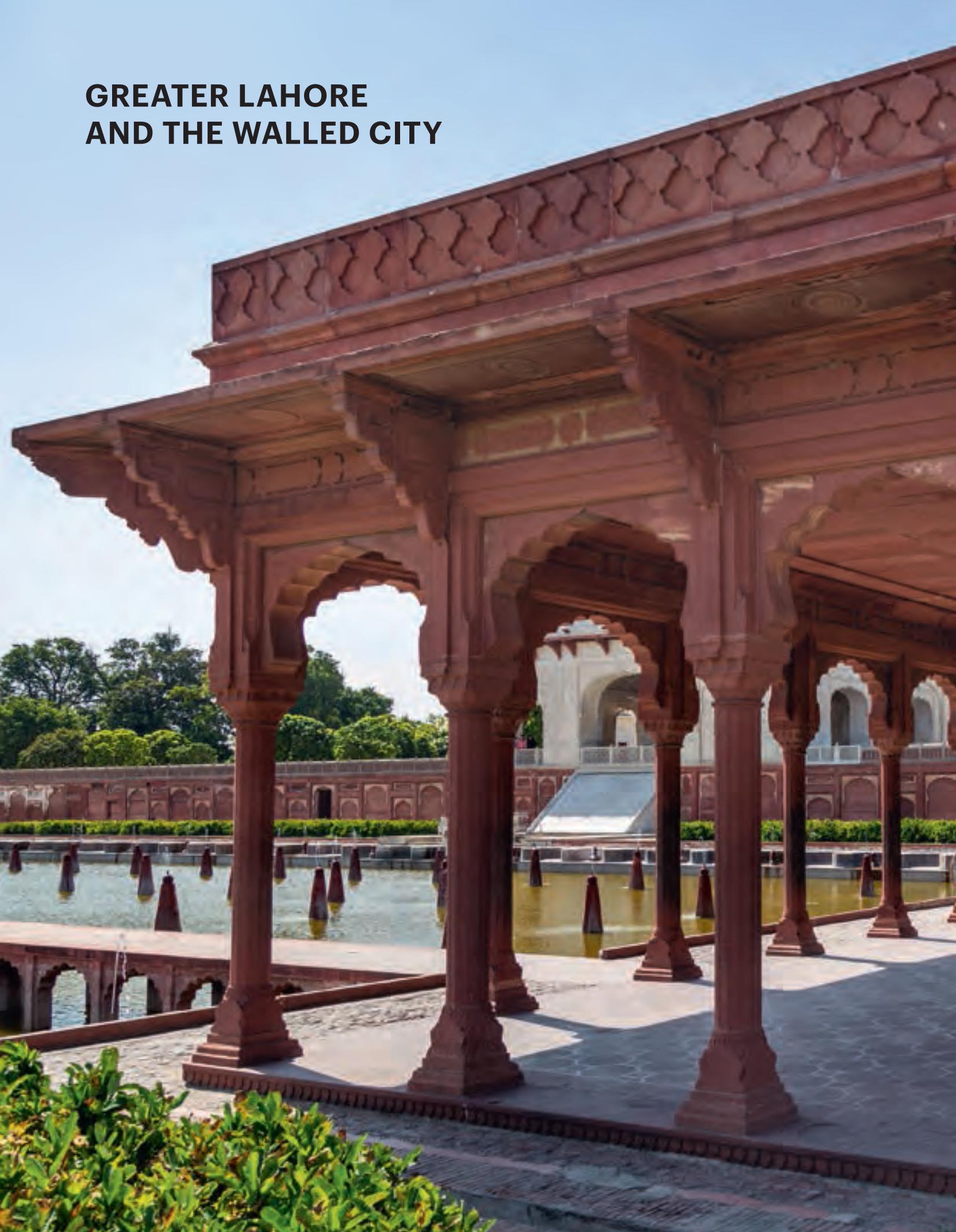


**GREATER LAHORE
AND THE WALLED CITY**







LAHORE: THE CITY IN HISTORY

MASOOD KHAN

Lahore is Pakistan's second largest city, the capital of the province of Punjab, and the country's cultural heart. It has a known history over a period of more than 2,000 years. Before independence in 1947, Lahore was northern India's centre for thinkers and intellectuals, poets and writers, book publishing and journalism. It has retained much of that role today. The city has dozens of universities and institutions of higher learning and has produced many graduates of national and international acclaim. The exuberance and wit that Punjab and its people are famous for is focused in Lahore. Numerous traditional festivals deeply linked to the city's history are held annually, including festivals to honour Sufi poets and saints. The city provides an important base for the evolving civil society institutions of the country. The Human Rights Commission of Pakistan is based here, as well as numerous other governmental and non-governmental agencies.

By any measure, Lahore is an important city of the Islamic world, with a history that compares with that of Baghdad, Islamic Cairo and Isfahan. Lahore's metropolitan area measures 505 square kilometres, although a total area of 1,700 square kilometres is affected by urban Lahore in a variety of ways. By the latest count in 2017, the city's population was 11.3 million, ranking thirty-first among 1,047 cities in the world with a population of 500,000 or more.¹

The citadel, Lahore Fort (قلعہ لاہور), is situated on the north-west corner of Lahore's historic core, its Walled City. The River Ravi, one of the tributaries of the Indus, flows at the north-western edge of the built-up area of the modern city, two kilometres from the Walled City. Although once the river clung to the edges of the Walled City flowing south-west around the Fort, it has progressively moved further to the west and, as a result of dykes built in the eighteenth century and thereafter, it now flows along a meandering plain at a safe distance. Historically the river was prone to late summer flooding, typical of the Indus River system as a whole.

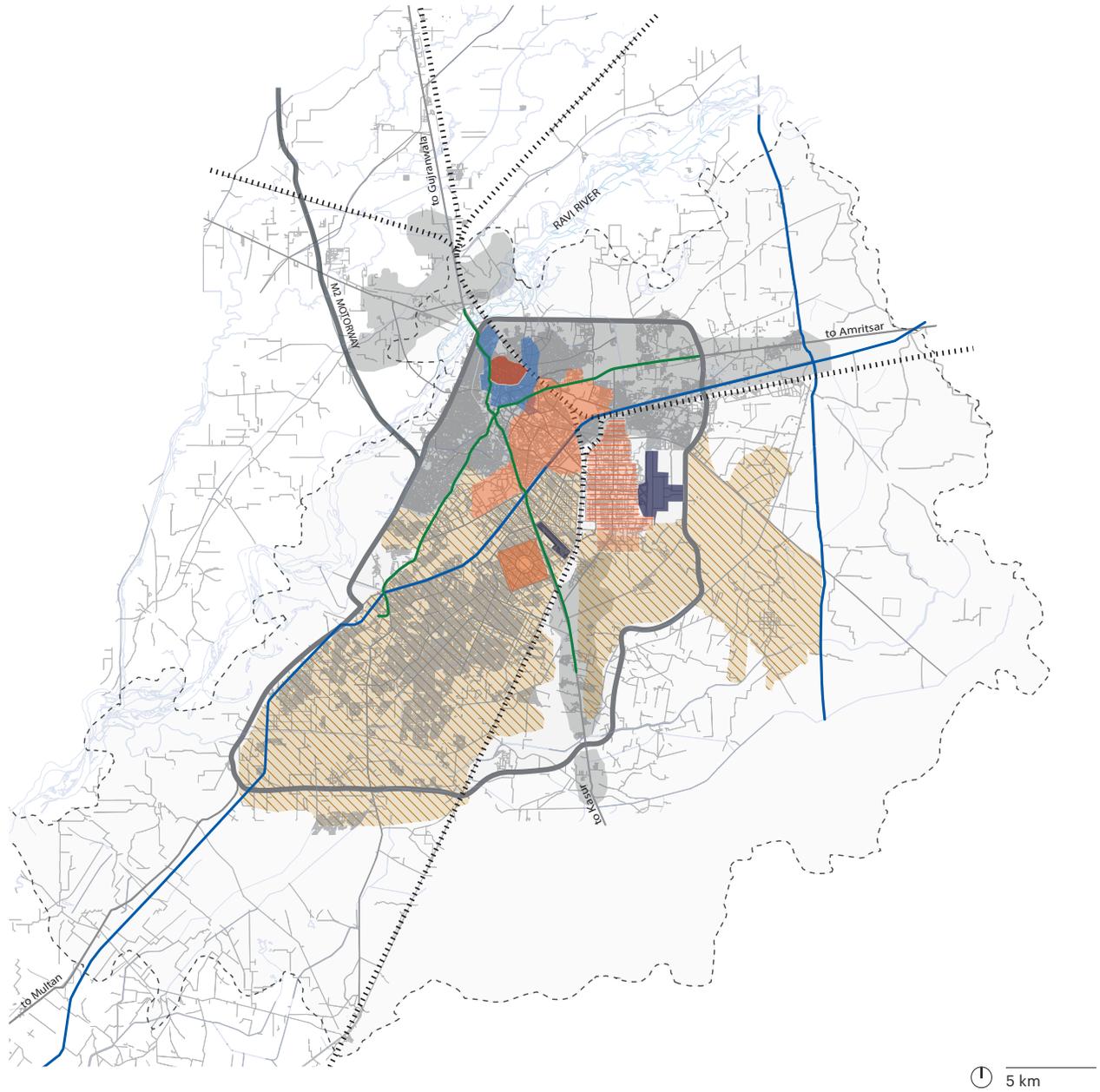
Greater Lahore comprises four fairly distinct zones: firstly, a dense somewhat under-serviced older part, which includes the Walled City, and those colonial-period developments that were created for the traditional, non-Europeanized parts of the citizenry; secondly, a less dense colonial-period zone which contains older administrative, residential and commercial areas; thirdly, a colonial-period military zone – the Lahore Cantonment – established within a year of the formal British annexation of Punjab in 1849; and lastly, post-independence ongoing southward growth, characterized by residential communities with very low densities. Lahore's residential land distribution is inversely proportional to the income distribution of its citizenry.



Preceding pages, Shalimar Garden. A pavilion inside the garden on the middle terrace, with the central water tank in the background.

Opposite page, Shahdara, Jahangir's tomb, interior of the circumambulatory veranda.

Above, Lahore City in the Punjab, water-colour by Henry Ambrose Oldfield (1822–71), 1849. A boat bridge can be seen just behind the *baradari* of Kamran's garden, the building in the foreground.



The Walled City in the context of Metropolitan Lahore.

- Lahore District Boundary
- The Walled City of Lahore
- Business District of Central Lahore
- Traditional / lower-income residential areas
- Colonial-period civil developments (including railway related)
- Colonial military establishment
- Post-independence upper-income residential areas
- Ring Road and M2 Motorway
- Railway tracks
- Airports
- Bus and train rapid transit
- Canals

Upper-income and upper-middle-income households comprise a small fraction of the total urban population but use up the bulk of Lahore’s area. On the other hand, the majority of the city’s population consists of lower-income residents who occupy concentrated, poorly serviced and poorly built areas contained in a small proportion of the land. Roughly dividing these two residential types, and making distinct the new, better functioning parts of Lahore from the older ones, is the Lahore branch of the Upper Bari Doab Canal,² now an urban feature that for many Lahoris has become the identifying mark of the city. Upper-income areas of Lahore are more verdant, and in recent decades there has been a substantial effort at providing them with good roads, landscaping and a somewhat superior infrastructure system as compared with the older, dense, low-income districts.

Colonial-period Lahore continues to serve as the power base where many buildings and neighbourhoods act as the seat of the provincial administration. Some of

these buildings, such as the Lahore High Court, the Lahore Museum and the Punjab Legislative Assembly, are noteworthy assets in the urban character of the city.

At some point in time Lahore acquired the epithet "City of Gardens". Lahore was famous for its gardens during the peak of Mughal rule when the countryside surrounding the fortified old city was dotted with large gardens of the nobility and the neighbourhoods that had sprung up around them. But except for magnificent Mughal gardens, such as Shalimar and the Shahdara complex, these traditional gardens have now disappeared. Colonial Lahore boasted several large new public gardens, the Anarkali Gardens (Gol Bagh), the Lawrence Gardens (Jinnah Gardens), the

Aerial view of the Walled City, with Lahore Fort and the Badshahi Mosque in the background.





Above, Lahore Fort, the Athdara pavilion. From *Recollections of India. Part 1. British India and the Punjab* by J. D. Harding.

Below, the *samadh* of Ranjit Singh photographed by John Edward Saché in the 1870s.

Government College Botanical Garden and the Lahore Zoological Gardens, as well as two large residential areas of the civil station that were laid out with lush green lawns and now have ageing trees. A 350-hectare central park was developed as part of the entirely residential Model Town established by local professionals in 1929. All these have survived. The Lahore Military Cantonment, nine kilometres from the historic core, started out in 1850 as a large, sparsely occupied development with many open landscaped areas, including a polo ground, cricket and soccer grounds, and parks. While these green areas have largely survived, most of its regimental training areas and field firing ranges are now upper-income residential developments, and a newer golf course.

