Anjuman Mimaran allowed for the proliferation of local Pakistani thinkers and professionals like Kamil Khan Mumtaz, who become involved in the preservation of the Walled City of Lahore viewing it as a cohesive body.¹⁰² As well as various other local conservation bodies, academic publications and conferences such as the THAAP forum for culture and heritage discourse.

Literature began to reflect the introduction of diverse fields and viewpoints expanding the study of the Walled City. For example, Anita Weiss adopted a sociological approach in focusing on gender in the walled city. Bringing to the forefront the life histories of working women whose participation in the economy and

¹⁰¹ Francesco Bandarin, *Reconnecting the City: The Historic Urban Landscape Approach and the Future of Urban Heritage* (Chichester: Wiley, 2015).

¹⁰² Siddiq-a-Akbar, Aptul Rakumān, and Muhammad Ali Tirmizi, *Sultanate Period Architecture: Proceedings of the Seminar on the Sultanate Period Architecture in Pakistan, Held in Lahore, November 1990* (Anjuman Mimaran, 1991).

changes in their private and public life was hitherto understudied.¹⁰³ Later on, emerged the discourse of viewing the walled city as a cohesive organism to be studied as a whole. Writers like Samina Qureshi treated the historic walled city as an entity within itself, slightly shifting from a monumental approach yet with some elements retained. In her book Quraeshi explored the city's living and historical traditions, with some aspects on the spirituality of the city,¹⁰⁴ The representation of the city was also increasingly being annotated through the visual medium with authors such as Aijazuddin, who produced books of old paintings, drawings and photographs, and maps depicting how the city evolved over time.¹⁰⁵ The Walled city, often romanticized and seen as a relic of the past, was refreshed in the public imagination.

The idea proposed in the 1980's to create an institutional body to take charge of the conservation of the Walled city of Lahore finally saw fruition in 2006 with a pilot project called the Sustainable Development Walled City of Lahore Project, funded by the World Bank and the Government of Punjab in 2006. This project operated with the goal of urban renewal and redevelopment, bringing new life into old buildings and neighborhoods. Its stated mission was as follows: "To revitalize the Walled City into a culturally rich, socially cohesive, environmentally safe and economically vibrant locality of metropolitan Lahore."¹⁰⁶ Integrating both landmarks and monuments the project set to promote heritage-sensitive urban design, infrastructure improvement and residential land use whilst increasing local capacities and participation in the revitalization process.

The following year the 1986 recommendations of the World Bank were followed, and the international non-governmental organization the Aga Khan Trust for Culture (AKTC) entered into a 'Public-Private Partnership Agreement' (PPP) with the provincial government to provide technical and financial assistance for the project of building capacities in urban heritage conservation. Consequently, the AKTC signed a

¹⁰³ Weiss, Anita M. 2002. *Walls within walls: life histories of working women in the old city of Lahore*. Karachi: Oxford Univ. Press Pakistan.

¹⁰⁴ Quraeshi, Samina, and Annemarie Schimmel. 1988. *Lahore: the city within*. Singapore: Concept Media.

¹⁰⁵ Aijazuddin, F. S. 2004. *Lahore recollected an album*. Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publishers.

<http://books.google.com/books?id=SQ9uAAAAMAAJ> and Aijazuddin, F. S., and Dipen Mitra. 2004. *Lahore, illustrated views of the 19th century*. Ahmedabad, India: Mapin Pub.

¹⁰⁶ "Lahore Walled City Urban Regeneration Project," Archnet, accessed April 28, 2019, <https://archnet.org/sites/6842>.

‘Memorandum of Association’ with the World Bank. The AKTC Historic Cities Programme (HCP) then provided strategic planning services for the entire walled city, while extending professional assistance for a pilot urban rehabilitation project integrated in a citywide strategic framework for conservation and redevelopment.¹⁰⁷

The historic city urban renewal initiatives were now in full swing, especially with the AKTC and in the South-Asian context and city debates. The AKTC’s Historic Cities Program also carried out an urban renewal project in neighboring India with the Nizamuddin Basti. This project formed a new model for integrative approaches from South Asia, framed as an enhanced non-profit PPP model that would lead to conservation-based urban development, improved quality of life for local communities and improved access to basic urban facilities.

In the backdrop of these urban renewal initiatives, 2011 finally saw the culmination of the institution requested to be made in 1986, namely a governing body dedicated to the protection and conservation of the Walled City of Lahore. In practice and in law this became a regulatory organization described in The Walled City of Lahore Authority Act 2012 as ‘a body corporate with perpetual succession and a common seal, with power to acquire, hold and dispose of property, and it may sue or be sued in its name.’¹⁰⁸ The focus of this organization was described as regulating the functions of the walled city with a focus on heritage conservation and implementing master conservation plans for the walled city. However, the law also included and emphasized the power of the body to remove encroachments and evict illegal occupants from private or public utility buildings, as opposed to contradictory laws that called for community mobilization and poverty alleviation strategies. The law also provided the body with the right to promote investment for development of the Walled City. This framework has set the course of the institution’s activities, including a wide scale anti-encroachment drive and frequent commodification of heritage.

¹⁰⁷ “Lahore Walled City Urban Regeneration Project,” Archnet, accessed April 27, 2019, <https://archnet.org/sites/6842>.

¹⁰⁸ “WCLA Act 2012 — Walled City of Lahore Authority,” accessed April 28, 2019, <http://walledcitylahore.gop.pk/wcla-act-2012/>.

2.3 Beyond Conservation: Liquescence

This section dismantles stationary or solid notions of methodologies of conservation by deconstructing the arguments utilized for prevalent modes of conservation. This began as post-structuralism and post-modernism dominated academic and disciplinary criticism, and the discipline of heritage conservation went through major transformations. Throughout the past few decades the charters created earlier and constantly updated were contested and debated especially in relation to post colonialism. Various countries and traditions voicing their concern with the one-size-fits-all criterion of world heritage preservation, deconstructing prior methods. The collection of charters including the predominantly followed Venice charter were also deeply critiqued and led to the need for new and improved charters. The Venice charter essentially advocated for a preservationist and a more anti-restoration approach, iterating the idea of a common and shared heritage one to be safeguarded with utmost authenticity.¹⁰⁹ However, it failed to cover various concepts including those of social issues, of site, of reversibility in restoration and financial issues. A major criticism that emerged from the debates identified the modernist leanings of the creators of the charters, rooted in historicism rather than the idea of a living architectural tradition.¹¹⁰ Thus this charter helped to solidify and create emphasis on the idea of an identifiable ‘authenticity’, or original the effect of which still echoes in prevalent practice.

Post-Authenticity

Authenticity was a concept that had major pushback when seen as contradictory to heritage conservation in various eastern and Asian contexts that involved different conceptions of heritage. To remedy the prior charter’s emphasis on a fixed notion of authenticity based in a western context, the Nara Document on Authenticity arose from a conference conducted in the city of Nara, Japan. In this the relativity of “authenticity” was understood as varying from culture to culture, and a need for a broader understanding of

¹⁰⁹ International Council on Monuments and Sites. 2005. *The Venice Charter*. Paris: ICOMOS.

¹¹⁰ Hardy, Matthew. 2009. *The Venice Charter revisited: modernism, conservatism and tradition in the 21st century*. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars.

cultural diversity was proposed.¹¹¹ The case of the Ise shrine in Nara, Japan, presented a strong example to challenge the question of authenticity in heritage. The structures of Ise shrine are rebuilt every 20 years as a part of the Shinto belief of impermanence and the death and renewal of nature as well passing building techniques from one generation to the next. This is part of a cyclical reconstruction process that is in itself is historical through many temples in Japan. In this case the heritage that is being conserved is the act of rebuilding itself, signifying the rebirth of the temple. After this case study numerous other countries came forward reevaluating the impact of the global narrative and outlining how this would not fit in to their specific context. Thus the static concept of authenticity as a value to aspire to in the conservation of heritage was re-defined to incorporate greater fluidity.

Relativity of Heritage: Conservation as Narrative Creation

As David Lowenthal is quoted as saying, “Authenticity is in practice never absolute, always relative.”¹¹² The Nara Document on Authenticity once again led to the redefining of conservation. This defined conservation, specifically with reference to cultural heritage as: “...all efforts designed to understand cultural heritage, know its history and meaning, ensure its material safeguard and, as required, its presentation, restoration and enhancement.”¹¹³ Thus conservation now was now not limited to the restoration of an object’s material history but its meaning as well. David Lowenthal’s academic work is credited with initiating and pioneering the contemporary discipline of heritage studies. In *The Past is a Foreign Country*, Lowenthal begins the conversation about the way in which the past is used in an ever-changing role to inform the present. He then characterizes the transformation and manipulation of the inherited tradition that gives rise to the modern cult of preservation and pervasive nostalgia.¹¹⁴ In his book *Possessing the Past*, he advances the argument by writing about how heritage is used as a tool to create a certain favored narrative to oppose others, or in dominance of

¹¹¹ Nara Conference on Authenticity. 1994. *Nara Conference on Authenticity: working papers*. [Paris]: International Council on Monuments and Sites.

¹¹² Lowenthal, David. 2008. "Changing Criteria of Authenticity," in "An Introduction to Authenticity in Preservation", Pamela Jerome, *APT Bulletin* 39, no. 2/3, p.4

¹¹³ Nara Conference on Authenticity. 1994. *Nara Conference on Authenticity: working papers*. [Paris]: International Council on Monuments and Sites.

¹¹⁴ Lowenthal, David. 2016. *The past is a foreign country - revisited*.

erasing other ones.¹¹⁵ This idea formed the foundation for critical heritage studies, diversifying the debate to ask questions of whose heritage is really preserved. This critique also led to the revelation of the roles of nation-states in the heritage they chose to conserve to form curated nationalistic narratives as the visual icons of the urban landscape. This can be seen specifically in the comparison of preservation in India and Pakistan, nation states that each have in the past and present utilized religion to construct nationalistic identities. In Pakistan the heritage of minority religions like Hindu and Sikh heritage has not been in the given the same attention by state agencies in the way the Muslim era monuments, neither have they been featured in state sponsored adverts or popular imagery. A similar trend can be seen in present day India in the reverse where recently the Taj Mahal was disassociated from the Muslim identity of its rulers and claimed to be a Hindu temple, it was also excluded from the official Indian tourism brochures.¹¹⁶ Subsequently, major cities and towns with Muslim names have been changed to represent more Hindu sounding titles in the current political climate and rise in Hindu nationalist tendencies.

Critical Conservation

In some ways, David Lowenthal's theories are interpreted as an anti-preservation stance, yet he is not opposed to preservation but offers an alternate idea of fragments.¹¹⁷ His pioneering of heritage studies is the basis for the current critical conservation discipline created as a masters in design program in the Harvard GSD. This program addresses the exclusion that conservation often carries out for certain groups and individuals in preference to others. The program is geared towards challenging traditional notions of conservation, heritage and history. The primary aim is to "apply issues of culture, history, and identity to design and development to transcend such outdated dialectics as past-future, traditional-modern, and us-them."¹¹⁸ Asking questions of sustainability, understanding cultural systems, framing conflicts, questioning

¹¹⁵ Lowenthal, David. 1997. *Possessed by the past: the heritage crusade and the spoils of history*. London: The Free Press.

¹¹⁶ Deutsche Welle (www.dw.com), "Why Was Taj Mahal Excluded from Indian Tourism Brochure? | DW | 04.10.2017," DW.COM, accessed May 23, 2019, <https://www.dw.com/en/why-was-taj-mahal-excluded-from-indian-tourism-brochure/a-40803522>.

¹¹⁷ Lowenthal, David. 2016. *The past is a foreign country – revisited*, "Introduction", 185-219.

¹¹⁸ "Critical Conservation - Harvard Graduate School of Design," accessed May 23, 2019, <https://www.gsd.harvard.edu/design-studies/critical-conservation/>.

power structures especially top-down approaches and assumptions of permanence within preservation. Researching the impact of conservation on the built and natural environment, revealing underlying forces of control in the guise of ideologies and preservation. A core course looks at issues of social justice as applied to various contexts, asking questions of “whose history is told, whose future is being created, who benefits, who is included and excluded by the process of creating new designs in an existing context?”¹¹⁹ Essentially proposing the application of a critical lens onto all ideologies, policies and practice of conservation. As the field of conservation itself is relatively contemporary compared to other fields its disciplinary criticism is still also in the works.

Postcolonial Identity - Local vs. Global

Post colonialism brought with it the rediscovery and realignment of local identities in various contexts. Specifically, with respect to globalized implied orders and ideologies, it outlines the inapplicability of the western hegemonic concepts onto lands dominated by the superpowers of the globe. Another lens on conservation is necessary, negotiating the various relationships between local and global identity at times antagonistic, hegemonic or resistant. Besides the application and long term integration of foreign policies, local practices often reflect a resistance of these imposed ideologies. In the re-reading and study of the Kumbh Mela, Rahul Mehrotra presents one case study of the living and traditional heritage ritual in India that causes one of the largest festivals in the world yet only manifests itself temporarily and after occupying the space of a city completely disappears after a while, depicting the temporality of structures and space within an act of vital heritage.¹²⁰

In his essay on “Negotiating the Static and Kinetic Cities – The Emergent Urbanism of Mumbai” he highlights these dichotomies in the everyday existing urban form of the city, essential to the post-colonial condition of the city. Transformation of the city from the colonial period to the postcolonial and postindustrial allows for the space of a different kind of city to exist. Mehrotra outlines two cities: the static

¹¹⁹ Snyder, Susan and Thomas, George. *Culture Conservation and Design Course 3333*. Harvard GSD.

¹²⁰ Rahul Mehrotra and Felipe Vera, *Kumbh Mela: Mapping the Ephemeral Megacity* Rahul Mehrotra and Felipe Vera, 2015 edition (New Delhi: Niyogi Books, 2015).

and kinetic city, one stationary and permanent, the other informal and forever in temporality, being broken down and then re-built in the negotiation between the static and kinetic city. It is also created by the juxtaposition of the negotiation between elite and subaltern cultures, presenting a new reading of the city and outlining the dynamics of the kinetic city.¹²¹

This thesis utilizes that framework of the static and kinetic cities, not in the strictly formal and material changes, but in the processual inhabitation and repurposing of space. I expand on his framework of re-reading the city, analyzing it in the context of Lahore in Pakistan, involving a greater diversity of effects including commodification, cultural and religious identity and partition, social welfare and civic re-use as well as the unique conditions that effect the city of Lahore. However, I take forward the re-reading of the city to propose the thesis of the inhabitation itself being an alternate mode of conservation and study it in depth to derive recommendations for a processual approach on conservation.

Relativity of History as a Model

Currently universally pervasive static notions of conservation are predominant globally, which is the concept of an identifiable, specific period in the history of a structure of heritage to which it needs to be restored. In fact, history as a model itself is relative and is fluid in different contexts. Heritage is also relative to different groups of people, and what is considered heritage to one ethnic group may not be as important to or representative of another one. The philosophy of history can be defined as ‘the study of the historical process and its development or of the methods used by historians to understand their material’.¹²² Over time the philosophy of history has been under constant debate with the occasional realization of its relativity, however this concept of relativity has only recently been applied to the conservation discipline disrupting a major premise of conservation methodology that relies on a specific linear model of history.

¹²¹ Mehrotra, “Negotiating the Static and Kinetic Cities.”

¹²² “Philosophy of History,” Encyclopedia Britannica, accessed May 21, 2019, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/philosophy-of-history>.

The age of enlightenment affirmed the base for the prevalent model of history which could be described as one that is linear and irreversible. This universally accepted model continues to dominate global syllabi and text-books regardless of being a framework of history that has its origin in specific western theories of history. It follows a consequential linear path, where events are discrete entities that subsequently follow one another. The engagement between the past and the present is also weak, where often only one of them can be represented dominating the other. The western philosophers that were foundational to this linear progressive model of history included Comte, Kant and Hegel, who established an ideal of progress in history which was seen as social progress. Hegel remains one of the most prominent and studied figures as a proponent of the most widely used theory of history. He also best represents proponent of the teleological philosophy of history, that claims that history has a progressive direction leading to an end.¹²³

Michael Hayes defines Hegel's model of history as 19th century German historicism, this Hegelian teleology he encapsulates as a linear progression through time rising through to continuous improvement or progress.¹²⁴ Hegel had a conception of history based on dialectics, arguing for a three tiered dialectical clash, citing the thesis, anti-thesis and synthesis as the process to social progress. Hegel thus explained social progress as the result of the labor of reason in history. However, this dialectical reading of history involved, of course, contradiction, so history was also conceived of as constantly conflicting: Hayes compares this model to the model of history proposed by Heidegger describing it as the Heideggerian essences and the model of phenomenologists that moments of vision, with truth connected to the past, present and future¹²⁵.

