

# **BRITISH COLONIAL MANIFESTATION OF THE INDO-SARACENIC CHARACTER DURING BRITISH RAJ: A CASE OF KARACHI, PAKISTAN**

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## **INTRODUCTION**

The primary objective of this research is to explore British architecture, specifically Indo-Saracenic Architecture, during the British Raj by studying the city of Karachi as the focus area. The research explores whether Indo-Saracenic Architecture characterizes a genuine revival of Indian architectural attributes or a fusion of British and Indian architectural styles by analyzing some buildings of British time in Karachi.

The study site for this research is the present-day metropolitan city of Karachi, the most populated city in Pakistan. It contains over 12% of the country's population and 30% of the province of Sindh in Pakistan.<sup>1</sup> Trade (overseas) is the most ancient profession in the region and the main revenue-generating sector, with around 46.5% of the manufacturing industry located here. Before the British rule, Karachi was a small fishing town of around 15000 inhabitants. During the British colonization, which marks its inception in Karachi in 1839 via a small battle with the Talpurs under the leadership of British Commander Sir Charles Napier, an English town was established next to the native old town (Figure 1) and a number of traders were invited to settle and commerce, among them was the British East India Company (BEIC) being one of them as a trading corporation.<sup>2</sup>

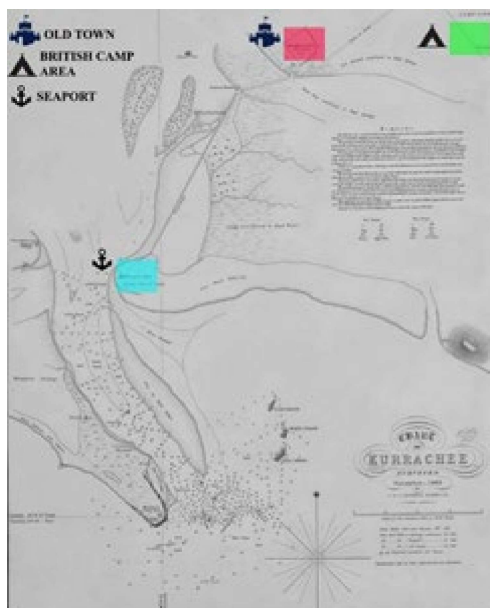


Figure 1. 1849 Chart of Kurrachee (later known as Karachi) Survey by British East India Company (BEIC). Showing the native and British towns and Seaport. © British Library, Addition of new layer of information by 2<sup>nd</sup> Author.

The British East India Company (BEIC) was a trading company, but during the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the corporation started gaining political control over several Indian states. This expansion of power eventually paved the way for the direct British government to take full control of India, leading to the establishment of the British Raj in 1857.<sup>3</sup> From being a trading company to becoming the rulers of India and reigning till 1947, the British introduced European urban and architectural style in India through Gothic and Neoclassical buildings. After 1857, blended them with Islamic architectural elements (Mughal and Hindu architectural elements were also mixed) to form the base of the British Indian Colonial architecture that was later known as ‘Indo-Saracenic architecture, a term coined by James Fergusson to refer to India’s Islamic architecture. Since 1728, Karachi was a small fishing port town that had trading networks across the Arabian Sea with Oman and the Persian Gulf;<sup>4</sup> and was enclosed within a fortification with two entrances before the British annexation.<sup>5</sup> Many British explorers and the representatives of BEIC entered through the Karachi port to visit the Talpur rulers of Sindh for political negotiations and pointed out the importance of Karachi and its port in the future for the British empire. The British conquered the city in 1839 and established its cantonment and Bazaar, but in 1843, the city was announced as a British town. When the British took over the city, it was a small mud fort town with winding streets and very little space for vegetation. The plot layout was irregularly built up with houses attached back-to-back. Thus, the only prominent feature was the Badgir or Mungh,<sup>6</sup> the wind catcher shaft sprouting out of the flat roofs. Most of the Hindu population lived in the mud fort built with chopped straws, two or three artillery guns, and many loopholes for security.<sup>7</sup> On the contrary, the British established their town on a planned urban architectural layout. The spatial arrangement was based on the gridiron pattern with properly aligned roads, well connected and accessed by a sophisticated transportation system.<sup>8</sup>

### Research Methodology

The research methodology adopted is based on the triangulation method, where a variety of data from a number of sources is extracted, analyzed and synthesized to acquire the results. The process is divided into three steps as following:

- a. Literature Review
- b. Archival Analysis
- c. Field Work

The literature review helped develop an in-depth understanding of the British roots in the Indian Sub-Continent, specifically in Karachi. That is how the European styles influenced the local building styles or vice versa. We looked at the available literature from the perspective of local and international literary sources, including published and non-published, reviewed and non-peer-reviewed materials. Reviewing the available resources took the research into the second step by helping to target the archival departments to visit and look for the historical maps, written official documents, historical pictures of different buildings in the study area of Karachi, etc.

