Shadows of Empire: The Mughal and British Colonial Heritage of Lahore

Naeem U. Din

The Graduate Center, City University of New York

5-2018

How does access to this work benefit you? Let us know!

Follow this and additional works at: https://academicworks.cuny.edu/gc_etds

Part of the Asian Art and Architecture Commons, Asian History Commons, and the Other Architecture Commons

Recommended Citation

https://academicworks.cuny.edu/gc_etds/2691

This Thesis is brought to you by CUNY Academic Works. It has been accepted for inclusion in All Dissertations, Theses, and Capstone Projects by an authorized administrator of CUNY Academic Works. For more information, please contact deposit@gc.cuny.edu.
SHADOWS OF EMPIRE: THE MUGHAL AND BRITISH COLONIAL ARCHITECTURAL HERITAGE OF LAHORE

by

NAEEM DIN

A master’s thesis submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Liberal Studies in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts, The City University of New York

2018
Shadows of Empire: The Mughal and British Colonial Architectural Heritage of Lahore

by

Naeem Din

This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Liberal Studies in satisfaction of the thesis requirement for the degree of Master of Arts.

________________________________________  _______________________________________
Date                                      Elizabeth Macaulay–Lewis
Thesis Advisor

________________________________________  _______________________________________
Date                                      Elizabeth Macaulay–Lewis
Acting Executive Officer

THE CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK
ABSTRACT

Shadows of Empire: The Mughal and British Colonial Architectural Heritage of Lahore

by

Naeem Din

Advisor: Prof. Elizabeth Macaulay–Lewis

The Pakistani city of Lahore is the capital of the Punjab province. The city itself has existed for over a thousand years. In 1947 the British rule in the Indian subcontinent ended, resulting in the partition of British India into the modern states of India and Pakistan. At the time the Punjab province was also partitioned, with the western half (including Lahore) going to Pakistan and the eastern half being awarded to India. Prior to partition, Lahore served as an important administrative and commercial center under the Mughal Empire (1526–1799), the Sikh Empire (1799–1849), the British East India Company (1849–1858), and the British government (1858–1947) when it took direct control of India. Several of the monuments built in and around Lahore under the Mughals, the Sikhs, and the British have survived. They are reminders of the vital role the city has played throughout the history of the Indian subcontinent.

The Mughals were patrons of architecture, who left behind a rich heritage. Through an examination of select buildings, this paper will show that the Mughals built impressive structures in and around Lahore, as they did throughout the Indian subcontinent, not only for utilitarian purposes but also to impress their subjects with their power, influence, and importance. By examining a building from the Sikh–era and comparing it with the Mughal–era buildings, this paper will show how the architectural style of the Mughals lived on after their influence had ended. Like the Mughals, the British considered infrastructure essential for projection of power and maintenance of control.
By examining the architecture of select buildings from the British period, this paper will demonstrate how the British combined the elements of the Mughal architectural style with European architectural elements as well as appropriated Mughal cultural symbols, in order to seek legitimacy and present themselves to the Indians as almost indigenous rulers and logical heirs to the great Mughals.

Lahore’s monuments are reminders of the roles various rulers have played in the city’s history. They represent Pakistan’s equally important Mughal and British legacies. Pakistanis readily identify themselves with the Mughals because they were Muslim rulers. However, Lahore and Pakistan’s British legacy includes infrastructure, an education system, and the court system, among others. Therefore, all of Lahore’s monuments are an important part of the city’s history. They are all worth preserving.
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

First and foremost I wish to thank my advisor, Prof. Elizabeth Macaulay–Lewis for her guidance. She expertly led me back to the right path whenever the need arose. I am impressed and inspired by her scholarship and expertise. It has been a privilege to be her student.

I also wish to thank Robert Muccigrosso, professor emeritus of history at Brooklyn College, The City University of New York. Robert has always been very generous with his time. He reviewed drafts of this paper and offered helpful comments and suggestions. Robert and I have been friends for nearly forty years, and I have truly treasured our friendship.

Last but certainly not least I wish to thank my family. My wife, Sabuha and our sons, Iman and Zakaria have given me their full support and encouragement, which has made this whole project possible. I also wish to offer my special thanks to Sabuha’s cousin, Noor Agha in Pakistan for readily responding to my requests for photographs.

The responsibility for any errors or omissions that may have survived is mine, and mine alone.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

Approval Page...........................................................................................................iii

Abstract......................................................................................................................iv

Acknowledgements....................................................................................................vi

List of Figures..............................................................................................................viii

Introduction................................................................................................................1

Chapter 1. The City of Lahore.....................................................................................4

Chapter 2. The Mughal Period.....................................................................................10

Chapter 3. The Sikh Period.........................................................................................29

Chapter 4. The British Period.....................................................................................33

Epilogue......................................................................................................................47

Figures.......................................................................................................................49

Bibliography...............................................................................................................87
LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1. Map of Indian subcontinent.............................................................................................................49
Figure 2. Map showing partition of India and the Punjab in 1947 .................................................................50
Figure 3. Map of Lahore.................................................................................................................................51
Figure 4. *Chhatri*........................................................................................................................................51
Figure 5. *Chhajja*.........................................................................................................................................52
Figure 6. *Pishtaq*...........................................................................................................................................52
Figure 7. *Jali*...................................................................................................................................................53
Figure 8. Map of the old walled city of Lahore ............................................................................................54
Figure 9. Hall of Private Audience in Lahore Fort .........................................................................................55
Figure 10. Geometric patterns on the floor of the Hall of Private Audience in Lahore Fort ....................55
Figure 11. Fountain in the Hall of Private Audience in Lahore Fort ............................................................56
Figure 12. Hall of Public Audience in Lahore Fort .......................................................................................57
Figure 13. *Jharoka* in the Hall of Public Audience in Lahore Fort .............................................................58
Figure 14. *Jharoka* in Red Fort, Delhi ........................................................................................................58
Figure 15. Marble Pavilion in Lahore Fort with a wide *chhajja* and *jalis* ................................................59
Figure 16. Hall of Mirrors in Lahore Fort .......................................................................................................59
Figure 17. The Alamgiri Gate at night ............................................................................................................60
Figure 18. Badshahi Masjid viewed from the Lahore Fort ............................................................................60
Figure 19. Interior of Badshahi Masjid with a minaret on the left and the main gate on the right ................61
Figure 20. Badshahi Masjid, center structure with a *pishtaq* in the middle .................................................61
Figure 21. Badshahi Masjid’s central pool with the main entrance in the background ..................................62
Figure 22. One of the four minarets of Badshahi Masjid .............................................................................62
Figure 23. Main gate of the Badshahi Masjid .................................................................................................63
Figure 24. Shalamar Garden’s middle terrace .............................................................................................64
Figure 25. Shah Jahan’s throne in the foreground, Shalamar Garden .........................................................65
Figure 26. Emperor Jahangir’s Mausoleum outside Lahore.................................65
Figure 27. One of the four minarets of Jahangir’s Mausoleum............................66
Figure 28. The cenotaph in the central chamber of Jahangir’s Mausoleum.............67
Figure 29. Mausoleum of Nur Jahan.................................................................67
Figure 30. Simple white marble cenotaphs of Nur Jahan and her daughter inside the mausoleum…68
Figure 31. Rehabilitation work being undertaken at the Mausoleum of Nur Jahan........68
Figure 32. Mausoleum of Asif Khan.................................................................69
Figure 33. Mausoleum of Asif Khan in ruin with grass growing from the roof of the dome......70
Figure 34. Ranjit Singh’s Marble Pavilion.........................................................71
Figure 35. Close up of Ranjit Singh’s Marble Pavilion.......................................72
Figure 36. The Agra Fort’s Hall of Public Audience........................................73
Figure 37. Roderick McKenzie’s painting of Lord and Lady Curzon at the 1903 Delhi Durbar......74
Figure 38. Lord and Lady Curzon on an elephant with Indian attendants..............75
Figure 39. George V and Queen Mary at the 1911 Delhi Durbar...........................76
Figure 40. George V and Queen Mary at the jharoka at Red Fort during the 1911 Delhi Durbar....77
Figure 41. Lahore’s Catholic church...................................................................78
Figure 42. The Lahore Railway Station.............................................................78
Figure 43. The Victoria Terminus, Mumbai (formerly Bombay).............................79
Figure 44. Castle-like building of the Lahore Railway Station............................79
Figure 45. The Lahore High Court building.....................................................80
Figure 46. The Lahore Museum building..........................................................80
Figure 47. The Lahore Museum foundation stone laid by Prince Albert Victor........81
Figure 48. The Mayo School of Art, now known as the National College of Arts........82
Figure 49. The Billiard Room at Bagshot Park..................................................83
Figure 50. The Durbar Room, Osborne House, Isle of Wight.............................84
Figure 51. The Durbar Room ceiling, Osborne House, Isle of Wight......................84
Figure 52. Peacock Panel in the Durbar Room, Osborne House, Isle of Wight

Figure 53. Queen Victoria’s Indian attendants, Abdul Karim (on left) and Muhammad Buksh
Introduction

Lahore has a grand, awe-inspiring architectural heritage. Far more than any other single city in Pakistan today, Lahore is filled with some four centuries of majestic, imposing structures from the Mughal (1526–1799), the Sikh (1799–1849) and the British (1849–1947) periods.¹ These structures tell a fascinating story, demonstrating that nothing ever takes place in a vacuum and how through history the art and architecture of the previous rulers have influenced successive rulers, the Mughals being no exception. The story of the architecture of Lahore told in the following pages through select buildings from different time periods is really the story of the Indian subcontinent in a microcosm. It is the story of how the Mughals of India (themselves borrowing from the traditions of other rulers and other regions) set a standard for how a ruler should be viewed by his subjects through his architecture. It is also the story of how the succeeding Sikh and British rulers appropriated or continued those earlier traditions to impress upon their subjects that they were worthy and rightful successors to the great Mughals.

Lahore, the largest city in the Punjab, has been on the crossroads of history for centuries (Fig. 1). Its historical monuments are a testament to the city’s imperial past, and its importance as a cultural and commercial hub under a succession of ruling groups from the 16th century to the present. My roots run deep in the Punjab, which was the place of origin for many of my ancestors; some of them were Muslims, and others offspring of Hindus and Sikhs who had converted to Islam. I was born 67 miles to the north of Lahore in the city of Sialkot almost eleven years after the British government granted India its independence in August 1947. Acceding to a persistent and increasingly vociferous demand for a separate homeland by an assorted and assertive Indian Muslim grouping of political leaders, feudal landholders, merchants, business people and professionals (each group was looking

¹ The Mughal control of Lahore ended in 1799 as the Mughal Empire continued to steadily disintegrate and the city became capital of an emerging Sikh Empire. The British East India Company took control of Lahore when it annexed the Punjab in 1849. A Mughal king continued to rule from the Red Fort in Delhi under the control of the East India Company until 1858, when the company was abolished and the British government took direct control of India.
for its own interest), the British government (with approval from the two main political parties, the Indian National Congress and the All–India Muslim League) agreed at the time of independence to a division of what it had spent its energy to preserve for ninety years: a united India. The partition of India took place along religious lines, resulting in a predominantly Muslim Pakistan, and an India with a Hindu majority and a Muslim population of 9.8%. At the time of independence Pakistan’s two wings, West Pakistan and East Pakistan were separated by 1,000 miles of Indian territory. Within 25 years of independence, after a bloody civil war East Pakistan seceded from West Pakistan in 1971 and become the independent country of Bangladesh. West Pakistan then simply became Pakistan.

The large and powerful province of Punjab itself was divided in 1947 with its western half, including Lahore, joining what was then West Pakistan, and the eastern half becoming part of the new Indian state with the international border cutting through the heart of the province like a gash (Fig. 2). In the face of rioting and ethnic cleansing that took place on both sides of the newly drawn border, my parents and grandparents became foreigners in their own country and were forced to migrate from what then became India to Punjab in West Pakistan as a multitude of Hindus and Sikhs journeyed under similar circumstances in the opposite direction, and countless more perished in the resultant senseless violence. A vast majority of Lahore’s Hindus and Sikhs, most of whom were members of the city’s business community and commercial class, moved to India. Thus the city of Lahore lost a vital part of its community, and character.