A Walter Benjamin's Historical materialism and fragmented approach to history is compared with the aforementioned Hegelian approach to history. The Hegelian-historicist approach to history that presumes that the past can be recovered 'as it really was', is challenged with a Benjaminian allegorical history, in which

¹²³ Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Fredrich. 2019. *The Phenomenology of Spirit*. [Place of publication not identified]: Cambridge University Press.

¹²⁴ Ideas discussed in Harvard GSD, Pro-seminar: Conversation, Destruction and Curating Impermanence by Michael Hayes.

¹²⁵ Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich, *Aesthetics: Lectures on Fine Art (1818-29)*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998, and Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich, "Lordship and Bondage," in *Phenomenology of Spirit*, p. 111-119.

each conservation project is a critical position constructing alternative pasts and futures.¹²⁶ Natalia Escobar presents how this can form an alternate with respect to conservation theory as linear history follows causal relationship and the Benjamin's theories present a model against flat relationships of history, and allows for many interpretations to history.¹²⁷

In adopting a Benjaminian model of history, the widely accepted historicism approach of Hegelian thought can be challenged that describes linear chapters of time as a consequential and identifiable sequence of events to one that is non-linear and is constantly engaged with the present thus contesting prevailing conservation stationary concepts. The predicament of the past is inherently in its very definition of 'being past' and therefore can never be accurately captured in the present. Walter Benjamin describes this irretrievable picture of the past one that can never be truly articulated, that threatens to disappear upon the very moment of its cognition.¹²⁸ This proposes a theory of how the remembrance of the past is and should be not always as a past but as part of an active present in essence allowing the creation of alternative reframed meanings, memories and interpretations. In this sense these case studies of (in)formal inhabitations provide an alternative that may in a specific reading of it enhance the previous history instead of replicating it. In outlining a historiographic approach, there is the realization that there is a history to history itself. Thus as history as a concept is contested even in the western academe, referencing Walter Benjamin's model of history as an alternative to Hegel's model of history, this model can vary even further. This perspective can then be used to examine South Asian or Islamic models of history and prove that this definition may be even more fluid in other contexts, providing the groundwork for alternative theories of conservation.

In various contexts as well as ancient cultures there are non-linear concepts of times and thus history. A prevailing concept was the idea of cyclical time, that found itself rooted in much of the ancient world as well as eastern cultures. For example, in China the cyclical theory developed as the dynastic cycle and in India as

¹²⁶ Ideas discussed in Harvard GSD, Pro-seminar: Conversation, Destruction and Curating Impermanence by Natalia Escobar and Michael Hayes.

¹²⁷ Ibid.

¹²⁸ Walter Benjamin and Hannah Arendt, *Illuminations* (New York: Schocken Books, 2007).

the basis of Hindu and Jain religions that described cyclical life cycles in every being's life, that involve a cycle of reincarnation in various forms. Mehrotra explains this as, "Hindus believe in the cyclical nature of time, where everything is in constant change...The idea of rebirth is a deeply set belief- everything is reborn."¹²⁹

This cyclical theory of time can also be seen reflected in Muslim philosophers including Ibn Khaldun and his theory of history as a cycle of rise and falls, these rise and falls however a very different conception of cyclical historical processes than in Hindu thought. Islamic theological conceptions of time relate more to a Hindu notion of reincarnation, where the Islamic belief holds the notion of an afterlife. Translated into the idea of built heritage, these contexts can be understood to support the idea of the many afterlives of heritage. It is consequently also reflected in South Asian thinkers as well as ones rooted in the Walled city of Lahore, such as Iqbal, who are proponents of non-linear notions time. However, Iqbal is also a proponent of the idea of the creative reconstructions of thought in Islam, and thus allows for more contemporary interpretations of historical doctrine, which he claims should be contextualized.¹³⁰ These conceptions were based on Islamic theology rooted in the idea of a resurrection, thus also disrupting time as a progressive linear continuum.

These concepts allow for very different conceptions and relativity of time and thus allow for different conceptions of conservation as well. The implications of these notions as applied onto conservation theory can allow for a re-interpretation of previous ideologies and apply a mode that allows for a fluidity in approach. With the idea of the diverse states of spatial recycling and repurposing these inhabitations can be interpreted as resurrections or re-births of the container of heritage. The repurposing of heritage can allow for the afterlife of heritage however one in which similar to Hindu concept a higher degree can be attained. In this sense the case studies presented in this thesis can provide an alternative that may in a specific reading of it enhance the previous history instead of replicating it.

¹²⁹ Bandarin, *Reconnecting the City*, 279.

¹³⁰ Iqbal, Muhammad. 2017. *The reconstruction of religious thought in Islam*. Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publication

LINEAR

Frag m e n t e d

fluid

Figure 13 Depicting the Relativity of the philosophy of history and three modes of its interpretation. — Source: Author.

3. Lahore: The City and City Within

3.1 The Context of Lahore

Macro-geographically the city of Lahore, Pakistan is close to the border between Pakistan and India. Historically and presently it has always been a prominent city in the subcontinent. Within Pakistan, Lahore is bounded on the north and west by the Sheikhpura District, on the east by Wagah, and on the south by Kasur District. It is also a prominent city in the Indus river basin. The Ravi river flows on the northern side of city also cutting and channeled through it. It lies in an agricultural zone that is largely flat, made fertile by a network of major irrigation channels. Lahore's (sub)urban development continues southwards and increasingly caters to its new low-density gated communities.¹³¹

Historically Lahore was amongst the four imperial capitals of the early modern Islamic empire of the Mughals, which stretched throughout India from the 16th to 19th century. The Mughal capitals in order of which they were created were Agra, Fatehpur Sikri, then Lahore and finally Shah-Jahanabad, Delhi was the last capital before the empire disintegrated. In the past it has also been a prominent city of the Ghaznavid and Ghurid eras. Subsequently, it has been the capital of the Punjab in both the Sikh reign as well as the Colonial era. It remains the capital of the Punjab province. Lahore's geographic location between the India and the Middle East as well as its role as the capital of Punjab has resulted in the multi-variate influence on its architecture and urban forms. Lahore is also considered a megacity and is ranked as the fifth largest city in South Asia is the capital of Pakistan's largest province, Punjab; with a population just crossing 11 million. Lahore city covers a total land area of 1014 km² and is still growing. A culturally rich kaleidoscope of history and culture, it is a city whose origins date back to antiquity. Layered with the remains and monuments of diverse civilizations, this ancient city is studded with heritage sites of significant universal value amongst

¹³¹ AKCS-P, Quality of Life of the Walled City – Baseline economic Survey.

which are embedded two UNESCO World Heritage sites. One of which is the Lahore Fort, an ancient fortress that has been the nucleus of the historical city of Lahore for centuries.

The actual origins of the city remain shrouded in mystery. Yet initial recollections of the city are found in the 982 CE geographical treatise *Hudud al-Alam* known as the *Limits of the World* that describes a city with ‘impressive temples, large markets and huge orchards’, referring to ‘two major markets where dwellings exist’, mentioning ‘the mud walls that enclose these two dwellings to make it one.’¹³² Lahore is also embedded into the epic poem of Hindu mythology, the *Ramayana*, from whence it takes its name. The city is named after its mythical founder Loh, son Rama the Hindu deity and epic hero, in a legend that reflects similarly to that of the ancient city Rome, that of Romulus and Remus.¹³³ According to the Hindu mythological tradition the brothers Loh and Kasu (also referred to as Lava and Kusa) founded the cities of Lahore and Kasur respectively after the rule of their father Rama ends. Lohawar is said to directly refer to the fort of Loh and there is a temple that ostensibly dedicated to the Hindu deity Loh inside the Lahore Fort.



Figure 14. The Lahore Fort in the backdrop of the Walled City of Lahore. - Source: Archnet, photographer: Matthieu Paley.

¹³² Minorsky, Vladimir, V. V. Bartol'd, and Clifford Edmund Bosworth. 2015. *Hudud al-'Alam "The regions of the world": a persian geography 372 A.H.-982 A.D.* <http://public.ebib.com/choice/publicfullrecord.aspx?p=2055653>.

¹³³ Latif, *Lahore*.



Figure 15. *The Walled City in the Context of Metropolitan Lahore, the orange highlighted area is the Walled City.* – Source: AKCS-P

3.2 The City within a City: A Walled City

The Walled City of Lahore is the historic heart of the city as it began, imprinted in memory as the essence and origin of its culture. The seed that has germinated into a city of eleven million individuals is constantly expanding and evolving well beyond its previous boundaries. The walled city in its recognizable form today was mostly built in the Mughal period. Akbar embodies the role of chief builder and solidified the traces of mud brick walls left by the previous eras into the red bricked walled city with thirteen gates and the massive fortress of the city encasing the imperial palace into what we still see today. The keenness for construction, running through the subsequent Mughal patrons, lends the city with a constellation of monuments in the Mughal style. Tombs, mosques, *darbars*, *hammams*, *baradaris*, gardens and numerous other typologies creating the landscape of Lahore as we know it.

The Mughal legacy lies not just in the physicality of the built environment but is encapsulated in the art, literary texts, culture and customs and legends they have left behind. All that has been constantly commemorated in the collective consciousness of the citizens of the city, in the language, cuisine, music, *kathak* dance, costumes, and numerous other ways that are now integrated into the life of an average Lahori. The Mughal emperors left behind biographies of their lives and empires, most filled with personal accomplishments and the rituals of courtly life that allow their characters to be made familiar in the populace. In the Lahore fort they actually created a grand imperial palace in the city, a space carefully curated with the most exclusive royal residences and some specifically designed halls for public audience facing the city, whilst leaving traces of Lahore in those times in some of their accounts and miniature paintings. Under the reign of succeeding Mughal emperors both the city and its palace-fortress were added onto the continuing architectural palimpsest.

During the British occupation, in the accounts of British officers one can view the exotic and at times strange image Lahore represented to them. However, they created an image of the densely populated city as being a hotbed of disease, whilst having the intention of being at a distance from the native population as to avoid being surrounded by locals, and thus they demolished the walls of the old city, got rid of the moats and occupied the Lahore Fort-palace. The walled city got diverted to the side of the metropolis, as a new axis of the city was created, expanding the city eastward and away from the old city. This new avenue introduced all the imperial institutions into the city. These included the courts of law, educational systems, postal service, government buildings, hospitals, a museum and much more.

A new avenue was created in the Mall Road at the center of which is the Charing Cross, which includes the massive facades of the legislative assembly building and council chamber. While the modern infrastructure of the city got established, one can see the play of imperialism. Wealthier inhabitants moved out: A social strata composing of poorer and marginalized communities was leftover in the Walled City. The new Railway station was constructed as a fortress replete with arrow slits, to be used as a defensive refuge to safeguard against the natives who were feared to go into revolt.

During this time a lot of the more affluent and elite moved out into the newly created suburbs. Lahore was one of the main stages for the independence movement, and sites in the walled city like the Mochi Bagh became a political rally space and as such a speaker's corner. In 1947 the greatest mass migration in the history of the world the Partition took place and the walled city of Lahore was one of the prime sites to recall the 1947 Lahore riots and violence. Citizens recall the frenzy and terror of the time and a whole Hindu neighborhood of Shah Alami got razed to the ground. The houses and temples were hastily abandoned and consequently re-inhabited by numerous incoming refugees. Mandirs and havelis were divided to make room for more families. Two individuals that had to flee Lahore in the partition due to their Hindu heritage, Pran Neville and Som Anand, wrote books about their memories of pre-partition Lahore in which they are nostalgic about a Lahore past, about an ideal multicultural tolerant society that they viewed Lahore to be before the partition.

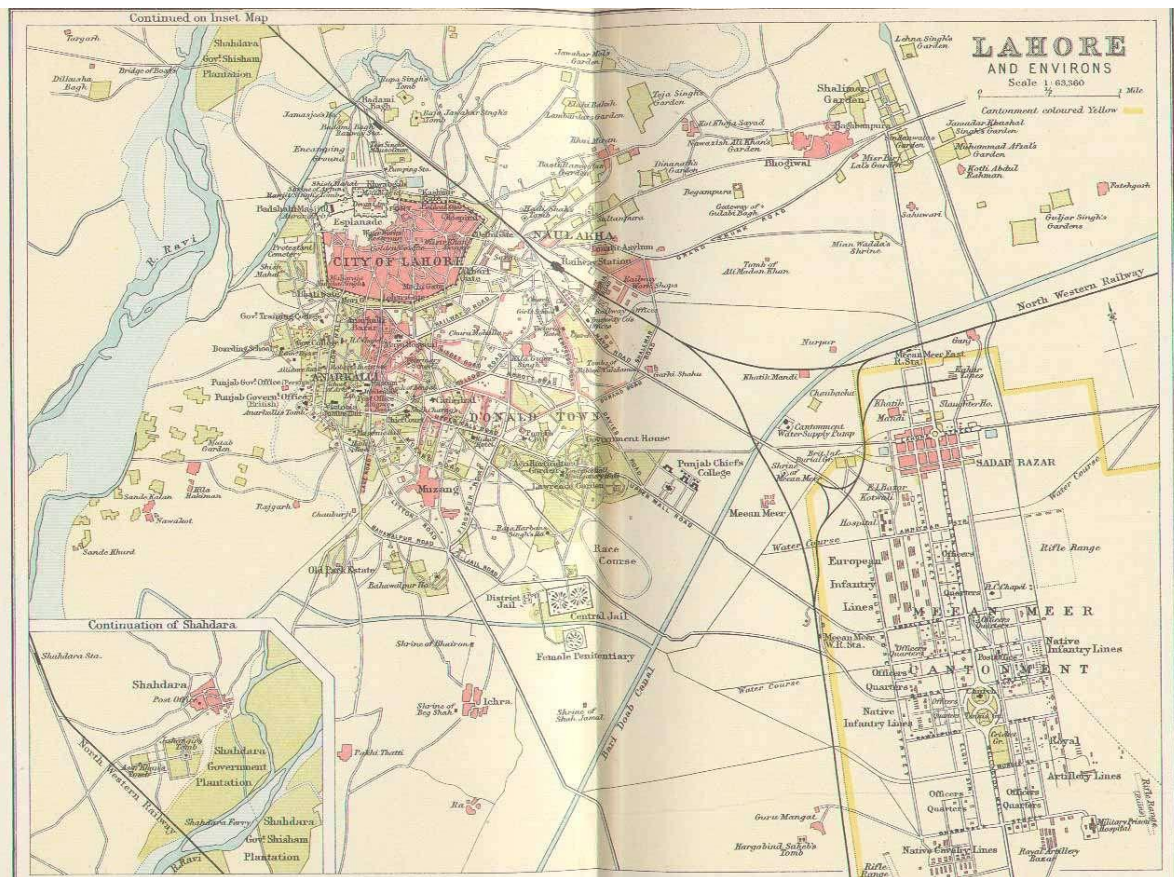


Figure 16. Lahore map 1893 showing colonial era urban planning. – Source: Constable's 1893 Hand Atlas to India and Murray's 1924 Handbook

3.2.1 Spatial Structure

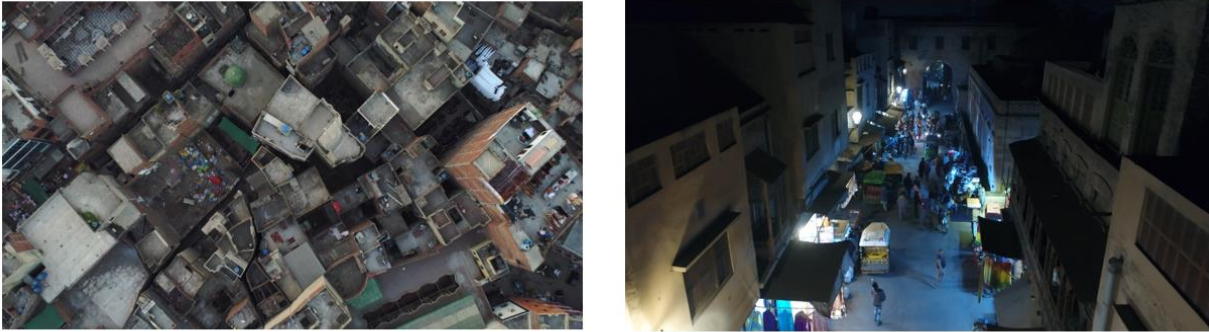


Figure 17. Dense spatial structure of the Walled City. - Source: AKCS-P drone images.

An irregular trapezoidal form with the Lahore Fort as its nucleus, the walled city of Lahore was historically enclosed in a defensive mud wall that transformed into a red brick wall possessing twelve gates in the Mughal period. Many of these remain today, each invoking different associations of that area of the city for different groups of people. Throughout fieldwork it was evident that the gates provided function as landmarks as well as the signifiers of areas, the inhabitants gave and understood directions based on the proximity to any one of the historic gates or the overlap between them.¹³⁴ A significant discovery was that in asking about the notion of what is heritage a resident revealed to me that those spaces are recalled but the inhabitants which are in some sort of use and are currently functional for the inhabitants of the city.¹³⁵ Another method by which the inhabitants perceived space and located places was due to the presence of a living or recently deceased famous personality of the neighborhood that everyone was familiar with. Thus often streets or galis are not called by their official or traditional name by inhabitants of a neighborhood but by certain people or events they associate with. The dense urban fabric of neighborhoods with winding alleys and cul-de sacs are embedded with numerous monuments, shrines and mosques depicting sites of memory both tangible and intangible. This high density of structures is organic in nature formed from a gradual accretion over time. A

¹³⁴ Documented through interviews with many residents in July 2018 and January 2019.