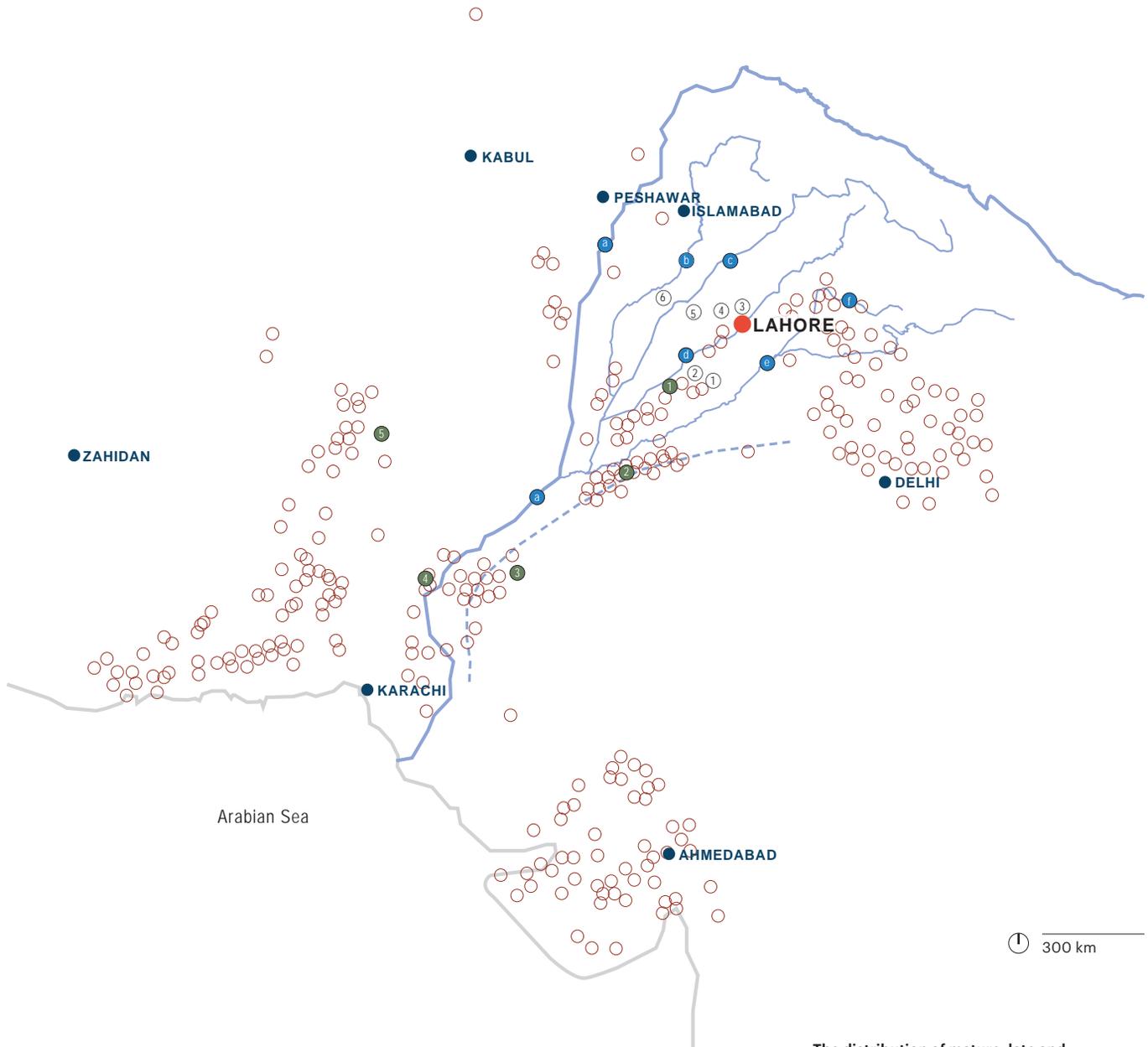
A VENERABLE PAST

Lahore's beginnings are uncertain. Archaeological exploration in and around Lahore has been scant and much needs to be done to establish the facts of its early history. Whatever evidence there is³ dates the Walled City's origins back several centuries prior to its associations with Muslim invasions and dynasties. The several historic mounds that comprise the Walled City point to the need for a great deal more archaeological work. Cultural layers ten metres deep are found whenever any soil investigations are carried out for construction work, even in the lowest parts of the city. Lahore Fort rises fourteen metres above the surrounding area, but, together with other equally prominent mounds in the Walled City, it is just one of many potential sources of knowledge hidden in the historical strata. The city's regional importance and much of its built form evolved during the period of the first six Mughal emperors (1526–1707), when it carried the title "Dar ul Saltanat".⁴

Lahore probably originated as one of the numerous towns that are said to have sprung up in the middle Vedic period in the inter-fluvial territories (*doabas*) of the Jhelum, the Chenab, the Ravi and the Sutlej rivers, all flowing into the Indus, and many more towns along the upper reaches of the Yamuna and the Ganges further east. These settlements are associated with the decline (c. 1500–1000 BCE) of the Indus Valley civilization in its late Harappan stage. Contributing to this change at about the same time was the arrival of Indo-Aryans from the Eurasian and Central Asian regions at various stages of social development. Recent archaeological and geomorphological⁵ research in the larger geographic region has shown that this involved a process of slow change rather than a complete rupture from the Indus Valley culture. A new society evolved, characterized by the introduction of iron, and of the horse as a means of rapid mobility and warfare, accompanied by the fusion of religions and rituals. There was also a new impetus to trade across the trans-Indus region, along routes that led from Persia and the trans-Oxus to the Ganges Basin.⁶ This was the historic setting in which the great epic Ramayana is supposed to have taken place, and ancient Vedic texts lend considerable strength to the tradition that Lahore and Kasur were two cities founded respectively by Lau and Kush, Rama Chandra's two sons.⁷

Lahore's location at a river crossing on a strategic trade route, and a route of attack, contributed to its being laid waste many times over, as well as to its persistence. The city appears to have evolved slowly. There has been confusion over its name, and for some it emerged at a much later date than the sources seem to suggest. Yet, despite large gaps in its history, Lahore seems in various ways to reappear again and again in epic sources and in the historical record.⁸

Many references to Lahore appear in the earlier Muslim sources. The Arab historian Baladhuri⁹ refers in his *Futuh al-Buldan* to the early Umayyad-period mission of al-Muhallab ibn abu-Sufrah who "raided this frontier in the year AH 44 (664 CE)



The distribution of mature, late and post-Harappan archaeological sites in the Indus system (after L. Giosan et al.).

- Rivers
- ⑧ Indus
- ⑥ Jhelum
- ⑦ Chenab
- ④ Ravi
- ⑤ Sutlej
- ① Beas
- - Ghaggar-Hakra (defunct river)
- Distribution of archaeological sites
- Principal known archaeological sites
- ① Harappa
- ② Ganveriwala
- ③ Kot Diji
- ④ Mohenjo Daro
- ⑤ Mehr Garh
- ⑦ Location of sampling sites in the vicinity of Lahore
- ① Dipalpur
- ② Okara
- ③ Karan Shah
- ④ Kalokay
- ⑤ Doda
- ⑥ Jahanabad

300 km

and reached Bannah (Bannu) and Alahwar (Lahore) which lie between al-Multan and Kabul". This expedition took place during the caliphate of Muawiya. It preceded that of Muhammad bin Qasim's, which took place in 711 CE, and was probably followed by others mentioned in the Rajput sources. Bin Qasim's conquests went as far up the Indus as Multan and he does not appear to have encountered Lahore; Muslim incursions impacting Lahore had to wait until the end of the tenth century.

In the first half of the tenth century, Lahore was the capital of a Rajput Hindu kingdom that reigned over Punjab. The decay of the Samanid Empire in Transoxiana had resulted in the rise in Afghanistan of the Muslim general Alaptagin. In an event that marked that country's transition to Islam, Alaptagin took Ghazni and forced the Brahman Shahi rulers of that province to relocate themselves across the Hindukush in India. An alliance was then formed between the Brahman Shahis and Lahore's rulers to defend their territory against the Muslim threat, which had intensified under Alaptagin's son Subaktagin. The alliance fought and lost a major battle against

Subaktagin's forces near today's Jalalabad, and their political centre consequently shifted further east. During the next few decades Lahore became the capital of a Hindu regime stretching from the Hindukush across the trans-Indus region; at the end of the century, Lahore was ruled by the Hindu Shahi king Jaipal.

THE MUSLIM PERIOD

Lahore had therefore become an important regional capital by the time Subaktagin began his several military engagements with Jaipal II, grandson of Jaipal. Subaktagin's son Mahmud defeated the younger Jaipal in 1021¹⁰ and established Ghaznavid hold on a major city in India. However, Lahore was decimated during this attack and was abandoned for several years until Mahmud appointed a new governor for the territory. This was Mahmud's friend, the freed slave Malik Ayaz, who is credited with repopulating the city and beginning a period of growth and development that lasted for the duration of the Ghaznavid Empire. With the loss of Ghazni to the Seljuks of Khwarizm, Lahore became the capital of a Ghaznavid Empire that had once encompassed all of Iran, the Caucuses and Khwarizmia, but which now comprised just the trans-Indus region.

During the rule of Mas'ud I, Mahmud's son, Lahore saw another arrival from Ghazni. In 1031 the Sufi, Ali bin Uthman al-Hajweri, arrived in Lahore and established his sanctuary outside the south-west corner of the Walled City. He served the people of Lahore until his death some time around 1072. As Data Ganj Bakhsh, he became Lahore's patron saint, and is today revered by people from all over South Asia. During Ghaznavid times, Lahore shared a brilliant intellectual climate with Ghazni, where the Persian epic the *Shahnameh* was completed by the poet Ferdowsi. Lahore too had an

Lahore Fort, the Diwan-e-Aam, or the hall of forty pillars, built by Shah Jahan to replace Akbar's tent structure. The building exists in a much-altered state due to British and later changes.





abundance of Ghaznavid culture and produced poets like Mas'ud Sa'd Salman, who wrote passionate verses yearning for the city of his birth, while in prison in Ghazni.

In 1186 the last Ghaznavid ruler was defeated and killed in Lahore by the Ghorids, a warring group from Afghanistan under Mu'iz ud-Din Muhammad bin Sam. This led to the establishment of the first Muslim kingdom based in India proper at Delhi, and to the beginning of the Sultanate period (1186–1526). The preoccupation of Muslim rulers with the Indian heartland began with Muhammad Ghori's successors, and lasted for hundreds of years. It was characterized by military engagements with native Rajput rulers, competing Muslim rulers and ruling families, and with rebellious provincial governors. Lahore continued as a strategic city located in a region vulnerable to attacks from the north.

Lahore Fort, Shah Jahan's Diwan-e-Aam seen from the south-west.



View of Greater Iqbal Park developed by the Punjab government north of Lahore Fort.

With the Mongol invasions in the early thirteenth century, Lahore was plundered and devastated several times, and the initial two invasions in 1221 (by the Mongol Turtai) and 1241 (under General Munggetu) were particularly destructive. The attacks continued for decades afterwards. A prolonged local resistance progressively weakened the attacks, which finally ended when the last Mongol army into India was defeated by a Lahore governor, Ghazi Khan, who immediately afterwards ascended the throne of Delhi (1321–25) as Ghiathuddin Muhammad Tughlaq. During this period remnants of the Mongol armies settled down some eight kilometres from Lahore at a locality still known as Moghalpura.

Amir Timur Gurgan (Tamerlane) spared Lahore on his advance eastward that ended with the sacking of Delhi in 1398. But he was angered when the Lahore ruler Shaikha Khokhar reneged on an agreement to stay neutral. A detachment of his army was sent back to Lahore under his sons, who plundered the city and imprisoned Shaikha and his family. The princes returned to Delhi with wealth collected in Lahore.¹¹ Timur left for his conquests in Western Asia and died within the following decade.

LAHORE AND THE MUGHAL EMPIRE

The Lodhis of Delhi were the last of the Delhi sultans, whose rule over India was decisively ended by Zahir-ud-Din Muhammad Babur, scion of a ruling family in Fergana, modern Uzbekistan. A descendant of Timur, Babur had succeeded his father when he

was very young and, after initial reverses, carved out a kingdom for himself in Afghanistan with his seat at Kabul by the time he was twenty-one. He now set his sights firmly on India and made numerous exploratory excursions from Kabul. In the early 1520s Babur was approached with a deal by Lahore's governor, a rebellious relative of Sultan Ibrahim Lodhi. A combination of chance and broken words led Babur to turn upon the Lahore ruler in 1524, when he sacked the city and occupied it. In 1526, on his last march from Kabul, he finally defeated Ibrahim, the last of the Lodhi monarchs at Panipat, north of Delhi. Babur then declared himself the emperor of India, settled down at Delhi and Agra, strengthened his position militarily by subduing many Rajput principalities and provincial Muslim chieftains, and for four years indulged in a spree of building Timurid-style gardens and garden palaces in both these cities.

In 1530 Babur was succeeded by his oldest son Nasir-ud-din Muhammad Humayun. His second son Mirza Kamran had been left in charge of Kabul. In the following years Kamran launched a claim to the throne, and with the Mughal troops under his

Shahdara, the Akbari Serai. The mosque separating the serai from the mausoleum garden of Asif Khan.









Preceding pages, view from the northern tower of Alamgiri Gate, looking west onto the Hazuri Bagh with the Badshahi Mosque behind.

Above, Lahore Railway Station, photograph by George Craddock, c. 1880.

Below, 19th-century lithograph by L. H. de Rudder depicting a street in Lahore with Sikh nobles on elephants passing onlookers on balconies.



command, annexed Lahore. Kamran built a large garden on the west bank of the Ravi. The nobility followed suit, and many Mughal gardens appeared over the next two decades on that side of the river.

A decade into his rule, Humayun was forced to flee, having suffered a series of crushing losses at the hands of Sher Shah Suri, an Afghan chieftain ruling the eastern province of Bihar, while all three of his brothers rebelled against him. In a last-ditch attempt to forge a compromise, Humayun and his brothers gathered at Lahore, but Kamran plotted with Sher Shah to drive Humayun out of India. After years of wandering, Humayun eventually found refuge in Iran at the court of the Safavid ruler, Shah Tahmasp I, and secured help at the cost of converting to Shia Islam.

In the mid-sixteenth century, while in Kabul, Humayun still struggled to put an end to his brother Kamran's attempts to oust him. Even though Kamran was made to flee Kabul, it was not until 1553 that he was captured and brought to Parhwar, near modern Islamabad. At the insistence of his nobles, Humayun had Kamran blinded. With his brilliant general Byram Khan, and with the armed assistance provided by Shah Tahmasp, Humayun was able to defeat the Suris in 1555. On his return to India after fourteen years, Humayun was welcomed by the people of Lahore, where he had himself proclaimed emperor once again. He re-established himself at Delhi, but died less than a year later.

Upon Humayun's death in 1556, his son Jalal-ud-din Muhammad Akbar ascended the throne of the empire at the age of fourteen. During the earlier years of his reign, Akbar visited Lahore at least three times. Beginning in 1586, Akbar stayed in Lahore for twelve years. He used Lahore as a strategic base to advance his control of the frontiers, and to annex Kashmir. During these years he expanded and fortified the city, strengthened Lahore Fort and built many palace buildings within it, encouraging his nobles to occupy the space outside Lahore's Walled City with palaces and gardens, a trend that was to last for a long period. During Akbar's reign (1556–1605), relative stability resulted from the status of Lahore as a second capital; the city expanded to accommodate a growing population and the historic settlement was expanded and fortified on all sides. As the built-up area spilled over its fortifications into the expanding garden suburbs, historic Lahore became better known as Androon Shehr, the "city within", or much later, the Walled City.