I moved with my family to Lahore in the early 1960s, where my father had found employment with the U.S. Information Service (“USIS”). I have fond memories of accompanying my father to my favorite place, the USIS library and cultural center. With access to a plethora of books and

---

3 Here is a great irony in the history of Indian subcontinent. Independence was won largely through non-violent, constitutional means by Indians (the term includes those leaders who later migrated to Pakistan), some of whom had been trained in their youth as barristers in the most prestigious inns of court in London. Yet the bloodiest period in the saga of the struggle for independence occurred when the Indians (and freshly minted Pakistanis) committed unspeakable acts of violence upon each other after Britain had liquidated its empire in India.
documentaries, I developed an early fondness for reading and learning, especially learning about the past. Coupled with living in a city dotted with historical structures from bygone eras, I suppose development of my fascination with Lahore’s past as a Mughal, Sikh, and later British colonial cosmopolitan city was inevitable. As a little boy either on school trips with my classmates, or on holidays with my family, I frequently explored Lahore’s surviving 17th and 18th century Mughal and Sikh era monuments. I also often visited the still functioning buildings which had been erected in the late 19th and early 20th centuries during the British Raj. By the time I arrived on the scene in Lahore, to paraphrase Sir Morrice James, the play (i.e., the Mughal and British eras) had been over and the audience had gone home; however, from the scenery still left intact on the stage one could imagine how grand the performance must have been.⁴ A vast majority of the 19th– and 20th–century British–built buildings that have survived to our time date from the period when Lahore was under direct rule by the crown (1858–1947). The British government placed a greater emphasis on constructing grand edifices with a blending of Mughal and European architectural styles. These structures continue to serve today the purpose for which they were originally erected. Hence my lifelong interest in, and intense curiosity about the city’s rich history and its architectural heritage started in my childhood.

⁴ James, *Pakistan Chronicle*, 1. James (1916–1989) was a member of the British Diplomatic Service. He served in Pakistan during the 1950s and 1960s.
Chapter 1

The City of Lahore

The modern and ancient cities of Lahore have continued to exist side-by-side as the city’s monuments have survived through time and adversity, and the city has continued to grow, expand, and evolve. The city of Lahore, located on the banks of the River Ravi, has existed for over 1,000 years. It is Pakistan’s second largest city\(^5\) and capital of the country’s most populous province, Punjab.\(^6\) The city is also considered the cultural heart of the country. Long before the 19th–century rule by the East India Company (1849–1858), the 17th–century Europeans knew Mughal cities of Agra and Lahore as great, sophisticated metropoles (in accordance with the standards of that time), just as London, Paris, and New York are known across the globe today.

In his epic poem, *Paradise Lost* (1667), John Milton (1608–1674) writes how before Adam’s expulsion, the archangel Michael takes him to the highest hill in Paradise in order to reveal to him God’s future creations, including the great cities of Agra and Lahore–apogees of Mughal rule in the 17th century. And thus, as Milton writes, it was Michael’s task:

To shew him all Earth’s kingdoms and their glory.

His eyes might there command whatever stood

City of old or modern fame, the seat

Of mightiest empire, from the destined walls

Of Cambalu, seat of Cathaian Can,

And Samarchand by Oxus, Temir’s throne,

To Paquin of Sinaean kings, and thence

---

\(^5\) Karachi is Pakistan’s most populous city.

\(^6\) Punjab is Pakistan’s most fertile province, and its breadbasket. Punjab means the land of five rivers in Punjabi. The following five rivers ran through a pre-partition Punjab: Sutlej, Beas, Chenab, Jhelum, and Ravi, on whose banks Lahore grew as a city. All five rivers are tributaries of the Indus River. The Indus Valley Civilization dates back to 2300 BCE. Tharpar, *A History of India*, 23-24.
To Agra and Lahor[e] of Great Mogul…

In 1614, the British traveler Thomas Coryard was so impressed with Lahore that he wrote that “the goodly city of Lahore in India, one of the largest cities of the whole universe ...(which) exceedeth Constantinople itself in greatness….Agra is...in every respect much inferior to Lahore.”

Another poet, Thomas Moore (1779–1852) observed that “brilliant displays of life and pageantry among the palaces and domes and gilded minarets of Lahore made the city altogether like a place of enchantment.”

Until early 11th century Lahore was a part of the early Hindu kingdoms, which had become tributaries to the Arab/Muslim rulers of the Indian subcontinent in the 10th century. The Arab/Muslim control of the Indian subcontinent, which eventually spread to areas that today comprise Punjab and Sindh provinces of Pakistan, had initially begun in early 8th century near today’s city of Karachi by the Arabian Sea under the Umayyad Caliphate (661–750). The Abbasid caliphs (750–1258), who supplanted the Umayyads, eventually gave up their political control in late 9th century, resulting in sprouting of independent Arab/Muslim principalities on the Indian subcontinent. The Hindu kingdom of Lahore became a tributary to one of such Arab/Muslim rulers in the 10th century. The northwestern part of India in early 11th century faced repeated (almost annual) raids by the Muslim Turkish ruler Mahmud of Ghazni (d.1830), which is located today in Afghanistan, through present-day Punjab and Sindh in Pakistan; Mahmud was mainly interested in

---

9 Nevile, *Lahore*, xii.
14 The word ‘Afghanistan’ was not used until the early 19th century. There was a Kingdom of Kabul, and other areas that lay northwest of India. The First Afghan War (1839–1842) defined the modern boundaries of, and consolidated what is today the country of Afghanistan. The name ‘Afghanistan’ began to appear on maps in mid–19th century. Dalrymple, *Return of a King*, 501–502. Since the places of origin of the people and the physical places themselves I mention throughout this paper are in what is today Afghanistan, I have used the terms ‘Afghan’ and ‘Afghanistan.’
looting (and not necessarily just) Hindu temples, and quickly returning to his power base in Ghazni; however, he established his control over Lahore and other parts of the Punjab.\textsuperscript{15}

In late 12th century Lahore came under the control of the Muslim Turkish ruler of Ghor (today in Afghanistan), Muhammad (d. 1206), who established possessions on the Indian subcontinent, which were part of his kingdom of Ghor.\textsuperscript{16} Muhammad’s kingdom in Afghanistan did not long survive him but his Indian possessions became the core of a new political entity known as the Delhi Sultanate (1206–1526) where one Muslim dynasty succeeded another,\textsuperscript{17} and which came to be seen as a separate Muslim state in India, and not just an extension of an Afghan kingdom.\textsuperscript{18} The Delhi Sultanate was served by ethnic Afghans, Turks, and Persians. Persian language and culture came to greatly influence the new kingdom. Lahore subsequently served as an important urban and commercial center under the successive Turco–Afghan Muslim rulers of the Delhi Sultanate. In late 14th century, the once powerful Delhi Sultanate had suffered a great setback when it was invaded and looted by the Turco–Mongol conqueror Timur (1336–1405); its recovery was slow as it began to fragment into autonomous states.\textsuperscript{19} In late 15th century the ethnic Afghan Lodi dynasty came to rule from Delhi over a confederation of states; ethnic Afghans had served the ethnic Turkish sultans of the Delhi Sultanate. After Timur’s invasion, the ethnic Afghans came to hold power on their own in the center. In 1526 Lahore fell under the control of invading armies of a Central Asian Muslim prince and founder of the Mughal dynasty in India, Babur (1483–1530).\textsuperscript{20}

\textsuperscript{15} Tharpar, \textit{A History of India}, 229–234. Given the opportunity Mahmud also looted the Muslim city of Multan in the Punjab (now located in Pakistan). Alfieri, \textit{Islamic Architecture}, 17.

\textsuperscript{16} Tharpar, \textit{A History of India}, 236–237.

\textsuperscript{17} Tharpar, \textit{A History of India}, 238. The earlier rulers of the Delhi Sultanate were Muslim Turks from Central Asia who had settled in what is today Afghanistan, as well as other indigenous Afghan nobles. The armies which invaded the Indian subcontinent under Mahmud of Ghazni and Muhammad of Ghor, and later underpinned the Delhi Sultanate were comprised of Turkish, Persian and Afghan mercenaries. Tharpar, \textit{A History of India}, 237.

\textsuperscript{18} Tharpar, \textit{A History of India}, 268.

\textsuperscript{19} Spear, \textit{A History of India}, 19–20.

\textsuperscript{20} Richards, \textit{Mughal Empire}, 6–8.
Lahore served as an administrative center while under the control of the Mughals (1526–1799). In 1585, the Mughal capital was moved to Lahore, as the empire wanted to keep a close eye on its hold on Kabul, where the Uzbeks were trying to foment trouble by subsidizing Afghan tribes to challenge the Mughal rule.\footnote{Richards, \textit{Mughal Empire}, 49.} As the Mughal rule began to ebb in the 18th century, autonomous or independent kingdoms rose up. Lahore became the seat of power of the formidable independent Sikh kingdom (1799–1849) of Maharaja Ranjit Singh (1780–1839) as he extended his rule all the way to what is today Pakistan’s border with Afghanistan. After Ranjit Singh’s death his sons engaged in destructive wars of succession, giving an opening to the British East India Company to take advantage of the resultant instability and power vacuum, and annex Ranjit Singh’s kingdom of Punjab in 1849, including the city of Lahore. Thus Lahore came under the control of the British East India Company (1849–1858) before it was governed directly by the British government (1858–1947). Major building projects in Lahore were undertaken by the British government. A vast majority of the British buildings that survive today are from this latter period of direct British rule over Lahore.

In terms of its Mughal and British colonial architectural heritage, Lahore is Pakistan’s only city which most closely resembles the ancient cities of northern India. Lahore’s Mughal and British-era monuments are almost exactly like those found in Delhi, Agra, and other Indian cities, and for good reason; these edifices were erected by the same builders using the same architectural styles. One cannot examine Lahore’s architectural heritage in isolation; it is inextricably intertwined with subcontinent’s history of the Great Mughals and their successor the British Empire. Therefore, the Mughal and British buildings of Lahore are part of a much bigger story of architectural building activity undertaken by the Mughals and the British throughout the subcontinent, and thus they must be viewed in that larger context.\footnote{As Ranjit Singh’s empire did not extend much further east beyond Lahore, there are not any Sikh monuments of that period beyond Punjab to speak of for comparison purposes.}
Lahore was the westernmost major urban, commercial center of the Mughal Empire. Kabul, now the capital of Afghanistan, was a city much smaller in size and significance than Lahore, and besides Mughal control of Kabul was tenuous at best. Lahoré’s strategic location helped in its growth as a prosperous, dynamic metropolis. Lahore is located on the Grand Trunk Road (popularly known as the “GT Road”), a main thoroughfare that was originally built by Sher Shah Suri (1486–1545), an ethnic Afghan chieftain under whose control Lahore, and parts of what is today Punjab, fell in 1540. The GT Road passed through the Khyber Pass (located on the border between Pakistan and Afghanistan) and linked Kabul with India’s eastern provinces of Bengal and Bihar through Delhi. Besides being strategically important, the GT Road facilitated trade and cultural links between Lahore and northern and eastern parts of India, the areas that today comprise eastern parts of Afghanistan, and the North Western territories of Pakistan. These commercial links to other parts of the subcontinent contributed to movements not only of goods but people and ideas as well and resulted in the city’s growth as a commercial and cultural center.

With its growth as a Mughal seat of power, Lahore’s reputation as a prosperous, imperial commercial city reached as far as Europe. Unlike the Indian cities of Bombay and Calcutta which grew into major commercial urban centers because of the East India Company, Lahore was already a major urban center at the time of its takeover by the East India Company. The Mughal rulers and other notables built their forts, palaces, public and private gardens, mosques, and mausoleums for queens, emperors and other noblemen in and around Lahore from the 16th through the 18th centuries, as they did throughout the Indian subcontinent. Combining the elements of Hindu, Persian, and central Asian Timurid styles, the palaces, forts, public and private gardens, mosques, inns, and other buildings erected under Mughal patronage, were designed to project power and authority, provide

23 Richards, *Mughal Empire*, 49–51.
24 Richards, *Mughal Empire*, 11. Suri had temporarily dislodged the second Mughal Emperor Humayun (1508–1556), who managed to regain his throne and control of Lahore shortly before his death as result of a trip and fall accident in his palace compound in Delhi.
rulers with luxurious private accommodations, provide for public accommodations, commemorate dead emperors (like the Egyptian pyramids) and other notables in the realm, and provide Muslims with public spaces for communal prayers. Above all they were meant to impress their subjects through their display of wealth, often literally through precious and semi-precious gems and stones inlaid into the building structures as well as throne ornaments (as in the famous Peacock Throne of Shah Jahan).

