

Le Corbusier's Chandigarh and Doxiadis's Islamabad: The cities they built in India and Pakistan, a decade apart

Abstract

In 1950, Le Corbusier embarked on a modernist tour de force, Chandigarh in East Punjab, at the invitation of independent India's first Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru. In 1960, Constantinos A. Doxiadis submitted his masterplan for the new Pakistani federal capital, Islamabad. The nation's military government, led by Field Marshal General Ayub Khan, had decided to enter the fray of nation building through capital construction. Chandigarh was intended to be emblematic of modern India while replacing iconic Lahore as the capital of Indian Punjab whereas Pakistan's new capital was expected to be representative of national life, politically as well as religiously. Both cities were to be active as intrinsic catalysts of national identity formation. Even so, how do the arrangements of the built areas and open spaces, differ? What did Doxiadis do differently from Le Corbusier? Which typologies did he actively develop to suit the brief for Pakistan, and which ones came in reaction to Chandigarh?

Team 10 was a generation of designers' reactionary assessment and regrouping to actively contrast what was believed not to be suitable. Le Corbusier's clinical approach with his Unité d'Habitation and orthogonal isolation for the sake of the plan that rules could be seen to flail in the need for a more humanistic approach to the engendering of social cohesion in the aftermath of war and displacement as with the intention to create inter-related communities, especially so in the Global South. The study of Islamabad as a reaction to Chandigarh, in emulation and contrast provides insight as to how post-war transnational city planning was an application of an ideology on an imaginary blank canvas whereas what happened a decade later showcases the laboratorial journey of using theories of seed settlements, dynamic growth, and culturally sensitive development as part of the ethos for building cities.

Keywords

Architecture, Decolonising Historiography, Nation Building, Transnational Collaborations

Kieran Gaya

Born in Dublin, Ireland, of Mauritian parents and spent his formative years in Asia, Africa, and Europe. This diversity of transnationality and the post-colonial formation of geopolitical territories has informed his research interests. He holds degrees earned in the USA, Italy, Switzerland, and Ireland. His focus is on the symbiotic material production of local and international agents onto a site and how this visually accessible culture transforms civic identities. Kieran's doctoral dissertation, and publications explore the historically iconographic seasoning steeped into the modern language of architecture developed for Islamabad in Pakistan.

Introduction

In 1954, Greek architect Constantinos Apostolou Doxiadis (1913-1975) visited Chandigarh, the new capital of Indian Punjab, designed by Le Corbusier (born Charles Édouard Jeanneret, 1887-1965) and completed a year earlier in 1953. He visited again in 1955 and in 1958. These travels allowed Doxiadis to oversee and to analyse the relative merits of this transnational collaboration, which had the scope of building a prototype city evidencing independence and forward progress through architecture. The rhetoric was modernism with an attempt to indicate abstracted representations of the local vernacular and symbolical iconographies through various applications into the built form and spaces. Another factor taken into consideration by Doxiadis in his measure of Le Corbusier's ability to translate his urban and architectural ideas onto Indian soil was the success of the city when viewed through the lens of local adaptation, and how Chandigarh's citizens appropriated their living context as they indwelt it over the years.¹ This can be observed even more so now by the analytically-minded visitor, after these seven decades that have passed.

Doxiadis arrived in Pakistan in 1955, the year after his travels to India. He was at the time still involved in a building project begun in Baghdad, where he had meticulously investigated the urban cultural fabric of

Syria. He was invited, through contacts made in New Delhi in 1954, when he spoke at Jacquelyn Tyrwhitt's low cost housing conference, to design a new satellite town near Karachi, to be called Korangi, which was to host the refugees in exile still arriving in Pakistan from India.² It is likely that the opportunity that had been extended to Le Corbusier, by the Indian government, spurred Doxiadis to hope for the same, a large-scale project on a relatively blank slate. This led the Greek architect to propose himself and his own urban design theories, namely Ekistics and Dynapolis, to the Pakistani government of the time, as a suitable and reliable person to design a new capital for the nation when the time would come. Le Corbusier's urban and architectural theories were well known by the time he arrived in India, through his publications, but Doxiadis's had not had the same range and extension of opportunity for dissemination. He had participated in CIAM, had been influenced by the Athens Charter

1. "Pakistan Travel Diary," in *Pakistan v.2 – Diaries*, DOX-PP 20, Oct - Nov 1954, Ref. 23554. Constantinos A. Doxiadis Archives, Athens, Greece.

2. Markus Daechsel, *Modern Asian Studies* 45, no.1 (2011), 131-157. For a detailed study of the Korangi development as well as a chronological survey of Doxiadis's work which led to his being invited to Pakistan, see: Daechsel, *Islamabad and the Politics of International Development in Pakistan*, 31-66; Markus Daechsel, "Misplaced: Constantinos A. Doxiadis and Urban Planning in Pakistan," in *Athens Conference on Doxiadis and the Post World War II Planning Context* (unpublished, December 2006); Markus Daechsel, "Misplaced Ekistics: Islamabad and the politics of urban development in Pakistan", *South Asian History and Culture* 4, Issue 1 (2013): 87-106.

