

Tania Mairaj\*

## A Study of Place-Names in Lāhāuri Gate Area

### Abstract

“*Andrūn Shih̄r*”, the word that still conjures up images of a bygone era, old world charm infused with romanticism and mystery. An abode of saints, poets, warriors, musicians, kings and their mistresses, where the streets echoed with music and the air filled with aroma of mouthwatering *pakwāns* (dishes). A bustling economic hub, where an intermingling of Hindu, Muslim and Sikh beliefs meshed in to the fabric of its socio-political and cultural life. *Lauhāri Gate* is located to the south of the Walled City and is one of the six remaining gates. The purpose of this paper is to investigate the toponymic origins of the names of the *mūhallahs*, *galīs*, *kūchas*, *ṭwailahs* around the *Lauhāri Gate* area. This study seeks to locate the current names in their historical and cultural context, tracing their origins and source. While also investigating the elements that have influenced the development of these names. The area studied is between *Lauhāri Gate* and *Mori Gate Bāzār* to *Chauk Jhandā* and then further onwards towards *Sa'id Miiṭha Bāzār*, which is named after the saint of sweetness.

**Key words:** etymology, *guzr*, *galīs*, *mūhallahs*, *kūchas*, *ṭwailah*, *katrā*.

### Introduction

The names of the *galīs*, *mūhallahs* are at the very core of the culture of Walled City, they are the signposts of its history, of who lived there, their importance in the society, people that specialized in particular trades or a *wazīr*, saint, prince or even a favorite concubine. Thus, a *kūcha* became known after a prominent person took up residence there or a *galī* named after a cluster of artisans or a *bāzār* named after a prince like *Kaṛrak Singh Bāzār*. Many of the names evolved organically as the people who had once lived there left behind markers of their existence that have still not been effaced. However, many names were also kept by those who ruled Lahore at one point or the other. Thus, place naming has everything to do with power and those from whom it is derived. Street names are not merely points directing toward a space and place they carry within them far richer contextual meanings of history, culture, political and religious ideologies and social norms. Thus, a study based on the toponymy of this area is being undertaken to find the possible meanings behind the place-names. **Toponymy** is a study of place-names, based on etymological, historical, and geographical information.<sup>1</sup>

The gates of Lahore, *Bhāti*, *Akbarī*, *Shāh'Ālmī* and *Shāirānwālā* are a living testimony of its *Rājput*, *Mughal* and *Sikh* rulers. Place-names cannot be

---

\* Tania Mairaj, Research Scholar, M. Phil (Art History), College of Art and Design, University of the Punjab, Lahore.

understood in isolation without the context in which they rise in the first place. Changes or mispronunciations over time happened as words became part of the conversational vocabulary of the common people, thus many a Persian, Urdu and Sanskrit names morphed in with the local dialect lead to the emergence of newer words like Dhakī Gate changed in to Yakkī, which was named after a veteran saint who it is said lost his head while fighting the invading Mongols. Gāndhi Galī in Lauhāri Gate area changed in to Gūndi Galī and is presently called Islām Street. Thus, a study of this sort is extremely useful if the history and culture of andrūn shihr (is the Urdu term used to refer to Walled City area) is to be properly understood. These names makeup the vernacular of the andrūn shihr are as layered in meanings as they are in their origins. Chiri Mārān, Sīki Bāndān, Ṭwailah Mairaj Din, so familiar to the people of Lauhāri Gate may sound alien to outsiders as most people are used to names from Lahore's colonial history or from the period after. Yet for the people of Lauhāri Gate these names are as relevant as ever, are used by them for location or to navigate the winding lanes that form the tight labyrinth of this place. The *havelīs*, *mañdirs*, old buildings that have become the hallmark of andrūn shihr have eroded with time, yet its place-names carry on like living relics that refuse to go away ever present on the lips its residents, spoken and heard every day. Yet for all their relevance and usage origins of place-names in Lāuhāri Gate are difficult to find in written records. Many older generations of residents have either passed away or have shifted to newer localities in Lahore in hope of a better lifestyle as andrūn shihr chokes more and more from congestion, encroachments and haphazard developments.