¹³⁵ Interview with Haider Ali, 14th July 2019.

large portion of the built fabric constitutes a multi-purpose use, with the commercial use on the ground level and the residential one on the upper level.

The old city of Lahore is divided into special districts, highly individual in nature reflecting consecutive historic stages of the city's growth. These sites and their associations leave distinctive and characteristic traces that are often characterized in their names, zones and legends. The neighborhoods are known as mohallas and still retain certain characteristics associated with the name whereas others echo a past use. Subsequent periods of destruction, reconstruction, abandonment and revival relay an inter-textual, multi-layered spatial existence. Possessing a Hindu origin, the city has passed through various subsequent periods of rule including that of the Ghaznavid, Mughal, Sikh Colonial and Pakistan periods thus reflected in the names of places, streets and various other elements of the walled city. Mohallas can then be broken further down into koochas or cul-de-sacs and also public spaces such as chowks. Historically the havelis (large residential mansions usually with courtyards) were large in size and area and were slowly broken down into smaller segments and divided into smaller houses since the Sikh period due to decrease in income over time.¹³⁶

The names of the thirteen gateways of the walled city of which six remain trace out the effects of ancestral and habitual consciousness on spatio-temporal landmarks of the city, which commemorate the patrons of the city from various time periods and of each social group, the socioeconomic activities and settlement patterns of occupational castes, legendary saints and martyrs and of nearby geographical allies. As the city is a collage of architectural forms from the different periods it has been through, reflected in the names of gates such as the Bhatti gate that is an ode to the Rajput founders of the city, the Akbari gate, its Mughal chief architect and patron, the Shah-Almi gate the eccentric keeper of the city at the end of Mughal times and the Sheranwala gate referring to the Sikh monarch's interventions. In the case of the Sheranwala gate the same gateway is renamed by consequent dynasties, originally known as the Khizri gate, it referred to the Muslim figure for mystic knowledge endorsed by the Sufi tradition in Lahore as its patron saint. Often denoted with running water and streams this was the location of where the river used to flow in former times. It got renamed the

¹³⁶ Glover, *Making Lahore Modern*.

Sheranwala gate (lions gate) in the Sikh period as Ranjit Singh is said to have kept two lions in a cage as a symbolic warning to trespassers. It is now recalled by both names, by different groups of people. The Roshnai Gate invokes its utilization as a prime imperial passageway in the Mughal period linking the imperial fort to the city, and the name indicating its being profusely lit up referring to the Gate of Light or Gate of Splendor. In the Sikh period however it relates to a tragic incident of the next in line Sikh monarch who was killed by a fragment of the gate while proceeding to his coronation thus recalling different associations to citizens.¹³⁷ Each gateway also denotes a string of events and passage to a collection of monuments and thus is a monument of memory in its own sense.

The traces of the Hindu founders of the city remain in a few names, a small temple in the Fort, as a forgotten relic and the hidden under the layers of stratigraphy of the cultural accretion on which the Fort is constructed. The recognition of this Hindu past point of origin is all but a memory that has been erased in the collective consciousness. Even these place names do not hold as much meaning or cannot be recalled by the common citizen. The medieval period of early Muslim rule of the Ghaznavids, Mamluks and later sultanates that inhabited the city are memorialized in the victorious heroic accounts of Mahmud of Ghazni in history text books. There is poetry about the great conqueror Mahmud and his slave Malik Ayyaz and the legend of the miraculous rebuilding of the walls and fortress of the city over night by the Georgian slave turned Governor of Lahore.¹³⁸ Malik Ayyaz, reconstructing a new mud fort on the ruins of the old, is said to have formed the space that is now the walled city. His tomb in the walled city still exists and is revered as the tomb of the founder of Lahore. During his reign the city is also noted to have become an academic and cultural center where poetry and the arts flourished. Leaving an indelible mark on the collective memory of the city's patron saint Syed Ali Hujwiri, whose shrine was reconstructed many times, remains to this day one of the most visited sites by the populace. Commemorated in the devotional qawwali music and dance at the annual Urs, a Sufi festival celebrating the reunion of Data Ganj Baksh with his divine creator. Many such shrines dot the walled city as well and are places for similar festivals and events during which the static structure transforms

¹³⁷ Latif, *Lahore*.

¹³⁸ Bapsi Sidhwa, *City of Sin and Splendour: Writings on Lahore* (Penguin UK, 2005), 15.

into the temporal structures. Thus the structure of the walled city is imbued with various religions, cultures, sects, and ethnic groups each leaving their traces in the form of both tangible and intangible heritage.

3.2.2 Whose Walled City is it anyway?

Lahore is a place of co-existence for contradictory and alternate realities, which is a condition heightened in the walled city of Lahore. The diverse groups of people include those having deep family roots there to recent and historical migrants from within the various provinces as well as from India before the partition. Lower-income poorer groups make up the greater proportion of the population as well as a smaller middle class and some very wealthy families and individuals. Lahore has a current predominantly Muslim population with a smaller group of religious minorities including Christian and Hindus, culturally and ethnically diverse groups from all the provinces, *muhajir* and refugees from the partition, diasporic individuals and those that have left in duress during partition. Each group and characteristic provide diverse and often contradictory perceptions and representations of the city. With each group also having different associations and values for various parts of the built environment and also heritage, the question is asked, “whose walled city is it anyway?”

One side of the city is encapsulated by the diasporic and quintessentially ‘Lahori’ novelist Bapsi Sidhwa. She utilizes such a description in her first novel *The Pakistani Bride*. In *The City of Sin and Splendor*’ anthology she has compiled old and new selected stories, poems and chronicles from a lot of the city’s prominent figures writing about their deep engagement with the city. She describes a city whose ambience has, “moulded my sensibility and also my emotional responses. To belong to Lahore is to be steeped in its romance, to inhale with each breath an intensity of feeling that demands expression.”¹³⁹ Such a characterization is one of the recurring representations of the city of Lahore, a nostalgic diasporic frame imbued with romanticisation and contradictory complexity. Here the palimpsestic city renowned as the cultural capital of the country, layered with monumental sites of heritage of diverse eras is highlighted for its cultural and phenomenological effect. A place of citizens who most habitually describe and recall the city with a deep emotional quotient. A city

¹³⁹ Sidhwa, *City of Sin and Splendour*.

whose citizens are in perpetual nostalgia. The dynamics of time are non-linear and looped. A constant revoked past that may be emblematic of historic cities or indicative of a city that has been through multiple destructions and reconstructions in history as well as the relatively recent trauma of the partition.

Frequently having Lahore as the epicenter of her novels, Bapsi Sidhwa describes the need to indulge in linguistic antics at the very spelling of the name as seen in the above quote. Her literary images of Lahore duly capture the walled city of Lahore or the city within the city. The historic center, that was once the nucleus of the city when it began. Indicating the neglected Hindu origins and the Mughal period whose monuments illustrate the present historic landscape of the city. A recurring backdrop for her novels is the infamous Heera Mandi, also indicative as the inspiration of the analogy for Lahore in the quote. This was the neighborhood of residence for the courtesans of the Mughal nobility and is now a red light area in close proximity of the country's most famous grand, ornately decorated mosque the Badshahi Masjid. Serving an incongruous contradiction that partially embodies main characteristics of the city through which the writer describes as the 'city of sin and splendor'. Transfiguring into a vehicle of personification, engendering Lahore. Sidhwa further portrays in her stories a slowly aging city one that is gradually fading out, a Lahore that has lost its multicultural identity after partition. Sidhwa's identity as a diasporic author of Pakistani descent residing in the United States and belonging to the generation directly affected by the partition are indicative of her representation of Lahore.

The city's location at the border of India and Pakistan, amidst the province of Punjab. A region that is inherently split due to the partition, is primary to understanding post-partition representations of it. As a once united province Punjab is a region with shared intangible heritage and cultural traditions, this bifurcation of it leaves a sense of shared loss on either side. Lahore is thus in a sense symbolic of the partition, a separated sibling. As quoted by Gyanendra Pandey, "the legacy of the partition is an extraordinary love-hate relationship divided by deep resentment, animosity...the most of militant nationalism... and a considerable sense of nostalgia, frequently articulated in the view that this was a partition of siblings that should not have

occurred.”¹⁴⁰ Much literature reinforces this representation of Lahore. Written from his stay in Geneva, “Lahore a sentimental journey” follows Pran Neville’s recollection of the city in its pre-partition days during his residence there.¹⁴¹ Detailed with descriptions of the culture, society and cosmopolitanism of a pre-partition Lahore, the book is set in the 1930’s. From the boisterous sights and sounds of the Anarkali bazaar to the rooftop kite-flying festival an annual celebration of spring called Basant, where colorful clouds of kites flood the sky. As well as the frequenting of exclusive clubs and theatres to the adventures to Hira Mandi. Pran writes about the urban cultural landscape dotted with his everyday experiences and incidents. However, this is an image he suggests is what Lahore really truly is or was, one that existed before the independence of Pakistan in 1947. As he encapsulates himself, “I have tried to reinvent the atmosphere that existed in the first half of this century in that great and much loved city: a lifestyle, a certain mode of thought and living, now dead and gone.”¹⁴² As a diplomat and author of Hindu identity, born and hailing from Lahore, Pran is part of the mass exodus of Lahori citizens forced to relocate in the violence of the partition. He joins a group of writers from Lahore that were forced to leave the city due to the danger surrounding the partition. Others include Khushwant Singh and Som Anand, both penning nostalgic accounts of the city they feel a strong belonging with. In a similar vein, Som Anand’s book is called *Lahore: a portrait of a Lost city*. In concurrence with the previous author, to them Lahore as they knew it is a city forever lost, one can never be retrieved again except maybe in literature. The city of their birth has transformed into a foreign hinterland.

The migrated Hindu Lahori recalls the city in different terms, Som Anand writes, ‘In Lahore, as in other cities of our country, two worlds existed side-by side; in the suburbs or on the outskirts there was the world of broad avenues, motor cars, bungalows and lawn amenities for comfortable living and the well-dressed modern gentry. On the other side, areas inside the walled city presented an altogether different picture. It was a world of narrow winding lanes, some of them so narrow that inside the Shahalam gate, popularly known as Shalmi, two people could not walk side by side...the old city gave outsiders the feeling that they had come to

¹⁴⁰ Pandey, Gyanendra. 2007. *Remembering partition: violence, nationalism and history in India*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

¹⁴¹ Pran Neville, *Lahore: A Sentimental Journey* (Penguin Books India, 2006).

¹⁴² Neville.

Baghdad of the Arabian nights...As elsewhere in India, the poor outnumbered the rich in the walled city of Lahore. In the words of a writer from the city, the poor in the walled city looked like characters out of Gorky or Dostoevsky.”¹⁴³

The Walled city as it is represented in the writings and reflections of current writers and citizens of the city appears as the romanticized Lahore of the past, in essence the old Lahore. Nostalgic about a past that they never partook of yet represents the shared identity or history of where they belonged. While certain parts of these rituals continue and the memory is relived, it still represents a relic of the unrecoverable past, a predicament that is at the root of current conservation curations. The walled city remaining in memory as phenomenological impressions zoned as areas of characteristic recall, the locality of Hira Mandi, the locality of shrines, bazars and mandirs. Images of heritage are made into national symbols such as the Alamgiri gate of the Lahore fort. Bapsi Sidwaha wrote about Lahore as the complete romanticized image often repeated in literature today, “Lahore- the ancient whore, the handmaiden of dimly remembered Hindu kings, the courtesan of Mughal emperors’, the ‘Paris of the East’, Lahore is more than the grandeur of Mughal forts and gardens, mosques and mausoleums; the jewel colors of everlasting spring. It is also the city of poets, the city of love, longing, sin and splendor.”¹⁴⁴

In contrast with the romanticized accounts Kamil Khan Mumtaz writes, “The walled city is essentially a relic of the pre-industrial goods and services –from transistor radios to world bank projects – but it must pay for them with pre-industrial commodities. In this exchange, it is caught in a predicament comparable to a man who gets the iron lung he needs to survive but has to get the pedal going.”¹⁴⁵ These romantic and nostalgic idealized pasts are therefore contrasted with the everyday ground realities of living and surviving for many of the inhabitants that are part of a lower income group. Many of the inhabitants I interviewed thus had a more functional view in relationship with the built environment and were concerned about the services and rights the city offered them. Remembered as the city of kings and splendor, of diversity and inclusion, of courtesans

¹⁴³ Som Anand. 1998. *Lahore, portrait of a lost city*. Lahore: Vanguard Books.

¹⁴⁴ Sidwaha, Bapsi. 2005. *City of sin and splendour: writings on Lahore*. New Delhi: Penguin Books.

¹⁴⁵ As quoted in, Suvorova, Anna A. 2011. *Lahore: topophilia of space and place*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.

and music, of legends and tragedies it is a city within a city that is now transforming in many ways. While the inner city gets cemented, pillaged, romanticized, and abandoned, now it is in a state of neglect, rapid destruction or museulisation. Simultaneously it is a city that has still retained and is reliving some of its past rituals, choreographing the same processes and striving to thrive in parts of it.

3.3 Walled City Current Dynamics

3.3.1 Quality of Life in the Walled City

The Aga Khan Cultural Services conducted a Quality of Life (QoL) baseline survey of the Walled City of Lahore, updating the QoL data since the Lahore Development Authority and World Bank projects around 1980. This conveys various important facts and information about the walled city and its residents. This becomes an important contribution for Walled City as it is not a conservation methodology that views that deals with the Walled City as piecemeal restorations of particular monument within, and considers the city an artifact but also the quality of life of the inhabitants within the historical built environment. The report depicts that the residents and users in the walled city are diverse depicting a social composition of a changing groups of communities, as well as having many migrants that travel to the walled city for work and trade every day.¹⁴⁶ Whilst even lower income inhabitants may have mobile phones, that is reflective more of the current culture and there is still a large proportion of the population that lives under the poverty line. The Walled City of Lahore is very densely populated, and the 2010 metric is at 883 persons per hectare, thus there is greater need for survival and for resources which are relatively scarcer.¹⁴⁷

Around half of the population is below the age of 22 years, however only 38% are employed thus the unemployment rate in the LWC is very high. The major employment is found in the informal economy, as sources of income are private, daily wage or self. Access to quality education is also a luxury for residents in the walled city.¹⁴⁸ Roughly only a third of the population is enrolled in some form of educational institution and the schools present are overcrowded. The income analysis of households conducted by the QoL survey

¹⁴⁶ Aga Khan Trust for Culture. 2010. Aga Khan Cultural Service Pakistan. *Lahore Walled City Project, Quality of Life, Baseline Socio-economic Household Survey Report, 2008-2010*, 19.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid, 20.

depicts that majority of the inhabitants are of lower-income households and are in debt and cannot meet their expenses. Consequently, access to health services and quality education are low as these can also only be afforded by higher income families.¹⁴⁹

While there are diverse 'Local area reality' poverty line estimates the QoL survey compares universal criterion adjusting it to the context and creates an assessment of poverty according to that. Thus accordingly people who earn less than Rs.1,955 per month per capita are in poverty which is 24% of the households in the sample interviewed by the QoL team.¹⁵⁰ From 30% to 10% individuals live under the poverty line depending on where you are measuring in the walled city. The income distribution of 709 households in the west of the Walled City which is also the poorer area depicts how the majority of households are under the poverty line as seen in the figure below.¹⁵¹

Therefore, as heard during my fieldwork, many of the residents find refuge in abandoned heritage structures since it is the only means of survival. A female head of household at one of the residences I interviewed, relayed to me of living in the fear of being evicted from the historical property. Which was her family's only means of survival as her husband was old and made a very low income selling fruits in the chowk near their house.

¹⁴⁹ Aga Khan Trust for Culture. 2010. Aga Khan Cultural Service Pakistan. *Lahore Walled City Project, Quality of Life, Baseline Socio-economic Household Survey Report, 2008-2010*, 20.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid.

¹⁵¹ Ibid.