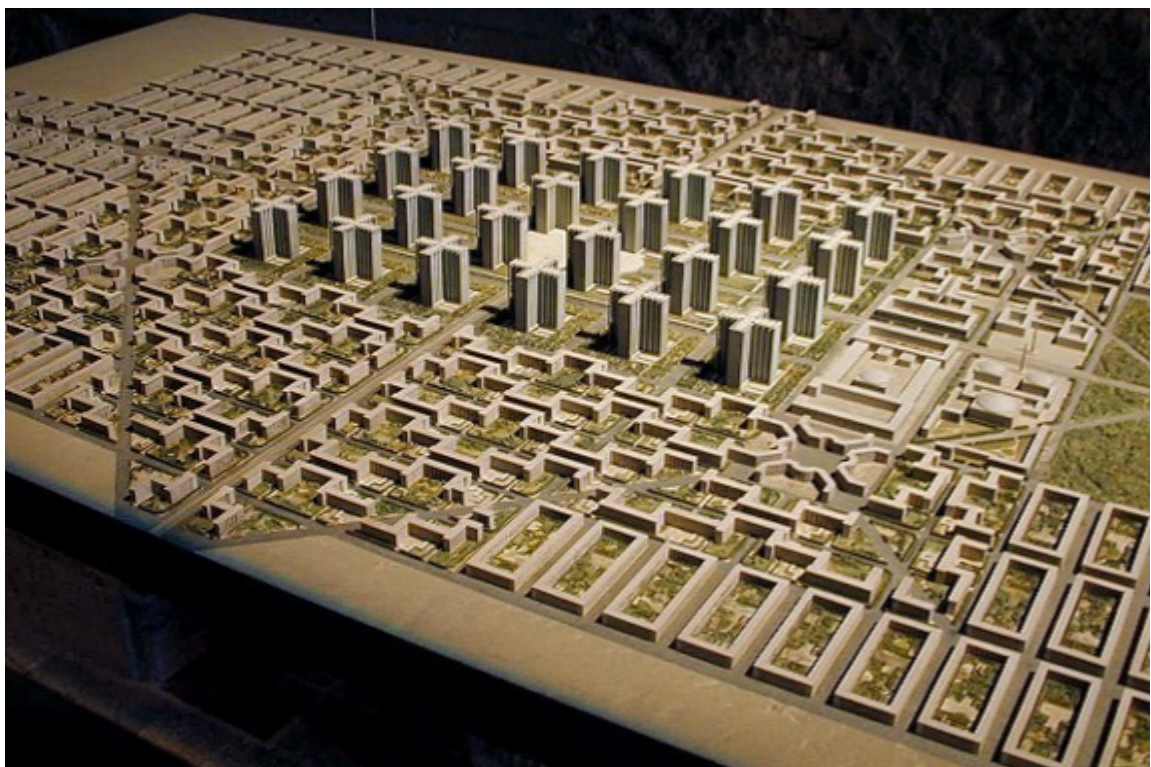


Figure 1. La Ville Radieuse, the Radiant City, Le Corbusier. Lands8 [online].

of 1933 whose main proponent was Le Corbusier and strict functionalist ideals having a high-rise approach to urban development. By the 1950s, Doxiadis had founded the Centre for the Study of Ekistics in Athens and was proposing a more human-centric and holistic ethos to city planning and architecture.³ What Le Corbusier had managed to achieve through the process of making his theories enter the concrete sphere through the application in Chandigarh, Doxiadis also wanted, albeit on Pakistani soil. Islamabad was set to provide the laboratorial context to put into practice Ekistics and ultimately Dynapolis where a seed settlement grows in a pre-set direction through the progressive intervention of its growing population over time.⁴

After the military coup of 1958, led by Field Marshal, General Ayub Khan (1907-1974), and a time of settling, the government of Pakistan, through the arm of the newly established Federal Capital Authority (FCA), later called the Capital Development Authority (CDA), commissioned Doxiadis to design the Master Plan for a new representative city to be named Islamabad. As with Chandigarh, the new capital of Pakistan was intended to represent the forward progress of the nation and provide a visual inculcation towards the formation of a new civic identity. This was in the unique post-colonial context of a nation allegedly formed as a geo-political territory for the sake of a predominant religion.⁵ The desire of both India and Pakistan to be portrayed as modern and progressive 20th century countries aiming toward the future found expression through the work, and ultimately a manner of competitive reaction in how Doxiadis fought for his own place in the sun. This also fit in well with the intentions of the Pakistanis, headed by Ayub Khan in his desire for consensus, to build a new federal capital as rapidly as had happened with Brasilia and more grandiosely memorable, and ultimately monumental, than India's Chandigarh.