The archival data collection was mainly focused on the city of Karachi and coupled with the literature review, it not only helped in a better understanding of Karachi's historical and development overview and the main objective of this paper but also guided the research into the third step of research fieldwork. The literature review and analysis of archival data narrowed the research to the specific number of buildings and laid the basis for the multiple fieldwork visits initiated in January 2019, December 2020, January 2021 and November 2022. All the visits were conducted by both authors individually to gain a separate understanding of the sites. The fieldwork aimed to observe and document the target buildings for study and mark their conservation, vandalism and present state of condition. Multiple informal semi-structured interviews were conducted, and a photographic survey was done.<sup>9</sup>

#### **LITERATURE REVIEW:**

During the early phase of British annexation around 1757, the British tried to re-create homes in the occupied territories, inspired by their accomplishments back at home.<sup>10</sup> Whether the British structures were built in India, Canada, Africa or the Caribbean, the buildings carried strong (European) cultural connotations.<sup>11</sup>

The British entered and occupied Karachi in 1839 through BEIC, which was first established as a trading company in London in 1600 by a powerful financial elite.<sup>12</sup> In 1858, the BEIC was abolished, and a direct imperial rule was declared by proclaiming the occupied territory as the greater British Raj.<sup>13</sup> Together with British culture as a metropolitan society and India as an indigenous society, it created a 'third culture' in India in a hybrid manner, typically referred to as the 'Culture of British in India' and is typically referred to as the Acculturation process.<sup>14</sup>

The colonial cultural landscape during the British colonization in the Indian subcontinent simulated an intricate system of power dynamics. Characteristically, the colonizers impose their cultural practices and values on the colonized societies. So did the British while becoming the ruler of Karachi. They brought their ideas about urban planning and architecture, which were heavily influenced by European norms. During colonialism, architecture was a significant tool of power and authority used to assert dominance and supremacy over the colonized people. The architecture of the colonizers was often grandiose and imposing, designed to impress and intimidate the local population.<sup>15</sup>

The British followed the same ideology in the case of developing Karachi by creating a notion of supremacy with the adaptations of Classical and Neo-Classicism,<sup>16</sup> which were the most suitable imperial architectural styles because of their physical strength and splendour. It was associated with the 18<sup>th</sup> century enlightenment period of science and philosophy.<sup>17</sup>

They developed new urban areas on grid-iron pattern layouts with European-style architectural buildings for themselves where the natives were not allowed to permanently reside or build their own buildings for even commercial purposes.<sup>18</sup> Saddar Bazaar Quarter in Karachi is one of the very first areas developed by the British in Karachi on a gridiron pattern, with the Trinity Church as the first

major catholic church building in Renaissance style with a Romanesque style entry in Karachi (Figure 2).



Figure 2. Left: 1874 Map of Old Town of Karachi showing haphazard and irregular street layout © Lari & Lari 2001. Middle: 1869/70 layout map of Saddar Bazaar Quarter showing planned street layout © British Library. Right: 1856 drawing of Trinity Church © British Library.

After the 1857 War of Independence, the BEIC was abolished, and the Indian Sub-continent became directly under British rule (that also marked the second half of British rule in India); their ideology and connotation towards the natives and their culture changed. The British focus changed to establish an architectural statement with focused native cultural norms deeply rooted within the native land. It resulted in the development of the Indo-Saracenic Architecture Style.<sup>19</sup>

The British architects conceived this Indo-Saracenic architectural style in British India, greatly in the latter half of the British presence in the Indian Subcontinent. The style was an amalgamation of the West and East.<sup>20</sup> It combined elements of English (European classical) architecture with those of the local Hindu and primarily Mughal<sup>21</sup> architecture (also known as Muhammadan<sup>22</sup> by the British). Some of the best examples of buildings in Karachi are the Chamber of Commerce, D.J. Science College and Mohatta Palace, among many others (Figure 3). Later, the adaptation of the Indo-Saracenic style generated debates on its originality as either an authentic revival of Indian styles or an attempt at a fusion between Eastern and Western tradition's synthesis. However, because of the hybrid nature of the Indo-Saracenic style, it became most adoptable among the local elites and Maharajas (Princes). The style's incorporation of Indian motifs and decorative elements was seen as a way to showcase India's rich cultural heritage, while the Western planning and massing of buildings were seen as a symbol of progress and modernity.