Many scholars have identified Walled City street system typically like old Islamic cities of Baghdad, Hyderabad etc. The main spine (*guzar*) is the major thoroughfare with shops lined on either side and the residential quarters are segregated from the commercial areas and well-defined domestic and community territories for ethnic and trade groups. Even though this kind of city scape is still present in the area around the Lāhāuri Gate yet its fast disappearing like the meanings or reasons behind the places names that still echo in the streets there.

### **Some Names, Traditions and Folklores**

Gates have physical and metaphysical significance, they are firstly for protection and entry points separating the inside from the outside, yet gates are much more than this, they are locations that transcend in to another realm, passageways into a differentiated cultural and spiritual reality. As the old Persian saying goes *shih*r bi *dār*wāza *nīst* meaning there is no city without a gate. Lauhāri Gate was rebuilt by the British in 1864 as shown in the Plate.1.



Plate.1 Plaque on the entrance of the Gate.

The distinct transformation that takes place inside Lauhāri Gate is immediately and poignantly experienced. The air is somewhat cooler and heavier as if laden with numerous lives that have breathed into its air, the change is instant and palpable. Sounds, smells and space transform the main *guzr* of Lauhāri Gate area which is tightly packed with numerous tiny shops. Most of these shops have been here for generations, its present owners narrate with pride how their forefathers settled to become part of this rich heritage. The Lauhāri Gate Bāzār is the oldest arterial route in Lahore and the Lauhāri Mandī is probably the oldest market ground. Lahore like many old cites in the subcontinent is made up of *mūhallahs* (large neighborhoods), *galīs* (streets), *kūchas* (small neighborhood), *katrās* (a group of houses or a street arranged in as cul-de-sac) loosely based on the occupation or the commercial activities of the people that lived there. The hierarchies of political power, urban structure, social strata were represented in the physical structure of the space.<sup>2</sup> In the following pages this study will seek to find the meanings and the reasons behind the different place-names of streets, neighborhoods etc. Plate.2 shows the map of Lauhāri Gate area.

### Sirki Bāndāñ

In Muslim traditions (*bāb*) is used for gate, it has mystical connotations, in the titles of the saints and religious figures who serve as gates through which God expresses his will.<sup>3</sup> Coincidentally, the front building on the first street to the left of the gate is a mosque, Jāmi ʿā Masjid Āminā Madrassah Shīr Rabbāni that also houses the shrine of a saint Maulvī Nawāb Ali Pīr. The *mazar* is adorned with numerous tiny *diyās* (lamps) and fragrance of incense perfumes the air. It is not just here but the entire culture of Walled City is immersed in remembrances of the *auliyā*'s (saintly people) whose shrines can be found in every nook and corner here.

Sirki Bāndāñ is a long narrow street that runs westward to Mori Gate. It is punctuated throughout its right side by smaller lanes (*galīs*) that open into it at four different places. Two of these streets are also called Sirki Bāndāñ, one of them runs a few meters before it turns into a dead end, the other street opens in to Kūcha Sirki Bāndāñ that is enclosed from all sides with old houses. The other two streets make up the neighborhood (*mūhallah*) of Chirī Mārān which is a large block on the left of Lauhāri Gate Bāzār that goes all the way up to Chauk Bukhāri.

Traversing a few feet inside Sirki Bāndān is a *kānā*<sup>4</sup> shop, the last remnant of a craft that has been lost here. During the time of Ranjīt Singh this street was lined with shops that worked on *kānā*, today all of that has disappeared. Rānā Moḥammad its present owner sits wrapped in a woolen shawl smoking his hookah, He has been working here since 1960, and his family has been in this business since generations.<sup>5</sup> It a small dimly lit shop even in daylight, right in front of him is covered alley that cuts diagonally into the main artery of Lauhāri Gate Bāzār. Outside his shop are long wooden ladders known which he gives out on rent, probably to compensate for the meager earnings he makes from his craft. A little further on the opposite side is a large furnace that gushes out with high flames, its walls as black as pit is used for heating a *hammām* (public bath).