Historical Context and Backdrop

The British-drafted Indian Independence act of 1947 and the subsequent partition of the territory into the Union of India and Dominion of Pakistan, which included both East and West Pakistan, inaugurated a period of conflict having repercussions to this day.⁶ India was to be a predominantly Hindu state while Pakistan was to be the home of a Muslim majority population. East Pakistan became independent Bangladesh in 1971 having declared itself a separate



Figure 2. City Centre, Ville Radieuse, Le Corbusier. Fondation Le Corbusier.

and sovereign nation on the 26th of March of that year. Partition continues to impact the geo-politics of this part of South Asia even though there are so many similarities of culture, aesthetics and language between the now three nations which ended up forming out of the fracture of Partition.

Nehru's Decision for Chandigarh

In 1948, just a year after independence and the division of the territory, Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru ((1889-1964) astutely decided that a large venture of nation building and reinforcing was much needed to help the people focus onto the hope of a glorious future rather than the trauma of the past. He moved forward with the idea to demonstrate progressive, modern, and independent India through the much-publicised construction of a new Indian Punjabi capital in the shape of Chandigarh.⁷ One principally important tactic was the choice to replace the imagery of iconically beautiful and historically important Lahore, which had seen the glory days of the Mughal era as one of the peripatetic capitals of the empire and carried on as an important northern city for the British, with this new capital for East Punjab. In the trend established by other founded cities such as Shimla, which was named after the goddess Shyamala, a variant of Kali, Chandigarh was named and founded in an area of Punjab encompassing an ancient temple dedicated to the goddess Chandi. The name means the fortress or

3. Constantinos Doxiadis, *A. Ekistics: An Introduction to the Science of Human Settlements* (Oxford University Press, 1968).
 4. Daechsel, "Misplaced Ekistics."
 5. Ayesha Jalal, *The Struggle for Pakistan: A Muslim Homeland and Global Politics* (Belknap Press, Harvard University, 2014), 5-9.
 6. Ayesha Jalal, *The Struggle for Pakistan*.

7. Vikramaditya Prakash, *Chandigarh's Le Corbusier: The Struggle for Modernity in Postcolonial India*, passim.; "Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Independent India's first Prime Minister, laid down the founding principles of the new city when he said, 'Let this be a new town, symbolic of freedom of India unfettered by the traditions of the past, an expression of the nation's faith in the future'. The city is a product of Nehru's vision." *The Official Website of Chandigarh Administration*, "Know Chandigarh, Planning & Architecture, Historical Background" [online].