Figure 3. L-R: Chamber of Commerce, D.J. Science College, Karachi Pakistan

### HISTORIC ANALYSIS – BRITISH MANIFESTATION OF ARCHITECTURE IN KARACHI (1839-1947)

The native old town of Karachi was a pre-industrialized settlement where user-led urban and architectural patterns were followed. The narrow streets lead to the single main road, and social and cultural activities were gathered around the mohallas (neighbourhoods), religious buildings, etc. After

its annexation to the British Empire in 1843, Karachi started industrializing by developing its port. The British rulers incorporated motorized roads, planned quarters on grid patterns, climate control by extensive tree-plantation, and the use of stone as a major building material with construction technological advancements as the main development features of Karachi under their rule.<sup>23</sup> Before the 1857 War of Independence, government buildings in Karachi were based on European styles and constructed using local construction techniques and materials. But after 1857, the British adopted the same flow as in other parts of India, and in 1865, the Frere Hall was constructed, known to be the first example of an Indo-Gothic style building in the city (Figure 4).



Figure 4 Front view of Frere Hall, Image taken by second author during 2019 fieldwork visit.

This was the beginning of a new era in Karachi in terms of its architecture. The architectural style initiated in the 1870s and onwards (specifically in the late 19th and early 20th century) confronted Western and Eastern elements.<sup>24</sup> The Frere Hall mentioned in Karachi is the best example of the neo-Gothic style with local influence.

### Analyzing Indo-Saracenic Style Building in Karachi:

#### Mohatta Palace

**Mohatta Palace** was built by Shiv Rattan Mohatta in 1920 and designed by Ahmed Hussain Agha. The central area of the roof terrace is enclosed and has a baradari with cupolas on top.<sup>25</sup> The building is constructed primarily of fine ashlar local Gizri stone, a light buff colour. The utilisation of carved decorative elements taken from the tombs of the Samma located at Makli Hill, close to Thatta, reflects the architect's sensitivity towards regional adaptation. Some other aspects of the building reflecting its character as being regional/ Islamic influence are:

- Minaret-like cylindrical towers, topped by bulbous cupolas, overhanging slabs supported by carved stone brackets and chakras.
- Spandrels, balcony balustrades and pilasters, employing Jodhpur stone, imbuing the entire structure with a pink hue.
- Elaborated headroom with a symmetrical cupola design.
- Trefoil arched entrance.
- Projected windows depicting *Jharokas*.

However, the plan of the building is based on introverted planning. The design philosophy of introvert planning creates a distinct spatial experience within the building. Here, the focus is on a central, enclosed hall that serves as the heart of the building. However, the entrance and the central hall have a spacious vestibule as a buffer between outer and inner space. Various functional areas are arranged



around the central hall, reflecting interconnectivity through the vestibule. This approach of planning is often seen as British Planning.