Akbar died in 1605. His half-a-century-long reign was packed with military assaults and sieges, conquests and annexations, rebellions and palace intrigues, and matrimonial arrangements with Hindu families. It was also a time for splendid buildings in an architectural style of rich cultural fusion. His rule ended with a vast Indian Empire and a brilliant administrative system that enabled his successors to rule for several centuries. His eldest son Nuruddin Muhammad Jahangir ascended the Mughal throne at Agra in 1605, and ruled for twenty-two years mainly on the strength of the administrative arrangements and vassalages that his father had created. Jahangir had many new structures added to his father's palace within Lahore Fort. His reign was marked by the rise to imperial power of his last spouse, the empress Nur Jahan, and her entire family. Both Nur Jahan and Jahangir are buried in the gardens that they built in Shahdara, Lahore's suburb across the Ravi, as is her brother Asif Khan, the father of the future queen Mumtaz Mahal.

Mumtaz Mahal's husband, Jahangir's son Shahabuddin Muhammad Khurram, was born in Lahore, and ascended the throne at Agra with the title "Shah Jahan" already bestowed on him by his father. The Mughal penchant for creating great architecture reached its apogee during Shah Jahan's reign, with spectacular palace architecture in Lahore Fort, created in the same decade as the Taj Mahal and the city



Above, the great court of the Badshahi Mosque, looking westwards towards the prayer chamber.

Left, detail of the carved red sandstone and marble inlay of Badshahi Mosque.

of Shahjahanabad. Lahore spread to its broadest expanse under the Mughals with scores of neighbourhoods with palaces and gardens at their centre spread across the immediate vicinity of the old city, including the magnificent Shalimar Garden.

Shah Jahan's son Muhammad Aurangzeb Alamgir ascended the Mughal throne, through a war of succession. Aurangzeb's time at the helm of affairs (1658–1707) began with tragic intrigue and fratricide. Lahore had already passed the peak of its Mughal-era fame, and new imperial priorities were focused more in the Deccan and the east, which meant that Lahore receded into the background. Still, the Badshahi Masjid (1673) was conceived and built, combining grand scale and an aptitude for urban composition.

The weakening Mughal rule led to the rise in Punjab of militant Sikhs, followers of a new syncretic religion founded in the late fifteenth century. The Sikhs became militarized against the Mughals during the seventeenth century, leading to a destabilization that would invite invasions from Persia and Afghanistan in the following one. These invasions were devastating for Lahore, and the city continued to be marauded during a brief Maratha invasion and through the rule of three competing Sikh clans, which lasted for thirty years. It was during this period of anarchy and spoilage that Lahore lost its glorious Mughal heritage outside the Walled City. With the Sukherchakia clan's Ranjit Singh, who took over from the Sikh Triumvirate in 1799, conditions returned to normal. New buildings were built, many of them using stone revetments of Mughal buildings. With the death of Ranjit in 1839 there was turmoil for succession within his family until the annexation of Punjab by the British East India Company in 1849.

The *samadh* of Ranjit Singh with the Badshahi Mosque in the background.





The British needed to build very quickly to create a functional colonial city.¹² For the decades following 1849, the ruined suburbs of Lahore and its historic fortifications provided a continuous supply of Mughal-period bricks, to the extent that even the foundation remains of Mughal buildings were excavated and reused. A new occupation was created with the supply of these building materials and, for those involved, fortunes soared.

The *samadh* of Ranjit Singh, detail.



THE WALLED CITY

There are two sites that could be the primordial points of the origin of Lahore¹³: the first of these is the Lange Mandi area, the highest in the Walled City, and its expansion to its west towards Tibbi Mohalla. The second site is the roughly triangular area near the southern limits of the present-day Walled City that comprises Mohalla Maulian. This observation is based mainly on the terrain elevations of the old city, and on its physical form and topographical features, including the annular rings formed by the street system of the city. The growth rings of the city seen in the pattern of development of the main streets in the Walled City lend support to ideas about the Ghaznavid city having grown rapidly, a theory supported by the sequence of locations of the burial places of notaries (such as the grave of Malik Ayaz, Mahmud's governor of Lahore, and the grave-shrine of the fourteenth-century Sufi Syed Muhammad Ishaq Gazruni, d. 1384) that were traditionally located outside the city walls that marked the city's perimeter. At least one ancient mosque marks the location from which an outward growth can be assumed. It would seem plausible that the Lange Mandi comprises a static pole whereas the annular rings represent a growing city. Would this not suggest respectively the site of the pre-Ghaznavid city sacked by Mahmud in 1021, and that of the Ghaznavid city in close juxtaposition?

Akbar's brick fortifications resulted in an expanded city; the new walls encircling many of these topo-historic markers with empty spaces were filled later. The Walled City, however, has remained in this form since it was first attained in the mid-sixteenth century.

With the Lahore railway station established in 1859 a kilometre away from the Walled City, in the decades following independence the condition of the Walled City was strongly affected by the nexus between the persistent location of inter-regional transportation activities and the regional markets that have arisen within the Walled City, as these contemporary modes of transportation foster inter-regional commercial linkages. The Walled City is now a part of the business hub of Central Lahore, which has a regional, national and in some respects even international reach. But, despite its miniscule size in Lahore's larger physical context, the Walled City continues to play a role as the wellspring of the cultural and economic energies that sustain the larger city.



Opposite page, part of the Shahi Guzargah project. The rehabilitated Delhi Gate Bazaar.

Above, dense urban fabric in the Walled City.

1 Demographia World Urban Areas, 2018, at <http://demographia.com/db-worldua.pdf>, accessed on 31.8.2019.

2 Built by the Mughals and upgraded by the British as part of their massive redevelopment of the irrigation canal system in Punjab.

3 "Excavation at Lahore Fort", in *Pakistan Archaeology*, no. 1 (1964).

4 Capital of the Sultanate.

5 Liviu Giosan, Peter D. Clift et al., "Fluvial Landscapes of the Harappan Civilization", *PNAS*, 2012, at <https://www.pnas.org/content/109/26/E1688/1>, accessed on 31.8.2019.

6 Romila Thapar, "Regional History: Punjab" and "The Archaeological Background to the Agni-cayana Ritual", in Id., *Cultural Pasts*, OUP, Delhi, 2000; also J. M. Kenoyer, *Ancient Cities of the Indus Valley Civilization*, OUP, Karachi, 1998.

7 Lahore probably started as Lau Kot (Lau's Fort), but it has been called/spelled/transcribed as Lau Pur, Lavokla, Lavapur, Lohawar, Al-Lahawar,

Al-Ahwar, Lahanwar, Lahanur, Lahor and Lahore in various places, times and sources.

8 The second-century CE geography of Ptolemy lists Lahore as Labokla (Λαβωκλα) among many cities along the Ravi, while providing their geographical coordinates. Burnes, a nineteenth-century colonial explorer, associated Lahore with Sakala, the principal city of the leading Kathia tribe (the *Kathaioi*) sacked by Alexander the Great in 326 BCE. See Alexander Burnes, *Travels into Bokhara*, J. Murray, London, 1834. There appear to be few references to cities in the epigraphic sources of the Mauryan and the Kushan periods (320 BCE to the 4th century CE). But some useful links come down to us from sources such as the Puranas, and genealogical stories and chants from early medieval India. See Syad Muhammad Latif, *Lahore: Its History, Architectural Remains and Antiquities*, New Imperial Press, Lahore, 1892; J. Tod, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Calcutta, 1902; and T. H. Thornton,

"Lahore: A Historical and Descriptive Account (1860)", in H. R. Goulding, *Old Lahore: Reminiscences of a Resident*, Sang-e-Meel, Lahore, 1924.

9 Al-Baladhuri, *Kitab Futuh al-Buldan*, F. C. Murgotten (trans.; *The Origins of the Islamic State*), Columbia Press, New York, 1924, p. 210.

10 Jaipal II committed the *johar* (the Rajput honour-suicide).

11 Latif, *Lahore: Its History...* op cit., quoting *Malfuzat-i-Tymuri* and *Zafarnama*.

12 Lahore has no source of building stone in its immediate neighbourhood and burnt brick has been the chief building material for its constructions, excepting stone revetments for the most important.

13 These two sites were identified by the authors of this monograph: PEPAC (Pakistan Environmental Planning and Architectural Consultants), *The Walled City of Lahore*, Lahore Development Authority, Lahore, 1993.



LAHORE'S WALLED CITY

MASOOD KHAN

Today the Walled City of Lahore is a compact, clearly demarcated area of high-density urban fabric in the north-western part of Lahore. It is a part of Central Lahore, itself located in the north-western corner of the larger city. The historic city shares many characteristics with Central Lahore: a primarily low- to lower-middle-income residential population; businesses linked in dependence on entrenched freight transportation activity; poorly serviced neighbourhoods and commercial precincts; warehousing; and the tendency for established residential population to emigrate to upcoming lower-density neighbourhoods in the suburbs.

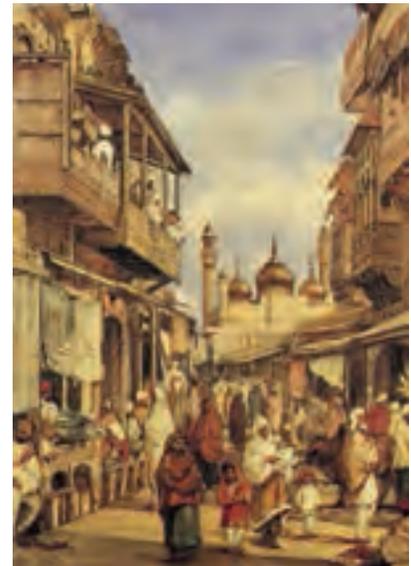
The footprint that the Walled City occupies on the map today continues to be small – it is half of one per cent of the size of Greater Lahore – and comprises a tight mass of some 22,000 individual land holdings (and an equal number of buildings) collected together in an area of approximately 252 hectares. After demolishing the city walls in the 1860s, the colonial government created a circular garden and a circular road surrounding the old city in the early twentieth century. Today, both Circular Road and Circular Garden are heavily encroached upon.

The Walled City is at the core of the cultural and economic energies of Lahore. However, over the last 175 years, as old Lahore's cultural presence has weakened, its economic strength has increased substantially. As part of the business hub of Central Lahore, the Walled City today has a strong share in the large national economic space which Lahore's central economic zone commands. But this economic ascendance largely takes the form of new informal wholesale commerce that is a massive externality, draining away all the value added that the Walled City's internal human and cultural resources contribute while putting at great jeopardy its very survival.

THE CITY AS HERITAGE

The cultural values of the historic core of Lahore are noteworthy. The events of 1947 and the scars they left on the Walled City notwithstanding, the complex structure of the urbanism and the history written into its very form and structure is significant. Exceptionally, it is one of those rare historic cities whose form and identity are markedly visible on city maps. This distinction from its surroundings is facilitated by Circular Garden and Circular Road and by the urban areas around it that arose mainly in the British period.

The city offers innumerable opportunities to represent the notion of 'a historic urban landscape' from the point of view of cultural authenticity, as well as its placement within a spatial and historical context. Spread all around the city are evidences



Opposite page, the Walled City. West facade of Delhi Gate, with a corner of the Shahi Hammam on the right.

Above, *Kashmiri Bazaar with the Sunehri Masjid at Its Terminal End*, watercolour by William Carpenter, 1855.

of Greater Lahore in the seventeenth century, the time of the city's historical zenith. These monuments and remains of gardens represent a continuum of change and transformation that has become Lahore's history. Within the perimeter of the Walled City are labyrinthine networks of streets and passageways that have changed little since Akbar's time. As one walks through many of these streets and bazaars, the atmospherics created by groups of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century buildings are evocative and mesmerizing. As in many other historic cities, the names used for some of the retail bazaars and certain neighbourhoods and lanes often refer to merchandise, occupations or professional services that may not exist anymore. Still surviving are seven hundred individual historic buildings that complete the physical environment of those passageways. Many of these buildings strike one as architecturally and artistically valuable in their own right, but many are clustered together, and possess group value. There are thousands more that, once the crude plaster renders, modern repairs and concrete projections are removed, are highly likely to reappear in their historic authenticity as the urban rehabilitation continues.

Embedded in this historic fabric are many monumental artefacts, large and small – mosques, temples, squares, *havelis* and gates, described in the following chapter. On the Walled City's north-western corner is the World Heritage Site of Lahore Fort, the ancient citadel, described in detail on pp. 210–371. Their future, as well as the future of the ordinary historic urban fabric, depends as much on expert attention and care at appropriate standards of conservation as on serious political will, the proper enforcement of law and on municipal governance specially tailored to a historic city.

The Walled City. Sunehri Masjid (Golden Mosque), at the western end of Kashmiri Bazaar.





DEMOGRAPHICS

At the time of British occupation in 1849, the Walled City accommodated almost the entire population of Lahore. A grand Mughal city of 500,000 inhabitants had been reduced in a hundred years to just 50,000 people living behind the crumbling city walls. By 1947 a century of British rule had revived the Walled City with nearly 250,000 people living in it.

From 1947 onwards the Walled City steadily lost its resident population. Initially, refugees from India replaced the city's Hindu and Sikh population that had fled to India during partition. Following this, waves of migrant labour flocked to Lahore and found refuge in the Walled City. Each layer of immigrants moved out as their incomes rose. The 'Conservation Plan' prepared in 1988¹ estimated that the population in the Walled City had declined by twenty-nine per cent between 1972 and 1981. The 1998 and the 2017 census figures attest to the continuation of this process, with the Walled City's population at 160,734 and 148,000 respectively. The decline of population is a

The Walled City. The early 19th-century *haveli*, or palace, of Naunehal Singh, converted into the Victoria Girls High School in 1887 and still one of the city's premier institutions.



Restaurants along Fort Road, south-west of Lahore Fort.

measure of how non-residential land use has expanded and is attended by the loss of long-term and hereditary residents with a corresponding depletion of tangible and intangible heritage.