Lahore’s importance continued to be enhanced during succeeding rule of the Sikhs, who continued the Mughal building style and tradition. The East India Company and the British government, when it took direct control of Lahore in 1858, maintained Lahore as the provincial capital, a role that the city had served during the Sikh rule. The population of the city continued to expand under the British rule due to the safety and security that it provided to people of the city.25

The security and stability provided by the British was welcomed by the population of Lahore after a long period of violence and volatility engendered by a weakened Sikh rule after Ranjit Singh’s death, and the internecine struggle for power among his sons and heirs. Indian writer, Ved Mehta recalls his grandmother’s saying, “The reign of the Top Queen was the best of all reigns. In her reign, people could walk on the streets wearing a lot of gold and no one would bother them. Such was the presence and authority of Queen Victoria.”26 After their takeover of the city, the British rulers engaged in central planning as a new city emerged outside the original walled city of the Mughal and Sikh rulers (Fig. 3).

---

25 This was true under the rule of the East India Company, and under direct rule by the British crown.
26 Mehta, Ledge Between the Streams, 3.
Chapter 2

The Mughal Period

In Arabic and Farsi Mughal means “Mongol” or “Mongolian.”

The drama of the Mughals played out on the stage of the Indian subcontinent for three hundred years on a grand scale. In this epic saga one sees good and evil, love and hate, loyalty and betrayal, order and disorder, beauty and ugliness, compassion and cruelty, peace and violence, and culture and barbarity. The Mughals could have given William Shakespeare a lot of material to work with. The Mughals, who had their origins on the plains of Central Asia, were followers of Islam. Some of the Mughals later moved south to regions in Afghanistan due to fierce internal rivalries; they eventually pushed beyond the mountains of Hindu Kush into the Indian subcontinent. Their leader and the first Mughal ruler of India, Babur (1483–1530), was a descendant of Timur and the Mongol warrior Genghis Khan (1162–1227).

A prince from Central Asian region of Ferghana, a small state east of Samarkand, Babur first occupied Kabul after he had failed to consolidate his rule in his native state. Using Kabul as his base, Babur was looking for fresh territory to conquer when he cast his eyes toward India. He launched a series of raids into the Indian subcontinent in early 16th century; though unlike Mahmud of Ghazni, Babur was looking to find an empire, not just search for spoils. Babur’s Indian incursions culminated in his victory in 1526 over the third and last Lodi sultan, Ibrahim (d. 1526) at Panipat, located to the north of Delhi. The Mughal army under Babur’s command was a smaller but well-organized and highly efficient fighting machine, which skillfully used its cavalry and artillery on the battlefield to overcome the Delhi Sultanate’s advantage in sheer numbers. The Mughals were to replace one Muslim dynasty with another in India.

27 Koch, Mughal Architecture, 10.
28 Preston, Taj Mahal, 4.
29 Koch, Mughal Architecture, 0.
30 Preston, Taj Mahal, 11–15.
31 Spear, A History of India, 22.
32 Alfieri, Islamic Architecture, 183. Babur introduced one of the first cannons to be used in the Indian subcontinent. Dalrymple, Last Mughal, 4.
Whereas the Turco–Afghan rulers of the Delhi Sultanate had maintained their racial and ethnic purity, the Mughals overtime, through intermarriages with Indian princesses, successfully and purposefully assimilated Indian customs and traditions as well as architectural styles in an effort to become something akin to indigenous Indian rulers. As shown below, after the fall of the Mughals, the British (who were another group of foreign rulers in India) tried to emulate the Mughal prestige and architectural style in order to lend themselves legitimacy and credibility. The ruling dynasties of the Delhi Sultanate had given Indian subcontinent the building tradition of congregational mosques, victory towers, and royal mausoleums. Despite their maintenance of a separate, ethnically pure identity, the Delhi sultans combined in their architecture the Persian and indigenous Indian elements, often using materials from Hindu temples as spolia. Though Islam was introduced on the Indian subcontinent by Muslim invaders in the early 8th century, and series of ethnic Turkish and Afghan Muslim sultans had ruled over northern India, Muslims were a small minority (as they still are, though now they are a sizable minority). Islam did not become a major religion in India until the wandering holy men and preachers brought its message to the masses.33

Since the Delhi Sultanate comprised of Muslim rulers and a Muslim ruling elite, there was a need for a place to offer congregational prayers. The basic mosque structure that these early Muslims brought to India followed the model that had been used by Muslims throughout the Middle East and which had originated in Medina.34 This model consisted of a walled square or rectangular area which was open to the sky. The southwestern wall faced the direction of the Kaaba,35 and was more elaborately constructed, with a domed building containing a covered prayer hall with a mihrab, or prayer niche, from which the imam led the prayer service. The open courtyard usually contained a water pool for ablutions so that the faithful could prepare themselves for prayer service in accordance

33 Spear, A History of India, 20.
34 Ruggles, Islamic Gardens, 13–14.
35 The first Muslim mosque however did not face the direction of the Kaaba, which was still in the hands of non-believers. Before Muslims captured the Kaaba, they prayed in the direction of Jerusalem.
with the Islamic teachings. Future mosques built in India, from the Sultanate to the Mughal period and beyond, followed this basic pattern. Initially there was a single minaret, and in later mosques there was minaret built on each corner. Rather than a mere ornamental structure, the minaret in a mosque was designed to be used by the *muezzin* to call the faithful to prayer. The combination of the pointed arch and the dome gave these buildings a unique character. The rulers of the Delhi Sultanate employed Hindus, along with Muslims, in administrative services as well as craftsmen and workers. With the use of these non-Muslim craftsmen, who used the Indian building ornamental techniques they were familiar with, and which were available at the time, an inevitable merging of the Muslim and Hindu architectural elements took place. Thus gradually (though not completely) and by happenstance if not by design, the Delhi Sultanate architecture combined the elements of the Persian architecture with the Hindu styles of building decoration. Indian motifs such the lotus flower in its various forms began to appear in the Sultanate buildings. Indian motifs were later also adopted by the Mughals. The buildings of the Delhi Sultanate also used Islamic decorative geometrical patterns and arabesques, as well as calligraphic forms. However, the tombs of the Delhi sultans were simple structures, the architectural form of which was later carried to perfection by the Mughals.

The Persian influence was not limited to Delhi Sultanate’s architectural style. Many people of Persian origin served the Sultanate as administrators or soldiers, same roles that they were to play later under the Mughals. The language used at the Sultanate court was Persian, and Persian culture was the main source of their culture.

There are six widely–known, powerful rulers of India, collectively known as the Great Mughals: Babur (r. 1526–1530), Humayun (r. 1530–1556), Akbar (r. 1556–1605), Jahangir (r. 1605–1627), Shah Jahan (r. 1628–1658), and Aurangzeb (r. 1658–1707). The Mughal Empire achieved its greatest influence, wealth, and prosperity under Shah Jahan, who like his predecessors and

---

37 Spear, *A History of India*, 16.
successors embarked on grand building projects, both secular and religious; the most widely known of his projects is of course the Taj Mahal in Agra. Shah Jahan’s son and successor, Aurangzeb continued the Mughal tradition of building grand edifices. However, as the most dogmatic Muslim of all the Indian Mughal rulers, (perhaps not surprisingly in an effort to establish his religious bona fides) Aurangzeb also built grand congregational mosques.\(^{39}\) He is also one Mughal monarch who perhaps comes closest to resembling Shakespeare’s character, Richard III. Aurangzeb imprisoned his father and had his three rival brothers murdered in the ensuing war of succession, in order to gain the Mughal throne.

Unlike Richard III (r.1483–1485) however, Aurangzeb went on to rule largely unchallenged for nearly fifty years; under his rule the Mughal Empire incorporated more territory than ever before. However, by overextending his empire, Aurangzeb also planted seeds of its destruction. Although the Mughal rule continued after Aurangzeb’s death, his empire in the early 18th century was unmistakably embarked on a downward spiral because of sheer exhaustion (financial and otherwise) from Aurangzeb’s costly and destructive wars that he had obsessively waged to subdue independent Muslim kingdoms in the south, destructive wars of succession among his sons and heirs (due to lack of primogeniture), breaking away of outer regions, Persian and Afghan invasions due to the resultant power vacuum, and encroaching westward influence of the East India Company based in Calcutta.\(^{40}\)

The Mughal rulers were absolute monarchs of their domains. Based on the beauty of their art and architecture, they should not be judged as the Indian equivalents to the 18th–century European enlightened despots. The Mughal rulers’ tastes and preferences in their daily living were often incongruent with their politics and manner of governance. The Mughals were the products of their time and place in history. Their fondness for, and patronage of the art and architecture is beyond dispute. They possessed an eye for refinement and beauty in speech, dress, manners, art, architecture,

\(^{39}\) It is interesting to note that Emperor Jahangir was the least religious of the Great Mughals, with the exception of his father, Akbar; Jahangir is not credited with building a single mosque. Koch, *Mughal Architecture*, 83.

\(^{40}\) Richards, *Mughal Empire*, 253–281.
performing arts, and landscaped gardens; they had taste for fine culinary arts, and an ear for poetry and music. Yet they could also be ruthless, and quite brutal and extremely cruel, especially when trying to secure their own power, or quash a real or potential challenge to their rule.

The Mughal emperors and their cohorts have given the Indian subcontinent a unique and rich architectural heritage; Lahore and its surroundings today have numerous examples of Mughal religious and secular buildings. The Mughals thought a ruler should erect impressive buildings because that is the best representation of his rule: “A good name for kings is [achieved by means] of lofty buildings … that is to say, the standard of the measure of men is assessed by the worth of [their] building and from their high-mindedness is estimated the state of their house,” wrote a Mughal court historian.41 Another Mughal court official reasoned that great buildings were necessary for an effective ruler: “It is evident that an increase in such things [i.e. buildings and external show] creates esteem for the rulers in the eyes [of the people] and augments respect [for the rulers] and [their own] dignity in the [people’s] hearts.”42

The Mughals brought the vaulted masonry architecture of their Timurid ancestors to India. The most common elements of Mughal architecture include the following: chhatri (it literally means an umbrella in Urdu and Hindi; this is either a rounded or squared domed kiosk or small pavilion, acting as a turret on a roof originally designed as shelter from the sun or rain);43 chhatris were commonly used in the buildings from the Delhi Sultanate period which the Mughals readily incorporated into their own architecture (Fig. 4);44 chhajja (overhanging eave that was also meant to provide protection from rain or sun) (Fig. 5);45 pishtaq (a monumental arched niche enclosed by a rectangular frame in the shape of an inverted U, which has its origins in mosques and other buildings

41 Koch, Mughal Architecture, 13.
42 Koch, Mughal Architecture, 13.
43 Alfieri, Islamic Architecture, 296.
44 Koch, Mughal Architecture, 39, 41.
45 Alfieri, Islamic Architecture, 296.
in Iran and Central Asia) (Fig. 6);\textsuperscript{46} \textit{jali}, (perforated stone screen with ornamental design) (Fig. 7); \textsuperscript{47} along with minarets, multi-lobed, pointed arches, and round and bulbous domes of various sizes.

As was the case during the Delhi Sultanate period, Persian language, culture, art, and architecture came to play an important role during the Mughal period. Farsi rather than Turkish became the official language of the Mughal court as well as the language of diplomacy. Numerous works of Islamic literature and poetry in India were also composed in Farsi, which became the language of the Muslim elites, whether they were of Persian, Afghan, or Turkic origin. Since the business of government was conducted in Farsi, Hindu nobles, and administrative and clerical classes as a necessity also learned Farsi.\textsuperscript{48}

Mughals readily incorporated Persian and Central Asian architectural elements, such as the \textit{pishtaq}, in their building designs; these elemental designs were later most successfully combined with indigenous Indian elements such as detailed building decorations, upside–down lotus flowers crowning the domes, elaborate capitals, domes, corbeled support, and \textit{chhatris}.\textsuperscript{49} These architectural elements were effectively adopted by the Mughals, culminating in the great architectural showpieces like the Taj Mahal. While the Mughals readily adopted Persian culture and its influences, their architecture provides clues to their nomadic origin. For example, the shapes of their public and private halls and pavilions essentially resemble “tents frozen into stone.”\textsuperscript{50} The most commonly used building material for the Mughals was red sandstone, decorated with white marble inlay; red was also the color of their imperial tents.\textsuperscript{51}

\textsuperscript{46} Koch, \textit{Mughal Architecture}, 41. Numerous examples of \textit{pishtaqs} can be found in the architecture of Iran and Central Asia.
\textsuperscript{47} Koch, \textit{Mughal Architecture}, 140.
\textsuperscript{48} Spear, \textit{A History of India}, 49.
\textsuperscript{49} Alfieri, \textit{Islamic Architecture}, 26.
\textsuperscript{50} Spear, \textit{A History of India}, 48.
\textsuperscript{51} Koch, \textit{Mughal Architecture}, 43.
The Lahore Fort

An integral part of the old city of Lahore, the Lahore Fort has a great collection of buildings from the Mughal period. During pre-Mughal times a fort stood at the location where the Lahore Fort stands today. Emperor Akbar, who for a time period made Lahore his capital (1586–1598),\(^\text{52}\) started building and enlarging the fort complex in 1575.\(^\text{53}\) He also built the Agra Fort; however, the Lahore Fort is smaller of the two structures. Both forts were surrounded by a fortified wall, and were built on the banks of the river, which provided a natural barrier on one side. The Lahore Fort stood at the bank of the Ravi River, which has now moved away from the fort. Akbar’s successors, Jahangir, Shah Jahan, and Aurangzeb made their own additions to the fort as the fort complex continued to undergo alterations and expansion. Many of the Mughal buildings inside the fort are still standing today. Most of pavilions and halls in the fort are lined on the western wall to provide vistas of the Ravi River, which at that time flowed close to the fort.