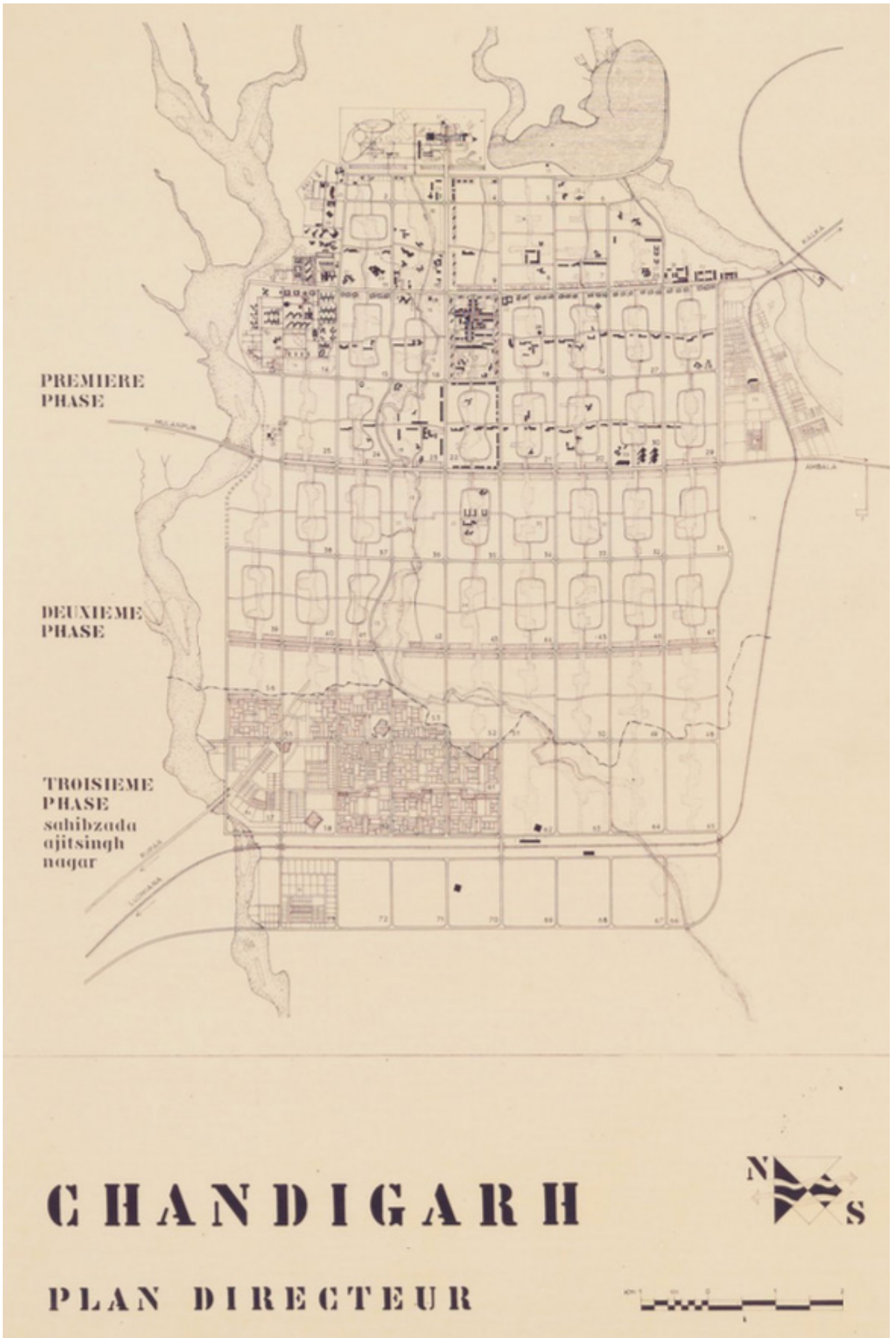


Figure 3. Plan Directeur, Chandigarh, Le Corbusier. Fondation Pierre Jeanneret, CCA, Montréal, Canada.

citadel of Chandī. American architect Albert Mayer (1897-1981) with his partner, Polish architect Maciej Nowicki (1910-1950), took on the task in 1950 but after the tragic passing of the latter, Mayer withdrew from the project leaving behind a Master Plan. Nehru then invited the 63-year-old Le Corbusier to tackle the task of making the Dream City a concrete reality.⁸ This is where Le Corbusier was going to finally be able to apply his *Ville Radieuse/Radiant City* theories elaborated in the 1930s, which had remained mostly as drawings, essays, and in model form up till then. Nehru was providing him with a largely fresh slate of a site along with few restrictions per se regarding style influenced by the context's historical visual idioms. Both Le Corbusier and Nehru, at many levels, were similar visionaries looking to modernity to express a break with the past without ignoring it.⁹

Le Corbusier's Ideas and their application in Chandigarh

The principal idea from Le Corbusier's theories which got applied in Chandigarh was the one about *La Ville Radieuse/ The Radiant City*. Even though his concept of a linear city came from a desire to humanise the world after the atrocities committed during World War II, the product itself, seen through the lens of what was to follow, seems to have been a rather clinical application, a linear adaptation of a solution to the need. (Figures 1, 2) Chandigarh is not the direct concretisation of *La Ville Radieuse* per se but there are important elements drawn from Corbusier's theories applied here in a pastiche onto the Indian context.¹⁰ (Figures 3, 4) Le Corbusier was given the opportunity by Nehru's government to bring to life his theories on a scale he had not achieved ever before and never managed to do again. The stipulations of the Indian authorities were few and Le Corbusier was given largely free rein to carry on where Mayer and Nowicki had left off. The agenda was for a new regional capital with the overlapping factor of it representing a modern and independent India. The resultant foray was to work on the formation of a prototype for national architecture. Le Corbusier was the first to truly carry through this experimentation in Chandigarh for India in this transnational venture.

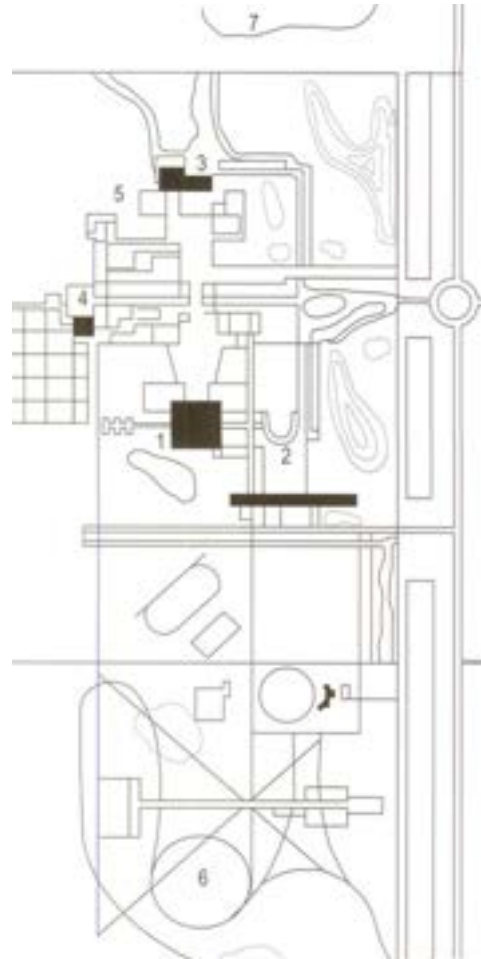


Figure 4. Government Offices, Chandigarh, Le Corbusier [1. Assembly Hall, 2. Secretariat, 3. High Court, 4. Museum of Knowledge, 5. Open Hand, 6. Rajendra Park, 7. Sukhna Lake]. Fondation Le Corbusier.