In 1760-70 paper makers were settled in Mūḥallah Bāzār-i Ḥakīmān as paper was not made in Lahore and was imported from Siālkōt and Kaṣhmīr. Later -these paper makers shifted their *kārkhānahs* to Ravi. The paper made was of excellent quality, extremely thin and delicate with horizontal watermarks. Made by spreading the paper pulp in a mesh made of *sirki* to attain the best quality, some of these papermakers over time also settled in Lauhāri Dār-wāza area. Thus, what started as an occupation in paper making with *sirki* later turned in to *kānā* work. According to, Fakir Saif at the Fakir *Khāna* Museum, *sirki* was used to make fine handmade paper and as some of these people later settled in Lauhāri Gate area this place came to be known after them.<sup>6</sup> This rare handmade paper is extremely rare to find these days.

### Allama Iqbal Street

It is a narrow street that runs parallel to the main Lauhāri Bāzār, previously known as Kūcha Kabābiyān. Famously housed here was the House of the Scribes by Tāj - al Din Zariān in 1925. Allama Iqbal never lived in Lauhāri Gate but had his residence nearby in Bhāi Gate area for a few years. Today it stands in ruins, the owners want to construct a new buliding here as has been reiterated by the shopkeepers in this area,(Plate.2). Similarities can be found between old Delhi and Walled City as they both are echoes from the past, comparable too some extend in history, language and even religion. In old Delhi there are streets having place-names like the onces we find here in andrūn *Shihir*. Even the way the *galīs*, *kūchas* and *mūḥallahs* are planned, named and their hierarchy is on the same lines as that of the Walled City. Thus, we can find names like Galī Kabābiyān, Mūḥallah Bālli Mārān where *Ghālīb* the famous Urdu poet lived and Kuiān Wāli Galī to name a few.<sup>7</sup> Shop don't sell *kābāb* (meat balls) here today as per the name of this street.



Plate.2 Ruins of the House

### **Chiri Mārān**

It is spread in a large area that comprises of many small streets and residential quarters, some of the streets end as band *galīs* (dead ends) while others zig zag in to Kūcha Ilāhī Bakhsh. It runs on the left side parallel to the main road of Lauhāri Gate Bāzār for about 250 m. Streets here are so narrow that they allow one person to pass at a time. In one of the narrow streets is a place of Āmmā Rāni's which is lit up with *dīyas* and candles against a black wall marking her remembrance in this place. As per the local tradition she was a Hindu lady who was known for her pious character.

*Chiri* means bird in Urdu and *mārān* comes from Persian word *mār* which means an abode.<sup>8</sup> In many old homes there were rooms on the top floors like attics for storage etc, unoccupied by people they became living spaces of birds who would fly into these places and put up nests there.<sup>9</sup> As many such houses clustered together where birds lived and in time the entire *mūhallah* came to be known by this name.

### **Chauk Bukhāri**

Lahore's oldest cantonment was in Bāgh Wāzir Khān, which is present day Old Anārkali, Revenue Office, Tollington Market, NCA, the Lahore Museum. In 1700s Lahore was attacked by the armies of Persian and Afghan invaders. To facilitate the troops of ten to twenty thousand soldiers a prostitution hub or *chakla* developed near the old dhobī ghāt. Over the course of time many of these women took refuge in Lauhāri Gate area which runs straight from Anārkali Bāzār.<sup>10</sup> Many of these women later set up brothel houses and some of them rose to power and wealth like Matti Baī. The main artery (*guzr*) runs straight 400m from Lauhāri Gate to Chauk Bukhari which was commonly called Chakla Chauk, "it was Delhi's red-light district in the early British period."<sup>11</sup> From Chauk Bukhāri the main artery bifurcates with one street running eastward towards Pāpār Mandi and the main artery curving as it progresses westward up to Chauk Jhandā, the *baiṭhak* of Pīr Ḥussain Shāh. In olden days when a local Fair of the Steps or Qadmaṇ ka Mailā used to be held at Bāgh Wāzir Khān and the prostitutes from Chakla Chauk ruled the area from Lauhāri Gate to barādārī Wāzir Khān. A massive old house called Kanjraṇ dī Havelī is there close to Chauk Bukhāri.