Many complex changes have pushed older residents out. In the decades following independence, some of these factors were the breakdown of municipal administration and services, infrastructure maintenance, regulatory processes, the condition of the building stock, health and education facilities, recreation, law-enforcement and so on. The process has not slowed despite attempts at improving infrastructure during the period 1978 to 1992 under a series of World Bank slum improvement projects.

ROADS, BRIDGES, TRAFFIC AND TRANSPORTATION

Even in the colonial period, with its emphasis on the development of railways, Lahore was connected to roads leading north with bridges at only one location, at a point which is today less than two kilometres to the north-west from the Walled City. A decade after the British annexation of Punjab in 1849, the centuries-old boat bridge was superseded by a new railway bridge and then a road bridge. This proximity of the bridge and the railway goods and passenger interchanges have resulted in a disproportionate presence of modern transportation functions around the historic core. A new bridge was added at the same location at the end of the 1960s. This remained the only river crossing for decades until newer bridges were built downstream.

The Walled City's nature as a compact historic urban area was endangered as soon as rail and road transportation links began to support a post-colonial industrial economy in the 1960s. This accompanied a breakdown of craft and small-scale manufacturing and commerce and the slow dismantling of the associated social and economic structures that were vital components of the urban ecology of old Lahore. The proximity to Lahore railway station (established in 1859) and to the national highway system, together with the perennial inadequacy of planning for land use/transportation at the scale of Greater Lahore, has strengthened the nexus between the transportation sector around the Walled City and the growth of wholesale and warehousing within the historic precinct. Retail, wholesale and the shoe trade are not only the most visible aspects of the economy of the Walled City, but are also the sectors on which most people depend either directly or indirectly for their livelihoods.

The disequilibrium in how Lahore houses its citizens was evoked on pp. 34–51. While Lahore's southward suburban development continues and increasingly caters to low-density gated residential communities, the Walled City has become hedged in within the business hub of Central Lahore. In recent years trucking activity has expanded to include all of the northern, eastern and southern perimeters of the Walled City, where lorries are parked throughout the night to facilitate the unloading and loading of goods.

The 1947 riots and accompanying arson left large gaping spaces in the dense urban fabric where the city had burnt. In the early 1950s the Shah Alami mixed-use district shopping area was created under the 'Punjab Development of Damaged Areas Act' of 1952. A major modern road now entered the Walled City, a dual carriageway with a green central reservation, and a traffic turn-around at its northern end where it connected up with the older bazaar system. There was arcaded shopping on both sides of this road, with residences on three upper floors. Other markets arose in adjacent burnt-out areas. These markets expanded rapidly thanks to lax land-use controls and the free operation of the informal sector. New commercial buildings were built, displacing age-old building types and the crafts, products and businesses the Walled City was known for. With little regulatory enforcement, 'commercialization' assumed an ideological colour. Officials in local government even decreed the 'commercialization' of the Walled City in its entirety, a move successfully challenged² by the citizenry in the superior courts. However, there has been enormous rise in property value amid aggressive purchases of residential properties for rebuilding.

Over the years Shah Alami became a hub of wholesale trading (with some specialized retail) and its impact has spread across the whole of the Walled City. With its now heavily congested dual carriageway, Shah Alami serves as the central access street for goods into the Walled City. Newer buildings are designed expressly for warehousing; some have their own roadside elevators. The southern end of Shah Alami offers an abundance of services, including food outlets. Close to Lohari Gate, there is also a



Above, shop encroachments obscuring Circular Garden along the south-eastern reaches of Circular Road.

Below, commercial activities in Rim Market, located east of Lahore Fort.

market in Circular Garden for opticians and lens makers. The area just outside Lohari Gate has also been the traditional venue of shops making and selling fresh flower garlands.

Apart from warehousing, manufacturing also dominates parts of the Walled City and generally tends to occupy basements and ground floors within older buildings. Various types of goods are produced – the most prevalent being leather and synthetic shoes. The term 'shoe market' in effect refers collectively to the wholesale market for raw material, 'cottage' scale manufacturing outlets that are dispersed across the commercial and residential localities in the Walled City, and warehouses and retail outlets.

In the nineteenth century the residential areas along Bhatti Gate Bazaar contained homes of the nobility of Ranjit Singh's court, and they seem to have continued to appeal to writers, intellectuals and other famous personalities into the twentieth century. Poet-philosopher Allama Muhammad Iqbal's student lodgings are located on the main bazaar just inside Bhatti Gate. But there are already intrusive signs of the expansion of shoe manufacturing in this predominantly residential locality.

Though changing, the south-eastern localities of the Walled City have a more residential character. Its main bazaar (between Mochi Gate and Akbari Gate) sells traditional items for celebrations. Commerce is still relatively small scale, and the pressure on older buildings is less intense. Mochi Gate Bazaar was also the centre of the making and selling of paper kites before the ban on kite-flying imposed in 2007. Residential mohallas also predominate in the eastern quarters of the Walled City, in the areas north and south of the Delhi Gate thoroughfare.

Other locations of commerce in the Walled City are historically significant and culturally important in character. These are Akbari Mandi, established along with the

Left, street food in the Walled City.

Right, inside Kasehra Bazaar. Stainless-steel and aluminium utensils have now replaced traditional copper and brassware.





city walls built by Akbar the Great, and Chowk Jhanda in the south-west of the Walled City. Both of these locations are historically continuous traditional grain markets and are characterized by culturally interesting business activities specializing in retail grain, spices, dry fruit and so on.

Shops selling grains and spices in Akbari Mandi.

ACCESS TO THE WALLED CITY AND VISIBILITY

Access to and arrival at the Walled City continues to be problematic. The practical difficulty of chaotic and heavy traffic, the time it takes to reach the Walled City and the difficulty of finding adequate parking space limits the motivation to visit. Public transport has been nearly absent, except for rickshaws and the dangerous and polluting *qinqis*. Road widths on Circular Road are adequate, except for severe constrictions on some of the roads approaching it. But the modal mix and bad traffic behaviour severely curtail road capacity. In addition, the Walled City is difficult to perceive even when one arrives on Circular Road because of encroachments and the overall visual clutter blocking sight corridors.

1 PEPAC (Pakistan Environmental Planning and Architectural Consultants), *Conservation Plan for the Walled City of Lahore*, Lahore, 1988.

2 See "Walled City 'Commercialisation' Challenged", in *Pakistan Today*, 18 July 2011, at

<https://www.pakistantoday.com.pk/2011/07/18/walled-city-%E2%80%98commercialisation-%E2%80%99-challenged/>, accessed on 31.8.2019.



THE ARCHITECTURAL HERITAGE OF LAHORE

MASOOD KHAN

In Lahore, architecture has been subject to rapid erasure through much of the city's history. There are two reasons for this. Until the late nineteenth century, Lahore had been vulnerable to pillage, perhaps much more so than other cities of the subcontinent. Kanhaiya Lal¹ recounts a total of thirteen major traumas, from the sacking of Lahore by Mahmud Ghaznavi in 1021 to the last invasion of Ahmad Shah Durrani, his seventh, in 1768. The building of the North Western Railway reflects the heedlessness of the British in wiping out vast tracts of heritage sites in Lahore for the construction of goods sidings, railway tracks, and locomotive and carriage repair establishments.² A second reason is the absence of structures built in stone. Brick, burnt or unburnt, has been the staple building material in this region for thousands of years. But the hot, partially humid climate creates harsh weathering conditions. Floods, too, were a regular annual event and played an equal role in the disappearance of architectural heritage.

After the British annexation of Lahore, three local historians began to make up for the absence of architectural historiography in earlier periods. Beginning with Nur Ahmad Chishti, who wrote his *Tehqiqat*³ in 1864, Kanhaiya Lal⁴ and Muhammad Latif⁵ also described what they saw around them of Lahore's architectural past, which had lain in an advanced state of decay and had been progressively disappearing for a hundred years. These descriptions help fill in a picture of the missing past more thoroughly than the fleeting impressions of European visitors to Lahore from the sixteenth to the early nineteenth century.⁶

For the period before Islam, in 1882 Kanhaiya Lal identified at least two older temples that he claimed existed before the Ghaznavid conquest in 1021. The temple he called Shiwala Tibbi Wala, located in Tehsil Bazaar, is now submerged some two floors below the present street level. The second one, the *thakur dwara* of Bekhant Das, which had been repaired and renovated many times, stood at the end of Lohari Gate Bazaar.⁷

The still extant temple of Lau⁸ in Lahore Fort seeks to support Lahore's ancestral link to its founder, Lau, the son of Rama Chandra. During the construction of Alamgiri Gate and the modification of the western apron wall in the early 1670s, this pre-existing edifice seems to have been thoughtfully pulled into a carefully created space to envelope and protect it. Buried remains indicate that the temple was a large and thriving affair that until then had existed outside the confines of the Fort's western wall.⁹

One of the first serious attempts at identifying extant remains of earlier Muslim-period buildings in Lahore was carried out by Muhammad Abdullah Chaghatai in the



Opposite page, terraces and pavilions in Shalimar Garden.

Above, Shahdara, the mausoleum of Asif Khan.

Below, the mausoleum of Asif Khan, *qalib-kari (muqarnas)* decorated with glazed-tile *kashikari*.



Shahdara, Jahangir's Mausoleum (c. 1630) is a single-storey square-plan structure displaying a perfectly symmetrical geometry derived from earlier forms in Delhi and Agra.

Left, marble inlay work in red sandstone.

Right, on all four sides, the mausoleum's arcaded facade consists of recessed inlaid marble panels.

late 1940s. He records the central *mihrab* and fragments of attached bilateral niches built into the wall of the enclosure of an ancient '*eidgah* or *musallah*'¹⁹ as an early relic. This was situated at Kot Khwaja Saeed, along the old grand trunk road to Delhi.¹¹ Chaghatai believes that these remains date from the early to mid-fifteenth century. The monument had impressive stucco ornament and calligraphy.

Lahore's other early monument is the grave of Sultan Qutbuddin Aibak, the first Muslim monarch in India after the death of Muhammad Ghori. Aibak, the builder of the Qutb Minar,¹² died in 1210 in Lahore in an accident. This grave existed until the early 1960s in an abandoned state, east of Anarkali Bazaar,¹³ its domed mausoleum having disappeared in the Sikh period. In 1964 the government, responding to community pressure, bought surrounding properties and a new mausoleum was constructed by 1974, to designs prepared by the Department of Archaeology.

Another early Muslim-period monument is the Niwi Masjid,¹⁴ located at the southern perimeter of the Walled City, near Chowk Matti. Although this is towards the lowest part of the Walled City, one must still climb down two metres to get to the floor of the courtyard of the mosque. If one accepts that under Malik Ayaz the Ghaznavid city was founded at this southern point and grew north-eastward (see pp. 52–59), then this mosque would be the Jami' mosque of that time. However, various sources ascribe it to the much later Lodhi period.

Almost the entire repertoire of Lahore's historic Muslim-period architecture thus belongs to the period of the first six Mughal emperors (1526 to 1707), which makes Lahore a pre-eminently Mughal city. The Sikh period contributed certain impressive structures, such as the *samadhs* of Guru Arjun and Ranjit Singh (1799–1839), along

with those of Naunehal Singh and Sher Singh, and the small but impressively decorated *samadh* of Bhai Wasti Ram, which has recently been restored. But this was at the cost of some important Mughal buildings, from which large amounts of marble cladding are said to have been removed. Today's Lahore also owes much of its urban character to the colonial period and to the immense amount of construction that characterized the city after independence.

Unlike the majority of Sultanate-period rulers, the Mughals tended to retain their Central Asian ties. These links, strengthened by the memory of forebears such as Genghis Khan and Amir Timur, appear to have been as much cultural as political and military in character. Kabul and northern Afghanistan were never beyond the reach of the imagination, and physical distances were thus surmountable. Lahore was almost halfway to Kabul, and therefore, as a logistical base, of extreme importance.

The yearly travel of the emperors and their families to Kashmir was also often routed through Lahore. The month-long and arduous journey points to how much the summer-time weather of Transoxiana was missed. However, the imperial gardens in the plains also made up for this sense of loss and offered a welcome substitute. Airy pavilions, cool, thick-walled residences and invigorating baths set within the lush vegetation and water elements of these gardens created a residential garden-paradise in the oppressive climate of the Indian plains.¹⁵ Such needs found abundant expression on the banks of the Ravi, around the historic Walled City of Lahore, and within the city itself in numerous *havelis* and palaces, some of which were large enough to host their own *chahar-baghs*. Pleasure gardens doubled as homes and homes doubled as gardens.

Zahir-ud-Din Babur's gardens in India date to 1527 and inspired Mirza Kamran, Babur's second son, to create an idyllic garden on the western banks of the Ravi.

Shahdara, Jahangir's Mausoleum, main entrance into the corridor leading to the cenotaph.



Kamran received his father in this garden in 1530, on Babur's last visit to Lahore. Other gardens on the right bank of the Ravi followed suit and were used in a similar fashion. These riverside gardens were also used as a place for the nobility to rest during the journey from Delhi or Agra to Kashmir or Kabul. The gardens served to launch game hunts in the several *qamargahs* (hunting grounds) in the area. And some gardens were built expressly for people to be buried in. In Shahdara we have three examples of these burial gardens, containing the tombs of Jahangir, his wife Nur Jahan and her brother Abul Hasan Asif Khan, each of which embodies one of the stylistic forms that prevailed at the time.