The second, and yet just as fundamental, idea of Le Corbusier, which he developed in Europe and yet applied in India, issued from his theory of the 7Vs (1942).¹¹ The Vs are the *voies de circulation*, the transport and viability network of the city. Two main thoroughfares were to lead into Chandigarh and out of the city. One was to have its conclusion, going east, at the Capitol Building continuing to Simla, and ultimately Lahore, going west into Pakistan. This is interesting in the light that contrary to the urban plan for the Radiant City that had no distinct hierarchy of power or position divided into zones, Chandigarh, in emulation of Lutyens's New Delhi, has a government enclave, where the monumental speaks volumes and is a final destination rather than a core or nucleus around which the rest of the city orbits. The government offices, which comprise the well-known Secretariat and other important buildings is the apex of the city and sited at the conclusion of one of the main Vs, the

8. Fondation Le Corbusier, "Capitol, Chandigarh, India, 1950-1965" [online].

9. Le Corbusier championed a "clean break" with traditional, ornamental architecture, advocating for a new approach based on functionality, industrial technology, and standardization to suit the modern era. He viewed historical styles as obsolete, famously declaring that "the styles are a lie" and that the 20th century required a new language of architecture.

10. Le Corbusier, *Urbanisme* (Champs-Flammarion, Paris, 1994), *passim*.

11. Le Corbusier, "Urbanisme. La Règle des 7 V (Voies de circulation)," in Le Corbusier, *Œuvre complète* Volume 5: 1946-1952: Volume 5: 1946-1952 edited by Willy Boesiger, 90-94 (Birkhäuser, 1995).

central, back-bone-like thoroughfare, of Chandigarh. (Figure 5)

Even though Chandigarh's visual iconographies, forms, volumetric inter-plays and open spaces could have set up several prototypes, this did not really become the case immediately across India other than where the city plan itself was concerned. Even so, the zoning and choice of hierarchical arrangements was not particularly a brainchild of Le Corbusier's but had started with the Ideal City or New Town movement under Raymond Unwin, and included emulations of Lutyens's approaches in New Delhi regarding the administrative enclave. Le Corbusier mentions Lutyens's work in New Delhi with admiration in his *Oeuvres Complètes*.¹² Lutyens's urban arrangement for New Delhi set up a typology for representative capitals., which was certainly important for Doxiadis in Pakistan. This scheme of addressing the placement of a government enclave, and an expanding hierarchically organised zoning fanning out from it, carried through for both Chandigarh, and subsequently also in Doxiadis's Islamabad, with some important variations, which have become more noticeable over time. (Figures 6, 7)

12. Le Corbusier, *Œuvres complètes*, volume 6 (1952-1957), passim.



Figure 5. Palace of the Assembly, Chandigarh, Le Corbusier. Cemal Emden, *archeyes.com* [online].

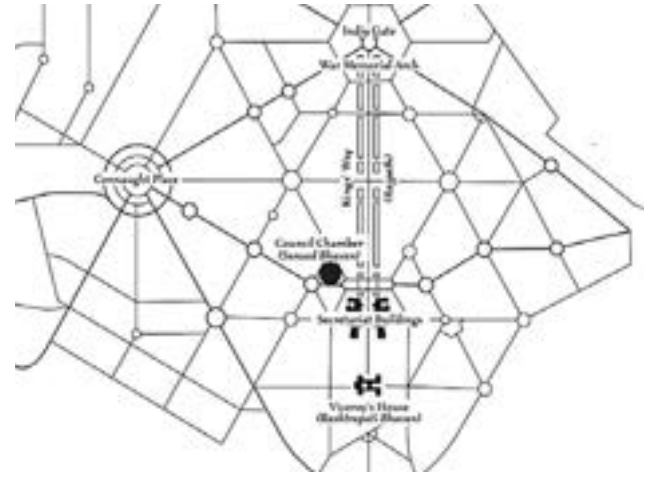


Figure 6. Plan of New Delhi Government Enclave and Zones. Blog Lutyensdelhi [online].

The device used for these capital cities of the 20th century, designed by a British, a Swiss French, and ultimately a Greek, takes the approach of having government sectors being set up visibly apart as well as elevated above public life through arterial network systems, such as Le Corbusier's V3 in Chandigarh and Doxiadis's axial and transversal design of Islamabad. Landscaping effects, monumental symmetries and framing spaces were also part of the mix of strategies. These as applied in both Chandigarh and Islamabad function as implied screens and portals from public through semi-private and in through to exclusive access to persons of power. Lutyens, and then Le Corbusier, followed by Doxiadis, established axes connecting the governmental zone to the rest of the city. The difference between Le Corbusier's plan for Chandigarh compared to the other two is that his administrative enclave has become progressively isolated from the hustle and bustle of the city, possibly due to there being a large city centre as well as each sector having a smaller one of their own, whereas in both New Delhi and Islamabad, the monumental presence of the government enclave is active as a point of both arrival and departure fanning out to the rest of these two capitals. And this can be said to be the most noticeably effective in Islamabad where the main axes take both visitor and resident to either the Presidential Palace Complex or the National Mosque. (Figures 8, 9)