CHART 13: Income Distribution of 709 Households in West LWC

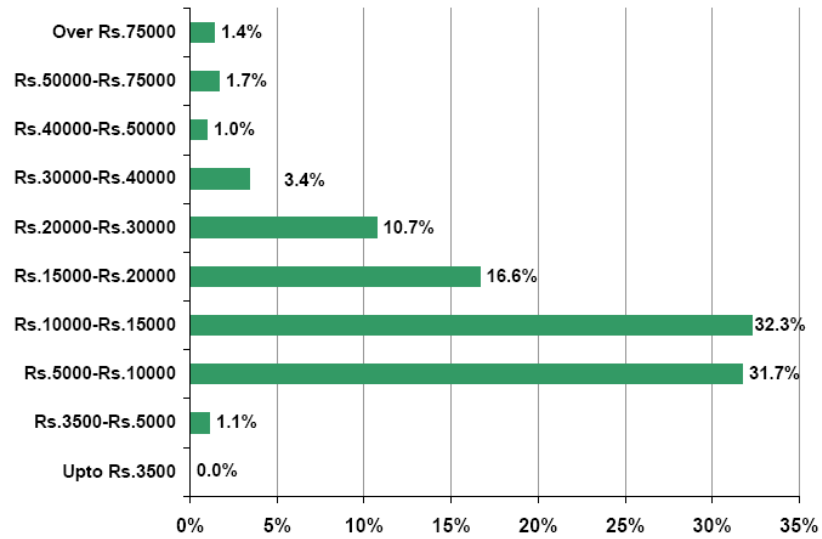


Figure 18 Income distribution of households in West LWC. Source: WCLA, AKCS-P QoL Baseline Survey.



Figure 19 Home of inhabitants informally residing in an older structure, due to being below poverty line. – Source: Author.



Figure 20. The sleeping area of the inhabitants in the heritage structure. – Source: Author.

3.3.2 Drastic Dichotomies

Drastic dichotomies of the current state of the walled city render two main operatives at work these are the rapid destruction, development and commercialization causing destruction of historic buildings in favor of concrete commercial plazas, or the musealisation of heritage that is frozen to a fixed previous point in time and also often a conduction of complete reconstruction to a specific slice of historical era. These are set

against the backdrop of numerous heritage sites falling into abandoned ruins by sheer neglect.



Figure 21 Dichotomies of preservation: main operatives in the city. – Source: Author.

Historic preservation strategies if carried out apply older western charters of preservation onto this local context. Once preserved, the historic architectural palimpsest transforms into a commodified hollowed-out object, accessible only to the elite few, rendering heritage into a capitalistic venture by displaying a reconstructed facade to attract one-time touristic visitors. In such a case of dichotomous antithetical approaches to the heritage of the city, how could we find an intermediary?



Figure 22. The Noori Haveli. – Source: Author.

Demolition of the older built fabric increases in areas closer to the LDA developed Shah Alami market and commercialized areas. Owing to significant price differentials between residential and commercial plots, investment in the former and their subsequent conversion into high-density commercial buildings is more lucrative for real estate agents and prominent traders.¹⁵²

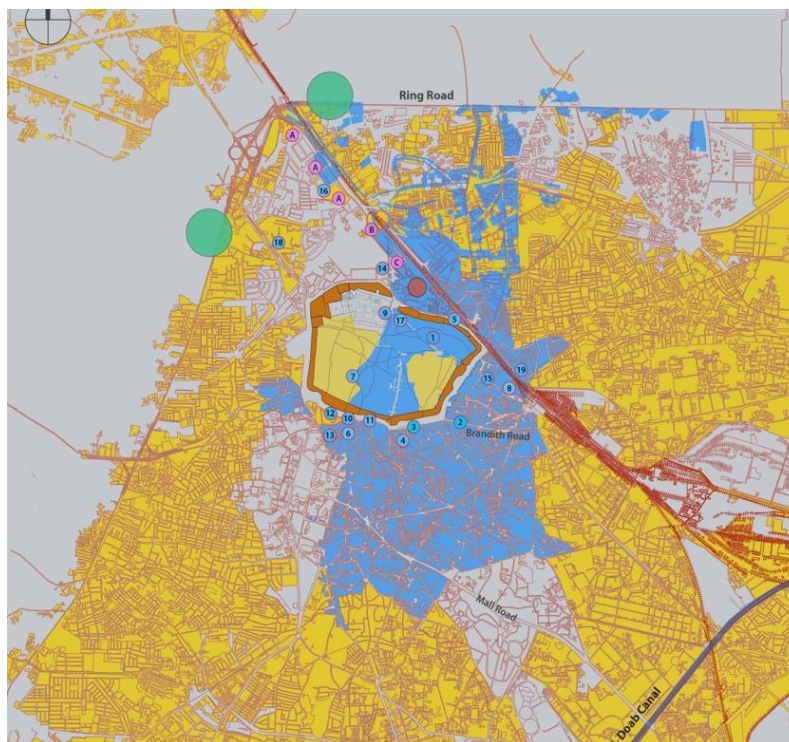


Figure 23. Commercialization shown in blue in the general context of the city in relation with the Walled City. - Source: AKCS-P.

Part of the Walled city current dynamics include the rapid commercialization of the area over time. However even though this is attributed to the walled city and its wholesale markets particularly figure 17 shows it is a land use affecting a larger region. In 1947 commercialization was at the scale of a craft economy and the particular urban dynamics were in a feudal social context that survived from pre-colonial era, with some British period interventions including the demolishment of the boundary walls of the city. Forty years later in 1987 the conditions changed as the aftermath of partition took a toll. The pressures of the larger city affected the urban form and life, and there were weakened regulatory functions. During this period a lot of the long

¹⁵² Aga Khan Cultural Services, Quality of Life in the Walled City – Baseline Economic Surveys.

term residential population were beginning to migrate and the transportation and wholesale functions of the walled city are strongly conjoined. Comparatively in 2007 metropolitan urban pressures overwhelmed the urban fabric and as the government regulatory functions decreased, illegal demolition and reconstruction was pronounced as well as the out-migration of residential populations.

The demolition of the older building stock is carried out more in the area close to the commercialized locality specifically the state-sponsored plazas created post-partition. A major point of contention for the conservationists and many of the major market players, is that due to significant price difference between a plot selling as a residential use and one whose land use is converted into a commercial plot. However, it is to be noted that majority of the market players involved are not residents of the area and are involved in the walled city as a transactional basis. Thus the conversion of land use from residential to a commercial use with higher-density commercial buildings is lucrative for both real estate agents and dominant traders. Newer commercial "plazas" are of higher density than the traditional built fabric and cover larger parcels of land compared with the smaller footprint of older residential buildings.¹⁵³ However many of these markets cover the informal economy as well and provide a source of employment for the largely under-privileged population who do not have access to good quality education or better paid employment opportunities.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵³ Aga Khan Trust for Culture. 2010. Aga Khan Cultural Service Pakistan. *Labore Walled City Project, Quality of Life, Baseline Socio-economic Household Survey Report, 2008-2010*, 15.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid, 19.

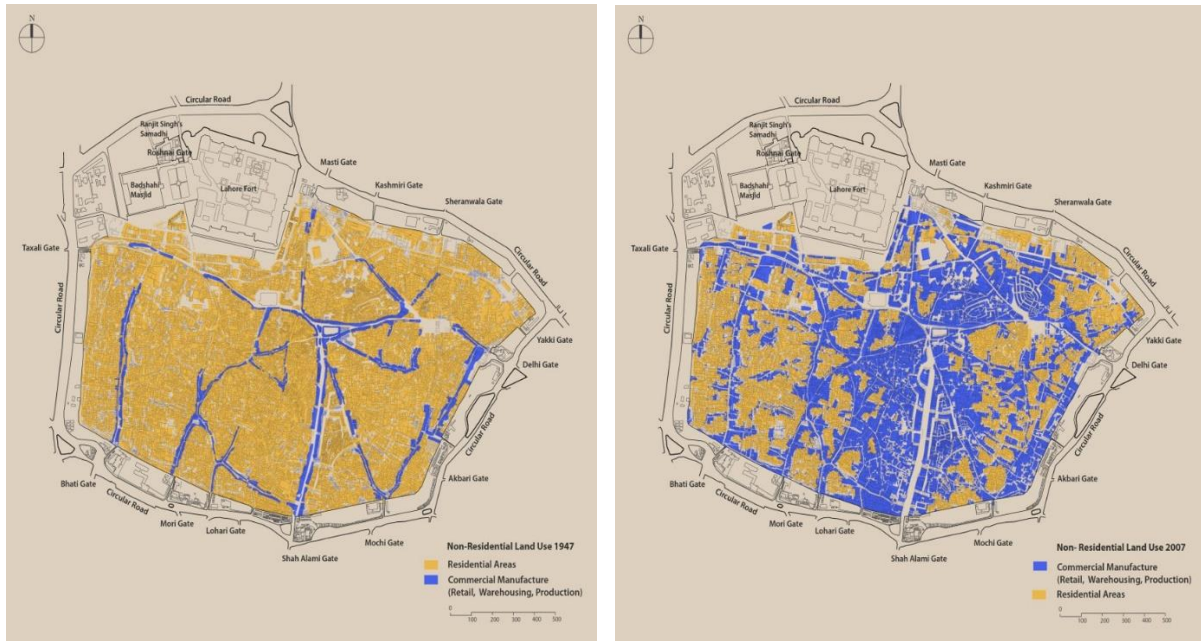


Figure 24 Non-residential Land Use in blue compared from 1947 to 2007. Source: WCLA.

3.3.3 Current Conservation Curation

In the past five years, Lahore has seen an influx of conservation projects usually funded by international donor agencies being executed on various of the most notable monuments. These include the Shahi Hammam recently restored by the Aga Khan Cultural Service – Pakistan, the 17th century urban square of the Wazir Khan Mosque and efforts to restore the Wazir Khan mosque itself and the Lahore Fort. The Aga Khan Trust for Culture itself began with the conservation of the Baltit Fort and Karimabad settlement in 1992, through which the Aga Khan Cultural Services – Pakistan was created as a local agency of the AKTC. Various of the heritage sites in Pakistan restored and conserved by the AKCS-P have won UNESCO merit awards and achieved global recognition. The projects involved not only the conservation of a prime monument but also a part of the surrounding urban landscape. However increasingly they are also going towards a monument-centric approach and currently lesser of community involvement and urban fabric revitalization is seen. Since the current projects are monuments of very age, cultural and art value the

argument is that these should be kept for posterity and some of them are now converted into ticketed museums.



Figure 25. The restoration of the Shabi Hammam by the AKCS-P and the WCLA. - Source: Archnet, Aga Khan Historic Cities Program.

Besides the nuances within the conservation city debates, the current conservation policy in the Walled city of Lahore still undergoes remnants of the same pervasive idea of preservation that tries to restore back to the most authentic and original point in time. This is seen primarily in the activities of the semi-government run authority, The Walled City of Lahore Authority. Part of the current organizational structure includes a building control department that solely deals with the regulation of by-laws and removal of encroachments. Their definition in of encroachment in practice appears to encompass any extra built area differencing from a 1915 colonial era revenue map. It is seen that the city's fluctuating boundaries are 'restored' back to the plot boundaries of a 1907 colonial era revenue map, conceptually operating on an assumption that 1907 is the original authentic moment in time to which the city need revert back to in order to preserve heritage. The

plot numbers are tallied by the *patwari* with numerous registers also from the colonial times that list the details of each plot including ownership and a brief description.¹⁵⁵

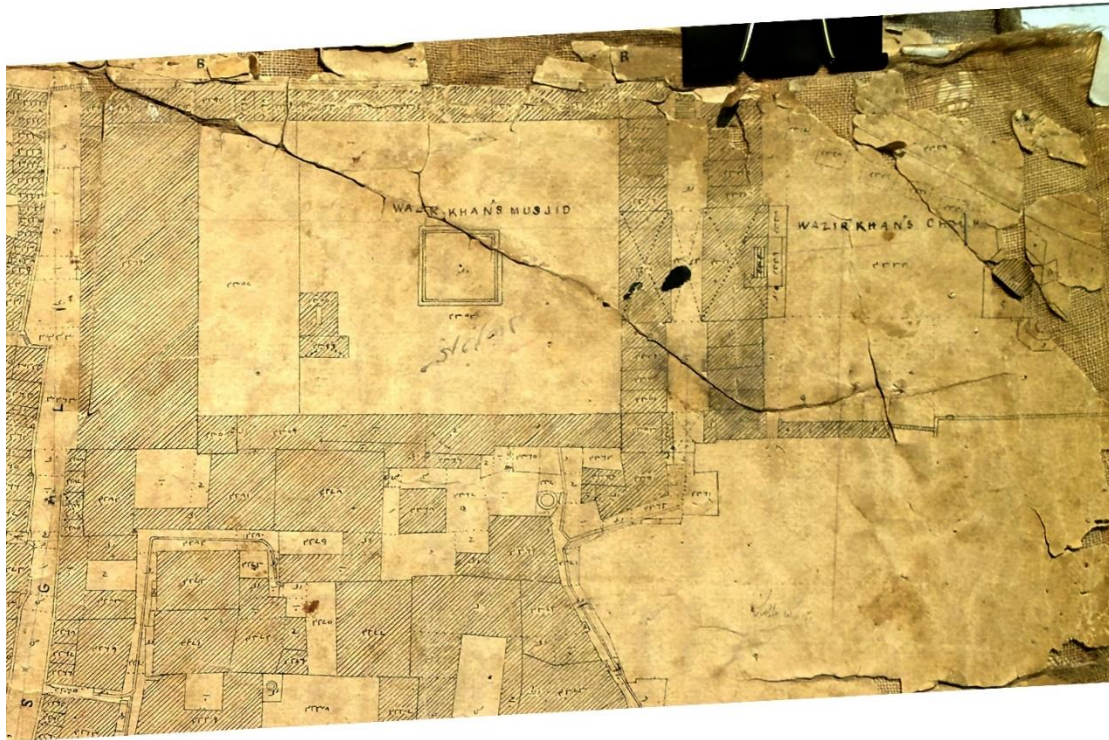


Figure 26. 1907 Revenue map, that the WCLA uses to remove encroachments in the Walled City. Source: Walled City of Lahore Authority, Building Control Department.

4. Inhabitation of Heritage within the Walled City

4.1 Introduction

Inhabitation denotes the “act” of inhabiting, a process connecting space and time. As such it can also be taken to refer to Heidegger’s notion of dwelling. Another thread amidst the city is the spatio-temporal landscape, so the urban landscape constitutes not just the built environment but the ways in which the users

¹⁵⁵ Interview with anonymous building control officer and a *patwari* at WCLA.

and inhabitants of the built environment engage with and transform it over time. As conservation cannot be thought of without the central element of time within the historical built environment, this should therefore be considered non-linear; so that neither the past or present exist in isolation, but rather are in continuous dialogue with each other. Notions of historical buildings and built heritage evoke either permanence or the desire of permanence insofar as they form relics that have withstood time to remain in the present.

Thus a very theory of the inhabitation of built heritage often goes against the myth of permanence¹⁵⁶ into the impending and inevitable disintegration of all material objects. However, a different reading of this phenomenon provokes the notion that this very inhabitation is not only the cause of the activation of the historic artifact as well as often its survival through time itself, these inhabitations can be thought of, as conservation. The myriad forms of inhabitation over time lend different typological meaning to what is perceived as the same space, and thus becomes a multi-layered and embodied container with a potential of constant refuge.

In the historical urban landscape of postcolonial Lahore this dynamic is taken further to become the coalescence of the imperial and the industrial city, the ancient and the globalized, the static and kinetic cities¹⁵⁷, the inner and the external and the formal and informal types of urbanisms. It is at once one and both, an amalgamation of contradicting realities and pasts, where a city is recovering from its recent colonial past and its after-effects, filling the spaces of what is often the voids and exploitation of governance and into self-governing organic systems of labor. Whereas the history of heritage in Lahore depicts the occupation of the iconic sites by the conquering ruler, this is a similar reclamation of space, yet a subversion of authority. It represents the taking back of power by the powerless; the transformation of spaces of procession, spaces of leisure and spaces of domination into the spaces of the everyday.

Architecture as a discipline has over time brought consciousness into itself both in the usage of materials (i.e. emphasizing environmentally consciousness and sustainability) as well as the functionality of space in socially

¹⁵⁶ Lowenthal, David. 2014. *Past is a foreign country*.

¹⁵⁷ Mehrotra, "Negotiating the Static and Kinetic Cities."

responsible programs. However, in reality and practice it is still constrained by the politico-institutional contexts in which it operates¹⁵⁸, and social consciousness in architecture often comes secondary to aesthetics. In contrast, most disciplines in the 1990's went through poststructuralist 'deconstruction' of power structures in knowledge.¹⁵⁹ Changes in urban theory included radical approaches such as the right to the city, the just city, radical alterity, inclusivity and the open city, all of which have attempted to flatten the hegemony of spaces in a myriad of ways.

Yet in the realm of historic cities, as well as historic preservation as a discipline, the preference continues to be material conservation¹⁶⁰ over the immaterial. Even with various approaches shifting towards the intangible, questioning the "authentic," there still looms a question on whether historic preservation has managed to extend beyond the aesthetic perspective and the formal features of space itself. While the discipline does often acknowledge the contemporary use and function of a space, it is usually as a detriment to its normative preservation back to authenticity. Less often is the new function thought as a re-contextualization of existing spaces.