Abrār Ḥussain who has a small grocery shop at Chauk Bukhāri says that it was renamed after the auliya'-i kārām (saints or holy men) giving it a more respectability and nobleness.<sup>12</sup> Baba Bulleh Shah was a *murid* of Shāh 'Anāyat Qādri whose abode (*hujra*) was in Bhāṭī Gate area. Baba Bulleh Shah lived and served as his disciple for many years. As per the sufi traditions that no work is beneath or to be frowned upon Shāh 'Anāyat would send him to clean and cook in the houses of the *kanjrits* which resided in this area. Baba Bulleh Shah's family hailed from Bukhara and settled in Punjab, whether there is a connection between the saint and the place- names is not evident or what the people who renamed this place had in mind is not entirely clear. Yet what is very clear from talking to the people at the *chauk* is the revulsion associated with *chakla*, the new name at least in their minds gives the place a new sense of dignity. Chauk Bukhāri is shown in (Plate.3).



Plate.3 Chauk Bukhāri.

### **Kūcha Ilāhī Bakhsh**

Masjid Nazāmīa Raḍwīa stands tall, its red brick facade makes an imposing presence on the right side of the entrance of Kūcha Ilāhī Bakhsh. The long thoroughfare goes up to Mori Gate, one of the many convoluted streets of Chiri Mārān open near the entrance of Kūcha Ilāhī Bakhsh.

The *havelī* of Karṛak Singh was located here during the time of Sikh Rāj. Its exact location and structure have been lost in the turbulent history of this area. In 1846, at the time of the British rule the officers of the 6<sup>th</sup> and 27<sup>th</sup> native infantries were stationed here. Later when the infantries shifted the British razed the *havelī* to the ground to wipe away the legacy of Sikh rāj. Yet even today in these streets people reminiscence about *havelī* of Māhārāja Karṛak Singh and its famous *bāzār*.

The young prince was extremely fond of Masjid Kharāsiyān, originally called Masjid Sardār Jahān built by Jahāngīr in 1606.<sup>13</sup> He incorporated the *masjid* into the plan of his *havelī* and prevented its destruction. As to how this *kūcha* and street came to be named after Ilāhī Bakhsh, who was he, what did he do for a living, was he a person of great wealth or a man of high moral stature is a mystery both to its resident and to outsiders. One of the shopkeepers whose family has been here for generations says that about forty or fifty years ago this place was renamed after Ḥāji Ilāhī Bakhsh, a prominent member of the community, his family used to live here but now all his family members have left. What is clear enough is that unlike Chauk Bukhāri whose place- name origin is completely unknown this *kūcha* is named after a real person who once lived here.

On the main Mori Gate thoroughfare close to Chauk Jhandā on the right side is Kūcha Kohlū. Still today the old method of extracting oil by means of a bull is used here. Here all kinds and varieties of oil used to be extracted, however now not many shops are selling oil here.

### **Kūcha Kharāsiyān**

It forms a network of lanes on the southern side of Ṭwailah M'irāj Din. There used to be long rows of shops selling all in kinds of flour, yet today there are only two

shops here. Kūcha Kharāsiyān (Plate.4) is triangularly shaped its only street moves diagonally eastwards then takes a sharp turn backwards to main Lauhāri Bāzār. *Kharās* is a Persian word, *khar* means a donkey and *as* a mill, hence a mill moved by a donkey. In olden days grains were ground into powder by means of two large circular stones placed on top of each other driven by an animal. The top stone moved circularly grinding the grains in to powder or *āiā* for *rōī*(bread). This large grind mill supplied flour to all the area from here. Kūcha Kharāsiyān is next to Nihāl Chānd Mandir built in 1884 and was considered one of the largest and the most beautiful temple in the city.

### **Ṭwailah M ʿirāj Din**

*Ṭwailahs* were horse stables where the wealthy kept their carriages and horses. In Walled City places are still called *ṭwailahs* where no horses or carriages are found. One such example is of Ṭwailah M ʿirāj Din next to Chāuk Jhandā. Its present owner is Chāudri Nazāfat who has many shops dealing in all sorts of crafts from shoe making to metal work. M ʿirāj Din was the paternal grandfather of Chāudri Nazāfat and the *ṭwailah* is named after him.