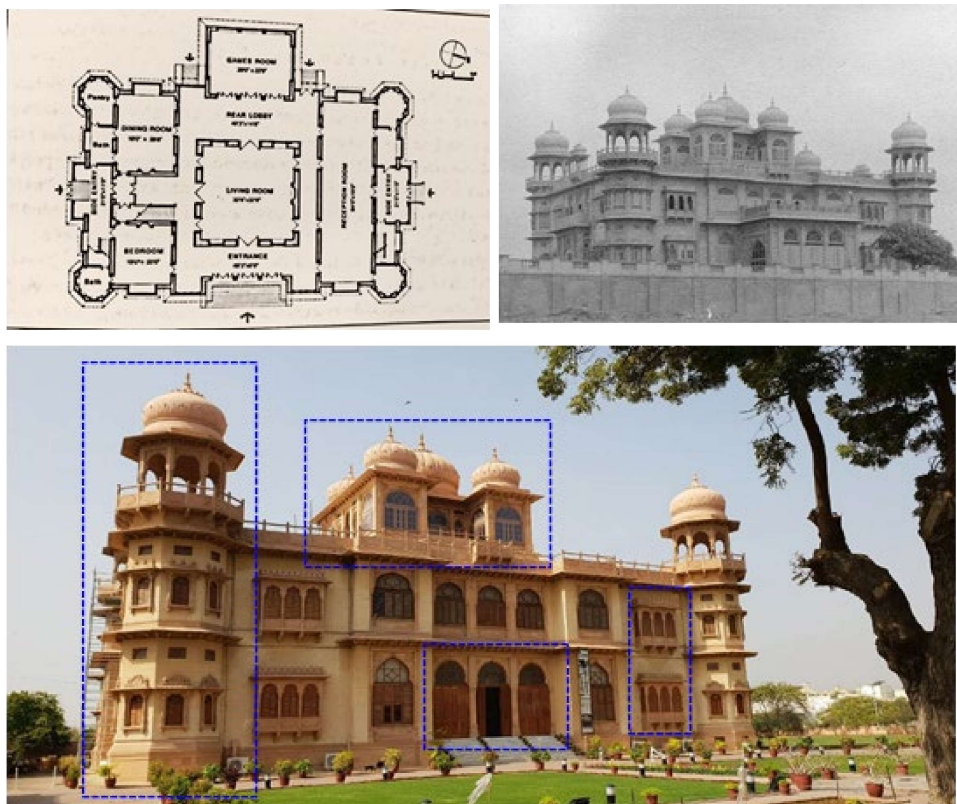


Figure 5. Mohatta Palace – L-R: Plan, historic image, present image. © L- Lari 1997, R- <https://karachiciti.wordpress.com/2019/02/11/mohatta-palace/>, Bottom: Second Author 2023

### Empress Market

The **Empress Market Building** is designed by James Strachan in 1888-89 in the Domestic Indo-Gothic Style. He took his inspiration for the bell tower from Elphinstone College in Bombay, designed by Trubshawe in 1866 and financed by Cowasjee Jehangir Readymoney, a Parsi Philanthropist.<sup>26</sup> Some of the architectural attributes of the building reflecting the classical style are:

- Central clock tower as a pinnacle of design, having projected balconies supported by brackets.
- The clock tower is designed similarly on all four sides with stone carved brackets to hold the balconies.
- The dragon-faced gargoyles attached to all four sides of the tower.
- Corners adorned with slightly volumetric spaces.
- Elaborate entrance gates on all 4 sides.

The plan of the building is based upon a conventional design of markets in British India. It is a simple, less artistic, yet very functional design. It refers to the domestic approach of the Gothic architectural adaptation in the colonial region of Karachi by the architect James Strachan. It is evident from the provision of an auspicious courtyard within the building which signifies the influence of vernacular architecture over the Gothic construction style. Strachan designed the internal spaces as an open plan where shops were designed as working platforms with no canopies (covering) and partitions in between and with storage in the basement.<sup>27</sup> This layout avoided any visual obstacles and received

better light and ventilation. Later on, the design of shops was upgraded, incorporating higher walls and canopies on tops.