To investigate the modes of heritage spatio-temporally, as well as to find an alternative for traditional preservation methods in the postcolonial, post-industrial, cityscape, the historic city of Lahore itself is re-examined, re-read and re-evaluated. As with cities everywhere there are various cases of spatial recycling. The diverse states and non-states of being, with the transformation of the socio-political landscape over time, portray myriad and interesting after-lives of heritage. Inhabitation of heritage with varying degrees of formality curate an unconscious political subversion of the initial intents. A typology of subversion is created in this chapter, outlining a few of the prominent and distinct typologies of subversive inhabitation at work in the old city. These typologies constantly negotiate the dialectic of spaces of memory and spaces of commodity, never displaying discrete boundaries between them.

¹⁵⁸ "Open City or the Right to the City? / Harvard GSD Urban Theory Lab," accessed April 27, 2019, <http://www.urbantheorylab.net/publications/open-city-or-the-right-to-the-city/>.

¹⁵⁹ Fredrick Jameson "Symptoms of Theory or Symptoms for Theory?"

¹⁶⁰ Lowenthal, David. 2014. *Past is a foreign country*.

Thus the different typologies of inhabitation are presented in historic and contemporary case studies of the walled city that display subversion of the spaces' original intent. These case studies include a reading of how inhabitants have impacted heritage over time, with various degrees of informality and formality. The spatial alterity that sprouts up in the bastions and canons of traditional architecture is at first deciphered into broad categories of space based on the various states and acts of inhabiting that occur in the Walled city. These include the Spaces of Civic Repurposing, the Spaces of Commodification or Commercial repurposing, and the Spaces of Occupation/Refuge or Residential repurposing. Each typology is imbued with some similar characteristics that are oft-recurring in the walled city and form their own re-definition and reclamation of the space, creating alternate histories by layering on the space-time dimension. These places however are not in any way either limited to such categories or reduced by them (as discussed further in Chapter 5).

4.2 Typologies of Subversive Inhabitation

4.2.1 Spaces of Civic Repurposing: Civic and Educational Repurposing

The first typological category of repurposed space is theorized as the Spaces of the Civic Repurposing also understood as democratization¹⁶¹. This encompasses those spaces reutilized for educational, civic or social repurposing. Democratization is seen as an action or process, constituting one of the types of inhabitation observed through field and archival work. In this case it signifies the conversion of a space from private restrictions and exclusivity to one that becomes variably publicly accessible. Democratization can also be described as part of the right to the city framework, that is the appropriation of the city by its inhabitants.¹⁶² However, this category is selected to point to case studies of repurposing that somehow improve the quality of life of inhabitants. Examples of democratization exhibit varying degrees of formality and informality, in some cases carried out by individual inhabitants, in others by local organizations as well as the state. Case studies of repurposing under this rubric include public schools, especially ones for girls' education, as well as vocational training centers, music and arts training, museums, public parks and dispensaries.

This presents a few novel examples including a 17th century royal Mughal bathhouse becoming informally inhabited by the citizens and divided into spaces such as a vocational institute for women, a primary school for boys and various smaller merchandise shops including a paan shop. We also observe the historical Delhi gate of the Mughal era which was destroyed and then reconstructed by the British, becoming a public school for girls' post-independence. Additionally, a princely mansion of the Sikh period was transformed into a girls' school in the pre-colonial period, and also exists as a girl's public high school until today. Massive and ornamental historical buildings that were once commissioned by the imperial rulers of the city, constructed by

¹⁶¹ Democratization: Right to the city, the appropriation of the city by its inhabitants the action of making something accessible to everyone.

¹⁶² Technically the Victoria Girls High school and many of these repurposed buildings have become government schools that have free education.

various unnamed laborers for the exclusive use of the imperial and noble aristocratic class, are now inhabited by the public in service of their social development.

Haveli of Nau Nihal Singh as Victoria Girls School

The Haveli Nau Nihal Singh is one of the iconic havelis that remains intact with its colored frescoes of Sikh religious imagery and wooden *chujjas* and railings. Created in the courtyard of a Mughal era mosque by Ranjit Singh's son Nau Nihal Singh, it was used as the residence of the prince, after which it was abandoned. A local group called the Shikhsabah¹⁶³ in the colonial era proposed to create a school for girls and coalesced the space. Gaining sufficient political capital, the colonial administration eventually formalized the school into a government school for girls. Over time, despite shifts in government, the building has continued to be used as a school, making its new function in itself an alternate history of the building.

While under its initial formalization during the colonial era the school was instated as one particularly for English-speaking Anglican students and was not open for all, it currently serves as a government school with a nominal fee. Thus the school is affordable to the many under-privileged girls residing in the walled city. It recognizes the culture of the walled city as one where families prefer not to send their daughters far from home, both due to safety concerns as well as a more conservative culture. Its proximity to the neighborhoods and locality mean that it often represents the only access to education that the younger female inhabitants of the walled city will have. The school forms a part of a larger collection of other girls' government schools and colleges, the students of which often teach at the same institutions post-graduation. With an alternate life at night, the school is reused for movie shoots and fashion shoots; the building even hosts local community members' weddings when school is not in session.

¹⁶³ Oral history in an interview with Faqir Saifuddin.



Figure 27. *The layers of the Haveli Nau Nihal Singh. Source: Aadil Pasha.*

Delhi Gate as a Government School for Girls

The Delhi Gate is the main and largest gate of the walled city, originally created by the Mughal emperor Akbar, destroyed by the British for its ruined condition, and then reconstructed again by them in the form it stands today. Indeed, its pilasters, pediments and round arches are emblematic of the European influence on its reshaped reconstruction. Placed near the Wazir Khan Shahi Hammam (Royal Baths), it is the only semi-public Mughal era building remaining in the area. Once located at the head of the main route from the Lahore Fort to Delhi, this was a gate frequented by visiting caravans and used as the ceremonial entry gate for royal entourages.¹⁶⁴ It not only symbolizes the portal to the city but also denotes a whole district or area of the city as the main memorial landmark. Individuals living anywhere near the gate locality identify themselves as Delhi gate residents, a highly frequented and settled area even in Mughal times. The proximity of the construction of the colonial era railway station as a transport hub encouraged increased commercial activity. The colonial era reimagined the space as half a magistrates court to administer the law and half a police station.¹⁶⁵ By the

¹⁶⁴ Pakistan Environmental Planning & Architectural Consultants, and Metropolitan Planning Wing (Lahore Development Authority). 1988. *The walled city of Lahore, Pakistan: monograph*. [Lahore]: PEPAC, 49.

¹⁶⁵ A larger kotwali (police station) was built by the British later near the gate later that continues to be the headquarters for city police.

1980's the central portal structure opening up to a *denri* had lower rooms occupied with laundrymen and jewelry sellers, while the upper story timber beamed masonry rooms were used by police.

Later on the structure was conserved by the local conservation agency PEPAC and repurposed as a government school for girls, based on the model of previous girls' schools being housed in heritage spaces. Over time however the girls' public school has slowly appropriated the space for their needs and aesthetics. The new use as a girl's school reclaims the colonial monument and its history as a police station. Colorful stickers and cutouts dot the rounded window panes and walls, while posters as well as drawings of students transform the atmosphere. Nearly all the teachers as well as the headmistress employed are women, many of whom completed their own studies in the walled city repurposed girls' schools and colleges. A teacher whom I interviewed shared that her previous education was from the Victoria girls' school and the Fatima Jinnah government college for women in the Haveli, colloquially known as Chuna Mandi college depicting how these schools also provide employment for its graduates that can similarly not travel far from home. It can be observed that majority of the young girls wear Chadors,¹⁶⁶ and some wear hijabs or abaya¹⁶⁷ when they leave their college. The culture of the walled city is such that families still discourage their daughters from being outside. The proximity of these schools to their homes are sometimes the only reason some girls get to go to school, as their families prefer not to send them far from their homes.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁶ Scarves loosely worn as conservative head covering in the South Asian style.

¹⁶⁷ The abaya is a black cloak characteristic of Saudi religious clothing for women, it garnered popularity in Pakistan in the military Zia Ul Haq's time with his Islamisation policies inspired by Saudi Arabia and Pan-Islamic movements.

¹⁶⁸ Interview with a class teacher at Government Girl's high school Delhi Gate.



Figure 28- Havelis turned into girl's schools. Source: Author.

Wazir Khan Shahi Hammam as Vocational Institute, Boys Primary school and Shops

The multi-domed Wazir Khan Shahi Hammam near Delhi Gate, a monument filled with frescoes of angels and floral imagery from the Mughal period, was one of the few allegedly semi-public buildings from that time. In the British period this Hammam was reutilized as offices for British officers. Upon subsequently becoming abandoned over time, it has since been reclaimed by the city in various modes. The cavernous open space transitioning through various connected domes and chambers slowly gets split into parts of different functions as the city recycled the neglected site. A part of it became a boy's primary school, another part was transformed into a vocational institute for the under-privileged women of the walled city, and the remaining sections are inhabited by a working dispensary, not to mention various small shops including a tobacco shop and a paan shop. The informal shops line the exterior on the main bazaar roadside and slowly impinge their new accretions into the façade of the Hammam, to the point the Hammam itself is barely visible from the road. In recent years the AKCS-P in collaboration with the WCLA fully conserved the historic baths as a unique remaining example of the typology, requiring the removal of all informal 'encroachments' and the excavation of the interior to create a museum. This museum now exposes the Mughal bath-works and has become a site catering to tourists primarily of international stature. The ordinary inhabitants of the city are

not seen inside the museum, yet slowly the informal market has popped back up on the road-side of the major artery.

Khushial Singh Haveli as Fatima Jinnah Girls College

Along similar lines we can consider the Fatima Jinnah Girls college, colloquially known as the Chuna Mandi College, created on the site of Khushial Singh's Haveli. This vast haveli is said to be created on the remains of Asif Jan's Haveli and also contains a Mughal era style Hammam. After becoming the headquarters for the central intelligence agency for many years, as well as divided in parts by families, the mansion was converted into a government girl's college, which remains its function to this day. The college inhabits various parts of the vast haveli, having blackboards and wooden chairs in the large halls that are overlaid by figural frescoes of Radha and Krishna. The underground basements are also utilized as classrooms creating many associated legends of tunnels which the college girls speculate on. In a similar repurposing the Najaf school system has many branches around the walled city all reutilizing older structures. and the Sheranwala Gate was converted into the Government Secondary Institute for Blind Students. The Sikh era Dina Nath Haveli near the Wazir Khan Mosque is also presently a vocational institute for women.

Lohari Gate as the Sarangi School

The southernmost gate of the walled city and the one that was earliest in importance from the reign of Malik Ayyaz is the Lohari gate. It stands in its British reconstruction by Sir Montgomery in 1864 in a style similar to its original, escaping the gothic revival style so familiar to Anglo-Indian reconstructions.¹⁶⁹ In its late postcolonial history the colonial reconstruction was subverted by its usage as a private residence by none other than a Department of Archaeology guard, the bottom floors used as storage for shopkeepers.¹⁷⁰ Transitioning from a public monument to a private residence in either of its two bastions, it is surrounded as well by informal occupation. It was informally inhabited as a residence until 2015, at which time the

¹⁶⁹ Pakistan Environmental Planning & Architectural Consultants, and Metropolitan Planning Wing (Lahore Development Authority). 1988. *The walled city of Lahore, Pakistan: monograph*. [Lahore]: PEPAC, 85.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

individuals were evacuated by the government authority for conservation.¹⁷¹ However, in recent times, a local inhabitant named Israr Nabi Khan, a skilled sarangi player, went to the WCLA with the request to create a sarangi school for the walled city residents. The narrow domed rooms of the second floor are consequently resounding with tunes to classical *raga* and *thumri*, to the contrast of the noise of traffic, horns and horse carriages outside, thanks to free classes offered to the walled city community. As a Mughal instrument facing endangerment the practice faces social stigma, yet the sarangi school has reignited interest. In fact, a tabla player and sitar player join Khan in arranging concertos, and a few of the city's female inhabitants have also come to learn despite fear of pushback from their families.¹⁷²

Mubarak Haveli as the Naqsh School of Arts

An ancestral mansion near one of the oldest bazaar of the city, the Bazaar-i-Hakiman, was repurposed by one of the famous old families of the walled city, which owned the Mubarak Haveli, and their current head, Syed Babar Ali. The buildings attached to their home and family shrine have been transformed into the Naqsh School of Arts, which provides traditional arts skills training for under-privileged individuals of any age, background or gender from the walled city. Established in 2003, the school includes a sewing center offering skills training for women. As well as having an art gallery housed in a historic Haveli, the reception room of the gallery where the administrator sits has a marble grave with the inscription of the historic person for whom the bazaar has been named. This creates an interesting juxtaposition between its present use and this historic reminder of the site's founding. Newly created glass partitions and open gallery space display the revival of traditional arts with a fusion of new compositions and textures in miniature painting, *Naqqashi*, ceramics and calligraphy.

Lahore Fort Chahar Bagh as a Public Garden

In the dense urban environment of the Walled city of Lahore, there are very few open and green spaces for the residents of the city. Various conservation agencies attempted to sanitize the British created circular

¹⁷¹ "Sarangi School to Open Its Doors for Aspiring Players after Eid," Daily Times, May 30, 2018, <https://dailytimes.com.pk/247282/sarangi-school-to-open-its-doors-for-aspiring-players-after-eid/>.

¹⁷² Interview with Israr Nabi Khan, January 16th.

garden stretching around the walled city as a green area, an endeavor that was only partially successful because the removal of informal shops and services in the garden terms as encroachments did not last long before new individuals reclaimed the space. Under these circumstances, it is the UNESCO World Heritage Site of the Lahore Fort that is utilized by the inhabitants of the walled city and nearby neighborhoods as a public park. It is mostly the most private areas in the fort that have the greatest influx of visitors in a complete subversion of its type of use. The inherently royal marble pavilion of Shah Jahan is now thronged by local visitors of all backgrounds, becoming the delight of an Eid¹⁷³ day. The great Mughal Chahar Bagh in front of the Diwan-e-Aam is transformed into a public park. Many of the fort's local visitors come from lower income groups and nearby neighborhoods. While they visit the fort often, quite a few remain unaware of the history of the fort, as its immediate function as a leisure garden and sight-seeing place has greater resonance amongst a population that enjoys limited access to other public green spaces.

Hira Mandi Haveli as Cooco's Den

Close to the great fort in the shadow of the 17th century great mosque was the once thriving red-light area of Lahore called the Hira Mandi.¹⁷⁴ Amongst the now gentrified street, there exists a Haveli called Cooco's Den. Three hundred years ago a brothel, it is now owned by the artist Iqbal Hussain and converted into an art gallery and eclectic museum. Iqbal as the son of a prostitute grew up in the neighborhood when it was still a thriving red-light area. He began painting and documenting the lives of many of the neighborhoods sex-workers. Amongst the converted restaurants Iqbal's Haveli has become an art gallery portraying the lives of the marginalized and exploited working girls of Lahore. Through his art he also makes an attempt to humanize his subjects as well as bring awareness to their conditions in society. Amongst his painterly strokes of Lahore's dancing girls in various ordinary scenes, the meandering spaces of the Haveli are compounded with an assemblage of artwork and artifacts from Mughal times up to the colonial period, as well as parts of Hindu temples destroyed in the partition. Open to the public, the rooftop of the Haveli has been turned into

¹⁷³ Islamic festival.

¹⁷⁴ Heera Mandi translates to Diamond Market.

a thriving restaurant by the owner with a magnificent view of the grandiose mosque. However, the more hidden lower levels represent a space of a truer democratization.

While the calligrapher's bazaar of the Wazir Khan Mosque has been long empty of its original function, various other purposes have sprung up over time. Parts of it have been and still are used as a dispensary, while the other hujras taken over to become a madrassah, and the remaining space is reutilized as office space for the Auqaf and AKCSP conservation offices. A historic wooden Haveli in Koocha Peer Shirazi is reused as the National College of Arts calligraphy school, and in the process has also been restored by the school itself. Besides these there are numerous havelis within the *androon sheber* that are repurposed as community spaces for their neighborhood. One such haveli is the Mian Asif haveli in the Bhatti gate vicinity, which is used by the surrounding community as an area of community events including weddings and funerals of community members. In terms of spaces of governance, there is the Bhatti gate which is a Police station, and various havelis are local councilor's offices or political party offices.



Figure 29. Local girls in the historic Haveli Nau Nihal Singh now used as the Victoria Girls High School. The pink and blue paint on the traditional cusped arches depicting the juxtaposition of heritage with the appropriated aesthetics of the local girl's school. Lending to questions of who is the discerning aesthete in conservation? – Source: Author.