It could be said that the designers of the urban plan for Chandigarh did not see the need to reinvent the wheel in its re-iteration of zonal hierarchies and arrangements. However, it is the prior success of such a masterplan in the region, with New Delhi, that paved the way for this aspect to be reapplied here by Le Corbusier and his collaborators with the idea that it could function well, and then later with Doxiadis, as far as zoning and hierarchical arrangements are concerned in Islamabad. The *Complexe du Capitole* in Chandigarh can be seen to be directly derived from Le Corbusier's elaborations of *La Ville Radieuse*, the *Radiant City* (1935). What he did with the government core in terms of volumetric displays was impressive

but the arrangement of the rest of the city's zones in relation to it have engendered an isolation, almost a feeling of neglect making it a form of satellite and not a core about which the rest of the city would orbit or from which it would emanate. This may have become the case because Le Corbusier also included a nucleic city centre, in the middle of Chandigarh for both commercial and other activities located in an area surrounded by residential sectors. Islamabad's residential areas are organised in a similar manner but there is no evident city centre for the whole capital. In some ways this has become problematic in Islamabad because in contrast to New Delhi and Chandigarh, the people in various echelons of government do not always live in the city per se but have lodgings in nearby Rawalpindi or in the rapidly burgeoning extensive suburbs.¹³ However, arrival and departure points remain the Presidential and Government enclaves and the Religious Node containing the National Mosque where Islamabad proper is concerned. At some level one could criticise Doxiadis for this dispersive effect of no evident city centre, but it seems the CDA officials did not require one. The premise may have been that each neighbourhood community having its own local mosque and commercial area would function independently, while being part of a whole. This was in line with the human-centred ideals Doxiadis was promoting

Conclusion of First Part

It has been said of Chandigarh that it is a memorable masterpiece of sculptural architecture celebrating the independence of a nation. The raw concrete interspersed with stylistic structural and yet decorative elements as well sculptural effects that shape the principal buildings of Chandigarh, such as the brise-soleil or hanging facades opened the door for others, both local and from abroad, to operate with vocabulary inspired by the same. The visual memory of both the public and the building authorities across India shifted thanks to Chandigarh and engendered what was to follow in Islamabad. It inaugurated the nation opening itself simultaneously to freedom and to modernity. It is hard to critique Chandigarh objectively to an audience due to its fame and its having been declared a UNESCO heritage location. It can be viewed as a work of art, and a masterpiece of architecture but its humanistic quality has only become enhanced through the appropriation and adaptation achieved by the Indian population into what could be call a box of a shape, a grid-format alien city which landed on the plains of Punjab. Chandigarh's administrative sector had struggled to avoid becoming a ghost town version of an un-lived, abandoned after office hours, area of the East Punjabi

capital, similar in some ways to Wall Street after office hours or the Capitol in Washington D.C. However, this has progressively changed over the last decade due to the city authorities and the universities and colleges organising various cultural events in the area to encourage the use of the circumventing spaces. New Delhi and Chandigarh, urbanistically similar though different in architectural rhetoric and intention, the first one being established a few decades before India's independence and Partition to solidify British control, and the second soon after to represent independent India, provide interesting analytical precedents and qualitative measures of success when compared to Islamabad. They are closer to the Pakistani reality than distant Brasilia even though the latter also stands as a 20th century post-colonial capital situated inland and devised to be the administrative locus and ideological demonstration of its nation.

Islamabad Introduction

Ayub Khan's choice to build a new capital city about ten years after Independence and Partition was above all to solidify and validate his rule, accessed through a blood-less military coup, while deflecting attention from other problematic, infrastructural as well as developmental, issues in Pakistan. His government consisted in part of key figures from the armed forces, with his principal right-hand man being General Yahya Khan (1917-1980). The decision for the location next to Rawalpindi on the Potohar Plateau, far away from Karachi, within sight of India and not very far from Chandigarh seems to fit into the idea that this was part of a competition with Nehru's India. This spirit was also present to some effect in Doxiadis's reaction to the opportunity given to Le Corbusier to build ex-novo. Even though Ayub Khan's reputation was that of a modern-thinking Muslim, Sandhurst educated, well-trained and astute political as well as military figure, he had to contend with the formation of Pakistan being connected to religion and could not aim for a purely secular image, as had been allowed for Nehru's



Figure 7. Diagrammatic Master Plan for Islamabad, Constantinos Doxiadis. Doxiadis Archives, Athens, Greece.

13. Matthew Hull, "Uncivil Politics in the Appropriation of Planning in Islamabad" in *Crisis and Beyond: Re-evaluating Pakistan*, ed. Naveeda Khan, 440-470, 447 (Routledge, 2009).