The river flowed close to the northern confines of the city during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and many gardens were also built on its left bank, of which the most significant is the famed Shalimar. Further south, as the river swung around the Walled City, gardens were built along the road to Multan, along the banks of the river. The following chapter (pp. 72–91) treats gardens as an integral and important part of Lahore in the sixteenth, seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

In Lahore there is little of the profusion of Sultanate-period architectural heritage that is found in and around Delhi. Ram Nath's view¹⁶ that the Mughal tradition arose from an evolutionary fusion between the earlier Muslim tradition of the subcontinent and the pre-existing Hindu/Jain/Buddhist traditions finds good support in Delhi, but not in Lahore. Nevertheless, a few buildings erected in Lahore in the period of Akbar and Jahangir do indeed demonstrate the strength of this fusion. Akbar's move from Fatehpur Sikri to Lahore in 1586 transported living building expertise to the *dalaans* of the Jahangiri Quadrangle in Lahore Fort. There the red sandstone details in the Akbari/Jahangiri-period buildings reflect the vitality of the trabeated stone construction and stone carving, the use of animal forms and embellishment in stone of traditional Islamic ornamentation. Such architecture had evolved from the early

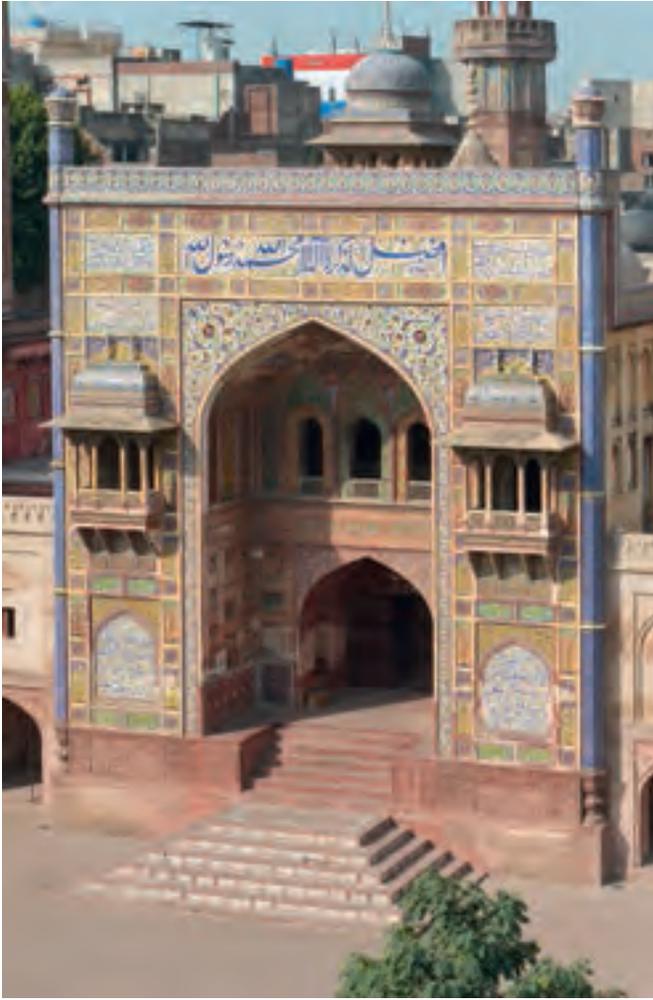
Sheikhupura, Hiran Minar garden complex.
Jahangiri-period development of c. 1607.
This octagonal pavilion was restyled during
the reign of Shah Jahan.





monuments in Delhi built under Qutbuddin Aibak and its integration of Hindu traditions. Other buildings of the period in Lahore depict the continuation of some essential elements of Pathan-period architecture, itself with roots as far back as the Ilkhanid tradition of fourteenth-century Iran. The structural forms of the domes in buildings such as the mosque of Maryam Zamani (or Begum Shahi Mosque) and the mosque of Wazir Khan demonstrate a lingering continuity of that architecture. They have squat domes with low drums found hidden behind parapets, together with flatter four-centred arches, and the use of *naqqashi* as calligraphy as well as wall decoration, even on outdoor surfaces.

Sheikhupura, Hiran Minar garden complex. View from the tower erected in memory of a pet deer, overlooking a large water tank with the octagonal central pavilion (see opposite page) accessed via a causeway.



Left, the Walled City. The central entrance *iwān* of the Wazir Khan Mosque (1634) forms the outer facade of the Calligraphers' Bazaar.

Right, the interior of the Wazir Khan Mosque is extensively embellished with frescoes.

Opposite page, Wazir Khan Mosque (1634 CE / AH 1044). The east facade consists of a large *iwān* flanked by two projecting balconies. All architectural elements are profusely embellished with glazed-tile work.



In the region that stretches from Lahore to Delhi and Agra, in the early years of the seventeenth century this underlying continuity experienced a sudden superimposition of the architectural art of glazed-tile revetment. With a provenance that can be traced to Persia and Central Asia, architectural glazed tiles had long been in existence in the lower Punjab near the confluence of the Indus with its tributaries, and further down in Sindh. While variations of glazed/enamelled terracotta and stone are to be found in pre-Mughal buildings in central and northern India as well, these were rare and nominal. But in the early seventeenth century, a type of glazed-tile decoration called *kashikari* burst onto the scene between the Indus and the Jumna, only to die off within a hundred years having apparently lost its noble patronage, whose preferences had shifted to newer architectural forms.

But, before that happened, mosques, garden pavilions, gateways, serais, and tombs and domes with vividly coloured tile work proliferated. In Lahore, dozens of these buildings, including the famous Wazir Khan Mosque, were decorated with this unique form of embellishment, unprecedented in its exuberance, range of colour and artistic representation in cut glazed-tile mosaics forming geometrical, floral and calligraphic designs. This was a local interpretation of the art of glazed-tile decoration, one that combines tiles in colours ranging from green, yellow, mustard, rust, brown, blue, turquoise to white. In contrast, whether in Central Asia, Iran or southern Pakistan, the colours were predominantly blue and white. Of particular note is the very





Lahore Fort, Sheesh Mahal. Details of engaged column capitals (above) and *pietra dura* work on a column base (below).

Right, part of Shah Burj (completed 1632). The facade of the Sheesh Mahal consists of five multi-lobate cusped marble arches that are supported by paired columns.

large apron wall, the Picture Wall, of Lahore Fort decorated with the *kashi* work in panels with figurative animal and human representations, in some places evoking the symbolic and mythical sources of Mughal power, in combination with panels of fresco, while representing everyday courtly life in others (see pp. 294–309).

In the late Jahangiri and early Shahjahani period several new architectural elements emerged: the multi-cusped arch, “the multi-faceted column with a *muqarnas* capital and a cusped arch base,” the co-option of the *bangla* pavilion, and many other features,¹⁷ some of which distinguished the vernacular architecture in Lahore until the Sikh era. Some of these elements emerged in a tentative manner in late Jahangir-period buildings, such as the Moti Masjid. Many of Shahjahan’s buildings in Lahore Fort were constructed at the expense of the integrity of Jahangir-period structures, as seen in the manner in which the quadrangle named after Shahjahan bears evidence of makeshift changes in the earlier buildings to make room for the exquisite Diwan-e-Aam. In Shah Jahan’s time, the decorative idiom also shifted dramatically towards what some have claimed to be European influences. In Shah Burj, floral and vegetal

motifs are used in exquisite *pietra dura* (*parchin kari*) on marble, both on columns of the Sheesh Mahal as well as, and more profusely, in the slightly later Naulakha Pavilion. Sheesh Mahal, the octagonal palace that forms the bulk of Shah Burj, was named after the newly introduced mosaic technique of using pieces of curved mirrors, mounted on a lime base on ceilings. In the Sikh period this technique was used to cover entire walls in the great rectangular hall, and the deep portico facing south.

Except in the reigns of Babur and Humayun, Lahore's nobility were active patrons of architectural excellence until the mid-nineteenth century and left numerous buildings as evidence of their love for aesthetic excellence. With Shalimar Garden setting the standards for elegance and beauty, the gardens that have not survived must surely have aimed to emulate its grandeur. Fortunately, many of the gateways and tombs built in these gardens have survived, though some of them are in the final stages of neglect. Nevertheless, many still portray an architectural maturity and grace worthy of the care and attention of the people of Lahore today.

Lahore Fort, Sheesh Mahal, interior of the south-facing veranda. The pavilion is adorned with mirror mosaic work, frescoes, *pietra dura* and carved marble.

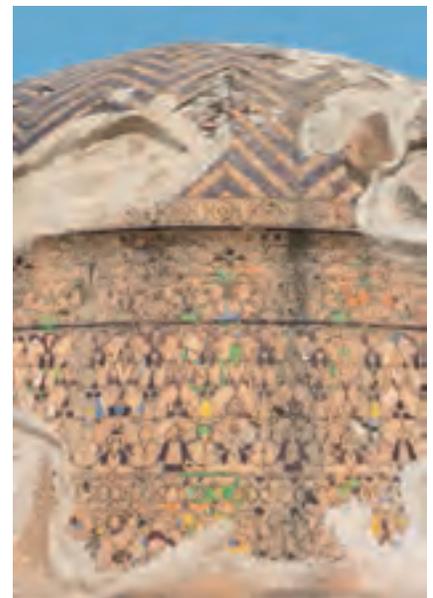




Above, the tomb of Dai Angah, 1672. This is the tomb of a royal foster-mother. Located east of the Walled City, it is contained in the Gulabi Bagh, established in 1655.

Right, Lahore, Begumpura, the mausoleum of Sharf-un-nisa Begum, c. 1730. Known as Saruwala Maqbara (the Cypress Tomb), it is decorated with tile motifs depicting cypress trees and other floral motifs.

Far right, Dai Angah's tomb. Detail of surviving *kashikari* tile work on the dome.



Under Ranjit Singh, there was a spate of construction of Sikh and Hindu religious buildings. Kanhaiya Lal¹⁶ records twenty-eight *mandirs*, *shivalas*, *thakur dwaras* and *guru dwaras* that were built during this period while two were older buildings that underwent major repairs. Numerous *havelis* were built during this period too, such as the *haveli* of Naunehal Singh (used as a girls' school for almost a century now); many of these *havelis* were older, late Mughal-period buildings that were handed over to the Sikh nobility. A new neighbourhood of the residences of important Sikh and Muslim nobles also grew up, known as Bazaar-e-Hakeeman, near Lahore Fort.

The character of the city of Lahore today is no less informed by the developments of the early British period. This development began as early as the establishment of the Lahore railway station (1859), and continued until the completion in 1935 of the provincial legislative assembly building. And so this period saw the construction, among others, of the Lahore High Court building, the Museum and the Mayo School of Art (now the National College of Arts), Punjab University and the Punjab Secretariat. Along the principal Mall Road (now Shahrah-e-Quaid-e-Azam), newer mid-twentieth-century additions were also made, such as the WAPDA house.

The grand tradition exemplified by Lahore's Mughal architecture has now almost completely disappeared, although there have been quiet attempts at its revival. A popular form of this tradition existed as late as the 1980s in mosques and tombs built in the rural countryside of Punjab, before they were overwhelmed by a new 'Arabized' architecture, and popular kitsch. Yet there are buildings in the Walled City that have survived that still represent many forms of architectural expression originating in Lahore's Mughal architecture and its nineteenth-century derivatives in the Sikh period. In these buildings in the Walled City, other regional influences, specially from Kashmir, are also to be found. These buildings form the backbone of the architectural and urban values that reside in Lahore's historic urban core. Recent efforts to protect this heritage and to give it new value are described on pp. 152-175.

1 Rai Bahadur Kanhaiya Lal, *Tareekh-e-Lahore*, Victoria Press, Lahore, 1884.

2 A notable example is how the railway tracks to the north were driven through the burial garden of Empress Nur Jahan.

3 Nur Ahmad Chishti, *Tehqiqat-i-Chishti*, Matba' Koh-i-Noor, Lahore, 1867.

4 Kanhaiya Lal, *Tareekh-e-Lahore* op. cit.

5 Syad Muhammad Latif, *Lahore: Its History, Architectural Remains and Antiquities*, New Imperial Press, Lahore, 1892.

6 Anjum Rehmani, *Lahore: History and Architecture of Mughal Monuments*, OUP Pakistan, Karachi, 2016. This recent historical study provides a much-needed compilation of the available sources.

7 Then known as Chakla Bazaar.

8 The first available written record of the legendary association of the city with Lau is in Sujjan Rai, *Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh*, (Persian) written in 1669, edited by M. Zafar Hasan, J & Sons Press, Delhi, 1918.

9 Alamgiri Gate is an essential compositional element in the development of the Badshahi Masjid and the Hazuri Bagh, when the Fort's fortified wall was angled out to conform to the Masjid's orientation towards the Kaaba.

10 An open-air enclosure for congregational prayers, which has all the other essentials of a mosque, including being oriented to the *qibla*, and a formal *mihrab*, centrally located in the *qibla* wall.

11 Muhammad Abdullah Chaghatai, "The Oldest Extant Muslim Architectural Relic at Lahore", in *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society*, vol. XII, part I (1964).

12 Named after the Sufi saint Qutbuddin Bakhtiar Kaki (d. 1235 in Delhi).

13 Ihsan H. Nadiem, *Historic Landmarks of Lahore*, Sang-e-Meel, Lahore, 2006.

14 In Punjabi *niwi* refers to anything that is low, below.

15 Elizabeth Moynihan, "The Lotus Garden Palace of Zahir al-Din Muhammad Babur", in

Muqarnas Volume 5: An Annual on Islamic Art and Architecture, E. J. Brill, Leiden, 1988.

16 Ram Nath, *History of Mughal Architecture*, Abhinav, Delhi, 1982.

17 For a description of these elements, see Ebba Koch, *Mughal Architecture*, Prestel, Munich, 1991, p. 93.

18 Kanhaiya Lal, *Tareekh-e-Lahore* op. cit.



MUGHAL GARDENS IN LAHORE: A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

SAIFUR RAHMAN DAR

The history of gardens in Punjab can be traced back to the third century BCE.¹ But the history of gardens in Lahore goes back only to the period of the arrival of Muslims during the Ghaznavid era (977–1186). Fragmentary historical references and folk stories indicate the locations of at least five gardens in Lahore from the time of the death of Sultan Qutbuddin Aibak in 1210. All but one were funerary gardens. We have no notion how these gardens were laid out nor what kinds of buildings adorned them.² For all intents and purposes, the real history of gardens in Lahore starts with the arrival of the Mughals in the subcontinent during the first quarter of the sixteenth century.