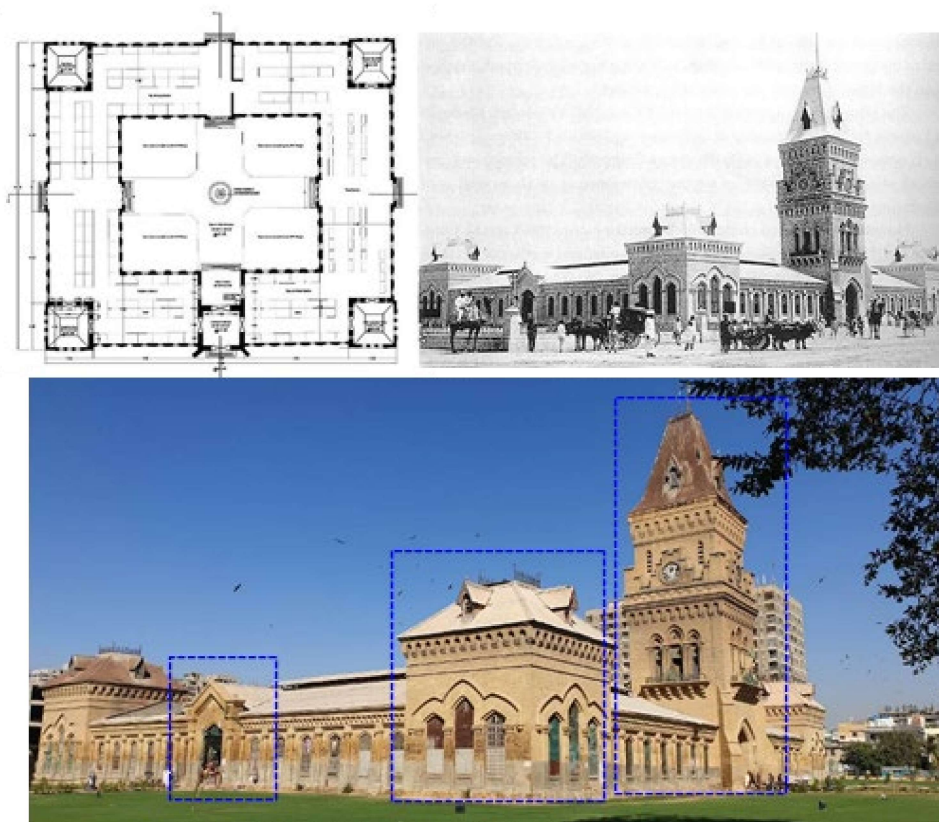


Figure 6. Empress Market L-R: Plan, historical image, present image.

© L- 1<sup>st</sup> Author 2015, R-Archives 150-1890, Bottom- 2<sup>nd</sup> Author 2021

### Sindh Madrassah School

**The Sindh Madrassah School** was designed by James Strachan in 1889. Madrassah school is a cluster of buildings.<sup>28</sup> The focus of the study is the main building block. Some of the building's architectural features that represent the classical style include:

- Central clock tower as a pinnacle of design
- The Tudor arch on the first floor gives the visual effect of being flattened or depressed under pressure as the Tudor arch is much wider than its height with a pointed apex.
- The pointed arch in the ground floor arcade is one of the defining characteristics of Gothic architecture.
- A variant of broken pediment where only the left and right sides of the triangle (Pediment) are present, and the clock tower in the frontage is inspired by Oxbridge College UK.
- Arcaded verandah – fusion of eastern verandah with western colonnade
- Corners adorned with projecting pilasters and topped with finials.

Disappointingly, the front façade of the building is no longer visible from the road since part of the site has been given over to the construction of shops in order to raise funds for the institutions. The buildings are designed with rooms well connected and grouped around a courtyard. This layout promotes a sense of interconnectedness and harmonious flow between different building parts.

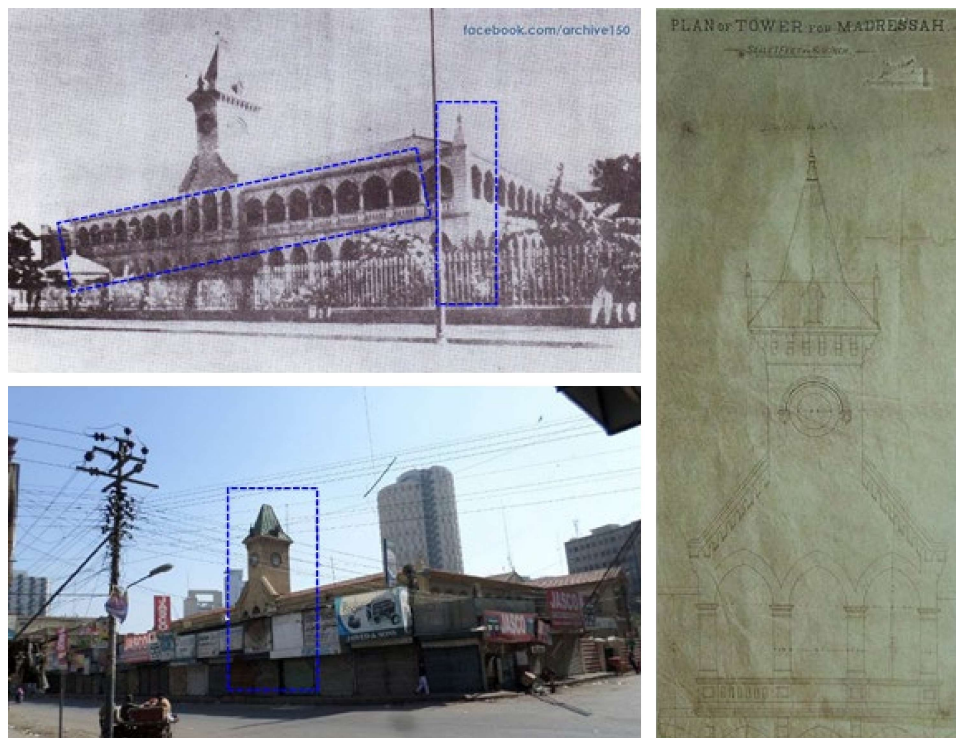


Figure 7. Sindh Madrassah School L-R: Historic image, elevation of tower, present image.