4.2.2 Spaces of Commodification: Commercial and Industrial Repurposing

A second typology of inhabitation of heritage includes spaces of commodification involving commercial and industrial repurposing within the historic city of Lahore's post-industrial landscape, with its remnants of the industrial era. This can mean both the use of spatial heritage as a commodity for economic gain as well as economic survivability and sustainability. This mode of inhabitation and repurposing sees the utilization of heritage as both a capitalistic commodity as well as an asset for the informal economic livelihoods of various small organizations and individuals within and without the walled city. Similar to the other categories this category also involves varying degrees of formality and informality, whereby the state attempts to utilize heritage to attract tourism and wealthier Lahori citizens to generate revenue, while on the contrary the informal economies utilize abandoned sites to escape taxation and create small businesses.

An example of this is the complete restoration of the royal kitchens into an aestheticized restaurant in Lahore Fort. In such cases this leads to selective amnesia, erasing parts of its history that include its conversion as a torture chamber for political prisoners by the British and Pakistani state as well. More informal commercial repurposing carried out by the inhabitants include havelis turning into elastic factories, and temples into vermicelli shops.

Royal Kitchen as Aestheticized Restaurant

Among numerous examples of this typology of spatial inhabitation, a particularly pertinent one is the 16th century Royal Kitchens. Situated in the UNESCO World Heritage Site of the Lahore Fort, it has recently undergone complete reconstruction by the government authority responsible for the heritage of the Walled City and is being converted into a restaurant for tourists. While this relationship seems like an obvious commodification, the actual history of the Imperial Kitchens is far more convoluted. It was the place where royal banquets were prepared for the Mughal kings. However, in colonial times the British permuted the structure to create a torture chamber for political prisoners. After creation of the Pakistani state, the prison remained, and some of the country's most notable poets, freedom writers and socialist activists were imprisoned there. Since then it has remained as a neglected ruin, seldom visited. Converting such a space into

an aestheticized restaurant, where select members of the elite will be able to dine, negates the complexity of the past history completely and appears as an attempted erasure of memory. Such a subversion of history may actually be an attempt at selective amnesia. This is also where the vehicles of preservation that encourage complete reconstructions to a specific point in time or commodification of heritage often deny other histories and injustices.

Hira Mandi as Food Street

Near the Fort is the Taxali gate neighborhood, which is the infamous red-light area of Lahore in the shadow of the mosque, introduced in the previous typology. Over time as the culture of courtesans started dying out, the bazaars transformed into shops for musical instruments, and the singers accompanying dancing girls turned to new media avenues and the film industry. As it rose in prominence as one of the famous spots for food, in a bid to eradicate the sex-trade of the locality, the government leveraged a few famous restaurants and converted the street next to the Badshahi mosque into a food street. This move essentially gentrified the neighborhood and turned the historic havelis into clichéd theatrical backdrops and pastiche of its former times. Now the wealthier inhabitants of greater Lahore and tourists travel to the walled city for a night of an expensive traditional meal in the view of the illuminated 17th century Mughal mosque. Pop-up plastic merchandise, selfie stalls with the backdrop of the Taj Mahal, and curated costume stalls inhabit the spaces to attract local tourists in front of the mosque. Locals and tourists alike arrive to be transported to the exoticized and highly romanticized, historic Mughal era. Creating successful business ventures of the food industry is a famous Lahori past-time, inherent in the culture of what is to be an inhabitant of the city.

Noori Haveli as Informal Economy Hub

On the other end of the spectrum there are abandoned historic havelis that are inhabited by informal economies. These are usually small businesses that are avoiding taxation by utilizing otherwise neglected space or cheaply rented out space, employing low-wage workers of the poorer communities within the walled city as well as labor from nearby. A large proportion of the walled city inhabitants as well as the economies are made up of migrant workers. One of the case studies of informal habitation of a historic Haveli as a space of commodification was found in the large Noori Haveli. The mansion said to be of Mughal times is

known to be a historic brothel. Still in most parts uninhabited, the Haveli has various stories, wooden bridges and two large courtyards. The outer courtyard has a portion still inhabited by two families since partition, a period during which the Haveli provided refuge for many incoming refugees. However, many parts of this are now uninhabited, perhaps in part due to a local legend of its haunting. In the inner courtyard multiple informal economies are operating, including a shoe-making and dying manufacturer, as well as a leather goods and bag-making small-scale enterprise on the other side. The informal workers hired hail from both inside and outside the walled city. They create many of the items with their hands: a shoe-maker hand-applies shoe ornaments and glues them upon the shoes, while another uses a basic machine to dye thread for these crafts. Another room with arched niches and wooden beams contains five stitching machines which men use to stitch together leather handbags to the backdrop of Punjabi film music playing on their android phones. The structure correspondingly seems seemingly stitched together with a new brick column stabilizing the almost-settled courtyard.



Figure 30. Noori Haveli inhabited by the informal economy. Source: Author.

Haveli as Elastic and Bag-making industry

Another Mughal era haveli in the Androon Shehr as a new landmark is the Khalifa Bakery, transformed with a plethora of activities in the informal economy. The basement is entirely a large elastic making industry, with machines that are remnants of the industrial era. The upper portions are used as spaces to stitch fabric and household items, as well as leather goods such as handbags. The underground spaces of the basement once

used as storage reveal a hidden industry, lit up only with the dramatic light from arched niches. Its anonymity allows for the informal economy to go undetected. In contrast, on the rooftop sit the current caretakers, famous neighborhood *pehlwaan* figures. An interview with a person presenting himself as Munna Pehlwaan revealed interesting details about the workings of the space. Other commodified structures present local businesses, numerous in nature. One near the Faqirkhana museum on the way from Bhatti gate is the Lal haveli, that has a barbershop set in view behind the arcuated doors of the traditional Mughal style house.



Figure 31 Haveli turned into an elastic making factory. Source: Author.

Haveli as Shoe-making Industry

Another very large haveli near Bhatti gate has been almost entirely been transformed into a larger scale shoe-making factory. Due to the threat of their property being taken by the conservation authority, the proprietors are very cautious of who they let in, and the entrance to the shoe-making factory is concealed. Once inside the whole interior has been repainted and polished to suit the aesthetics of a local factory business. The many stories contain innumerable rooms, each inhabited by an informal worker seated on the floor and working with his hands to create shoes for small children. The traditional chutes, as voids in between the various floors, allow the workers to pass shoeboxes and material to each other. This scale of enterprise is larger than the various other local economies found, and the inhabitants have fully repurposed the historic structure to match every stage and need of the small business. The structure even includes the various amenities of a typical local factory, such as a designated room for prayer and a cafeteria. The owner implied that they live nearby and had relocated the business from another haveli to its present location.

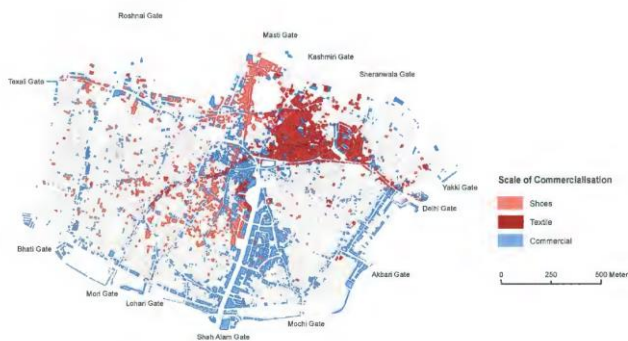


Figure 32. L. Scale of Commercialization of the historic city. Source: AKCSP, R. Barber shop in the Lal Haveli.

Historic Mohalla and havelis as Paper-making industry

The mohallas between the Bhatti and Lohari gate host a whole neighborhood dedicated to paper-making, publishing and paper-recycling. In close proximity, the Urdu Bazaar contains a huge market for books and paper. The paper economy finds itself in historic havelis, underground spaces, voids between historic spaces and parts of various galis. Creating a surreal image of mounds of shredded paper, this is an economy which employs migrant women from northern areas whose husbands have travelled from afar to start businesses in Lahore. With a strong sense of *purdah* these women do not give permission to be photographed but are often

found in groups among mounds of shredded paper in various open spaces of the winding alleys of the walled city. There are also many spaces reused as book-binding industries. An interview with one of these book-binders revealed that the motivation for finding refuge in these historic structures is for their cheap rent and the lack of money to find other places.

Akbari Gate Vicinity as the Rim Market

The Rim market is another huge market inhabiting the area near the Maryam Zamani Mosque, opposite the Akbari gate since decades. This is a huge tire-making and metal working business, that employs mostly second and third generation migrant Pathans from northern Pakistan. The area also contains within it a Hindu and Sikh temple. A Sikh temple is found inside a shop reclaimed by Sikh pilgrims who regularly pay for its upkeep and use. However, the market is under discussion of being removed in the latest anti-encroachment drive and under a new proposal by the conservation authorities funded by a loan from a French bank. The Agence Française de Développement (AFD) has funded a loan for a creation of the Lahore Fort buffer zone that includes a major operation of relocating the rim market to another location yet to be decided by the authorities.

The walled city has many historic bazaars, some of which also host older trades and economies. One that has expanded to re-use more historic residential structures and that still thrives is the barter economy of the clothes and utensils trade. As no money is involved, this allows inhabitants of all incomes to participate in this exchange and helps the less-privileged access new utensils and clothes. Other bazaars that inhabit historic areas include huge wholesale markets, as well as a clothes and a market just for spices. The old city is divided in the way of various districts that are famous for different bazaars. Along with the bazaars, the informal and mobile stalls populate various thoroughfares at different times.

The Temple of Nihal Chand as a Vermicelli Factory

Amidst the busy Lohari mandir bazaar are various stores including vermicelli stores. However, what is not apparent is that a number of the stores are part of a large mandir complex that is now completely hidden behind the double story residential and commercial complex. Upon entering a certain door one can view the

25-meter central spire or gopura of the Hindu temple. This temple called the Mandir Nihal Chand was constructed in the 19th century by Lala Lal Chand. Its vast complex is now repurposed in parts with the upper stories being used as residences and the lower ones as shops. The main temple area and courtyard is repurposed as a vermicelli factory and used in matters of light industry. The workers packaging and creating the vermicelli sit amongst remnants of the temple's Hindu past. Frescos and reliefs of Hindu iconography remain in the interior and the exterior of the temple's tiered structure. The vermicelli production is a subversion of the original intent of worship in the sacred Hindu temple, and the abandoned temple is adapted to its new requirements yet continuously reminiscent of its historical identity. As the building came under the evacuee trust in 1947 the current inhabitants are all paying rent to the evacuee trust board for utilizing the space. This commodifies the space on two levels by both the local business owners as well as the property trust.

Faqirkhana Haveli as Faqirkhana Museum and Heritage Dissemination

Another scale at which heritage is repurposed and commodified can be seen at the Faqirkhana museum near the Bhatti Gate. A part of this haveli that is converted into a museum by an old walled city inhabitant is used as an antique shop and a historic parts and furniture warehouse. At this stage, parts of historic architectural structures that have broken down by their owners are collected to be re-sold, usually to the wealthier culture enthusiasts and collectors who visit the museum, or to become part of rehabilitation and restoration efforts by a few in the walled city. Thus, the heritage modules are dismantled and then assimilated back into other parts of historic structures or newer structures in the repurposing of heritage in a more micro-scale. The revenue generated goes to the Faqirkhana museum and the individual sellers.



Figure 33. R. Heritage segmented and then assimilated. R. Hindu Temple is a Vermicelli Factory. Source: Author.





Figure 34. L. Barter economy - Market where clothes are exchanged for utensils. R. Paper Economy, bookbinding. Source: Author.

4.2.3 Spaces of Occupation/Refuge: Residential repurposing

A third typology of inhabitation comprises spaces of occupation involving residential repurposing that describe the informal inhabitation of abandoned historical and cultural properties by the disenfranchised subaltern. This can encompass spaces of occupation, but also signify spaces of refuge for the many refugees and marginalized and poor communities that end up repurposing these spaces due to a lack of affordable housing in the city. These include leftover Hindu and Jain temples that have become inhabited by local homeless families, subdividing the space into a densely packed settlement. These temples were abandoned after the partition of India and Pakistan, the largest mass migration in the world that resulted in vast amounts of unclaimed property. As the Hindu and Jain populations migrated, many of these temples were left untended. While such a subversion where a sacrosanct building is converted into personal space is contentious, this subset proves to be a complicated issue, as the individuals inhabiting it are disenfranchised families that are otherwise homeless, and these structures were neglected ruins. This example is an inverse commodification; the public privatizes the spaces for self.

While the case studies of temples becoming residences is a typological subversion of the original intent of the historic structures, there are numerous old havelis that have also been fractioned into smaller parts and made into residences for people occupying as well as renting the properties. Besides the continuation of the original use and despite its segmentation it is still residential repurposing. However, the divisions create new adaptations for the historic structure as well as new additions to keep up with the taste of the occupants as well as the appliances of the time.

Mosques as Residential Expansion

Other historic structures have also been repurposed including historic gates, as the Lohari gate was inhabited by a family for a while. Structures inside the Lahore Fort are used by the Fort employees as well as the Archaeology department officials as their residences. Residential structures have accreted to become a part of the side of the Maryam Zamani mosque, as have houses next to the Wazir Khan Mosque, one of which rests on the mosque's Southern side. This mosque is marked to be evacuated and demolished by the conservation

agencies, along with the other houses that have long been identified as possible commercial locations for the urban square conservation project. The residents have often been asked to evacuate their houses, but they have been unwilling. The plan of the government agency is to restore those historic houses for an unidentified commercial use for tourists visiting the site.

Due to the largest mass-migration in history, many of the abandoned Hindu and Sikh temples have become almost consumed by the city. While many remain, they are largely unknown and often hidden both from visitors as well as ordinary inhabitants of the city. In fieldwork the method of finding them was as informal and accidental as the inhabitation of these sites. Quite a few of the temples converted into residences are hardly known at all, whereas only a few remain famous well-known sites.

Sikh Gurudwara as a Family's Residence

One of the temples is a Sikh gurudwara that is sited near the maidan of the Haveli Nau Nihal Singh and once may have been part of a larger complex. This gurudwara, though known by local inhabitants (especially ones in the neighboring vicinity), is often difficult to locate as the inhabitants fear it will be adopted by the Walled City Authority. It is surrounded by a construction of houses and merged into them, to the level that its access is through other properties. The structure is a double-height domed space intact in its interior with arched niches, painted and retrofitted to the aesthetics of the occupants. The inhabitant that resides there narrated how his grandfather bought this property for a small sum after partition and came to live here. With this he established his legal authority of residing in the structure. The resident pointed out the changes that may have come over time to the temple and what is currently missing and would have been there, demonstrating he was quite knowledgeable about the functioning of Sikh temples.



Figure 35. L. Temple engulfed in residential density. R. Sikh Temple as a residence. Source: Author.

Said Mitha Bazaar Mandir as a Residence

Another Hindu temple was found on the route from Said Mitha Bazaar, one of the oldest areas of the walled city. However, this was completely invisible from the street level, and knowledge of its existence only came from the site surveyor at AKCSP who surveyed the area a while ago. The exact location was found through informal means of asking various inhabitants along the way and following their lead, only a few of whom had heard of the existence of the temple or understood what was meant. From the road the site's external appearance was exactly like that of a regular residence; however, upon entering the full scale of the temple's spire comes into view. The structure from the interior has been completely adapted to its new use as a residence, to the extent that the Shikhara (spire) of the temple has been punctured and a floor placed beneath to create another living space. The Shikara was appropriated into a television lounge with an Indian movie playing on it, somewhat ironically. The resident relayed how the space was rented from the Hindu Auqaf or the Evacuee trust authorities. The temple also received an electricity bill with the designated plot number. It is a case study of a temple completely appropriated for residential use. The origin of their stay goes back to the partition narrative, given their forefathers came as refugees.

Another larger temple complex housing two or three families stands directly opposite the aforementioned one. However, there is only one temple remaining in its true form amongst the complex of temples, according to its inhabitants, who relate how over time and due to the Babri mosque incident the other temples were destroyed and houses were constructed in their place. Various residents of the family had mixed feelings toward the identity of their house being formerly a temple, while a few strongly suggested that this is no longer a temple and is now their residence. Others conjectured on the history of the site and related how they had been to India post-partition and found it to be just like home.



Figure 36. A temple inhabited as a residence. Source: Author.

Dharamsala as Housing Complex

Other parts of Hindu heritage have had a similar fate, where larger community halls called by the local inhabitants as Junj ghars and possibly known as dharamsalas appear throughout the walled city. In my field work I came across two such structures. One of the dharamsalas was amidst the oldest area of the walled city, with part of its first floor re-used as a small Shia Imam bargah. It has four stories, with the upper levels

depicting lions and other Hindu motifs in relief, and the inscription on the door indicating its Hindu identity. Four families reside inside the building. One of them related how the structure would have been a central hall with a balcony for viewers to watch Hindu marriage ceremonies from the inside. This was completely changed in the adaptive reuse, but the markings of the original plan and arrangement remained. A second family included a young newly-wed couple, the bride being a relative from India and having just moved to Lahore. It is interesting to note how the residents of these Hindu heritage sites still have strong connections to India.