The history of Mughal gardens in Lahore begins with Mirza Kamran. Although the first Mughal garden on the soil of the subcontinent was established by Babur in 1519 at Lake Kallar Kahar, midway between Lahore and Islamabad, he did not build a garden in the city of Lahore.³ One of his sons, Mirza Kamran, governor of Kabul and Kandahar at the time of Babur's death in 1530, compensated for this fact and planted a spacious pleasure garden with royal buildings. Remains of this earliest garden have survived. It was laid out on the right bank of the Ravi, at a safe distance from the river, and was irrigated with a canal that tapped the river upstream. From the extant remains of its central pavilion (*baradari*), which stood in the middle of a large body of water and which was made accessible through a causeway, one can imagine the generous dimensions of the *chahar-bagh* that surrounded it. The garden was used as a halt by Mughal emperors during their journey to and from Kashmir and Kabul. From Prince Dara Shikoh in his book *Sakinatul Auliya*,⁴ we learn that Mian Mir Jeo⁵ – the much-revered seventeenth-century Sufi of Lahore – visited Bagh-e-Kamran with his disciples to meditate. It is unfortunate that during the reign of Muhammad Shah (1719–48) the river started shifting its course westward and began destroying this garden. The only surviving part of the garden is the central *baradari* with its high arches and beautiful fresco painting. As the river continued to shift westwards, the *baradari* virtually formed an island within the river. In more recent years, the central tank was cleared, the pavilion was rehabilitated and part of the Mughal garden around it was relaid, although not in the best of taste.

Kamran's intervention on the right bank of the Ravi falls within the period assigned to the reign of his older brother Humayun. On the other hand, according to some historians, during the troubled period of Humayun, another garden of the name of Naulakha Bagh⁶ was also built on the right bank. There is reason to believe that this garden survived until as late as 1864.



Opposite page, Lahore Fort, the great court of the Diwan-e-Aam Quadrangle seen from the *chahl sutoon* (hall of forty pillars).

Above, Shahdara. The mausoleum of Nur Jahan is part of an ensemble of Mughal-period gardens across the River Ravi.

Below, Nur Jahan's Mausoleum. The reconstructed exterior of the tomb is decorated with red sandstone and marble inlay, and consists of an intricate marble parapet.

AKBAR-PERIOD GARDENS

This slow pace of garden-building was amply compensated for by Akbar the Great. Lahore became the capital of the empire for the period (1585–98) that Akbar remained away from Agra. During his stay in Lahore, a nine-metre-high burnt-brick wall was built to protect the city.⁷ For his own residence, he expanded the old mud fort northwards, strengthened it with a burnt-brick wall and built his palace with Mughal-style gardens within. Nothing of these palace-gardens has survived except a vast grassy plot or *marghazar* (220 × 140 metres) in front of the Diwan-e-Aam or the Hall of Public Audience. The present-day treatment of this area, however, dates from 1929–30⁸ during the British period.

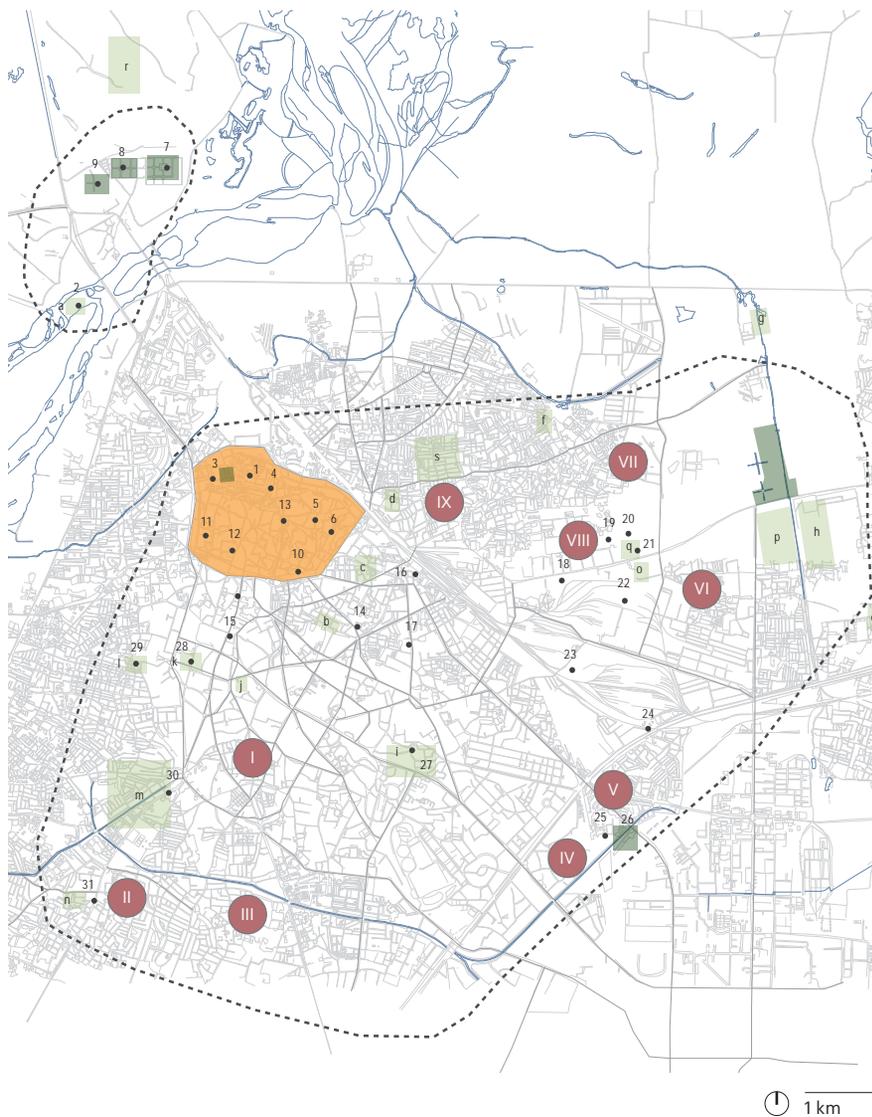
Besides a palace-garden in the Fort, we know of the existence of at least eight other gardens that were laid out in different parts of the city during the reign of Akbar (1556–1605). Like Kamran's garden, four of these were on the right bank of the Ravi. They were Bagh-e-Andjan, Bagh-e-Dilafroze, Bagh-e-Mehdi Qasim Khan⁹ and Bagh-e-Mirza Nizamuddin Ahmad. Bagh-e-Andjan was built by Qaleej Khan Andjani – a *subedar* of Akbar and Jahangir. It was situated on the south side of the canal that Mirza Kamran had built for his garden. This garden was frequently visited by the saint Mian Mir Jeo, although by that time, says Dara Shikoh, the buildings inside the garden were already in a dilapidated condition. The garden of Mirza Nizamuddin and his houses and *havelis* and so on were located in Lahore, where he is believed to have lived and died.

During the same period, four more gardens were developed on the city-side of the river – though still at a safe distance from its flood plain. These are Bagh-e-Khan-e-Azam, Raju Bagh, Bagh-e-Zain Khan Kokaltash and Bagh-e-Malik Ali Kotwal. Among

Left, Lahore, Shalimar Garden. View through the elaborate doorway of the eastern entrance to the upper terrace.

Right, Lahore Fort, the emperor's *jharoka*, or marble balcony for public audience, in the Diwan-e-Aam.





Mughal heritage in Greater Lahore

--- Approximate Limits of Mughal Lahore

Orange The Walled City

Green Extant Mughal-Period Gardens

Red Circle Mughal Neighbourhoods

I Mozang

II Nawankot

III Ichhra

IV Mianmir

V Dharampura

VI Mughalpura

VII Baghbanpura

VIII Begumpura

IX Chah Miran

Mughal-Period Monuments

1 Lahore Fort

2 Baradari of Kamran

3 Badshahi Mosque

4 Begum Shahi/Maryam Zamani Mosque

5 Wazir Khan Mosque

6 Wazir Khan Hammam

7 Mausoleum of Jahangir, and Bagh-e-Dilkusha

8 Mausoleum of Asif Khan, and garden

9 Mausoleum of Nur Jahan, and garden

10 Masjid Muhammad Saleh Kamboh

11 Masjid Kharasian

12 Unchi Masjid

13 Sunehri Masjid

14 Mausoleum of Sheikh Musa Ahangar

15 Mausoleum of Sheikh Abdur Razaaq Maki (Neela Gumbad)

16 Masjid Dai Angah

17 Mausoleum of Muhammad Saleh Kamboh

18 Buddhu ka Awa

19 Mausoleum of Hazrat Khwaja Mahmud

20 Mausoleum of Sharf-un-nisa Begum

21 Gulabi Bagh Gateway and Dai Angah's Mausoleum

22 Mausoleum of Ali Mardan Khan

23 Mausoleum of Nusrat Khan

24 Mausoleum of Zafar Jan Kokaltash

25 Shrine-mausoleum of Mian Mir

26 Mausoleum of Nadir Begum

27 Tomb of Muhammad Qasim Khan

28 Baradari of the garden of Wazir Khan

29 Anarkali's Tomb

30 Chowburji Gateway

31 Nawankot Monument

Green Square Known Mughal-period gardens which no longer exist:

a Bagh-e-Mirza Kamran

b Zain Khan's Garden

c Naulakha Bagh

d Bagh-e-Faiz Bakhsh

e Bagh-e-Pervez

f Bagh-e-Bilawal Shah

g Mian Khan's Garden

h Angoori Bagh

i Bagh-e-Rauza-e-Muhammad Qasim Khan

j Bagh-Rauza-e-Shah Chiragh

k Bagh-e-Wazir Khan

l Bagh-e-Anarkali

m Bagh-e-Jahan Ara (Chowburji Garden)

n Nawankot Bagh

o Baghicha-e-Mahabat Khan

p Bagh-e-Inayat Khan

q Bagh-e-Sharf-un-nisa Begum

r Bagh-e-Mehdi Qasim Khan

s Dara Shikoh's Garden (approximate location)

these, Bagh-e-Zain Khan Kokaltash was probably also a palace-garden because it has been mentioned along with the grandiose *haveli* built in the locality called Mohalla Zain Khan, or still later as Maidan Zain Khan, outside Mochi Gate.¹⁰ The remains of this palace were discovered some time after independence. It must have had a large garden as it is said to have had terraces, pavilions, corridors, arches, pathways and fountains. This is the first reference to a terraced garden in Lahore during the Mughal period. This garden had a *chini khana* (called the Sawan Bhadon) like the one in Shalimar Garden of the Shah Jahan period.¹¹ On the authority of Nur Ahmad Chishti, the author of *Tehqiqat-i-Chishti*,¹² it is known that this garden was intact as late as 1820.

Raju Bagh, on the other hand, was built during Akbar's period in the vicinity of Ichhra and Daulatabad by one Raj Muhammad (d. 1606), a rich sayyid of Lahore and a *mansabdar* (a high-ranking official) responsible for raising 5,000 soldiers. Similarly, Bagh-e-Khan-e-Azam was built by another noble of Akbar's court, Shamsuddin Atga Khan-e-Azam. He was the foster father of Akbar and the father-in-law of two of his sons, princes Murad and Khusru. Murad is said to have had his palace in this garden. According to Dara Shikoh it was near the tomb-garden of Sheikh Johar,¹³ which

remains of uncertain identity and location. Dara Shikoh also refers to Bagh-e-Malik Ali Kotwal. But nothing more is known about this person or the location of his garden except that its existence before 1645 is confirmed by the author.¹⁴

JAHANGIR-PERIOD GARDENS

The momentum gained during Akbar's period continued during the reign of his son Nuruddin Jahangir (r. 1605–27). As compared with nine gardens built during the forty-nine years of Akbar's reign, in Jahangir's reign of twenty-two years a total of seven gardens were built. Both Jahangir and the empress Nur Jahan and her family had great love for Lahore. Nur Jahan's father, I'tmad ud-Daula, and her brother, Asif Khan, had built palatial *havelis* inside the Walled City.¹⁵ The garden known as Bagh-e-Dilkusha is attributed to Nur Jahan. It is located in Shahdara on the right bank of the river at some distance north of Bagh-e-Kamran. Nur Jahan had a great fascination for this city. She appears to have spent her childhood in Lahore in the palace of her father and it was here that she opted to spend eighteen years of her widowhood (1627–45). In a Persian couplet she expressed the extent to which she liked the city:

لاہور را بہ جان برابر خریدہ ایم
جاں دادہ ایم، و بختت دیگر خریدہ ایم

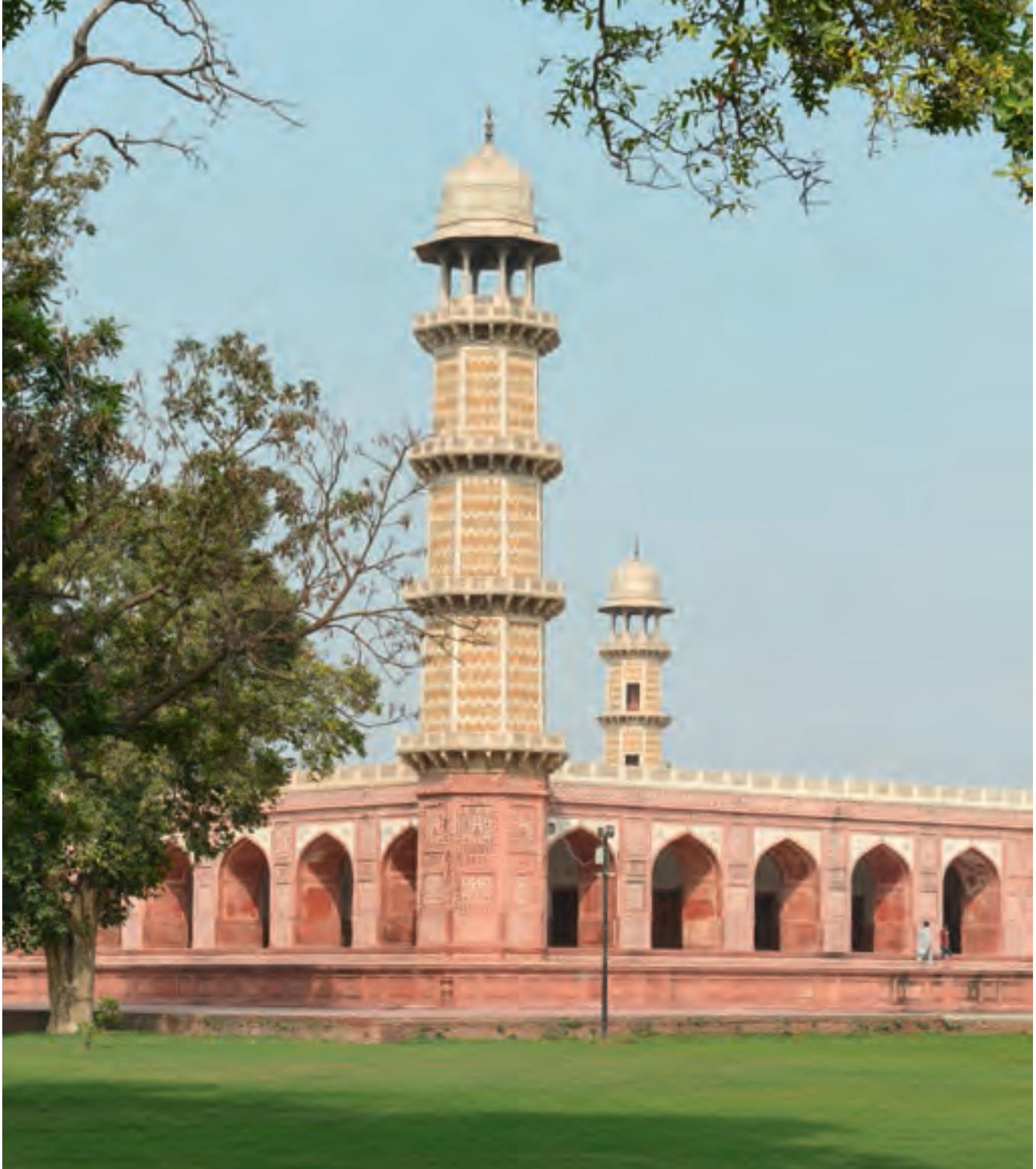
"We purchased Lahore, life's equal in worth

We gave up our life, and bought a second paradise".