The Lahore Fort complex itself is in the shape of a parallelogram (Fig. 8); it measures 1,312 x 1,148 feet.\(^\text{54}\) The old city itself was once surrounded by a thick brick wall with several gates; the outer Lahore wall was demolished after the East India Company took over. The Lahore Fort complex consists of fortifications, administrative buildings, mosques, pavilions, palaces, and other support structures. The buildings that survive are very similar to those found in the Mughal forts of Delhi and Agra. The Mughal rule provided safety and stability, and as a result the population of the city began to increase. The Mughal building activity attracted artisans, calligraphers, and painters. Carvers of wood and marble were also in high demand.\(^\text{55}\) Local craftsmen were used for building construction and for building decorations. The building materials used in the structures located inside the fort are mostly red sandstone and marble.

\(^{52}\) Rehmani, *Lahore*, 21.

\(^{53}\) Alfieri, *Islamic Architecture*, 205.

\(^{54}\) Alfieri, *Islamic Architecture*, 205.

The Hall of Private Audience

The Hall of Private Audience, built on a raised platform in the 1640s by Shah Jahan, was the last of the structures that he added to the fort (Fig. 9). This flat-roofed building was used by the rulers to meet with their special advisors, or foreign ambassadors in private. The entire rectangular structure is built like a stone tent. The building material is red sandstone and marble. It has a flat roof and is open on all sides, overlooking the Ravi River on one side. There are intricate carvings in marble, embellished with exquisite inlay work as well carved screens or *jalis* through which one could view the Ravi River below. The *jalis* allowed cool breezes off the river in the summer months to circulate throughout the structure. The building’s roof is supported by round, balustered columns with square elements at the bottom, and multi-lobed gracefully shaped, rather flat and pointed arches. The floor is made of red and white sandstones, and is decorated with geometric patterns (Fig. 10). In the center of the structure there is a beautifully crafted square-shaped scalloped fountain hollowed out in the floor, with *pietra dura* decoration of semi-precious stones, which have been totally stripped over time (Fig. 11).

The Hall of Public Audience

Located inside the fort, and a short distance from the Hall of Private Audience, is the flat-roofed Hall of Public Audience. This building was constructed during Shah Jahan’s reign in the 1630s (Fig. 12).\(^{56}\) Also known as the Hall of Forty Pillars, this hypostyle hall stands on a raised platform.\(^ {57}\) This is where the rulers showed themselves to the public to receive petitions, and also to prove that they were still alive and well lest some pretender to the throne try to usurp the crown. The construction material used for this building is red sandstone, which was less expensive than marble. Since this building is designed mostly for the use of the royal subjects or the masses, it is not as ornate or luxurious as the Hall of Private Audience. In the middle of the Hall of Public Audience is

---


\(^{57}\) Rehmani, *Lahore*, 176.
a stone *jharoka* for the ruler to show himself to the public (Fig. 13).\(^5^8\) There is a similar *jharoka* in the Hall of Public Audience in the Agra Fort (Fig. 14), which building served as a model for this structure.

**The Marble Pavilion**

The Marble Pavilion is located on the western side of the courtyard (Fig. 15). As the name implies, this structure is entirely made from white marble which is intricately carved. It was added to the fort complex by Shah Jahan in the 1630s. It has a unique design with an extremely curved, drooping roof and wide, slanted *chhajjas* all around the structure. The building, which consists of a single rectangular room was designed to be used as respite for the ruler and his consorts during the hot summer months. Originally there was delicate *pietra dura* work, inlaid with precious and semi-precious stones, which have been stripped over time. The ceiling is adorned with glass mosaics depicting floral designs. From inside the Marble Pavilion one could look down through *jalis* toward the River Ravi. Today the river has moved away from the fort, and the view below is of the modern city of Lahore.

**The Hall of Mirrors**

This structure whose name derives from small mirrors affixed in its walls and ceilings, also dates from the Shah Jahan period in the 1630s (Fig. 16). In an age before electricity or gas lamps, light from candles and oil lamps reflected from countless mirrors on the walls and ceiling provided illumination. The Hall of Mirrors was built in the center of the eastern wall of the fort as a respite for the ruler and his entourage to enjoy the view of the River Ravi from above. The building’s facing is finished mainly in red sandstone, white marble, and various other stones. There are large windows enclosed with intricately carved white marble screens or *jalis*, the purpose of which was to allow circulation of fresh, cool air from Ravi River below, which was then close to the fort. The floor of

---

\(^5^8\) A *jharoka* is an architectural frame for official appearances of the ruler; it is usually an overhanging oriel window supported by brackets. Koch, *Mughal Architecture*, 140.
the hall is paved with black and white marble in a decorative style, in both geometrical and floral designs.

**The Alamgiri Gate**

The Lahore Fort’s main entrance located in its western wall is also known as the Alamgiri Gate, a reference to Aurangzeb’s appellation, *Alamgir*.\(^{59}\) This late 17th–century military structure was built by Aurangzeb, the Mughal ruler who was most versed in the methods of warfare, to replace the main entrance that was installed by his great–grandfather, Emperor Akbar (Fig. 17). The gate has tall wooden planked doors, and was primarily designed to protect and defend against, as well as impress and deter a potential aggressor. It is a huge security structure with imposing towers topped by bastions, which are covered with round *chhatris*. There is a lotus petal at the base of each tower. The central arched passageway is high enough to accommodate an elephant and *howdah*, so that the riders would not have to disembark, especially the ruler, ladies of his household (who wore the veil in public in accordance with the Islamic custom), the ruler’s family, and other guests before entering the fort. The facade is enclosed by a vertical frieze which is finished with sunken panels in the shape of squares and rectangles.

**The Badshahi Masjid**

The late 17th–century Badshahi Masjid (Royal Mosque in Urdu) is the most impressive building from the reign of Aurangzeb, the most orthodox Sunni Muslim of all the Mughal rulers (Fig. 18). This structure also has the distinction of being the last imperial Mughal monument that was erected in Lahore.\(^{60}\) It is one of the largest public mosques in the Indian subcontinent, and still functions today as one of the city’s main congregational mosques. Located immediately to the west of Lahore Fort and directly opposite the majestic Alamgiri Gate, this imposing rectangular structure is part of the larger fort complex. The entire structure is enclosed by a thick double wall with

---

59 In Farsi and Urdu, *alamgir* means one who seizes the world.
60 Rehmani, *Lahore*, 374.
battlements. The mosque is spacious, well-proportioned, and beautifully designed. The building material used throughout is white marble and red sandstone. The interior of the structure contains elaborate decorations such as frescoes, stone carvings, stone-inlay, and *pietra dura* decorations (Fig. 19).

The central structure of red sandstone with white marble inlay stands against the western wall and is dominated by a wide central *pishtaq* with much lower five arches on each side. A large white marble dome sits above the central *pishtaq*, flanked by a smaller dome on each side. All the domes of the mosque are topped by upside down lotus flowers, and are surrounded by octagonal turrets crowned with round *chhatris* with white marble domes (Fig. 20). In front of the central structure there is a vast courtyard with a large pool for ablutions (Fig. 21). A tall minaret made from red sandstone stands on each of the four corners of the structure topped by a *chhatri* (Fig. 22). Each *chhatri* has a marble dome with an upside down lotus flower. A large gatehouse is located at the entrance to the mosque, which is dominated by a large *pishtaq* (Fig. 23). The entire structure is built on a raised platform, perhaps to guard against flooding of the Ravi River.61

**Shalamar Garden**

One of the few surviving gardens of the Mughal period is located just outside Lahore. Shah Jahan laid out the private, imperial Shalamar Garden in the early 1640s for his personal pleasure. The garden is named after its namesakes in Kashmir and Delhi. The Shalamar Garden is considered one of Shah Jahan’s finest achievements, other than the Taj Mahal. The Mughals were very fond of their gardens, which became a ubiquitous part of their landscape. The Mughals had perfected methods for planting and irrigation. Babur, the first Mughal ruler of India, started a trend when he laid a garden in Agra, irrigated by running water supplied by water wheels along a bank of the river.62

Another of Babur’s garden complex from early 16th century, excavated in India, reveals a large site

---

that was partially carved from a natural plateau of red sandstone, whose water channels were cut in the bedrock; there were lotus–shaped pools and a stepwell to collect the water as well as an aqueduct.\textsuperscript{63} Landscaped, well–kept gardens were part of Mughal fort complexes, palaces, and funerary architecture, although not mosques (more on this below). The Mughals also built numerous gardens for the public use. Mughal gardens followed the \textit{chahar bagh}, as the four–part pattern of the Islamic garden is referred to, with walkways that formed an axis, and intersected in the center of the garden.\textsuperscript{64} However, as the historian, D. Fairchild Ruggles points out, the term \textit{chahar bagh} is used loosely, and gardens in Islamic lands came in various shapes and sizes; therefore “the cross–axial plan was not the only means of organizing the garden.”\textsuperscript{65} The four–part plan is not purely Islamic either; its earlier versions have been found in pre–Islamic Mediterranean and Iran.\textsuperscript{66} Designers of the early Islamic gardens followed the Roman models of garden design with walkways and water channels, but without all the statuary.\textsuperscript{67}

Some historian have suggested that the garden design in Mughal and other Islamic countries was meant to represent paradise promised to pious Muslims in the Quran.\textsuperscript{68} Many Mughal poets and historians (as mentioned below) referred to gardens as paradise. However, as Ruggles explains, “The reference to paradise was surely meant in a literary rather than theological sense;” and that the gardens were a place for entertainment, leisure, and enjoyment and “when used in such a setting, the paradise metaphor was intended as hyperbole, suggesting that the garden was beautiful. Even today, people around the world will describe a place or experience as ‘heavenly’ without intending specifically religious meaning.”\textsuperscript{69} None of the mosques, that the Mughals built, is set in a \textit{chahar bagh}, which underscores Ruggles’ argument that the \textit{chahar bagh} was not meant to replicate paradise

\begin{footnotes}
\item[63] Ruggles, \textit{Islamic Gardens}, 54.
\item[65] Ruggles, \textit{Islamic Gardens}, 39.
\item[66] Ruggles, \textit{Islamic Gardens}, 40.
\item[67] Ruggles, \textit{Islamic Gardens}, 41.
\item[69] Ruggles, \textit{Islamic Gardens}, 113.
\end{footnotes}
in a religious sense.

The original three-terraced Shalamar Garden was designed as a scenic, luxurious private place evoking paradise in heaven, for rest and recreation of the royal family and the royal court (Fig. 24). A canal was built to divert water to the garden from the Ravi River. One of Shah Jahan’s court historians said, “So many edifices are constructed in this grace-resembling garden that, whenever it pleases the Emperor of the World, to pay a visit to this house of pleasure, with the chaste ladies of the auspicious palace, who have the honour of being in his company in the capital of Lahore, the necessity of pitching tents is avoided.”\(^{70}\) Another of Shah Jahan’s court historians agreed, “This garden has so many edifices constructed that whenever it pleases the Emperor of the World to visit this house like Paradise, there was no need for pitching tents.”\(^{71}\) A contemporary historian agreed and called it “a garden of such magnificent description … this earthly Paradise.”\(^{72}\) At the time it was created, it was surrounded on three sides by a dense forest. Now a shadow of its former self, it is a public park with the city of Lahore crowding all around it.