Figure 8. Master Plan for Islamabad, Constantin Doxiadis. Doxiadis Archives, Constantin and Emma Doxiadis Foundation.

government and with Chandigarh, except for its token Hindu-inspired name. Both cities were laboratorial experiments attached to modernising their respective nation's architectural rhetoric while providing visual means intended to transform civic identity. However, the choice of name for the new Pakistani federal capital was an almost expected required stamp and seal to confirm its representation of an Islamic nation.

The name Islamabad, the abode of Islam in Urdu, which was chosen as the official language of Pakistan, was allegedly selected by Ayub Khan, possibly to placate those who were reluctant to believe that linear and geometric modern forms could express historical Islam. Thus, the insistence by the officials of the CDA, in reaction to political climate fluctuations, that the city's spaces and forms needed to have an evident "Islamic Touch".¹⁴ Ayub Khan chose the location in accordance with recommendations from Yahya Khan, in proximity to the Rawalpindi military bastion, which was originally established by the British, as the headquarters of the armed forces for the region. He approved of the name and established the Capital Development Authority (CDA – initially the Federal Capital Authority/FDA) to recruit planners, architects and designers as well as to oversee every step of the process of building a brand-new federal capital from the ground up.

The premise of Islamabad was different from that of Chandigarh in several crucial areas. Indian Punjab's new capital was to evidence India entering its independent state, its national agency to choose the vocabulary of its representative architecture, attempting to detach from its past and possibly the pain of Partition. Chandigarh was to give new life to the area recovering from its loss of Lahore. The choice of an architect working with neutral iconography, simple geometry of form, with theoretical epigraphy launching a fresh start, celebrating the new, the innovative, was apt for Nehru and his government. Islamabad on the other hand, in spite of the visionary ideas of Doxiadis, was not to be carried through in the same rather linear manner and chronology as Chandigarh after Le Corbusier took over.

Doxiadis was on site on and off until 1963. His main collaborator, Orestes Yakas (1920-?), was the equivalent of who Pierre Jeanneret (1896-1967) was for Le Corbusier in Chandigarh, with regard to rapport and official communication with the designers as well as overseers appointed by the Pakistani Capital Development Authority but his direct involvement with the design of the capital was limited; he was more of an appointee to make sure Doxiadis's plans were applied and implemented. By the time Edward Durell Stone, was recruited, in 1969 to design the Presidential Palace and attendant buildings, Doxiadis's direct personal involvement had waned completely even though his Master Plan continued to impact the location of

14. Zahir Ud-Deen Khwaja, *Memoirs of an Architect* (Sang-e-Meel Publications, 1998), passim.

each building that followed.¹⁵ Turkish architect Vedat Dalokay (1927-1991) was selected for the National Mosque after winning the competition held in 1969 and his building was set at the end of the transversal axis of the capital as per Doxiadis's design. Both the Presidential Palace and National Mosque, renamed the Faisal Mosque, were inaugurated in the 1980s, long after the passing of Ayub Khan in 1974 (19th April) and Doxiadis's in 1975 (28th June). However both their legacies remain in Islamabad. Ayub Khan wanted a modern capital and catered to the nation's formation and the desire for cohesion under the banner of the religion to which it owed its existence, thus the name. In coherence with this, the CDA managed the output of the designers in one way or another, requiring with varying levels of insistence for the elusive "Islamic Touch".¹⁶

Whereas Chandigarh was in essence expected to express modern India and the religious diversity of its people as a sort of confirmation of its choice of secularity in terms of government process and policy making, the designers of Islamabad had to handle providing a diplomatic arrangement showcasing the accord between the state power structure and the religion of the people. Though Pakistanis are diverse in ethnicity, language, dialects, and cultural expression, they are on the whole united by the very fact that their nation exists because of Islam as the primordial factor in the creation of this geo-political state. Doxiadis as the first architect on the site had to contend with this as had the others who followed in this international collaboration. The Pakistani building authority, established by Ayub Khan's government, the CDA, was the principal overseer making sure this was addressed throughout. This was a locally controlling element missing from the design of Chandigarh, ten years before. Islamabad, though largely designed by non-Pakistanis, had to handle and manage their constant engagement and influence on what was produced and built.¹⁷ Both Chandigarh and Islamabad were to be part of the process of nation building through architectural propagandistic rhetoric but the neutrality that could be accepted in India under Nehru and expressed through Le Corbusier's design was not suitable for Pakistan under Ayub Khan's military government.¹⁸ It is interesting to note that both Le Corbusier and Doxiadis proposed a certain similar typology of building for the most monumental structure of the government enclave, a linear repetitive façade. Le Corbusier's Palace of Assembly was built and continues to represent the

city of Chandigarh in all mediatic forms. Doxiadis's proposal, though adapted and re-iterated in both style and position on the site, was rejected each time. Louis Kahn (1901-1974) also proposed several versions which had a lot more to do in arrangement on the site with emulation and inspiration from how Le Corbusier designed Chandigarh's government enclave. Kahn's proposal was also rejected and so it seems that emulation of Le Corbusier's work in India by both these architects was not what Pakistan expected for a federal capital. The axial and monumental were required to showcase power possibly to balance out the relative instability of Ayub Khan's regime.¹⁹