© L-Archives 150-1890, R-Lari 1996, Bottom- 1<sup>st</sup> Author

## DISCUSSION

The emergence of Indo-Saracenic architecture in Karachi was largely advocated by local architects and builders. This preference for the style can be attributed to the fact that substantial architectural style was absent before Karachi was annexed to the greater British Raj. The city gained importance after being annexed, as the British saw its potential as a thriving port town. The native architecture was based upon mud flat roof houses using local materials with no adornment, making adopting the Indo-Saracenic style a natural choice for the budding professionals during the development era of Karachi under the British.

Established on the investigation of three case studies, it was observed that the Indo-Saracenic approach in Karachi was primarily followed in a hybrid manner. The Mohatta Palace exhibited an elaborate façade rendition with native Islamic architectural attributes, but its internal layout adhered to the introvert approach, emphasizing privacy and a sense of inner sanctuary, typical of traditional and historical buildings. On the other hand, the Empress Market and the Sindh Madrassah School demonstrated a fusion of Western façade elements with regional features such as courtyards. This blending of styles showcased a hybrid approach to Karachi's architecture.

However, adopting the Indo-Saracenic style was not universal across all structures. While it was common for secular buildings like government offices, museums, and railway stations, it was viewed as inappropriate for religious buildings. This was due to the fact that the two most prevalent religions in India, Hinduism and Islam, each have their distinctive architectural designs that were revered.<sup>29</sup> Similar experiences were observed in the context of Karachi. While most administrative buildings were constructed in the Indo-Saracenic style, none of the religious buildings were found to follow this architectural approach.



## **CONCLUSION**

The discussion on the authenticity or the originality of the Indo-Saracenic style goes beyond rigid distinctions between Western and Eastern influences. Rather, the uniqueness of the style lies in being hybrid in nature and not measuring it in exact measurements of being an authentic revival of Indian styles or an attempt at a fusion between Eastern and Western tradition's synthesis. The perception of Indo-Saracenic architecture in Karachi can be viewed from both theoretical and practical approaches. This debate's theoretical component emerged considerably later than during its early growth and is frequently viewed as an academic creation. This architectural style has been analyzed and interpreted by academics, historians, and industry professionals, resulting in a conceptual knowledge of its characteristics, influences, and cultural relevance. It can be considered a scholarly construct, as it involves academic discussions and interpretations. In contrast, Indo-Saracenic architecture is primarily seen as colonial architecture in Karachi. Practically speaking, it could be difficult to distinguish between certain indigenous or European architectural influences, like Mughal or English classical forms. While experts disagree on its nature and history, in the context of Karachi, it is commonly correlated to colonial architecture in general, demonstrating the confluence of architectural elements at that time.

In conclusion, the Indo-Saracenic architectural style illustrates the many cultural fusions in India throughout the colonial era. Even though the attempt at fusion may have been inadvisable, the style still contributes significantly to Karachi and India Subcontinent's architectural legacy and reflects the complex social and cultural dynamics of the era.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Pakistan Bureau of Statistics. "Provisional Summary Results of 6th Population and Housing Census-2017" (Pakistan Bureau of Statistics, 2017)

<sup>2</sup> W.F.P Napier, *History of General Sir Charles Napier's Administration of Scinde, and Campaign in the Cutchee Hills* (United Kingdom: Chapman and Hall, 1851), Yasmeen Lari, and Mihail S. Lari. *The Dual City: Karachi During the Raj*. (Revised 2nd Edition, Karachi, Pakistan: Heritage Foundation & Oxford University Press, 2001).