And this "paradise" she never abandoned – she was eventually buried in the mausoleum-garden she had constructed close to Bagh-e-Dilkusha, which, in 1627, in accordance with her late husband's wishes, was turned into his burial garden.

Shahdara. Jahangir's Mausoleum as seen from near the entrance pavilion in the western enclosure wall.





Fragmentary evidence suggests that out of seven gardens built during the twenty-two-year reign of Jahangir, four were built on the Shahdara side of the river and only three on the city-side, including the palace-garden inside the Fort.

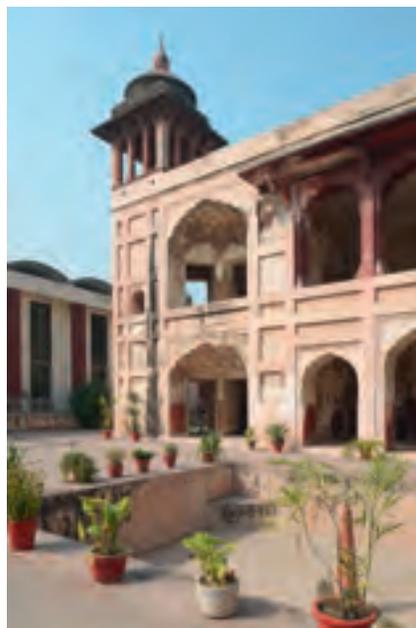
The four gardens that existed on the Shahdara side of the river are: Bagh-e-Mirza Momin 'Ishq Baz, Bagh-e-Mehdi Qasim, Bagh-e-Dilamaiz¹⁸ and Bagh-e-Dilkusha – probably all these were pleasure gardens, and at least one already existed during Akbar's reign. We have already mentioned Nur Jahan's Bagh-e-Dilkusha. This is by far the oldest site of a Mughal garden that has survived intact. Among the other three, Bagh-e-Mirza Momin 'Ishq Baz is claimed to have been a beautiful garden. It is

The gardens surrounding Jahangir's tomb are divided into four squares by paved walkways; each of these squares is in turn divided into four smaller squares.



Above, Shalimar Garden forms a rectangular, three-tiered complex consisting of numerous fountains and decorated pavilions.

Right and far right, the *baradari* of Wazir Khan's garden. This structure now serves as the reading room of the Punjab Public Library. Four towers on each corner of the *baradari* lead to the roof of the structure.



reported to have been quite close to a round hunting ground (*gamargah*) used by Emperor Jahangir, who spent a few days in this garden in 1621. Dara Shikoh writes that his mentor Mian Mir used to stay in this garden with his disciples, which shows that it was open to visitors.

On the city-side of the Ravi, only three gardens are on record: the palace-garden in the Fort, the garden of the mausoleum of Anarkali and Bagh-e-Shamsuddin (d. 1612), a saint of the period of Akbar and Jahangir. The last funerary garden was reportedly in the vicinity of Governor House. It was certainly flourishing during the reign of Muhammad Shah (1719–48) but vanished during the rule of the Sikhs.

In 1617–18 Jahangir commissioned the construction of his palace inside the Fort, modifying and adding to Akbar-period palaces, and in 1620 he visited the Lahore palaces. And here, in the Fort, the quadrangle in red sandstone (behind Akbar's Daulat Khana-e-Khaas-o-Aam) is attributed to his reign, and includes his sleeping chambers overlooking the Ravi. This was a Mughal *chahar-bagh* with a large square water tank with fountains, and with a marble throne (*mehtabi*) in the centre approached by a causeway. Obscured during British rule after 1849, the current layout belongs to the later British period after the Fort was handed over to the Department of Archaeology.¹⁷

Only three gardens or some garden elements of Jahangir's period have survived. These are the garden of Jahangir's Quadrangle in Lahore Fort, the garden formerly known as Dilkusha Bagh which now contains Jahangir's Mausoleum, and the so-called mausoleum of Anarkali inside the now-vanished Bagh-e-Anarkali.

The building called Anarkali's Tomb would have to be the earliest surviving Mughal mausoleum in Lahore, excluding Mehdi Qasim Khan's Mausoleum, around which Governor House was built. The two dates recorded on the sarcophagus in Anarkali's Tomb indicate that it was started in 1599 by Prince Salim and was finished by him as Emperor Jahangir in the year 1615. The exact identity of the person interred is not known, though it is usually agreed it was a lady.¹⁸ The building is royal in its dimensions and style and was once surrounded by an equally sizeable garden. Although all vestiges of this garden have vanished, its existence is attested by Dara Shikoh writing in the time of Shah Jahan. Bagh-e-Anarkali was the earliest Mughal garden in Lahore that was named after a fruit tree (*anar*, Persian/Urdu for pomegranate) and probably had pomegranate trees as a landscaping theme.¹⁹ The surviving building of this funerary garden is impressive in dimension and quite unique in its architectural features. It is currently being used as the Punjab Archives Museum.

GARDENS OF THE SHAH JAHAN PERIOD (1628–58)

Garden-building in Lahore bloomed under the patronage of Emperor Shah Jahan, his family members and the nobility of the court. It is difficult to give an exact number of gardens in Lahore that came into existence during the reign of this Lahore-born builder-king.²⁰ This was the first time that members of the royal family built gardens outside the Fort. Three royal funerary gardens also came into existence. Today these are called Maqbara-e-Jahangir (d. 1627), Maqbara-e-Nur Jahan (d. 1645) and Maqbara-e-Asif Khan. Of these gardens, all built on the right bank or the Shahdara side of the Ravi, at least one was earlier, the Bagh-e-Dilkusha of Nur Jahan who later converted it into a mausoleum-garden. The other two gardens were created in the time of Shah Jahan. With no other pleasure garden built on the right bank of the Ravi after this, it seems that the Shahdara side of the river became a funerary zone restricted to royal burials. Garden-building activities of this period were concentrated only on the left bank of the Ravi – mostly to the north-east and east of the citadel and the Walled City and, with one exception, to the south of the Walled City near the left bank of the river,



Shahdara, the mausoleum of Asif Khan. The building is surrounded by a *chahar-bagh* garden with long pools and walkways in each of its four cardinal directions.



Shalimar Garden. View north along the main axial parterre in the upper terrace, with the pavilion known as the “iwān” terminating the axis at the edge of the middle terrace. The multi-tiered Shalimar Garden has numerous water features on each of its terraces.

the so-called Chowburji Garden built by one Tabinda Begum, presumably Princess Jahan Ara Begum, daughter of Shah Jahan.²¹ Most of the new gardens were developed by eminent persons of Shah Jahan’s court, including one built by a royal lady. It is therefore not surprising that the majority of these new gardens clustered around the royal garden of Shalimar, and its general vicinity. These gardens are Inayat Bagh, Angoori Bagh, Bagh-e-Dara Shikoh, Mehtabi Bagh (also called Mewa Bagh), Bagh-e-Khwaja Ayyaz and two other gardens at Fatehgarh, Bagh Prince Pervez, Bagh-e-Ali Mardan Khan, Gulabi Bagh, Bagh-e-Nusrat Bahdur Jang and so on, to name only a few. Of these, gardens in the immediate vicinity of Shalimar were generally pleasure gardens, while funerary gardens were developed a little further away. These burial gardens include Gulabi Bagh, Bagh Maqbara Nusrat Jang Bahadur, Baghicha-e-Mahabat Khan and so on. Only one funerary garden, Maqbara Badruddin Shah, was inside the Walled City. It is unlikely that all Sufi saints were buried in gardens. We know that the tomb of Hazrat Eeshan (Zeeshan) had a garden around it, but this was not true of other saints, such as Hazrat Ali Hajveri or Hazrat Mian Mir.²²

Mughal gardens in Lahore today are marked by their surviving principal elements. These may be central pavilions (Nakhla Wazir Khan behind Lahore Museum), a tomb (Maqbara Anarkali in the Lahore Secretariat), a monumental gateway (Chowburji

Gateway on Multan Road), or both a gateway and a mausoleum (Gulabi Bagh on the Grand Trunk Road and the mausoleum of Ali Mardan Khan inside the railway workshops). Only one garden at Fatehgarh²³ has its central pavilion, monumental gateway and enclosure wall intact, though all are in a very dilapidated state. Only Maqbara Jahangir in Shahdara still has all the essential components of a Mughal funeral garden,²⁴ as is the case, to a lesser degree, of the neighbouring sepulchral garden of Asif Khan.

SHALIMAR GARDEN

The essential elements of the pleasure garden of Shalimar, much altered during the Sikh period, still exist, although more could be expected of the upkeep of some of its important ancillary buildings, such as the hammam, the Queen's *Aranmgah* and so on. The adjoining structure called the "water reservoir" is already on the verge of extinction.

Among all the gardens of Lahore, Shalimar Garden is by far the most refined and complete Mughal garden that has survived. It has been considered as one of the best Mughal creations.²⁵ Inscribed by UNESCO on the World Heritage List, Shalimar is a walled garden, like most of its counterparts, and was built in 1641²⁶ under the

Shalimar Garden. Left, view of a red sandstone pavilion in the middle terrace.

Above, the pavilions are accessible via walkways piercing through the garden and its water features.

Below, the exterior wall of the garden consists of recessed panels finished in lime plaster.









Preceding pages, Shalimar Garden. An axial view of the Naqqarkhana entrance.

Above, Shahdara, Jahangir's Mausoleum. The wave-patterned stone revetment on the four corner *minars* invokes the movement of water.

Below, an interior view of the same mosque showing fresco work.

supervision of Ali Mardan Khan at a cost of eight lakh rupees. This figure included the cost of the *Shah Nahar* (the royal canal) that was directed to the site of the garden in 1633²⁷ from a distance of some 160 kilometres. Being a terraced garden, this was the first of its type in Punjab.²⁸ It is in the form of a perfect rectangle laid north-south and measures 502 metres by 222 metres. The rectangular enclosure is divided into three terraces of unequal size, each 4.5 metres below the other. The two larger terraces are square and are each further divided into sixteen parterres by means of running water channels, pathways and square water bodies at the intersections. The central terrace is the most beautiful. Unlike a typical Mughal *chahar-bagh*, it has an asymmetrical layout, with a raised central part containing a large pool of water with 152 fountains, a central platform and two causeways leading up to it. On the northern side of the raised water body, there are a pair of opposed pavilions, while, on the southern side, there is a marble throne placed under the shadow of an impressive marble cascade (*abshar* or *chadar*), the water from which flows under the throne and falls into the body of water. At the centre of the northern side of this pool, the retaining wall is modified to contain the two opposed pavilions and a central three-sided open chamber (the *chini khana*), the three walls containing recesses in which flower vases during the day or lighted oil lamps in the evening were placed, while sheets of water cascaded over them.

THE FUNERARY GARDEN CALLED MAQBARA-E-JAHANGIR

Despite the many vicissitudes this garden has passed through, Maqbara-e-Jahangir is still the best preserved and maintained funerary garden not only in Lahore but throughout Pakistan. Covering an area of about twenty-two hectares (471 × 471 metres), it is by far the largest surviving square Mughal garden.

Access to the garden is obtained by passing through an oblong forecourt, called the Akbari Sarai, which seems to pre-date the garden.²⁹ One enters this forecourt by means of gates in its northern and southern wall. From this forecourt, the entrance to the garden proper is from the west through a majestic 15-metre-high gate built in red sandstone, which marks the eastern end of the east-west axis of the forecourt. In the centre of each wall of the garden there is a gate; the main gate on the west and three smaller gate-pavilions. The garden proper is divided into sixteen equal-sized parterres by means of ornamental open-water channels, running within paved pathways. The water channels were fed by water from four large Persian wells. At each of the eight intersections, there were ornamental square basins. In the centre crossing, there is a large platform, where there was once a *baradari*, but which now hosts the flat-roofed building of the mausoleum proper. At each of its four corners, a tall minaret topped by a domed cupola stands. In the centre of this building is the square chamber with an exquisitely calligraphed cenotaph.

THE TOMB-GARDENS OF ASIF KHAN AND NUR JAHAN

Immediately on the west of Bagh Maqbara-e-Jahangir and contiguous to the western wall of the so-called Akbari Sarai is located the tomb of Mirza Abul Hasan Asif Khan, the father-in-law of Shah Jahan and the real brother of Nur Jahan. Asif Khan had a mammoth *haveli* inside the Walled City, where he died in 1641. His mausoleum and garden within enclosed walls were built within four years by the order of Shah Jahan, his son-in-law. The garden, measuring 239 by 238 metres, was entered through two gates, one each in the centre of the northern and southern walls. In the centre of the western wall a mosque was built, with its replica (*jawab*),³⁰ now in ruins, in the opposite wall. Both gate structures are decorated with panels of glazed mosaics. The



Above, Shahdara. The mausoleum of Nur Jahan consists of two marble cenotaphs – one commemorating Nur Jahan and the other her daughter Ladli Begum.