Junj Ghar as Housing Container

Another *Dharamsala* was found in route to a site in the Bhatti gate area. This structure was mostly intact in the original configuration as a great hall with a *mandap* for marriage ceremonies. Internally it had two smaller houses that were housed within it and recent informal constructions, housing two different families and their animals. Another family resides in a connected part of the Dharamsala possibly a rest house that is a part of the community hall. This family, although welcoming, included an elderly grandmother who was very fearful of visitors. The reason for this, her daughters relayed, was that they were in constant threat of evacuation, not by the authorities, but by a local powerful landowner who had bought other heritage properties and converted them into film sets for local dramas. He wanted to either buy this property or force them to leave so that he could acquire it, ostensibly conserve it, and then commodify the haveli to rent it out for film sets.



Figure 37. the floriated edges of the Hindu Dharamsala depicts the visual symbols of inhabitation as a home, depicting the tv lounge of informal residents. Source: Author.

Lal Haveli Mandir as Residential Area

Yet another temple was located near a Lal haveli, in the inner city. This was also difficult to locate from the road and also has blended into the city. It has no outwardly markers to indicate its identity as a Hindu temple. This structure also had a few temples in its vicinity with the original marble floors and inscriptions intact. However, the family told me about how another structure existed that was partially torn down and repurposed by another family. This family however was interested in getting their residences fixed, though they also ruminated about the possibility of being displaced if they attempted to. The women inhabitants were incredibly knowledgeable about the inscriptions and their locations and showed me various parts of the temple and described what those diverse features would perform.



Figure 38. Junj Ghar in the Walled City as a container for informal dwellings. The original hall and Hindu mandap is intact. Source: Author.



Figure 39. A hole is carved into the top of the temple and with a floor a tv room is possible. Source: Author.

4.3 Synthesis: Toward an Advanced Typology.

Amongst these selected examples of subversive inhabitation, the taxonomy of case studies, while representing unintentional adaptations in the practice of preservation, may provide a model to learn from. This may present itself as the elucidatory intermediary between the “drastic dichotomies” at work in the historic city. Against the musealization of heritage, this form of conservation could be carried out as an intentional political act. To convert every heritage building into the guise of museum, that is a display frozen at a specific point in time, may go against a notion of time and history that is inherently dynamic and ever-transforming. Thus, this set of case studies is studied with regards to the redefinition of history as seen in the theories of Walter Benjamin and the realization of embodied memory as explained by Edward Casey, discussed earlier in the thesis.

In the historic urban landscape of postcolonial Lahore this dynamic is taken further to become the coalescence of the imperial and the industrial city, the ancient and the globalized, the static and kinetic cities, the inner and the external, and the formal and informal types of urbanisms. It is at once one and both, an amalgamation of contradicting realities and pasts. The landscape is one where a city is recovering from its recent colonial past and its after-effects, reacting to political voids and abuses at higher levels of government by transforming spaces through self-governing, organic systems of labor. Whereas the history of heritage in Lahore depicts the occupation of the iconic sites by the conquering ruler, this form of repurposing is a similar reclamation of space, yet at the same time a subversion of authority. It represents the taking back of power by the powerless; the transformation of spaces of procession, spaces of leisure and spaces of domination into the spaces of the everyday.

5. Contextual Relativity of Heritage



Figure 40. Central courtyard of the Chuna mandi haveli. Source: Author.

5.1 Lived history: narratives of heritage co-creation

In this chapter the previous typologies after identification and analysis are collapsed into a narrative, as characteristics of each space of inhabitation can be found in one or the other case study. Consequently, here I will deal with a few detailed case studies of lived history that describe the narratives of heritage co-creation, thus adding relativity to the concept of conservation towards a processual preservation approach.

5.2 The Delhi Gate Girls School: A Colonial Reconstruction Re-evaluated

The first of barricade of defense in the medieval city was the monumental wall encountered to demarcate the territory of the seat of the imperial empire. Punctured within the wall were the portals into the city,

simultaneously the points of defense. The main gateway to Lahore, the Delhi Gate was inhabited by the imperial guard and provided controlled access into the historic metropolis. This was also the place of royal decrees, tax and public beheadings displaying regulation and power as a major administrative point, intimidation was key to ward off potential attackers.¹⁷⁵ During the later Sikh rule, it is occupied by a jail and later times see it transformed into a court of magistrate. After the Indian Rebellion against the colonial occupation, the British colonizers destroyed the city walls as well as the gate, to better control the natives taking refuge inside and repel later revolts.¹⁷⁶ During the later British Raj period it was reconstructed by the British, and henceforth used as a police station. Post-independence the space was reused as a public school for girls, which it remains today. Still a major portal of entrance to the walled city, it is enveloped by the kinetic city, a sea of informal markets in the postcolonial subcontinent.¹⁷⁷ Inhabiting the upper level of the two storied brick gate the public school for girls adapts and embodies the space. Pasted colorful paper stars around its barrel-vaulted rooms also dot the windows replacing the iron bars of the prison. (*figure 8*) Soft boards and biological diagrams soften the pragmatic architecture, disrupting the homogeneity of history, whilst wooden speaker podiums contrast a previous function of silencing and control. The small stark courtyard is now inhabited by planter pots and wooden furniture, sharply arched porticos, painted over with red paint, a chromatic disruption. Formalistic recessed niches now provide spaces for motivational quotes, fables and life lessons. The young female residents of the Walled City flock around the spaces in the white and blue veiled uniforms decreed by the government, their education a resistance to a patriarchal society. The inhabitation is a subversion, the inverse of the original authoritative influence and re-contextualization of history. Their height and location in the city allows them a vantage point to view the city and its dynamics. The first floor of concave rooms has recently been converted into tourism offices and gift shops, hints of the impending commodification.

¹⁷⁵ Latif, *Lahore*, 231.

¹⁷⁶ A. A. Suvorova, *Lahore: Topophilia of Space and Place* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2011., 2011), 22.

¹⁷⁷ Mehrotra, "Negotiating the Static and Kinetic Cities."



Figure 41. Rimsha and her friends ask to be photographed inside their college classroom, in the backdrop of the Sikh era frescos of Krishna and Radha. Source: Author.

5.3 The Wazir Khan Shahi Hammam: A Mughal Structure Re-valued with Use

Another notable monument of the 17th century is the Royal public bathhouse known as the Shahi Hamam; it was built as a service for the noblemen and travelers to the city. The grand multi-domed structure housed a complex hypocaust system, each of its 21 rooms providing a different service. Embodying diversification of space and experience in alternating rooms corresponding to hot and cold water bath allocations and steamed alcoves¹⁷⁸, it provided a sensory experience to the quintessential ancient Mughal customer. While inhabited with the humdrum of daily life, it was essentially a luxurious commodity available

¹⁷⁸ Nazir Ahmad Chaudhry, *Labore Fort a Witness to History* (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publ., 1999).



Figure 42. The Haveli Nau Nihal Singh repurposed as a school for girls. Source: Author.

to those who could afford it. Its concave enclaves are painted in intricate earthen multicolored frescoes of winged angels and fauna. (figure 12) In this example of the majestic structural and artistic merit of the building we can imagine the labor that went into its construction, directly referencing Walter Benjamin, “There has

never been a document of culture, which is not simultaneously one of barbarism.”¹⁷⁹ As cultural heritage is not only due to the toil of the genius who created it but the “nameless drudgery” of those who partook simultaneously.¹⁸⁰ The history of this architecture is testament that only the name of the commissioner of this building survives while the names and identities of all its craftsmen and laborers have been unrecognized and lost to time.

The proximity to the Delhi gate lent the royal baths to conversion into offices for the police in colonial times. Post-independence, this complex network of vast cavernous ornamented containers became democratized and inhabited by the subaltern. The place was divided into a simultaneously coexisting collage of activities, including a vocational center for underprivileged women, a primary school for boys, a dispensary and various informal stalls and hawkers purveying spices, traditional snacks and unitary goods. The public, the same class of citizens that were historically a part of the manual labor of this grand edifice yet could never access, lay claim or benefit from its service and were excluded from recognition and access to this architecture, had now occupied the space. As Lefebvre describes the right to the city of every citizen¹⁸¹, igniting the movement of social justice in cities, could there also be in a sense historical justice? Imbuing a greater responsibility upon the historian and conservationist not only to conserve a heritage building or reframe it but to improve upon the previous history by learning and understanding thoroughly its history with a critical lens, and when countering the barbarism at work, give voice to the unnamed and marginalized groups.

Such a process as is seen in the Hammam where the kinetic city overtakes the historic static city as defined by Rahul Mehrotra¹⁸². The interstitial archways that lead from one spatial inhabitation to another are divided by the use of organic jute woven blinds and bamboo rods, the impermanent architecture of the subaltern. Cane and wooden furniture crammed into the various corners, maximizing use of the vast shelter. Recently it has been conserved by a non-government organization with donations from European countries, transformed

¹⁷⁹ Walter Benjamin and Hannah Arendt, *Illuminations* (New York: Schocken Books, 2007), p. xx.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid

¹⁸¹ Henri Lefebvre, *Le droit à la ville*. (Paris: Anthropos, 1968).

¹⁸² Mehrotra, “Negotiating the Static and Kinetic Cities”, 206.

into an archaeological museum with a gift shop and restaurant. The restoration removed all encroachments, reconstructed the facades, excavated the floor to expose the complex hypocaust system and introduced a new metal circulatory bridge system to view the complex Mughal water systems below glass floors. While in many ways this restoration is a pioneer for conservation activity in the country with a blend of old and new materials, there can always be improvements. Could the museum be alienating the residents that predominantly make up the walled city to cater to a privileged elite class, who only come to visit such spaces once in their lifetime? Should the examples of inhabitation of the city be learned from and utilized in any further conservation plans? As besides from commodification of this heritage to generate income, those re-uses were allowing for the social development of the current demographic of citizens that reside there and provide the heritage new lives, connecting the architecture and the being together.

Local conservationists and critics contend that these encroachments are destroying the heritage buildings, yet paradoxically the absence of these inhabitations would have resulted in neglected ruins that are also prevalent in the old city; thus, inherently this recycling of space may have helped save the body of the architectural heritage and re-embodied it with a new soul. Most current preservation theories result in the transformation of a historic work of architecture from a place of inhabitation to an object of observation. Preserved to be skeletal displays with history as an organized sequential archive. However, Edward Casey's embodied memory shows us that memory is not just a methodical recollection of facts but one that is actively engaging, living experience of a space one that can give rise to new meanings for every individual due to its contingent reality.¹⁸³ Therefore, I argue for the idea of buildings that are to be physically experienced and a building of heritage viewed in context of it as a living being and its continued engagement with time as opposed to it as a space void of the present. Where new memories can be made instead of mechanically re-living or remembering past ones. A mode against an objective counter and instead endorsing actual embodied experience of spaces.

¹⁸³ Edward S Casey, "Habitual Body and Memory in Merleau-Ponty," *Man and World* 17, no. 3–4 (1984): 279–97.



Figure 43. Chuna mandi haveli – the inhabitation of heritage structures. Source: Author.

The Nau Nihal Singh Haveli re-evaluated as the Public Girl’s School

Another prime example in the city to examine is the case of the Haveli Nau Nihal Singh. A mansion exemplary of aristocratic palaces, this was commissioned by the Sikh ruler Ranjit Singh for the private residence of the prince Nau Nihal Singh. The heavily ornate city palace got transformed into a high school for girls in the colonial times, whence it was a part of the colonial institution to impart an English education to girls of wealthy families who could afford it.¹⁸⁴ After the country gained independence from its British colonizers, the school was converted into a public high school. Increasing the accessibility and democratizing the structure even further, young girls from lower classes could now attain an education. Today it also directly caters to the demographic of the current residents of the Walled City, amplifying its relevance and necessity in the present time. Walter Benjamin’s theses of history provides such a framework for a more socially

¹⁸⁴ Kipling and Thornton, *Labore as It Was*, 60.

conscious active reframing of history, he elaborates historical materialism, and calls for not only understanding the ‘progression of exploitation’ but the actual condition of how the individual is being treated with the effects on society in general. In essence his critique establishes a concept for the development of society as a whole, against its regression.¹⁸⁵ Therefore, in these examples these acts can be seen as social development providing education to the most marginalized individuals of this culture.



Figure 44. A Fish eye lens photo of a classroom in the Nau Nibal Singh Haveli depict a lifeworld of co-creation of heritage. Source: AKCS-
P LIDAR

The floriated front façade of the haveli is now overlaid with the textual visual of the school’s signboards, in the midst of electric wiring and street lights that usher in the new era yet coexist with the remnants of an old one. Inanimate carved flora and fauna on the wooden *jharokas* form the backdrop of pigeons resting on these

¹⁸⁵ Benjamin and Arendt, *Illuminations*.

balconies and sprouts budding out from within the cracks of age. As you enter the four storied building into its internal courtyard, the registers of multi-cusped arcades depict striking pink and blue, pastel and primary shades of paint contrasting with an intricately frescoed earthen toned second story recalling Sikh architectural ornament that imbue traces of the old life with the new. The solid colour painted over is now offset with soft boards and posters enunciating phrases of leadership to the young females inhabiting the space. The second story whose facade enunciates the age old frescoes in intricate patterns and images of celestial banquets with paradisiac fruits and flowers is now overlaid with the aspirational drawings of schoolchildren, a juxtaposition of illustrative time and enhancement in meaning. The multitude of rooms bedecked at one time with the highly carved ornamental couches of velvet and silk befitting the stature of a prince used by the chosen individuals are now inhabited by the simple wooden desks and chairs to service a multitude of local young girls representing the next generations. Echoes of the bell in the courtyard ring in reminder of the consequent lesson, the scurry of schoolchildren and the new lease of life. The presence of the metal bell on the fresco announces this change and coexistence. This re-embodiment of heritage with new life also connects to the doctrine of cyclical existence, a philosophical concept of Sikhism and Hinduism of reincarnation or re-birth. This transmigration suggests that the soul of a living being restarts a new life in a different corporeal body after a biological death. In this case of architectural heritage, it is reverse re-incarnation where the same body is embodied with different souls, revealing the after-lives of heritage.

Museum collections are often proponent of recollections, whereas in this way the space is accessed at a level of habitual body memory, in the daily rituals and timetables of school for the schoolgirls. Where once the ruler presented himself to his subjects to be viewed by all in the outer highest *jharoka* or balcony, a custom called *darshan*,¹⁸⁶ now it elevates the young girls of the city to view the present city in their eyes whilst envisioning and representing the future. Edward Casey describes a habitual memory that looks ahead to the future and tends to be directed at its own accomplishment in the near-term future then becoming a forward

¹⁸⁶ Anjum Rehmani, *Labore Museum: Labore Museum Bulletin*. Vol. 7, Nos. 1 & 2 Jan-Dec 1994 (Lahore: Lahore Museum, 1994), 81.

movement that bears onto it action and onto life.¹⁸⁷ The presence of the schoolchildren reinsulates this new life and establishes the habitual body memory within this space, as a contender to simple recollection of the past historic space. In these case studies there is an active habituating where the body's inhabitation of the world is an active insertion into space and time.¹⁸⁸ Metal handlebars in the narrow bricked tower of stairs aid the achievement of new heights. Internal rooms, with light niches decorated with floral motifs compare with instructional maps, biological diagrams and fables expanding upon the moral, scientific and macro logical perspectives of the previous symbols. In the midst of the soft architectural interventions, a concrete bridge connects the high school in the historic building to the college in the new building, preparing the path ahead for transcendence to the future. Carved marble fountains replace water with providing an addendum of engagement for the frolicking children. The backdrop of primary colours lends chromatic vibrancy to the historic carved wooden rails highlighting the past in a new setting. Spaces that were the epitome of extravagance and splendor such as the *Rang Mahal* (colorful palace) on the third floor covered in its entirety with mosaic mirrors and traces of pure gold, once infinitely reflecting the performances of jeweled dancing girls and maharajas in the backdrop of the painted murals of Radha and Krishna now reflect glimpses of schoolgirls playing along the terraces, sitting atop the stairs reading their lessons. A young girl's written cognizance of studying in such a setting portrays the perspective of legitimization and effectivity. In essence such an intervention not only continues the narrative of history but improves upon it. In effect achieving historical justice beyond social justice. Outlining the role of the conservationist to a new height of responsibility opening a realm of possibilities. As Benjamin proposes this critical reassessment of history in the universe of discourse of the present. Intrinsically not just replicating, replacing and reproducing but challenging, activating, counteracting and rectifying. Attempting to deliver tradition anew from the conformism that envelops the discourse. As history has been written by the victors, to break this cycle it needs to be re-written and contested.

In essence these examples can be read as an unconscious political subversion to enhance upon the previous

¹⁸⁷ Casey, "Habitual Body and Memory in Merleau-Ponty."