<sup>3</sup> Alexander F Baillie, *Kurrachee Past: Present: And Future* (Thacker, Spink and Co, Bombay, 1890); Thomas R Metcalf, *Architecture and the Representation of Empire: India, 1860-1910*. (University of California Press 6, no. 6 1984), 37–65

<sup>4</sup> Alexander F Baillie, *Kurrachee Past: Present: And Future* (Thacker, Spink and Co, Bombay, 1890); Richard Francis Burton, *Sind Revisited* (Oxford University Press, Karachi, 1877).

<sup>5</sup> Richard Francis Burton, *Scinde: or, The Unhappy Valley* (The University of California: R. Bentley, 1851)

<sup>6</sup> Sindhi name for the wind catcher shaft - R.F Burton, *Sind Revisited* (Oxford University Press, Karachi, 1877), 145.

<sup>7</sup> Richard Francis Burton, *Sindh and the Races That Inhabit the Valley of the Indus* (W. Lewis and Son Printers London, 1851), R.F Burton, *Scinde: or, The Unhappy Valley* (The University of California: R. Bentley, 1851), R.F Burton, *Sind Revisited* (Oxford University Press, Karachi, 1877), Walter Hamilton, *The East India Gazetteer of Hindostan* (London: J. Murray, 1815).; H Pottinger, *Travels in Beloochistan and Sindh: Accompanied by a Geographical and Historical Account of Those Countries* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1816).

<sup>8</sup> Hamida Khuhro, and Anwer Mooraf, Karachi; *Megacity of our Times* (Second Edition, Oxford University Press, Karachi, 2008), 242; Arif Hasan, Karachi – Before the British Conquest (Karachi: The Institute of Historical and Social Research, 2022)

<sup>9</sup> In order to maintain the data's integrity, the information used is accurately attributed to its original sources according to the legal processes that were followed.

<sup>10</sup> The buildings built in British foreign colonies explicitly showed the British as undefeatable imperial power through the magnificence and the scale of the structures.

<sup>11</sup> G. Alex Bremner, *Architecture and Urbanism in the British Empire* (Oxford University Press, UK, 2016; Morris and Robert Fermor-Hesketh. *Architecture of the British Empire* (The University of Michigan: Vendome Press, 1986); Morris, S.C., Jan Morris, and S. Winchester. *Stones of Empire: The Buildings of the Raj*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983)

<sup>12</sup> Philippa Levine, *The British Empire Sunrise to Sunset* (United Kingdom: British Library Cataloguing in Publication, 2007)

<sup>13</sup> Thomas R Metcalf, *Architecture and the Representation of Empire: India, 1860-1910*. (University of California Press 6, no. 6 1984)

<sup>14</sup> Acculturation process is referred to as the system where two distinct cultures having their own values and belief systems come in close contact and result in the form of new hybrid culture comprised of the attributes from both cultures – King (2007)

<sup>15</sup> G. Alex Bremner, *Architecture and Urbanism in the British Empire* (Oxford University Press, UK, 2016), 19; Preeti A Chopra, "Joint Enterprise: Indian Elites and the Making of British Bombay", Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press (2011).

<sup>16</sup> Neo-Classicism also incorporated a typical pattern of stripped-back decorative systems of northern Europeans (Protestant), which is often referred to in Britain as Georgian (but is also common to northern France, the Low Countries, northern Germany, and Scandinavia) - G.A Bremner, *Architecture and Urbanism in the British Empire* (Oxford University Press, UK, 2016), 23.

<sup>17</sup> Ruchi Patel, *Architecture and Identity: A Study of Colonial and Post-Colonial Architecture in India* (Iowa State University ProQuest Dissertations Publishing, Vol. 1. 2021); Pushkar Sohoni, "Building History: Historiography of Architectural History in South Asia", *History Compass* 16, no. 6 (2018); Cyril M. Harris, *Dictionary of Architecture and Construction* (The McGraw-Hill Companies, London, 2006), 659.

<sup>18</sup> Syed H. Akbar, Iqbal. Naveed, and Van Cleempoel. Koenraad, "Saddar Bazar Quarter in Karachi: A Case of British-Era Protected Heritage Based on the Literature Review and Fieldwork", *Heritage* 6, no. 3 (2023): 3183–3210; Naomul Hotchand, and James H.E.M, *A Forgotten Chapter of Indian History as Described in the Memoirs of Seth Naomul Hotchand of Karachi* (Oxford in Asia Historical Reprints from Pakistan. Oxford University Press, 1982)

<sup>19</sup> The term Indo-Saracenic is used in antiquity to the nomadic peoples of the Syrian desert, from early medieval times onward denoted not just Arabs but all Muslims. First time used by Fergusson in the Indian historiography - Thomas R Metcalf, *Architecture and the Representation of Empire: India, 1860-1910*. (University of California Press 6, no. 6 1984), 36.