### **Chāuk Jhandā**

Mori Gate’s main artery runs northward into Chāuk Jhandā, which can also be accessed both from Lauhāri Mandī via Ṭwailah M ʿirāj Din and from Kūcha Kharāsiyān. Chāuk Jhandā is a public square on the grounds of one of the oldest grain markets in the city, yet its place- name is a commemoration of Pīr Ḥussain Tailī who’s green *jhandā* is still present in the middle of the *chāuk*. Pīr Ḥussain Shāh under the influence of his mentor Baba Shāh Jāmāl preached a strict code of business. The *chāuk* is still a market for rice, wheat cotton. It is flanked on all sides by buildings from the Sikh era and early 20<sup>th</sup> century.

There used to be a well in the center of the square during the reign of Akbar which is closed now. Every year the *jhandā* (flag) is changed on the night of Shab-i Bārāt by the disciples of the saint. Pīr Ḥussain Tailī is buried outside Walled City yet on the right side of the *chāuk* next to Ṭwailah M ʿirāj Din is his *baiṭhak* (sitting place or a place to stay).

A very interesting story about the saint is that he would let people weigh their grains and pay accordingly, if they had paid less than they had weighed they would find the grains lesser and if they were honest the grains weighed heavier. People have put up *chirāgh* (oil lamps) at his *baiṭhak* that burns incessantly day and night. *Jhandā* (pole with a flag) has meant many things symbolically and historically, it used to be put outside houses where travelers could stay and rest, they were put up outside homes of prominent people, they were emblems of power and prestige and representational of who resided. *Jhandā*’s are metaphors put up in places and spaces where people’s needs, wishes and desired could be fulfilled.<sup>14</sup>

### **Bismillāh Street**

Coming out of Chāuk Jhandā into the main artery of Lauhāri Gate Bāzār is Chāchā Rafiqī’s Mīṭhāi Shop which claims to be more than one hundred and fifty years old by its young owner.<sup>15</sup> His family has been in the sweet business since many generations. To the left of his *mīṭhāi* shop is Bismillāh Street which was

previously known as *galī* Chopriyān, it navigates westwards towards Mūhallah Jalotiyan in to Bhāti Gate area.

Several small *band galīs* (cul- de -sac) and a *katrī* constitute the makeup of Bismillāh Street. Even though the *galī* was renamed many decades ago as recounted by its inhabitants, yet its older place name Chopriyān is commonly used, part of the vernacular even today, refusing to be erased from the memory of these people. The description for this place-name comes surprisingly from a game in a written record of 16<sup>th</sup> century by Abul Fadhal, a vizier and historian in Akbar's time who wrote the Akbarnāma. According to him *chaupār* was a common gambling sport in the court of the Mughal emperor in Agra and Fatehpur sikri.<sup>16</sup> The game was played by using sixteen pieces, three dices (cowries) and a board made from a cloth in shape of a cross. *Cau* in Hindi means four and *pārā* means a cloth, which forms the four arms of the playing surface. Boards were used in the later versions of the game instead of a cloth. The whole word means "that which is composed of four boards" or "that which consists of four roads, a crossroad" and to refer to the crossroad like form of the board.<sup>17</sup>

Thus, according to Fakir Saif the champions or experts of this game must have lived here and as this game was quite popular in those days people began to identify this *galī* with them. Even though Chopriyān as a name is widely and frequently yet people on the street have no idea what it means, even those whose families have been here for generations have no clue as to why, what or even how Galī Chopriyān got its name in the first place. Some of the people spoken to conjecture that may be Chopriyān comes from the Punjabi word "*chopar*", which means the act of stuffing or pouring oil or *gh'i* on *rōi* (bread).

However, this is not in vein with the way names were kept in the olden days which were either after prominent persons or people specialized in particular trades, artisans or even prostitutes and not after acts or actions of common sorts. Whatever the origins of this name might be is today unknown, lost like so much else, yet what is clearly evident is the meaning and the sacredness of its present name to a predominantly Muslim population.