In Pakistan, Doxiadis was given this amazing opportunity to participate in the influential architectural methodical approach to the formation of national identity through the building of a new federal

19. Gaya, Islamabad.

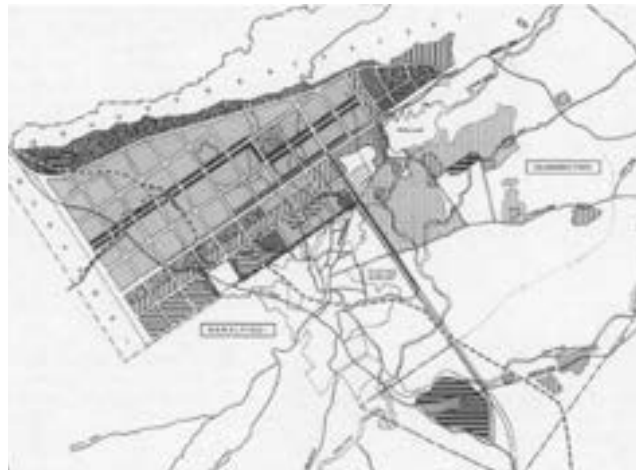


Figure 9. Master Plan for Islamabad showing Transport Axes, Constantin Doxiadis. Doxiadis Archives, Constantin and Emma Doxiadis Foundation.

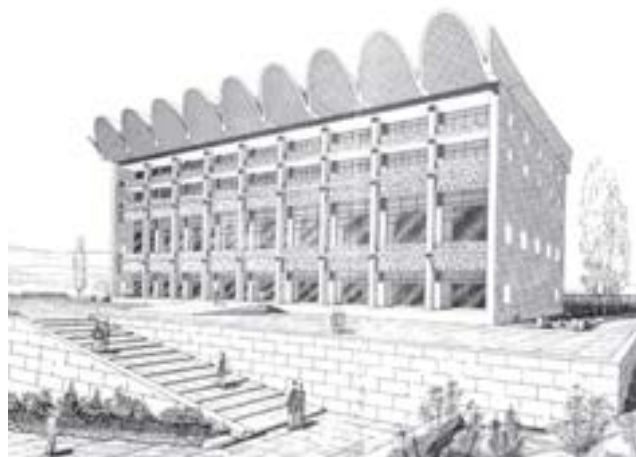


Figure 10. Proposal for Presidential Palace, Constantin Doxiadis. Doxiadis Archives, Constantin and Emma Doxiadis Foundation.

15. Ud-Deen Khwaja, *Memoirs of an Architect*, passim.

16. Kieran Gaya, *Islamabad: What's in a Name?* (Unpublished PhD Thesis, University College Dublin, 2023).

17. Orestes Yakas, *Islamabad: The Birth of a Capital*, passim.

18. Yakas, *Islamabad*, 16, 52-90.

capital by being the most important initial proponent. His overall proposal, after modifications in reaction to the influence of the Pakistani authorities, became so key that the Master Plan for Islamabad continues to be referred to as the Doxiadis plan. Even though Doxiadis and his team only managed to complete some neighbourhoods and their mosques as well as commercial areas, the footprint of his plan, inspired by his research into Islamic nations as well as his seed settlement theories forming part of *Ekistics* ended up leaving a mark not only on the Pakistani capital but what followed in other burgeoningly progressing areas of the country. His concept of *Dynapolis*, that a seed settlement would grow into a larger urban context if the framework for expansion was properly set up.²⁰ The East to West, dorsal axis, which connects the Presidential Palace and Government Enclave to the rest of the city has provided the directional line for growth over the years, even recently with the building of a new airport for Islamabad.

Overall, Doxiadis came to the Islamabad project having learned some key lessons with his project in Syria, followed by his being given the opportunity to adapt his ideas into the Korangi settlement near Karachi. However, there is no denying that his observations of the concrete realities in Chandigarh and careful measurement of the humanistic aspect of how those who indwell architecture and urbanity manage when theories developed elsewhere are applied transnationally, affected his design for Islamabad. The brief for Pakistan was shaped, negotiated, and adapted over the period of implementation by the CDA showcases another important difference between Islamabad and Chandigarh. In India, Le Corbusier had little to contend with where the local designers were concerned since there was a greater willingness to learn from the Swiss architect and to allow him a free hand. In Pakistan, the premise was that the city had to somehow represent both tradition and modernity, an independent nation of the 20th century, yet needing to somehow represent the religion to which it owed its existence. These different parameters and Doxiadis's willingness to think of urban and architectural contexts in a more humanistic way rather than adhering to the line that a house is a machine for living have shaped Islamabad in a different manner when compared to Chandigarh.

20. Doxiadis, A. *Ekistics*.