Shalamar Garden has three stepped terraces: upper, middle, and lower; they descend from north to south, and form a series of extended *chahar baghs*, subdivided by paved walkways and water channels.\(^{73}\) The three terraces provided segregation among the royalty, the nobility, and commoners. The entire walled-in garden is laid out as a *chahar bagh* in classical Mughal form; it is subdivided into four quarters. Water, supplied by a canal, was raised by water wheels to the desired levels in the garden. There is a central waterway, enriched by a rectangular terrace (Fig. 25). In places, water in the garden was designed to flow over scalloped surfaces, producing a cool spray and a pleasant sound—an ideal place to sit in the evening during the hot summer months in Lahore. The garden covered 80 acres and included pavilions and residential quarters made of red sandstone and marble.\(^{74}\)

\(^{71}\) Rehmani, *Lahore*, 302.
\(^{72}\) Rehmani, *Lahore*, 302.
\(^{73}\) Koch, *Mughal Architecture*, 137.
\(^{74}\) Latif, *Lahore*, 140–142.
The garden contained lemon, pomegranate, mango and orange trees.\(^{75}\)

**Mausoleum of Emperor Jahangir**

The Mausoleum of Emperor Jahangir was built in a Lahore suburb by his son and successor, Shah Jahan in the 1630s in close collaboration with the deceased emperor’s once powerful empress, and sometime rival of the new emperor, Nur Jahan (1577–1645).\(^{76}\) Jahangir had died near there on his return journey from Kashmir.\(^{77}\) The garden complex in which the main mausoleum building is located includes an outer courtyard, which once included lodging for travelers. The garden itself is divided into sixteen equal sections by pavement. At each intersection there is a pool and a fountain.

The main mausoleum building has a unique design for a Mughal tomb (Fig. 26). It is a rectangular structure which has a flat roof without a dome. The building is placed on a podium and is faced with red sandstone. On each of the four corners of the building stands a slender and elegant minaret with four terraces, which is topped by a *chhatri* with a white marble dome (Fig. 27). The building’s interior has a central corridor which leads to a row of rooms arranged along all of the external sides of the building. There is also a series of compartments which stretch from the center on each side to the central vaulted space, where the emperor’s cenotaph is located. His actual grave is below on ground level. The ninety–nine names of God, a part of Islamic faith, are carved on the cenotaph in calligraphic elegance in Farsi along with the emperor’s name (Fig. 28). The marble cenotaph is also richly inlaid with semi–precious stones in naturalistic flower and plant motifs. The

\(^{75}\) Latif, *Lahore*, 141.

\(^{76}\) Nur Jahan in Farsi and Urdu means ‘Light of the World.’ Nur Jahan was of Persian origin. Her father, Mirza Ghiyas Baig, was a Persian nobleman who migrated to India along with his family, and later served as Jahangir’s main advisor. Nur Jahan’s niece Arjumand Banu later known by her title, Mumtaz Mahal (‘Ornament of the Palace’ in Farsi and Urdu) married the future Shah Jahan. She is the lady who is buried in Taj Mahal. Nur Jahan’s own daughter by a previous marriage was married to Jahangir’s other son, Shahryar. Nur Jahan supported her son-in-law Shahryar’s claim to the throne after Jahangir’s death. The unfortunate pretender lost out to Shah Jahan in the ensuing war of succession. He was put to death on orders of Shah Jahan along with other poor Mughal princes, potential claimants to the throne. Such was the cut-throat nature (literally) of Mughal politics. Thus Shah Jahan began his celebrated reign steeped in blood, to borrow a phrase from Shakespeare’s *Macbeth*. Shah Jahan’s son and successor Aurangzeb even surpassed him in a blood-stained path to the throne. See Richards, 1993: 117-118, and 151-164. Much like Shakespeare’s character, Macbeth, Shah Jahan had previously arranged the deaths of his elder brothers in order to advance his own position in the line of succession while Jahangir was still alive. However, unlike Macbeth, there are no known feelings of guilt on Shah Jahan’s part. It was just business.

\(^{77}\) Richards, *Mughal Empire*, 117.
effect of this technique of period decoration is best described by a poet in Shah Jahan’s court:

They have inlaid stone flowers in marble,
Which surpass reality in color, if not in fragrance.78

Mausoleum of Empress Nur Jahan

Jahangir’s wife, Empress Nur Jahan was a powerful woman in the Mughal realm; Jahangir and Nur Jahan formed a genuine Mughal power couple. Mughal coinage was issued under the joint names of Jahangir and Nur Jahan.79 As Jahangir’s widow and now out of power, Nur Jahan supervised the building of her own tomb in the last years of her life with financial assistance from Shah Jahan. Nur Jahan and her daughter, whose unfortunate husband and Jahangir’s other son, Shahryar lost the war of succession (along with his life) to Shah Jahan, are buried here.80 This is the only Mughal tomb that copies the design of Jahangir’s mausoleum (Fig. 29), which is located a short distance away. The tomb was originally set in a *chahar bagh*, which was destroyed when the British ran a railway line through it in late 19th century;81 the current garden around the tomb was planted by the British in 1911.82 The railway line now separates Jahangir and Asif Khan’s tomb compounds from Noor Jahan’s tomb.

Nur Jahan’s tomb is much simpler in design. The main building is rectangular in shape, without a dome or a minaret. The original building was faced with red sandstone, which was later stripped as spolia. The empress’ and her daughter’s cenotaphs inside the building are built with plain, white marble without any decoration or inlay work (Fig. 30). The actual graves are below on ground level. A sad epitaph in this simple mausoleum reads:

---

80 Shah Jahan and Shahryar were step-brothers; Nur Jahan was not their mother. Nur Jahan’s daughter was from a previous marriage.
81 The railway line is now being used by Pakistan Railways.
On my tomb when I am dead
No lamp will burn nor jasmine lie.
No candle with a flickering flame
Will serve as reminder to my fame.
Nor will the sweet song of a nightingale
Tell the world that I am gone.\textsuperscript{83}

These melancholy words proved prophetic. Over time Nur Jahan’s mausoleum became a ruin. The government of Pakistan is currently undertaking efforts to almost rebuild the entire structure, and replenish the garden surrounding the mausoleum building (Fig. 31).

The question one may ask is why Nur Jahan elected to build a separate tomb for herself, instead of choosing to be buried along with Jahangir in his royal mausoleum, just like Shah Jahan and Mumtaz Mahal who are buried in Taj Mahal. Anjum Rehmani, former director of Lahore Museum and a Mughal historian speculates that it was perhaps because of the great tension between Nur Jahan on one hand, and Shah Jahan and Nur Jahan’s powerful brother, Asif Khan, who served as Shah Jahan’s grand vizier (more on him below) on the other hand.\textsuperscript{84} Also because of her role in promoting the claim of her own son-in-law, Shahryar, Rehmani says, Nur Jahan may have felt she would not be allowed to be buried alongside her husband; thus she may have decided to construct a simpler tomb for herself.\textsuperscript{85}

**Mausoleum of Asif Khan**

Across the railway line from near Nur Jahan’s mausoleum, and just to the west of Jahangir’s mausoleum, is the burial place of Asif Khan, her brother and bitter rival. Asif Khan was Shah Jahan’s father–in–law, chief patron, and a dark, sinister figure to boot. He served as Shah Jahan’s grand

\textsuperscript{83} Alfieri, *Islamic Architecture*, 246.
\textsuperscript{84} Rehmani, *Lahore*, 232.
\textsuperscript{85} Rehmani, *Lahore*, 232.
vizier, and sometimes also as his chief henchman.\textsuperscript{86} Asif Khan’s mausoleum was built by Shah Jahan in the 1640s near Lahore in the traditional Mughal style set in a \textit{chahar bagh} (Fig. 32).\textsuperscript{87}

The mausoleum building itself is an octagonal brick structure built on a podium within a garden which is enclosed by a high brick wall. On each of its eight sides is a massive \textit{pishtaq} with a deep arched niche.\textsuperscript{88} There is a large bulbous dome on the roof of the building. The podium on which the entire structure rests is surrounded by double pathways, each with a water channel; all of the water channels are now dry. It is connected through the same type of causeways and water channels with the entrance gate on the south side. The main floor contains the cenotaph, which is made of white marble. Marble and other stones that once covered the mausoleum’s outer surface, and semi-precious stones originally inlaid in the cenotaph have been completely stripped as loot or spolia. The entire building, along with the garden that once stood around it, is a ruin; grass can be seen growing from its large dome (Fig. 33). There are no known plans being undertaken for its renovation.

\textsuperscript{86} Asif Khan’s daughter, and Nur Jahan’s niece, Arjumand Banu, later given the title Mumtaz Mahal (‘Chosen one of the Palace’ in Farsi), was married to Shah Jahan. He later built the Taj Mahal in her memory. After Jahangir’s death, Asif Khan organized and carried out the diabolical plot to murder all potential Mughal pretenders to the throne. Asif Khan thus greased his son–in–law’s path to power with royal blood. Richards, \textit{Mughal Empire}, 117–118.

\textsuperscript{87} Rehmani, \textit{Lahore}, 244.

\textsuperscript{88} Koch, \textit{Mughal Architecture}, 102.
Conclusion

Nothing comes from nothing. The Mughals did not pull their art and architecture (including ideas for landscaped gardens) from thin air; the Delhi Sultanate had provided the Mughals a large platform on which to build upon. The Mughals also relied on their Timurid heritage, Persian models as well as indigenous Indian elements. As they tried to “Indianize” their empire, the Mughals were more interested in synthesizing different design elements rather than just imitating the Persian or Timurid styles. Because of their power and influence the Mughals of India gave the English language a new word, mogul; it is defined as a person of rank, power, influence or distinction, usually in a specific field.⁸⁹ Almost every day one can find references in the media to Hollywood moguls, press moguls, industrial moguls, or financial moguls.

Although their empire is gone, the Mughals are the stuff of legend, more so today in Pakistan than in India. They have lived on in Indian/Pakistani literature and the movies; their styles of jewelry design, clothing (especially for women), and cuisine is still much admired in India and Pakistan. Since the Mughals were a Muslim dynasty, because of current state of the Indian subcontinent’s politics, how they are viewed is often colored by one’s religion or geographical location. The Mughal art, architecture, and culture have a special appeal to Pakistanis, with which they can easily identify. While Akbar is viewed more favorably in India (especially among Hindus) because he fostered pluralism and liberal policies, Aurangzeb is viewed as a bigot; however, Pakistanis and many Indian Muslims, especially the religious ones, see him as a pious, exemplary Muslim ruler.⁹⁰

The Mughals were swept off the stage in mid-19th century by historical forces in motion that they could no longer control. However, as shown in the following chapters, the Mughal architectural

---

⁸⁹ https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/mogul
⁹⁰ Spear, A History of India, 57.
style, and the Mughal mystique lived on. After the brief Sikh interlude, the British, who were the next big players on the stage, assumed the Mughal mantle in order to advance their own interests.

[91] The Sikhs were just one of the regional rulers that had risen up after the Mughal power weakened.
Chapter 3

The Sikh Period

At the time of Aurangzeb’s death the Mughal Empire was suffering from sheer exhaustion. Aurangzeb’s long, obsessive wars to subdue subcontinent’s southern independent Muslim kingdoms had nearly depleted the Mughal treasury. Aurangzeb’s long age ensured that his sons were themselves old men at the time of his death. They lacked the stamina and vigor of youth to contest for, and stay long on the throne after their father’s death. With Aurangzeb’s heirs’ short-lived reigns and frequent, destructive wars of succession, a decline and eventual fall of the empire was inevitable. Meanwhile as the empire weakened, local rulers and/or royal governors started to break away from the empire to gain autonomy or outright independence.

In the interval between the Mughal Empire and rule by the East India Company, Lahore served as capital of the Sikh Empire of Maharaja Ranjit Singh (1780–1839). Ranjit Singh was a Sikh chieftain from the Punjab who rose to power as result of successfully organizing armed resistance against Persian warlord Nadir Shah (1688–1747) and his successor Ahmad Shah Abdali (1722–1772), who launched a series of looting expeditions against the Mughals as their empire lay dormant. With the treasures that he had looted, Abdali later conquered parts of what is today Afghanistan. Punjab suffered through these invasions because it happened to be located on the road to, and from the Mughal capital, Delhi. The people of Punjab united behind the Sikh army in order to seek protection and safety. After taking over Lahore, Ranjit took the title of Maharaja of the Punjab.