### **Galī Phullān Wāli**

Toward the right side of Lāl Havelī, Sikhs, Muslims and Hindus lived in this street, when partition came the Hindus and the Sikhs went to India leaving behind empty houses and properties. As per the local traditions, Ma'i Chūndī who lived on this street was a woman of considerable talents, abilities, and stature because when the Sikhs and the Hindus left after partition they gave her the keys to their houses and properties.<sup>18</sup> These keys were later distributed among the families that migrated from India and sought refuge in this part of the city. Ma'i Chūndī as her name suggests would apply *chūndī* (pinch of salt) on the tonsils of small children to treat throat infections. One of the shopkeepers who has a clothing shop on the same street says that this *galī* is also known by her name. Many courtesans and prostitutes also lived here, and in the evenings, they would sit in the balconies of their houses and throw flowers and rose petals to entice prospective customers. This was how they welcomed customers and in time the street came to be known by this act as Galī Phullān Wāli.



### **Sa'id Miththa Bāzār**

At the junction where the main artery of the Lauhāri Gate Bāzār divides into three trajectories, the main street traverses north. This street is named after a saint who lived and died here. Sa'id Miththa was a descendent of the Holy Prophet (pbuh) whose real name was Syed Moīn ūd Din Ḥussainī.<sup>19</sup> Syed has been mispronounced in to Sa'id, something which has commonly happened to names here. His family hailed from Khorasan, when Genghis Khan and his hordes attacked Khorasan his family fled to Ghaznī. His father Syed Jāmāl ūd Din Ḥussaīnī was an acknowledged wālī in the sufi tradition. Later Ghaznī too was invaded by the Tartars his family moved to India and settled in Lahore. His father had many devotees and was known for his piety, when he died his son took his place. Moīn was loved by all for his sweet demeanor, upright character, pious ways, his duty and devotion to God. So beloved was he that people started calling him *mīththa* which means sweet. Even today his followers give sweets and sugar as offerings to those who visit his shrine. He died in 661 and is buried in Sa'id Miththa Bāzār inside Lauhāri Gate.

### **Kūcha Bailī Rām**

On the main Sa'id Miththa Bāzār artery is Kūcha Bailī Rām. Bailī Rām was the head of the treasury who had the keys of the Tōshā khānā at the Fort during the time of Ranjīt Singh. He was a small man with a hunchback yet what he lost in size he made up in his honesty, integrity and uprightness in character. Extremely loyal to Ranjīt Singh he was a force to reckon. Kūcha Bailī Rām joins one of the smaller arteries of 'Awāmi Bāzār on the eastern side. Further north is the Tahsīl Bāzār that is packed with shops, here the British set up courts to run the city and then toward the Shāhi Mūhallah and finally to the fort.

### **Conclusion**

These names are profoundly rich and mysterious in their meanings just like the winding streets of Walled City. They are imbued with adventure of the unexpected, old yet unknown, taking the researcher to startlingly discoveries unraveled through the narration of tales of valor, romance, power and a time long forgotten. They are not merely name of locations and places but are historical entities in their own right. They are like the names of chapters that hold within them secrets to the past.

This is by no means an exhaustive study and there are many streets not mentioned here as this research was restricted to certain area. Thus, what is needed is a detailed study of the all the place-names in the entire area of Walled City. One of the key learning from this study is that information on the names of *galīs*, *mūhallahs*, *kūchas*, is extremely scarce. A systematic framework needs to be developed where by all the names and their sources of origins could be determined, at least to the point whereby some kind of clarity emerges. This kind of information would not only be useful to a historian but would be extremely valuable in contextualizing the cultural and social narrative of this place that can go a long way developing the interest of both the local and foreign visitor.