<sup>20</sup> Syed H. Akbar, Iqbal. Naveed, and Van Cleempoel. Koenraad, "Saddar Bazar Quarter in Karachi: A Case of British-Era Protected Heritage Based on the Literature Review and Fieldwork", *Heritage* 6, no. 3 (2023): 3183–3210; Sheeba, J, and J.T.M Dhas. "A Study of Indo-Saracenic Architectural Heritage". *International Journal of Pure and Applied Mathematics* 118, no. 22 (2018): 1737–42.

<sup>21</sup> Mughal or Mogul architecture is the later phase of Indian Islamic architecture, named after the Mughal dynasty (1526–1707), typified by monumental palaces and mosques and detailed decorative work. The Taj Mahal (UNESCO WHS) is the most famous example .This architecture predominantly existed in major cities of India like Delhi, Agra, Jaipur, Lahore, Hyderabad and Karachi etc. - Cyril, H. M, *Dictionary of Architecture and Construction* (The McGraw-Hill Companies, London, 2006), 640.

<sup>22</sup> Muhammadan architecture/ Muslim architecture/ Saracenic architecture developed from the 7th to the 16th C. A.D., in the wake of the Muhammadan (Muslim followers of Prophet Muhammad PBUH) conquests of Syria and Egypt, Mesopotamia and Iran, North Africa and Spain, Central Asia and India. A new building type was developed from the Christian Basilica—the multi aisled, arcaded, columnar, or pillared mosque, a new type of domed mosque, tomb, or madrasah from the vaulted, centrally organized Byzantine and Sassanian structures - Cyril, Harris, *Dictionary of Architecture and Construction* (The McGraw-Hill Companies, London, 2006), 650-51.

<sup>23</sup> Naveed Iqbal, Syed H. Akbar, and Koenraad Van Cleempoel, "Identification of Industrial Heritage and a Theoretical Framework for an Industrial Heritage Inventory System in Pakistan", *Sustainability* 14, no. 10 (2022); Syed H. Akbar, Iqbal. Naveed, and Van Cleempoel. Koenraad, "Saddar Bazar Quarter in Karachi: A Case of British-Era Protected Heritage Based on the Literature Review and Fieldwork", *Heritage* 6, no. 3 (2023): 3183–3210; Anthony D King, *Colonial Urban Development: Culture, Social Power and Environment* (Reprint. London: Routledge, 2012)

<sup>24</sup> Thomas R Metcalf, *Architecture and the Representation of Empire: India, 1860-1910*. (University of California Press 6, no. 6 1984); Syed H. Akbar, Iqbal. Naveed, and Van Cleempoel. Koenraad, "Saddar Bazar Quarter in Karachi: A Case of British-Era Protected Heritage Based on the Literature Review and Fieldwork", *Heritage* 6, no. 3 (2023); Sheeba, J, and John T.M Dhas. "A Study of Indo-Saracenic Architectural Heritage". *International Journal of Pure and Applied Mathematics* 118, no. 22 (2018).

<sup>25</sup> Yasmeen Lari, and Mihail S. Lari. *The Dual City: Karachi During the Raj*. (Revised 2nd Edition. Karachi, Pakistan: Heritage Foundation & Oxford University Press, 2001)

<sup>26</sup> Yasmeen Lari, and Mihail S. Lari. *The Dual City: Karachi During the Raj*. (Revised 2nd Edition. Karachi, Pakistan: Heritage Foundation & Oxford University Press, 2001), 228

<sup>27</sup> Tania A Soomro, Ayesha A, and Yasira P. "The Current State of Built Heritage in Karachi: The Case of Empress Market", *Journal of Art Architecture and Built Environment* 3, (2020): 58–83.

<sup>28</sup> Yasmeen Lari, and Mihail S. Lari. *The Dual City: Karachi During the Raj*. (Revised 2nd Edition. Karachi, Pakistan: Heritage Foundation & Oxford University Press, 2001), 232

<sup>29</sup> Giles Henry Rupert Tillotson, *The Tradition of Indian Architecture: Continuity, Controversy and Change since 1850* (Yale University Press, 1989), 166.

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