¹⁸⁸ Casey.

history and engender socio-economic development. Subverting the cultural hegemony prevalent in places of heritage, especially in their commodification and exclusivity to an elite or ruling class. As the citizens have taken up the exclusive imperial spaces that they once had a role in constructing but could never inhabit, access or benefit from. The architecture of ceremonial, power and dynastic legitimization is subverted into an architecture for education, empowerment and development of the most marginalized of its citizens. Rehousing the spaces used for the functions of imperialistic royalty for social development of the common individual. In a way reclaiming history or rectifying it, superseding the previous function. Such a re-use provides what can be thought of as living heritage, one that is still a meaningful part of the present. Especially programs as the ones naturally adapted in these sites can be purveyors of social sustainability and development, currently contributing to the well-being of the city slowly threatened by both commercialization and abandonment of residents whilst extending the life of these buildings and preserving them by re-inhabitation. This provides a case for a theoretical critical conservation of heritage that is socially and politically aware, that can be social activist, that has the ability to engage far more and reach the untapped potentials of choreographing historical spaces. That could also be enabling and allow real change in urban and social conditions. Engage in social justice, equity, accessibility and public development yet also translate to and create a concept of historical justice.

Now as you pass through the winding alleys of the walled city, experiencing each street endowed with a specific characteristic that lives on from its historic identity such as the street of spices, the street of the shrines and approach such buildings such as the intricate frescoed façade of the Nau Nihal Singh haveli. A space that was once the residence of prominent Sikh individuals is now frolicking with schoolgirls in the courtyards, looking out of the wooden jharokas and running around the cantilevered terrace, this piece of architecture alive with new memories and engagements. Investigating the various possibilities that this part of the past the naturally evolving historic city provides us as an opportunity to learn and have critical engagement. Instead of visiting the traditional archive and museum, the historic city itself becomes the repository of living memory, alive and thriving, reevaluating the past for a more meaningful present to create a new future.

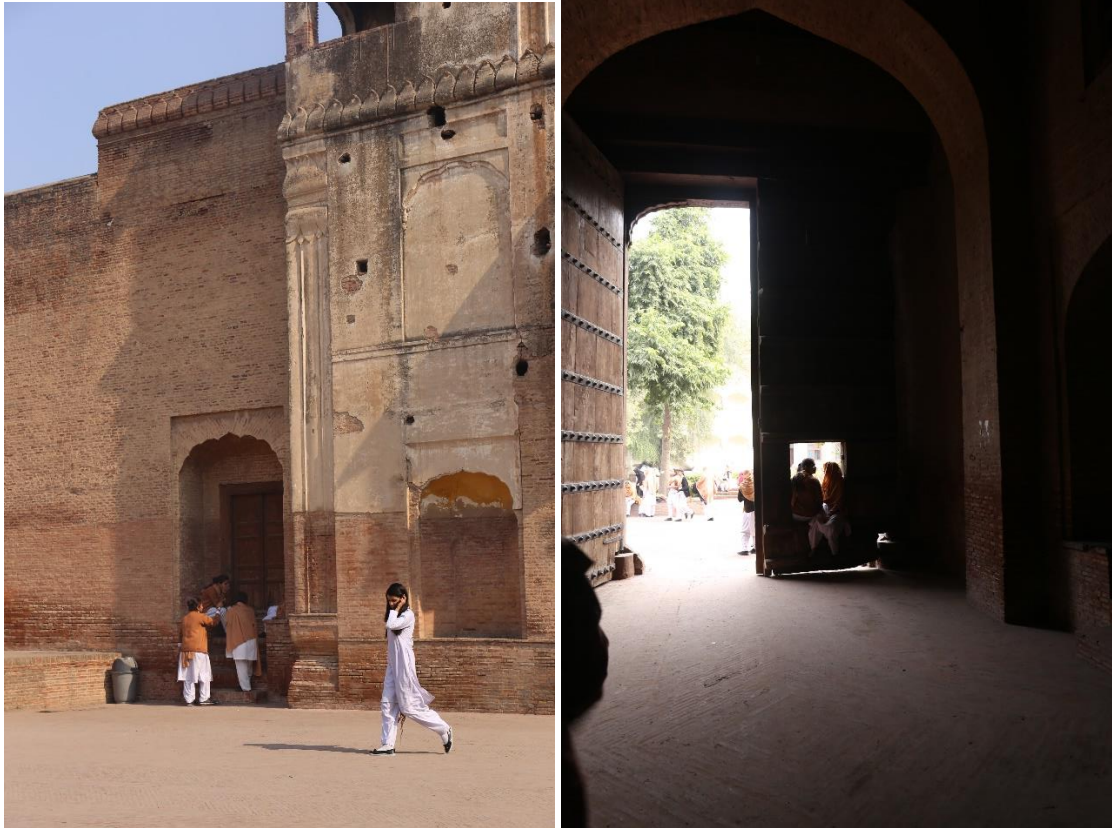


Figure 45. Forms of inhabitation –Source: Author.

6. Re-thinking Conservation: Conceptually and Contextually



Figure 46. From the private residence of the Sikh ruler's son, the space of heritage is now a public school for the young girls of the Walled City that may otherwise not have access to education.

6.1 Engaging the Present: Processual Preservation

6.1.1 Repurposing and Reclamations of Spaces of Heritage

Throughout Lahore's history as demonstrated in the initial chapters we have witnessed a constant spatial recycling, amidst the layered inhabitation of spaces of heritage and history. These repurposings have also led to the longevity and preservation of the historic built environment, which may otherwise have perished and been demolished in the form of neglected ruins. This can be evidenced with historical travel accounts in the

Sikh era where the vast expanse of historical structures outside the living city have all but ceased to exist. We also find proof in the existence of the few havelis and other sites of heritage in the walled city that continue to exist in the present due to their continued use, compared to the list of spaces we find recorded in history and oral memory of which there are no traces.

In the Pre-colonial and colonial era, the subversive re-use of heritage was mostly employed by the conquering and colonizing authorities looking to establish power in a symbolic form. In comparison, in the present era of post-colonial Lahore a significant portion of the repurposing is done by the citizens with the least power.

Thus with this study it can be assessed that there is a power transfer and new reclamation of spaces by those that are relatively powerless, specifically in their fight for survival in those examples when their basic needs and necessities are not being met by the state. Thus the present and recent past repurposing can be read as an extension of reclaiming of space of occupiers yet a subversion of authority. (We should also note that while some of the institutions described are led by the state, in particular the girls' schools, in subsequent research we might delve further into subversion within different levels of government.) However, both conditions of repurposing also are reflective of pragmatic concerns, cost-effectiveness and emergency situations.

It can also be reflected that the religion and culture of the dominating group is what remains functional with its intended use, and the heritage spaces of either the subjugated or the evacuated groups become used in subversive ways. In the Sikh period there are listed numerous Hindu temples and Sikh Gurudwaras that were mentioned as functional and thriving; in comparison there were fewer mentions of mosques, and the ones that are mentioned are in majority used as gunpowder magazines and factories. This was despite the fact that a relatively large Muslim population was still residing in the city of Lahore at the time. Post-partition and in the present era there is an inverse situation, where there are few temples and Gurudwaras existing, and there are countless mosques, largely functioning in line with their original use. However, in this case the population that utilized the temples and Gurudwaras have almost all migrated from Lahore.

These sacred spaces have been repurposed by the incoming refugees as residences, who have adapted in light of the housing crises and lack of any other alternatives. While previously there were powerful people

effectuating the subversion, now there are also the powerless surviving and causing the spaces to survive.

These typologies of repurposing are the most conflicting, however, as the fieldwork has shown. On one hand, there are inhabitants that are every bit aware of and engaged with the various inscriptions and features of the temples' past history, while on the other hand there are people who do not want to call what is now their home a temple. Thus there is the danger of amnesia and erasing past history; however, it can be seen that most of these inhabitations act as added layers onto the previous fabric. A question thus posed is that in contexts of lacking basic services and essential needs like low-income housing, can conservation help fill these social gaps and simultaneously preserve structures?

6.1.2 Role of Processual Preservation: The Dialogic Dimension

A history of the formation of conservation as a discipline reveals the influence of the western episteme on this colonial construct. Within the supposedly 'objective' descriptive surveys of many of the colonial conservation curators are embedded terminology and concepts such as the problems of encroachments, of the use of a heritage space, the ideas of sanitized displays and the notion that the local people are unfit and incapable of dealing with their own heritage, many of which ideas continue to permeate current discourse. Current methods in conservation are often instinctual and case by case; however, the individuals deciding how a space of heritage should be conserved need to be aware of inherent impulses and concepts that are derived from these external sources and imposed in this context. Thus before making decisions they should be aware of where their methodology lies in the spectrum of debates, and the origin of its conception. Whilst affirming some of the values of universal heritage, there should nonetheless be a partial reliance on local solutions.

The disciplines of history and conservation have proven to not be simply an empirical science, and free from bias; therefore, only by recognizing that bias will always exist can conservationist have more say in what the heritage building is to become and what meanings are created for the future of these spaces of heritage. In most cases the practice of conservation itself operates in a similar fashion as does an editor of design, making conscious decisions about what to keep and what to remove. Acknowledging relativity and the impossibility

of pure objectivity, we realize such judgments can never be beyond bias and absolutely scientific. Thus on the contrary greater consciousness and ownership can be taken in this regard, and the practitioner can add social-consciousness, re-interpretations and the awareness of the local context, its practice, and alternate histories into the debate while making conservation decisions.

The institutionalization of conservation in the colonial period led to a monument-centric approach, where the urban landscape is not viewed holistically but in isolated entities. A historic urban landscape approach is necessary as described by Francesco Bandarin,¹⁸⁹ namely one that connects the different parts of the city into a constellation of networks where the inhabitants' engagements with built heritage are the connections. This historic urban landscape approach thus needs to be reimagined with another dimension together with the spatio-temporal urban-inhabited landscape. For a discipline that deals with spaces that accrue value over time, the typical notion of time itself when dealing with these spaces is static, but in fact present and future engagement is equally important.

The aim thus becomes to create a critical processual approach as opposed to a fixed model. Not only past uses and functions should be considered, but continuing uses over time and the present engagement of any inhabitants should be addressed as well. This creates room for the role of preservation as a dialogic dimension. We must re-reading these case studies of inhabitations as spaces of heritage that are dialogic spaces for the co-construction of new meanings. The relationships at play between heritage and its uses/users are of particular importance in the reading of these cases since they reveal forces which give form to the inhabitation itself. In essence these repurposings otherwise phrased as (in)formal inhabitations are methods of conservation on themselves.

6.1.3 Social Equity in Spaces of Heritage – Political Awareness

Such re-use as has existed in the city provides what can be thought of as living heritage, one that is still a meaningful part of the present. Especially programs such as the ones naturally adapted in these sites can be

¹⁸⁹ Bandarin, *Reconnecting the City*.

purveyors of social sustainability and development, currently contributing to the well-being of the city slowly threatened by both commercialization and abandonment of residents whilst extending the life of these buildings and conserving them through re-inhabitation. This provides a case for a theoretical critical conservation of heritage that is socially and politically aware, that can be socially activist, and that has the ability to engage and reach the untapped potentials of choreographing historical spaces. This notion of a critical conservation thus gains an ideological socio-political objective as well, which could enable real change in urban and social conditions. Thus allowing for the conservationist to engage in social justice, equity, accessibility and public development and also understand and create a concept of historical justice for the spaces of heritage and its inhabitants.

In the complicated history of alternating urban renewal movements and conservation plans it can be seen that they operate as dichotomies and are in disciplinary silos. For historic cities both urban renewal and planning and conservation in isolation have limits. Conservation and urban planning need to be combined endeavors and not contradictory operative frameworks. There have been strong movements and cases for civic engagement, such as Jane Jacobs' critique of urban planning policy being a primary instigator,¹⁹⁰ and critiques of conservation as being an elitist pursuit. Yet can these conceptions coincide to form a solution and ask how conservation and use of heritage can help improve the conditions of the poor?

This may be possible with the right combination of urban development and conservation: urban rehabilitation through the conversion of abandoned and neglected sites of heritage and civic participation. Therefore, development should happen with consideration of historic preservation, and historic preservation should be applied with consideration of development. That these two don't have to be mutually incompatible can be seen in the case studies of the Nau Nihal Singh Haveli as a girls' school and the Khushaal Singh Haveli as a college for girls. In this case the Nau Nihal Singh Haveli school began when native members of the community conceived of this idea, and later was formalized by the colonial institution. Finally, it was reinstated by the government as a public school, then undergoing an aesthetic and formal transformation.

¹⁹⁰ Jane Margaret Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (New York: The Modern Library, 1993).

This becomes a real case study of a combination of governmental backing and public initiative leading to socially optimal outcomes. Thus the reuse for social welfare, besides the governmental institutional pride and duty, has improved the quality of life and conditions of the inhabitants.

Within urban discourse and in practice throughout the world, the right to the city movement has escalated and been brought up in various contexts. Conservation as well has at times attempted to revamp itself after being critiqued and questioned as an elitist discipline that leads to social exclusion. An alternative conservation framework can be applied that allows for social inclusivity and service with the poor, who make up the majority of inhabitants in most developing contexts. Thus the right to the city framework is also applied to spaces of heritage keeping into consideration that the values attached to such spaces makes this association and the possible re-use and right to the city of heritage spaces more controversial. While urban renewal often solves the lack of services, a method of repurposing derived from the aforementioned case studies can address lack of civil society spaces, access to education, support of small industries and informal economies as well as housing crises for the urban poor. Consequently, this leads to ownership of historic spaces, and awareness among the inhabitants themselves of those structures that service them and are functional. This framework can introduce sustainability of the historic urban landscape by sustaining the local societies and economies as well as maintaining a living space and a built environment understood in relation to living society. This may in turn resist the capitalistic commercialization ventures and consequent museulisation of the living city. An alternate critical conservation approach needs to be developed arising from the local context, multiple narratives and socio-political awareness. This encourages the call for political awareness in conservation as well as social equity and justice as frameworks in the conservation of spaces of heritage.

6.2 Moving Forward

6.2.1 Re-contextualization of Spaces of Heritage

The current cases of inhabitations may be one answer to the question of the use of spaces of heritage and used by whom, from the already existing practice and history of the city. Taken further, viewing the various

inhabitations at work in the Walled city, can the inhabitants themselves and their new inhabitation become modes and examples of preservation? In other words, can we view these modes of inhabitation not solely as a means of effectively preserving history while achieving social goods, but as a normative end in and of themselves? This would lead towards a notion of a more equitable and just notion of history, where multiple narratives and timeframes are deemed worthy of being preserved.

Uses over time in the city can be used to re-contextualize the history of the space, thus reiterating the notion that the present should have a say in the future meaning and new creations of heritage. In the narratives of co-creation of heritage there is a new layer of meaning added on the space and new values added. As spaces are reimagined for more diverse constituencies that often include the oppressed, each re-utilization can be a re-thinking of the spaces of memory, adding new layers to it and constructing alternative pasts and futures.

Conservation thus should go beyond what is operational, i.e. which 'changes' are acceptable, and not only re-conceptualize, what is 'historic' and authentic' to add socio-political awareness and create processual conservation as a means of social inclusion and re-contextualization. In such a way the practitioner can respond to the authority of the state and of tradition by creating critical interventions that are reflective and derived from the context. As history is never one narration and often written by the victors, we can address the concept of contested history by revisionist history. In processual preservation this can mean contextualizing the previous narrative and adding the new layer on it that can engage the present and enhance upon the previous history for the future.

6.2.2 Historical Justice – Can Conservation Conserve and Help the Poor?

Thus there is a possibility of historical justice for spaces of heritage that have accrued various meanings over time and the methodology of processual conservation can work as a possible implementation of this. In the South Asian context this can mean addressing questions of what to do with the preservation of colonial monuments as well as redressing and undoing the continued impact of colonial conservation narratives onto the heritage of the historic cities. For instance, in the case of the Empress Market it is documented that the building was created by the colonial administration to erase the memory of the 'native' revolt and the

consequent violence where the government beheaded some of the local individual that were involved on that site. Therefore, a space which has such a history can be re-contextualized and the informal markets can be allowed to re-inhabit the space. In many ways the local (in)formal inhabitation practices resist imposed and foreign ideologies not only by conserving historic spaces through active reuse, but also by contributing their own new histories worthy of preservation in bespoke ways. These spaces of lived heritage and co-creation can be critical processes of resistance against hegemonic, politically motivated notions of the past, setting an example to world-wide historic cities. These lessons are particularly important within the post-colonial historic city, which frequently battles to conserve an imagined past without recognizing the need for including present narratives. This thesis provides a toolkit for engaging the processual present, re-evaluating the past and critically co-creating new futures for enhanced spaces of heritage. Asking an important new question for such contexts which is, ‘can conservation conserve spaces of heritage as well as help the poor?’



Figure 47. Fish eye lens photographs depict the lifeworld of the school within the historical Sikh haveli. The schoolgirls engage with the courtyard and play during their break. Source: AKCS-P LIDAR.

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