Ranjit Singh consolidated his independent Sikh kingdom with Lahore as its capital. He employed European military officers, and trained and equipped his army along European methods.

---

92 See Richards, Mughal Empire, 253–281.
94 Dalrymple, Return of a King, xiii.
and weapons, effectively turning it into a formidable, modern fighting force. Ranjit Singh had a cordial relationship with the East India Company with whose officials he often exchanged visits as his inquisitive mind always inquired about British weapons and latest methods of warfare. Sometimes these visits proved hilarious for Ranjit Singh’s British guests. Emily Eden, the sister of the British governor general in India, Lord Auckland, found Ranjit Singh most amusing, “exactly like an old mouse, with grey whiskers and one eye.” Sir Henry Fane, commander–in–chief of the British forces in India, relates that on one of these exchange visits the East India Company officials gave Ranjit Singh a miniature portrait of the young Queen Victoria. Sir Henry wrote, “I do not think he quite understood it, but he seemed to think Her Majesty made a very decent nautch girl.”

Ranjit Singh and the East India Company had cordial relations but they were not allies. There was a great deal of distrust between the two parties, and their interests often conflicted. However, Ranjit Singh’s powerful, modern army was more than a match for the East India Company whose military forces was largely manned by native troops. Therefore, the East India Company bided its time, and did not make its move on the Punjab until after Ranjit Singh’s death, when his kingdom had been considerably weakened due to the internecine conflict among his adult sons.

In addition to enlarging his kingdom, Ranjit Singh also acquired the famous Mughal diamond, Koh–i–Noor (‘Mountain of Light’ in Farsi and Urdu) from Shah Shuja (1786–1842), an Afghan noble who was a descendant of Abdali. It was Abdali’s predecessor, Nadir Shah, who had seized the famous diamond from the Mughals.

In the intervening period between the loss of the Mughal authority over Lahore and start of Ranjit Singh’s rule, Lahore and its Mughal monuments fell into ruin. A British officer on a diplomatic

96 Singh, Ranjit Singh, 249.
97 Singh, Ranjit Singh, 249. The word nautch means dance or dancing in Urdu and Hindi. A nautch girl, usually a courtesan, was a dancing girl at the court of an Indian ruler. Patronage of the nautch girls by Indian rulers was a custom later adopted by some officials of the British East India Company. Nevile, Nautch Girls, 105–111.
98 Dalrymple and Anand, Koh–i–Noor, 117–118.
99 Dalrymple and Annand, Koh–i–Noor, 81.
mission to Ranjit Singh in 1809 observed that the city of Lahore was “a melancholy picture of fallen splendour. Here the lofty dwellings and masjids (mosques), which fifty years ago raised their tops to the skies and were the pride of a busy and active population, are now crumbling into dust.” While the Mughal monuments were crumbling in a melancholy state, waiting to be rescued, the Mughal architectural style was still alive.

**The Marble Pavilion Outside Lahore Fort**

The Lahore Fort complex was used by Ranjit Singh as his official court and royal residence as well as barracks, arsenal, and treasury by his kingdom. Ranjit Singh added his own monuments to Lahore’s skyline, heavily borrowing from the Mughal architectural style. One such example is the marble pavilion located just outside Lahore Fort. Ranjit Singh had this rectangular structure built in 1818 in the traditional Mughal style. It was designed for his personal use as well as for conducting official business during the hot summer months, when he wanted to escape the confines of the fort for a relatively cooler and well-ventilated place.

Made entirely of white marble, it is located in a garden in the space between the Badshahi Mosque and main entrance to the Lahore Fort (Fig. 34). The entire structure measures 44 x 45 feet. It has been written, and widely believed by Muslim writers of the Indian subcontinent that the marble used to build this structure was stripped as spolia from the Mughal monuments around the city, especially from the Mausoleum of Asif Khan. The building is open on all sides, although largely through the use of jalis it gives the appearance of an enclosed room. This structure is similar in design and style to the Mughal pavilions inside the Lahore Fort in that it also resembles a tent made of stone. Ranjit Singh employed Muslim architect, Khalifa Nooruddin, who worked under the supervision of

---

101 Qureshi, “Hazuri Bagh.”
103 Latif, *Lahore*, 118.
Ranjit Singh’s Muslim court official, Faqir Azizuddin; many of the workers themselves were Muslims. The exterior of this single-room building is decorated with floral motifs as well as images of flower pots and peacocks in the Mughal style; there is no inlay work done inside or outside the entire structure (Fig. 35).

The building is also referred to as Ranjit Singh’s Baradari. A baradari in Urdu means a pavilion with twelve entrances. Three elegant archways on each side lead from the outside of the building. The building is structured on a raised platform. There are carved, multilobed pointed arches, and sixteen beautifully ornamented, balustered pillars or columns that divide the outer section from the central section (see Fig. 35). Although it does not have a curved roof like the Marble Pavilion located inside Lahore Fort (see Fig. 15), this structure has similarly-styled arches and double columns with square elements at the bottom that are found in the Hall of Mirrors in Lahore Fort (see Fig. 16). The multilobed arches and double columns are also similar to the ones used in the Hall of Public Audience in the Agra Fort (Fig. 36). This structure also has a basement which is not open to the public.

106 Qureshi, “Hazuri Bagh.” Ranjit Singh employed Muslims in his administration as well as in his army.
Chapter 4

The British Period

As the Mughal power weakened, the British, who had gone to India as merchants and traders under the auspices of the East India Company, began to acquire more territory, power, and influence. After Ranjit Singh’s death, there were wars of succession among his heirs (again there was no primogeniture). In 1849 his kingdom (with Lahore its capital) was annexed by the East India Company, which had become a power in itself. It possessed all the appurtenances of the state. It imposed its own laws, minted money, administered courts, and levied taxes. It employed judges, administrators, and tax collectors. It also maintained standing armies, which were manned by native troops and commanded by British officers. There was still a Mughal king on the throne of Delhi when East India Company took over that city in 1803 but the Mughal power had been totally eclipsed. The Mughal ruler was a mere “chessboard king,” whose writ did not run far from the confines of Delhi’s Red Fort. A contemporary comic verse went like this:

The Kingdom of Shah Alam,

Runs from Delhi to Palam.

The British saw some advantage in leaving the decrepit dynasty of the Mughals in its place, as a symbol of legitimacy and continuity for the people. And so the Mughal kings remained on the throne in Delhi as they began to receive financial assistance from the East India Company. The Mughal ruler could not make any decision without the approval of the East India Company official assigned to his court to keep close watch on him. It is no surprise that the last Mughal ruler Bahadur Shah II (1775–1862), who was an accomplished poet, began to compose poems in mid–19th century that are full of the imagery of a caged bird:

107 Dalrymple, Last Mughal, 38.
108 Dalrymple, Last Mughal, 38. Shah Alam was an early 19th–century Mughal ruler; Palam was a Delhi suburb near which the international airport is now located.
I want to shatter the bars of my cage,
With the flutterings of my wings.
But like a caged bird in a painting,
There is no possibility of being free.\textsuperscript{109}

But then out of the blue, Bahadur Shah saw a chance to fly out of his royal cage.\textsuperscript{110} The East India Company’s rule was seriously threatened by the Great Mutiny of 1857. This was sparked by new cartridges for the British Enfield rifles (the standard rifle used by the British troops at the time) that were issued to the East India Company’s army, and were rumored to have been greased by cow and pig fat. A soldier had to bite the end of the cartridge before loading it into his Enfield rifle. Thus the cartridge’s usage offended the religious sensibilities of both Hindu and Muslim native soldiers in the East India Company’s army. The native soldiers, who refused to use the new cartridges, were court martialed and given lengthy prison sentences. The offending cartridges were withdrawn. Still, in May 1857, the native soldiers in Meerut near Delhi mutinied, sprung their comrades from jail, and killed their British officers and any other Europeans they could find. The rebel soldiers then marched on Delhi, and proclaimed as their king the feeble, 82–year–old Bahadur Shah II. The fact that Hindu and Muslim soldiers alike proclaimed their loyalty to a Mughal king proved that the Mughal name still retained certain appeal among the populace, especially as a unifying symbol in its fight against a foreign imperial rule. It also proved that the British were at least perceptive in leaving a Mughal king on the throne of Delhi, though the outcome was not what they had intended.

Bahadur Shah, however reluctantly, assumed leadership of the mutinous troops, who at this point constituted a disorganized and undisciplined mob. Unrest eventually spread to civilians as large segments of the population rose up against the East India Company. The unrest spread from Delhi to other parts of India as the rebel soldiers were joined by farmers, landholders and some local rulers.

\textsuperscript{109} Dalrymple, \textit{Last Mughal}, 39.
\textsuperscript{110} Actually the mutiny did not take place all of a sudden; warning signs were there for some time but they went largely unnoticed. See Dalrymple, \textit{Last Mughal}, 107–130.
In retrospect, the uprising was not unpredictable. Resentment on the part of the natives was building over the years. In 1813 a new East India Act allowed Christian missionaries to seek converts in India, and appointed an archbishop for India. Under pressure from, and lobbying by the British missionaries, the Hindu practice of suttee (the practice of widows immolating themselves over their husbands’ funeral pyres) was outlawed. In 1848 under a policy called the Doctrine of Lapse, which was instituted by Governor General, James Broun–Ramsay, 1st Marquess of Dalhousie (1812–1860), the East India Company began to outright confiscate kingdoms whose rulers died without leaving a natural heir. This policy, which understandably caused much resentment, denied the age-old Hindu practice of adopted sons succeeding to their fathers’ thrones. Dalhousie was also not very sympathetic to the religious beliefs and customs of the native soldiers in the service of the East India Company; the soldiers also had complaints about their pay and conditions of service. Thus resentment was slowly building up; a flash point was reached with the introduction of the greased cartridges.

One of the leading rebel leaders was the Ranee of Jhansi, whose kingdom had been confiscated by the East India Company under the Doctrine of Lapse. The Ranee of Jhansi personally led her soldiers in the field. She was “in the thick of the fight, using her sword with both hands holding the reins of her horse in her mouth,” when she was shot out of the saddle and killed. The commanding British general her opposite, Sir Hugh Rose said upon learning of her death, “The Ranee of Jhansi was the bravest and best military leader of the rebels.” She has been called an Indian

---

111 Ferguson, Empire, 116.
112 Ferguson, Empire, 116.
113 Dalhousie also seized the prized diamond, Koh–i–Noor, from Ranjit Singh’s teenage son and heir, Dalip Singh in 1849 in Lahore Fort’s Palace of Mirrors, and surreptitiously sent it to Queen Victoria. Dalrymple and Anand, Koh–i–Noor, 205–213.
114 Ferguson, Empire, 120.
115 Ferguson, Empire, 119.
116 Ferguson, Empire, 125–131.
117 Tahmankar, Ranee of Jhansi, 163.
118 Tahmankar, Ranee of Jhansi, 176.
Boudica. This is a telling comparison, since many late 19th–century and early 20th–century British imperialists considered themselves heirs to the ancient Romans.

There was fierce fighting during the whole conflict as each side committed atrocities against the other. Eventually, the well–trained and well–disciplined British troops, with the help of Indian allies prevailed. The rebels were disorganized and did not have a joint command structure. The British were able to defeat sepoy strongholds one–by–one. The British retook Delhi, killed many Mughal princes, and unceremoniously exiled Bahadur Shah to Burma, putting an end to the Mughal era. Alas Bahadur Shah exchanged one royal cage for another; he never tasted freedom and was imprisoned like a caged bird until the end of his life. Some in Britain recognized that maladministration by the East India Company was the root cause of the mutiny. As Benjamin Disraeli stated in the House of Commons, “The rise and fall of empires are not affairs of greased cartridges.”

Disraeli and others saw a need for urgent and drastic reforms. The British government consequently abolished the East India Company and assumed direct rule over India in 1858. The Doctrine of Lapse was also abolished as the British began to foster native rulers as their junior partners.