## Bibliography

- Ayub, Mohammad. Interview by author. Lahore, Punjab, 11 January 2018.
- Bangash, Yaqoob Khan. "Name Changes and Manufactured Identities," *The Express Tribune*, 26 September 2011. Article online. Available from <https://tribune.com.pk/story/260843/name-changes-and-manufactured-identities>. Internet. Accessed 10 February 2018.
- Brown, Norman. "The Indian Games of Pachisi, Chaupar, and Chausar," *Expedition*, 6, 2 (1964): 33-35. Magazine online. Available from <https://www.penn.museum/sites/expedition/the-indian-games-of-pachisi-chaupar-and-chausar>. Internet. Accessed 5 February 2018.
- Hussian, Abrar. Interview by author. Lahore, Punjab, 5 January 2018.
- Lal, Kaniya. *Tarikh-I Lahore*. Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 2015.
- Meaning, Urdu. <http://meaning.urdu.co>. Accessed February 7, 2018.
- Mohammad, Rana. Interview by author. Lahore, Punjab, 5 January 2018.
- Rafique, Salman. Interview by author. Lahore, Punjab, 11 January 2018.
- Saif, Fakir. Interviewed by author. Lahore, Pakistan, 15 January 2018.
- Shehzad, Ghafir. *Ghar, Ghalian, Darwazay*. Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publication, 2007.
- Soofi, Mayank. "The Old Delhi Dictionary," *Live Mint*, 2 March 2013. Article online. Available from <http://www.livemint.com/Leisure/jCD19CGtowdefkZgFdYD8L/Heritage--The-Old-Delhi-dictionary.html>. Internet. Accessed 5 February 2018.
- Suvorova, Anna. *Lahore Topophilia of Space and Place*. Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2011.
- The Walled City of Lahore*. Pakistan: Pack Art Press Pvt Limited, 1993.

## Notes & Reference

---

- <sup>1</sup> *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 2017 ed., s.v. “Toponymy.”
- <sup>2</sup> *The Walled City of Lahore* (Pakistan: Pack Art Press, 1993), 17.
- <sup>3</sup> Anna Suvorova, *Lahore Topophilia of Space and Place* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2011), 35.
- <sup>4</sup> Kānā, a local term used to describe a soft material that is used in making table mats, window blinds and small toys.
- <sup>5</sup> Rana Mohammad, interview by author, Lahore, Punjab, 5 January 2018.
- <sup>6</sup> Fakir Saif, interviewed by author, Lahore, Pakistan, 15 January 2018.
- <sup>7</sup> Mayank Soofi, “The Old Delhi Dictionary,” *Live Mint*, 2 March 2013, [article online] available from <http://www.livemint.com/Leisure/jCD19CGtowdefkZgFdYD8L/Heritage--The-Old-Delhi-dictionary.html>; Internet; accessed 5 February 2018.
- <sup>8</sup> Fakir Saif, interviewed by Tania Mairaj, Lahore, Pakistan, 15 January 2018.
- <sup>9</sup> Fakir Saif, interviewed by the author, Lahore, Pakistan, 15 January 2018.
- <sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*,
- <sup>11</sup> *The Walled City of Lahore* (Pakistan: Pack Art Press, 1993), 91.
- <sup>12</sup> Abrar Hussian, interview by author, Lahore, Punjab, 5 January 2018.
- <sup>13</sup> Ghafir Shehzad, *Ghar, Ghalian, Darwazay* (Lahore: Sang-e- Meel Publication, 2007), 33.
- <sup>14</sup> Fakir Saif, interviewed by the author, Lahore, Pakistan, 15 January 2018.
- <sup>15</sup> Salman Rafique, interview by author, Lahore, Punjab, 11 January 2018.
- <sup>16</sup> Norman Brown, “The Indian Games of Pachisi, Chaupar, and Chausar,” *Expedition*, 6, 2 (1964): 33[magazine online] available from <https://www.penn.museum/sites/expedition/the-indian-games-of-pachisi-chaupar-and-chausar>; Internet; accessed 5 February 2018.
- <sup>17</sup> Norman Brown, “The Indian Games of Pachisi, Chaupar, and Chausar,” *Expedition*, 6, 2 (1964): 34 [magazine online] available from <https://www.penn.museum/sites/expedition/the-indian-games-of-pachisi-chaupar-and-chausar>; Internet; accessed 5 February 2018.
- <sup>18</sup> Mohammad Ayub, interview by author, Lahore, Punjab, 11 January 2018.
- <sup>19</sup> Kaniya Lal, *Tarikh-I Lahore* (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 2015), 171.