While the Mughal Empire was effectively dead, the Mughal architecture continued to exercise considerable influence. The succeeding British rulers of India tried to seek legitimacy by appropriating cultural symbols and Mughal architectural styles in an attempt to present themselves to their Indian subjects as the logical heirs to the Great Moguls. They portrayed themselves as the

---

119 Tahmankar, Ranee of Jhansi, 176. Boudica was a Celtic queen who was killed leading a rebellion against the Roman Empire in AD 61.
120 Victorians in the late 19th century and early 20th century drew parallels between the Roman Empire and Britain’s own empire, especially in the context of India. They looked to Roman Empire’s methods of administration as a model; they also saw ancient Rome as a civilizing power, like themselves. Hingley, Roman Officers, 15, 26–27.
121 My great–great–grandfather was a British ally, who took part in the final assault on Delhi at the close of the conflict. Just as a matter of mathematical certainty, despite their lack of discipline and unity, the rebels would have succeeded if many native soldiers had not sided with the British; the British were just vastly outnumbered.
122 Bahadur Shah’s wife and two younger sons were allowed to join him in exile. His sons’ descendants continue to live in that country, which today is known as Myanmar.
123 Weintraub, Disraeli, 366
124 Cannadine, Ornamentalism, 23–24.
new arrivals in a long line of conquerors stretching all the way back to Alexander the Great, that included Arabs, Persians, Afghans, Turks, and of course the Mughals. Thus an appropriation of Mughal cultural and architectural symbols was important for the British to seek legitimacy as India’s new rulers, and for maintaining a pretense of being logical heirs to the Great Mughals. In addition to cultural symbols, infrastructure was considered an essential element for impressing the natives, projecting power, and maintaining control.

No one believed in the importance of public displays of state pageantry more than George Curzon (1859–1925), who served as Viceroy of India (1899–1905). Curzon and other Victorians of that time, who had knowledge of the Mughal history, believed that regal pomp impressed the native Indians.125 Thus the British government spent considerable time and money in arranging theatrical displays of power, which they thought would convince Indians that the Raj was a continuation of “an ancient and glorious tradition.”126 Curzon organized the Delhi Durbar of 1903127 in the Mughal style to celebrate the coronation of Victoria’s son, Edward VII (Fig. 37). “The dignity and omnipotence of the Raj were conveyed by the grand procession in which Curzon rode in place of the King Emperor, raised above the crowds on an elephant, seated in a golden howdah and shaded by the golden parasol. Afterwards the Viceroy exchanged a placid elephant for a rather willful horse and took the salute as thousands of imperial troops marched and cantered past.”128 Here was India’s new Mughal, regal in bearing and surrounding himself with the pomp and circumstance of India’s old rulers (Fig. 38). A similar durbar was held in Delhi for Victoria’s grandson, George V and his wife, Queen Mary in December 1911 in Delhi’s Red Fort, the seat of the Mughals (Fig. 39); King George and Queen Mary also appeared in a jharoka just like the Mughals did (Fig. 40). British governors also held several durbars to proclaim their rule in Lahore and other Indian cities to impress the

125 Lipsett, Lord Curzon in India, 9.
126 James, Raj, 317.
127 Durbar in Urdu means a royal public reception. More often the term is used to describe the court of an Indian ruler.
128 James, Raj, 317.
populace with pageantry and military might of the British Empire.

Curzon was the first British viceroy to really appreciate Indian architecture and its significance. He was interested in buildings from an early age. In his eye, nothing could compare with the monuments of India. For example, to him the Taj Mahal was “designed like a palace and finished like a jewel. One feels the same sensation as in gazing at a beautiful woman, one who has that mixture of loveliness and sadness which is essential to the highest beauty.”\(^\text{129}\) Curzon visited India’s many mosques, temples and palaces, many of which were in ruins. Some of these monuments were beyond repairs, while others could still be salvaged. He rejected the argument put forth by some that a Christian administration should not preserve monuments of other religions. He said, “Art and beauty, and reverence that is owing to all that has evoked human genius or has inspired human faith, are independent of creed, and, in so far as they touch the sphere of religion, are embraced by all mankind. Viewed from this standpoint, the rock temple of the Brahmans stands on precisely the same footing as the Buddhist Vihara, and the Mohammedan Masjid as the Christian Cathedral...What is beautiful, what is historic, what tears the mask off the past, helps us to read its riddles, and to look in the eyes–these, and not the dogmas of a combative theology, are the principal criteria to which we must look.”\(^\text{130}\) Curzon went on to preserve the Badshahi Masjid, the Taj Mahal, buildings inside Lahore Fort and many other monuments. As India’s first prime minister, Jawaharlal Nehru (1889–1964) said, “After every other viceroy has been forgotten, Curzon will be remembered because he restored all that was beautiful in India.”\(^\text{131}\)

The British instituted a municipal form of government in Lahore. They created a modern version of urban government with institutionalized methods of record keeping, census taking, distributing the mail, and classifying people and property. Their method of city planning included designing and constructing new residential, commercial and governmental areas for the city, and

\(^{129}\) Dilks, *Curzon in India*, 245.
\(^{130}\) Dilks, *Curzon in India*, 245.
\(^{131}\) Gilmour, *Curzon*, 181.
laying down new streets and thoroughfares. The British–built structures of Lahore include, without being limited to, residential homes for colonial officials and workers, hotels, bridges, factories, hospitals, post offices, police stations, prisons, courthouses, schools, colleges, clubs, racecourses, parks, zoos, museums, later movie theaters, and of course public gardens befitting a Mughal. When designing their public buildings the British architects collaborated with Indian designers and architects to borrow from the Mughals in creating a unique architectural style. Thus they continued a tradition that had been started by the Mughals as the city itself adapted to its new rulers and continued to expand as a commercial and cultural hub. A building’s intended usage often determined its architectural style. For example, churches in India, with few exceptions, were constructed in the European style (Fig. 41).

Christianity was considered a foreign religion and any mixing of European church styles with native design elements in India and elsewhere was considered, well sacrilege, and reaction was often fierce. For example, in opposing an Egyptian design for a Church in Alexandria, a Christian journal stated, “To build a Christian Church in a land where a false religion is predominant, and Christianity trampled down, in a style of that false religion, for the sake of flattering the followers of that religion, is more than a solecism of taste, it is a gratuitous...bruise to our religious feelings.”

Queen Victoria took great interest in India after the Indian Mutiny of 1857. On May 1, 1876, Victoria officially became Empress of India; she began to sign her name as “Victoria R & I” (Regina et Imperatrix, queen and empress.) On January 1, 1877 Victoria was declared Empress of India in a durbar ceremony in Delhi, seat of the Mughal emperors, thus directly linking Victoria and the British monarchy to India’s celebrated Mughal past. Subsequently Victoria’s son, grandson, and great–grandsons acquired the title, King–Emperor.

132 Quoted in Metcalf, Imperial Vision, 99.
133 Baird, Victoria, 382.
134 Edward VII, George V, Edward VIII, and George VI (the latter until August 15, 1947) were Kings of Great Britain and Emperors of India.
Lahore Railway Station

Railways were a symbol of progress and the technological achievements of the Victorian age, and imposing railroad terminals were powerful symbols of that achievement.\textsuperscript{135} The railways were also symbols of control and domination.\textsuperscript{136} A pure European style architecture was seen as appropriate for a display of European (i.e., British) superiority, as demonstrated by the railway terminal that was built in Lahore (Fig. 42), and the Victoria Terminus, which opened in Bombay (now known as Mumbai) in 1888 (Fig. 43). The Lahore Railway Station was built soon after the 1857 mutiny, and the British felt a need to safeguard their rail links. A good rail network was essential not just for movement of goods and people but also for quickly deploying troops in times of trouble. That was the lesson from the Mutiny of 1857.

The foundation of the Lahore Railway Station building was laid in 1859. As a sign of its time, this purely European–designed brick structure is fortified by round towers with battlements. All of the towers have loopholes for directing rifle and cannon fire along the main approaches from the city; there are also turrets, and medieval towers. The station building was designed to be both for functional usage and for defensive purposes in times of trouble. Fear of another uprising by the native population was in the forefront of the mind of station designers, an uprising that never took place. From a distance the station looks like a castle (Fig. 44). The building still functions as Lahore’s main train terminal. There is a vast network of mechanical, carpentry, and other workshops; the entire complex extends over an area of more than 120 acres.\textsuperscript{137} These workshops have been functioning since 1863, and provide support services to rail operations.\textsuperscript{138} The railway employees, most of whom were of mixed Anglo–Indian descent, enjoyed such employer–provided luxuries as a club, swimming

\textsuperscript{135} DeLaine, “The Romanitas of the Railway Station,” 145, 147.
\textsuperscript{136} DeLaine, “The Romanitas of the Railway Station,” 146.
\textsuperscript{137} Aijazuddin, Lahore, 118.
\textsuperscript{138} Aijazuddin, Lahore, 118.
pool, cooperative stores, and even a dedicated church.  

**Punjab High Court Building**

The British took pride in their systems of laws, and their notion of fair play, something which was not always honored. With the takeover of the Punjab by the East India Company, a Board of Administration was established in 1849, which exercised the powers of a judicial court and a revenue board. More laws were introduced as the executive role of the East India Company expanded. After the British government assumed direct control over the Punjab (and the Indian subcontinent) the Punjab Chief Court was created in 1865.

Work began in 1881 to construct a building to house the new court. This building’s architecture is a great blend of British and Indian design elements, known as the Indo-Saracenic style. This style represented a traditional approach to modern imperial buildings during the period 1870 to 1890; the style “grew out of a growing imperial consensus...that British rule needed to annotate its authority in the traditional visual forms of India’s indigenous rulers.” This combination of Indian designs with British principles of planning was also an example of the collaborative interrelationship that was developing between the British rulers and Indian architects. “If the design of the Chief Court complex thus presented a tangible model of colonial sense of order, then it also presented–like other buildings ...–a novel assemblage of space and materials in its Indian urban context.”  

This hybrid building style “was appropriate in a way for an institution that administered laws which were in themselves an amalgam of English jurisprudence and Indian codes.”

The main High Court building is constructed in molded brick, and is embellished with marble. The northern area of the building has a central hall constructed in European style that measures 55 x

---

139 Aijazuddin, *Lahore*, 118.
140 Aijazuddin, *Lahore*, 129
141 Aijazuddin, *Lahore*, 129
35 feet; two Indian–styled central towers rise to 95 feet and are topped by *chhatris* (as defined above, these are domed cupolas that are a ubiquitous part of Mughal architecture) (Fig. 45). Today this building functions as the home of the Punjab High Court, the highest court in the province.

**The Lahore Museum**

The Lahore Museum building is another example of the Indo-Saracenic style, mentioned above. It is also an example of growing collaboration that was then taking place between British planners and Indian designers to create a unique structure (Fig. 46). This style was also appropriate for a building that housed a British-sponsored institution, which was created for the benefit of the Indians. Following Queen Victoria’s Jubilee celebrations in 1887, the funds that were collected were used towards the building of a museum. The building is made of red sandstone with a marble facade, which is carved in floral motif. The building’s foundation stone was laid by Victoria’s eldest grandson, Prince Albert Victor, Duke of Clarence (1864–1892) in February 1890 (Fig. 47). John Lockwood Kipling (1837–1911) (Rudyard Kipling’s father) served as the first curator here. The building itself in constructed in a European style. Its front however is dominated by Mughal elements. There is a large dome, which is topped by a *chhatri*. The large dome is surrounded by smaller domes, which are also topped by round *chhatris*.

**The Mayo School of Art**

Located next door to the Lahore Museum is the Mayo School of Art, now called the National College of Arts. The red brick building has numerous arches, domes and *chhatris* (Fig. 48). This structure is yet another example of Indo-Saracenic design. John Lockwood Kipling also headed the Mayo School. Towards the end of the 19th century, he successfully lobbied Punjab University to transfer courses to the Mayo School, which then began to provide architectural training to Indian

---

145 Aijazuddin, *Lahore*, 129
146 Albert died in his youth while his grandmother Queen Victoria and his father, the Prince of Wales and future Edward VII, were still alive. The crown eventually passed to Edward VII’s second son, George V, who was Queen Elizabeth II’s grandfather.
students, in addition to training in fine arts, and traditional craft. Kipling’s tenure at the Mayo School was also the time when much building activity took place in Lahore, which was now a booming, cosmopolitan city within the British Empire.

Students of the Mayo School found lucrative employment with Kipling’s help. One famous graduate and Punjab native, Bhai Ram Singh (d. 1915) together with Kipling worked on the design for the Lahore Museum building. Singh and Kipling also designed and built over 270 wood panels in Indian motifs for the billiard room at Bagshot Park, England (1885–1887) (Fig. 49), the home of Queen Victoria’s son, the Duke of Connaught. Singh’s most prestigious commission was to design and build in Indian style the Durbar Room at Osborne House on the Isle of Wight for Queen Victoria in 1891 (Figs. 50–52). Since Victoria could not travel to India, she brought a little bit of India to her home. Indian motifs thus influenced residential designs of British royalty.

Victoria’s interest in India went beyond architecture as she took seriously her role as Empress of India. For her Golden Jubilee she was presented with two servants from India, Abdul Karim and Mohammed Buksh (Fig. 53). Victoria formed an unlikely bond with Karim, much to the consternation of the court and the British government. Victoria asked Karim to teach her Urdu and also about India; she kept a journal in Urdu.

In one unmistakable example of appropriation, the British had previously confiscated (or they would argue, legitimately received under the terms of a treaty), the world-famous diamond, Koh-i-Noor (which once belonged to the Mughal emperors) from Ranjit Singh’s ten–year–old heir and then–ruler of Punjab, Dalip Singh in 1849. Along with the diamond, the boy king also surrendered the Punjab to the British. The diamond was subsequently presented to Queen Victoria. However

147 Glover, Making Lahore Modern, 86-87.
148 Glover, Making Lahore Modern, 90.
149 See Basu, Victoria and Abdul. This is also the subject of a recent movie, Victoria & Abdul (2017), starring Judi Dench and Indian actor, Ali Fazal.
150 Koh-i-Noor means ‘Mountain of Light’ in Farsi.
151 Dalrymple and Anand, Koh-i-Noor, 184–188.
152 James, Raj, 136–137.
she did not officially start to wear the diamond until it was personally given to her by Dalip Singh, whom she had invited to stay with her in England.\textsuperscript{153} Today the diamond is prominently set in the Queen Mother’s Crown, and is part of the Crown Jewels of Great Britain.\textsuperscript{154}


\textsuperscript{154} The Queen Mother's Crown is among the crown jewels displayed in the Tower of London. Both India and Pakistan have demanded the return of this diamond.
Conclusion

The Raj came to an end more than seventy years ago. Today Britannia no longer rules the waves and the British Empire, like the Mughal Empire before it, has disappeared below the waves of history. However, many of the grand edifices that Great Britain once built are still standing in India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh as reminders of the power and influence that Britain wielded on the Indian subcontinent for three hundred years. It is instructive to see how the British tried to become almost indigenous rulers by imitating the Mughal customs and rituals, and by borrowing from the Mughal design elements to construct an empire in India worthy of the Great Mughals. Britain however has left behind more than the architectural representations of the role it once played as an imperial power. Britain influenced the development of parliamentary democracy in most of its former colonies. India has fared better in this regard than Pakistan and Bangladesh. However, many people in these two countries are still striving for the establishment of a true parliamentary democracy. The fact that so many people in India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh continue to believe that their social and economic problems can only be solved by a representative government is largely a legacy of the British rule. British heritage includes hospitals, schools, museums, institutions of higher education, a railway network, a postal system, a civil service system, and a judicial system that is rooted in the Common Law, not to mention English as a second language, cricket, field hockey, and afternoon tea. The British themselves were influenced by India. Indian words like bungalow, jodhpurs, verandah, and pajamas became a part of the English language. The British also appropriated Mughal symbols, especially in creating a uniquely blended architectural style, which was eventually transported to Britain itself for use in royal residences.

Britain also paved the way for the end of its empire on the Indian subcontinent. Britain introduced self-government in India, albeit in fits and starts, along with the institutions of representative democracy. It also fostered a prosperous Indian middle class, which sent its sons (and unfortunately often not daughters) abroad to study law and other disciplines in Britain and other
European countries during late 19th century and early 20th century, with full support of the British imperialists. Britain also sponsored the establishment of colleges and universities throughout the Indian subcontinent. With the introduction of constitutional reforms, and rise of a prosperous, western–educated professional middle class, a demand for independence was the next logical step. It is hardly a surprise that it was this educated professional middle class, having come of age in the early 20th century, which was in the forefront of the independence movement.
Epilogue

Lahore’s rich architectural history is a testimonial to the city’s illustrious past and continued growth and development as an important urban, commercial, and cultural center. The Mughal, Sikh, and British monuments demonstrate how architecture has continued to play a crucial role as the city transitioned from one era to the next. It also shows how the Sikhs and the British borrowed some of the essential elements of Indian designs from the Mughals, who themselves were influenced by the Delhi Sultanate’s architecture. The continued grandeur of Lahore’s monuments shows how both the Mughal and British rulers built grand structures to impress their subjects with the might of their respective empires.

Today Pakistanis (along with Indian Muslims) revere the Mughals as a great Muslim power in India. And as Muslims, Pakistanis regard themselves heirs to the Mughals. Accordingly, Pakistanis treasure their Mughal heritage and Mughal monuments. The Pakistan government is currently undertaking efforts to preserve and protect many of the Mughal monuments.

On the other hand, Pakistanis (and Indian Muslims) do not view with favor the role the Sikhs and the British have played in the history of a pre-partitioned India. The Sikhs are seen as a non-Muslim power that replaced Muslim rule in the Punjab, and destroyed Muslim (i.e., Mughal) monuments and used the material as spolia for their own building activity. Similarly, the British are seen as a foreign imperial Christian power, which ended Muslim rule in India. The British are also seen as favoring the Hindus over the Muslims, especially at the time of independence. Pakistanis believe that the British, especially the last British viceroy, Lord Louis Mountbatten (1900–1979) sided with India (i.e., the Hindus) vis-à-vis Pakistan, and colluded with Indian National Congress to deny Pakistan several Muslim-majority areas in the eastern part of the Punjab. Thus the Pakistanis do not attach a great significance to the British–era buildings in the city, and do not accord them the same status that they do to the Mughal monuments, in both Pakistan and India. There is no similar effort being made to preserve the country’s British–era monuments. I suspect the younger generation
does not even know why these monuments were erected in the first place. Similarly, the role played by those Indians who served the Raj is being ignored. My great-grandfather was a British Indian Army veteran of World War I, and both of my grandfathers were veterans of World War II. They were proud of their service. My grandfathers’ generation, which went through the upheaval caused by the partition of India, was able to contrast the honest, competent, and efficient administration of the Raj with the mismanaged, incompetent, and corrupt administration they experienced after independence. Most members of that generation looked back at the Raj with nostalgia. I suppose it is true that “[t]he right of peoples to decide their own future is inviolate, irrespective of whether they choose wisely or whether the government which emerges is just, honest and humane.”  

Today reasonable people can argue whether the Raj was a force for good or bad. However, the Raj remains a fact of history. History cannot be denied, ignored, or compartmentalized. History does not take place in a vacuum, and there is always continuity amidst change. Lahore’s monuments show how the successors to the Mughals viewed themselves in relationship to their predecessors, and to their subjects. These monuments continue to bear witness to the central role played by all those who have ruled this city, and the contributions that they have made to it. Therefore, all of Lahore’s monuments are worth preserving; they are part of the city’s DNA. These monuments will continue to serve as reminders of the city’s illustrious past, as they continue to cast giant shadows across Lahore and the Indian subcontinent as a whole.

155 James, Raj, 642.
Figure 1. Map of Indian subcontinent (Source: teara.govt.nz)
Figure 2. Map showing partition of India and the Punjab in 1947. (Source: Wikipedia)
Figure 3. Map of Lahore. (Source: British Library)

Figure 4. Chhatri. (Photo: Noor Agha).
Figure 5. *Chhajja.* (Photo: Agra Development Foundation.)

Figure 6. *Pishtaq.* (Photo: Pinterest.)
Figure 7. *Jali*. (Photo: Archnet.org).
Figure 8. Map of the old walled city of Lahore. (Photo: Walled City of Lahore Authority).
Figure 9. Hall of Private Audience in Lahore Fort. (Photo: Archnet.org)

Figure 10. Geometric patterns on the floor of the Hall of Private Audience in Lahore Fort. (Photo: Noor Agha.)
Figure 11. Fountain in the Hall of Private Audience in Lahore Fort. (Photo: lahore.city-history.com)
Figure 12. Hall of Public Audience in Lahore Fort. (Photo: lahore.city-history.com)
Figure 13. *Jharoka* in the Hall of Public Audience in Lahore Fort. (Photo: Noor Agha.)

Figure 14. *Jharoka* in Red Fort, Delhi. (Photo: Mountain of Travel.)
Figure 15. Marble Pavilion in Lahore Fort with a wide *chhajja* and *jalis*. (Photo: lahore.city-history.com)

Figure 16. Hall of Mirrors in Lahore Fort. (Photo: Naeem Din)
Figure 17. The Alamgiri Gate at night. (Photo: Walled City of Lahore Authority.)

Figure 18. Badshahi Masjid viewed from the Lahore Fort. (Photo: lahore.city-history.com)
Figure 19. Interior of Badshahi Masjid with a minaret on the left, and the main gate on the right. (Photo: Naeem Din.)

Figure 20. Badshahi Masjid, center structure with a pishtaq in the middle. (Photo: Pinterest.)
Figure 21. Badshahi Masjid’s central pool with the main entrance in the background. (Photo: Naeem Din.)

Figure 22. One of the four minarets of Badshahi Masjid. (Photo: Naeem Din.)
Figure 23. Main gate of the Badshahi Masjid. (Photo: Wikipedia).
Figure 24. Shalamar Garden’s middle terrace. (Photo: Naeem Din.)
Figure 25. Shah Jahan’s throne in the foreground, Shalamar Garden. (Photo: Naeem Din.)

Figure 26. Emperor Jahangir’s Mausoleum outside Lahore. (Photo: Naeem Din.)
Figure 27. One of the four minarets of Jahangir’s Mausoleum. (Photo: Naeem Din.)
Figure 28. The cenotaph in the central chamber of Jahangir’s Mausoleum. (Photo: Pinterest.)

Figure 29. Mausoleum of Nur Jahan. (Photo: Naeem Din.)
Figure 30. Simple white marble cenotaphs of Nur Jahan and her daughter inside the mausoleum. (Photo: Naeem Din.)

Figure 31. Rehabilitation work being undertaken at the Mausoleum of Nur Jahan. (Photo: Naeem Din.)
Figure 32. Mausoleum of Asif Khan. (Photo: Wikipedia)
Figure 33. Mausoleum of Asif Khan in ruin with grass growing from the roof of the dome. (Photo: Naeem Din.)
Figure 34. Ranjit Singh’s Marble Pavilion. (Photo: Naeem Din.)
Figure 35. Close up of Ranjit Singh’s Marble Pavilion. (Photo: Pinterest.)
Figure 36. The Agra Fort’s Hall of Public Audience. (Photo: Pinterest)
Figure 37. Roderick McKenzie's painting of Lord and Lady Curzon at the 1903 Delhi Durbar. (Photo: Bristol Museum Galleries and Archives.)
Figure 38. Lord and Lady Curzon on an elephant with Indian attendants. (Photo: Pinterest.)
Figure 39. George V and Queen Mary at the 1911 Delhi Durbar. (Photo: Pinterest.)
Figure 40. George V and Queen Mary at the jharoka at Red Fort during the 1911 Delhi Durbar. (Photo: India Tourism.)
Figure 41: Lahore’s Catholic church. (Photo: Locally Lahore.)

Figure 42. The Lahore Railway Station. (Photo: Lahorese.com.)
Figure 43. The Victoria Terminus, Mumbai (formerly Bombay). (Photo: Indiatoday.in)

Figure 44. Castle-like building of the Lahore Railway Station. (Photo: British Library.)
Figure 45. The Lahore High Court building. (Photo: Lahore City of Gardens.)

Figure 46. The Lahore Museum building. (Photo: Pinterest.)
Figure 47. The Lahore Museum foundation stone laid by Prince Albert Victor. (Photo: Naeem Din.)
Figure 48. The Mayo School of Art, now known as the National College of Arts. (Photo: Noor Agha.)
Figure 49. The Billiard Room at Bagshot Park. (Photo: Victoria and Albert Museum.)
Figure 50. The Durbar Room, Osborne House, Isle of Wight. (Photo: English Heritage.)

Figure 51. The Durbar Room ceiling, Osborne House, Isle of Wight. (Photo: India Express.)
Figure 52. Peacock Panel in the Durbar Room, Osborne House, Isle of Wight. (Pinterest.com)
Figure 53. Queen Victoria’s Indian attendants, Abdul Karim (on left) and Mohammed Buksh. (Photo: DailyMail.com).
Bibliography