Left, Nur Jahan's Mausoleum, interior.



Lahore, the Hazuri Bagh. Ranjit Singh's *baradari* (pavilion) is shown in the centre with the Badshahi Mosque in the background.

garden itself is divided into four huge plots each divided from the other by a water channel running in a paved pathway. These channels converge on an octagonal podium with each side measuring 20 metres. On this platform stands the octagonal mausoleum with each side measuring nearly 11 metres. The double-dome above is pear-shaped and originally had white marble revetments, which were removed during the Sikh period. The grave-chamber is entered through four arched doorways each set in a cardinal direction. Traces of surviving, coloured, enamelled, mosaic tiles here indicate that these entry points were once profusely decorated with these mosaics, typical of Shah Jahan's period, with the characteristic yellow colour dominating others.

Apart from traces of a marble dado and elaborate stucco tracery (*ghalib kari*) on the ceiling, the only original piece that remains intact is the finely executed marble cenotaph with calligraphy and floral and geometric designs set in *pietra dura* and styled after the cenotaph of Jahangir in the adjoining garden. The octagonal podium, the octagonal mausoleum building, the pear-shaped double-dome, the bold stucco tracery and delicate glazed mosaics are all unique features of this garden and its structures and clearly reflect Shah Jahan's influence, rather than that of Nur Jahan, in its construction.

Contiguous to this building, but on its southern side, are what remains of the once beautiful funerary garden of the queen Nur Jahan (d. 1645). Here, in a subterranean chamber, the last remains of Nur Jahan and her daughter Ladli Begum were buried. Nur Jahan herself had this edifice and the garden built during her lifetime and hence it fully reflects her taste in its planning and decoration, as seen in the tomb of her husband's mausoleum nearby. The garden and the surrounding walls have totally disappeared as a result of Sikh vandalism of the nineteenth century,³¹ followed by the tracks of the North Western Railway which were laid by the British a few decades afterwards.

The mausoleum proper is a square building (41 metres square and 6 metres high) which itself rests on a 48-metre-square and one-metre-high podium. The building has four corner turrets, or minarets, and a flat roof with no sign of a dome. With a core of brickwork, the entire building had red sandstone revetment further embellished with marble inlaid motifs, all removed in the Sikh period. The interior was finished with glazed plaster render with fresco painting, of which traces can still be seen.

The *baradari* in the centre of the Hazuri Bagh is faced with carved white marble.



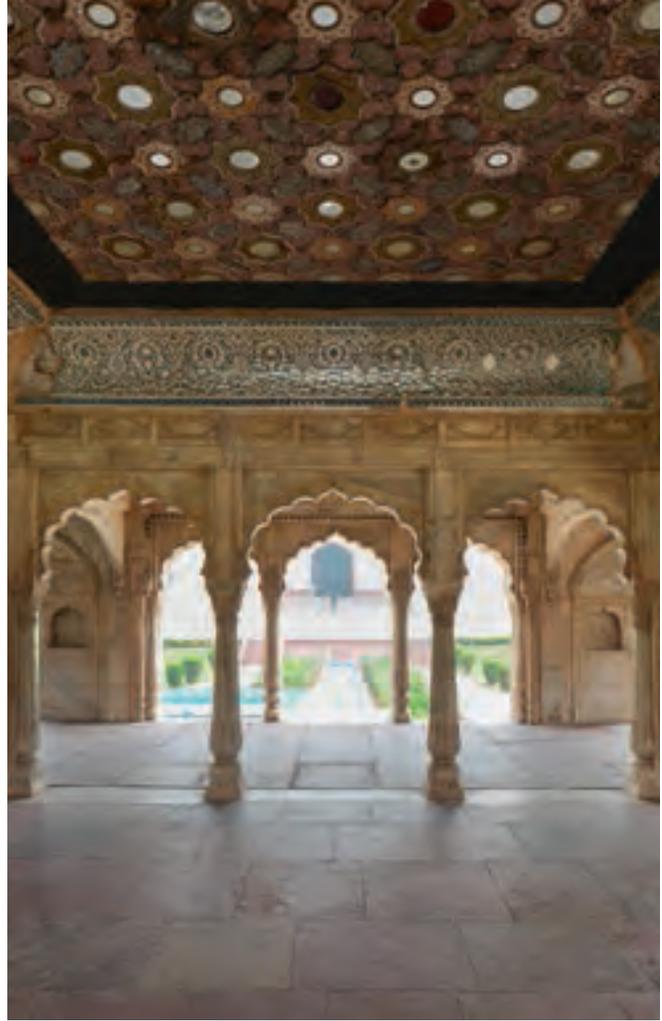
GARDENS OF AURANGZEB'S PERIOD

With the beginning of the rule of Aurangzeb (1658–1707) there was a decline in garden-building activities in Lahore. But Aurangzeb gave to Lahore the gift of *Sadd-e-Alamgiri* – the 3.2-kilometre-long protective walls to save the city from recurring floods and the largest mosque in the world along with a walled forecourt enclosure, the *Sarai Alamgiri*, which was later on aptly turned into a Mughal-style *chahar-bagh* with a central *baradari*. Today this *chahar-bagh* is called the Hazuri Bagh.

However, a few enterprising individuals in the city did continue to build gardens. The names of at least four such gardens can be discerned. These are Baghicha-e-Mahabat Khan (d. 1687) near Shalimar Garden, Bagh-e-Shah Chiragh near Lahore High Court, and Bagh-e-Mullah Badakhshi and Bagh Maqbara Nadira Begum – both in the Mian Mir area. All are funerary gardens. Among these, Baghicha-e-Mahabat Khan is significant because it is the smallest of the Mughal funerary gardens built in Lahore. Its four walls are still intact. Among gardens of this period, the most impressive is the mausoleum-garden of Nadira Begum – the wife of Prince Dara Shikoh. She died when Dara Shikoh was in exile during the war of succession, which he ultimately lost. We do not know who built this graceful mausoleum-garden in the midst of a huge water tank next to the mausoleum complex of Mian Mir, the spiritual guide of Dara Shikoh. In all probability, this is the last grand Mughal funerary garden built in Lahore. Besides its scale, this complex has a few novel features never seen before in Lahore or elsewhere.³² The tomb building is square in plan and of two storeys. Secondly, it was built in the middle of a large water tank beyond which extended the garden. The tomb

Two views of the tomb of Nadira Begum, wife of Prince Dara Shikoh. The mausoleum is surrounded by a garden, which was formerly a body of water. The tomb is accessed through arched gateways on the north and south by way of a bridge.





proper was reached through a causeway on one side. At the moment the garden is in partial disarray and ill maintained, and its original appearance is unknown.

THE LAST EMBERS

The last sixty-eight years of Mughal rule in Lahore resembled the last embers of a great dying star. There was no central authority and the weak provincial authorities were under pressure from all sides. The centre of all power was now Begumpura, a fortified new urban centre near Shalimar, and no longer Lahore Fort. In Begumpura, there was a garden called Bagh-e-Begum Jan, after the lady who built it. Elsewhere in the city, the names of only a few other gardens have been mentioned in the historical sources. These are: Badami Bagh (Almond Garden³³), Bagh-e-Pir Muhammad Adalti near Governor House, Bagh-e-Mir Mannu (d. 1778), also called Bagh-e-Jani Beg, Bagh-e-Sayyid Abdullah Khan (d. 1721), the famous king-maker Sayyid brother of Lahore, the Pleasure Garden of Dai Lado in the mohalla named after her near the present-day Mayo Hospital, and lastly, Bagh-e-Sharf-un-nisa Begum. This is situated a little north of Gulabi Bagh Gateway. It was originally a pleasure garden built by Nawab Zakriya Khan (d. 1745), one of the last governors of Lahore, in honour of his sister Sharf-un-nisa Begum, a pious disciple of Shah Chiragh. The mausoleum is unique in size, plan and elevation. From a distance it looks like a solid tapering pillar only 6 metres by 6 metres at the base and 10 metres in height. The small grave-chamber is raised 4.75 metres and measures 4 metres square. The tapering pillar terminates with eaves (*chajja*) and is further surmounted with a low, four-sided dome and its pinnacle. The only element of decoration is the series of four cypress trees, 2.2 metres tall, green on each side against a ground of glittering white glazed tiles. Saruwala Maqbara, so-called after the cypresses, now stands in isolation. No vestige of the surrounding garden exists today.

Left, Lahore Fort. View of the Hazuri Bagh from inside the central *baradari* (pavilion).

Right, the central pavilion in the Hazuri Bagh is decorated with mirror mosaic work and white marble.



Above, the tomb of Dai Angah was constructed at the centre of a garden known as Gulabi Bagh. Over the centuries, much of the garden has been encroached upon and today only a narrow strip remains.

Right, the exterior of the tomb was once elaborately decorated with *kashikari* tile work.



The handful of remaining Mughal gardens in Lahore are poignant reminders of a brilliant era of building gardens with characteristics attributed to a single dynasty. Hailing from Central Asia, the Mughals and the nobility of their courts who built these gardens combined the Central Asian/Timurid, Iranian and Indian garden traditions in such an effective way that their gardens have become the hallmark of their heritage.

1 T. W. Rhys Davids (tr.), *The Questions of King Milinda*, Oxford, 1890. "...There is in the country of the Yonakas, a great centre of trade, a city that is called Sagala, situated in a delightful country ... abounding in parks and gardens and groves and lakes and tanks, a paradise of rivers and mountains and woods." Yonakas in Pali refers to the Bactrian Greeks of the third/second century BCE.

2 Saifur Rahman Dar, "Whither the Historical Gardens of the Punjab", in M. Hussein, A. Rehman, J. L. Wescoat (eds.), *The Mughal Garden – Interpretation, Conservation and Implications*, Ferozsons, Lahore 1996, pp. 2–6; also Saifur Rahman Dar, *Some Ancient Gardens of Lahore*, Lahore, 1977.

3 Instead, Babur caused great damage to this city during his first invasion in 1524.

4 Dara Shikoh, *Sakinatul Auliya*. Urdu translation, published by Progressive Books, Lahore, 2000, pp. 113–114.

5 Sheikh Muhammad Mir, d. 1635, popularly known as Mian Mir Jeo, was a Sufi of the Qadiriya order.

6 This Naulakha Garden is different from the one of the same name that was later planted probably by Ali and that stretched between Delhi Gate and the Lahore railway station. For details see Saifur Rahman Dar, *Historical Gardens of Lahore*, Aziz, Lahore, 1982, pp. 10, 25.

7 [PEPAC (Pakistan Environmental Planning and Architectural Consultants)], *The Walled City of Lahore*, Lahore Development Authority, Lahore, 1993, second edition published by Sustainable Development of the Walled City of Lahore Project (SDWCLP), Lahore, 2009, pp. 54–55; Kanhaiya Lal, *Tareekh-e-Lahore*, Lahore, 1884, reprinted by Majlis-i-Taraqi-i-Adab, Lahore, 1967, p. 34; and Muhammad Saleh Kamboh, *Aqli-i-Saleh*, 3 vols. Majlis-i-Taraqi-i-Adab, Lahore, 1967.

8 For different attempts to rediscover the garden layout within this vast enclosure and its results see: Masud-ul-Hassan Khokhar, "Conservation of Lahore Fort Gardens", in Hussain, Rehman, Wescoat (eds.), *The Mughal Garden...* op. cit., p. 130.

9 Some historians believe that Bagh-e-Mehdi Qasim Khan and Bagh-e-Dilafroze are only two names of one garden that was later known as Bagh-e-Dilkusha and today as Bagh Maqbara Jahangir. Bagh-e-Mehdi Qasim Khan is frequently mentioned during Akbar's period. His mausoleum is inside Governor House, Lahore.

10 This Akbar-period garden outside Mochi Gate is reported to have been a terraced garden. But we do not know details of this feature of

a Mughal garden at this early stage (see Dar, *Historical Gardens of Lahore...* op. cit., pp. 13–14).

11 For *chini khana/savan bhadon* see also below under "Gardens of the Shah Jahan Period" on pp. 79–87.

12 Maulvi Nur Ahmad Chishti, *Tehqiqat-i-Chishti*, Punjabi Adabi Academy, Lahore, 1964, pp. 874ff. See also Lal, *Tareekh-i-Lahore* op. cit., p. 110.

13 Dara Shikoh, *Sakinatul Auliya* op. cit., p. 114.

14 Ibid.

15 The premises which house the Fatimah Jinnah College for Women used to belong to Jamadar Khush-hal Singh of Ranjit Singh's period. But, in the seventeenth century, Muhammad Saleh Kamboh discovered Asif Jah's *haveli* at this location (Kamboh, *Aqli-i-Saleh* op. cit.).

16 Some say that Bagh-e-Dilamaiz was only another name for Bagh-e-Dilkusha. For Bagh-e-Dilamaiz, for example, see M. Baqir, *Lahore – Past and Present*, Punjabi Adabi Academy, Lahore, 1984, pp. 390–391.

17 For Jahangir's own description of this palace and another description by a nineteenth-century British traveller, Captain Leopold von Orlich, see Masud-ul-Hassan Khokhar, "Conservation of Lahore Fort Gardens", in Hussain, Rehman, Wescoat (eds.), *The Mughal Garden...* op. cit., pp. 130–131, fig. 3.

18 However, absence of a subterranean chamber for a female grave in a Mughal mausoleum, as in this case, may go contrary to this belief.

19 Later, several other gardens in Lahore were developed that were renowned for certain flowers or fruit trees, such as Gulabi Bagh, Angoori Bagh, Badami Bagh and so on. All such specialized gardens were planted on the left bank of the Ravi.

20 In *Historical Gardens of Lahore* (op. cit.) of 1982, I was able to list only sixteen gardens in Lahore belonging to the Shah Jahan period. But a fresh list prepared in December 2018 swelled this number to thirty-five newly built gardens during the same period. This number is in addition to nineteen earlier gardens that were still flourishing, as mentioned by Prince Dara Shikoh in his book *Sakinatul Auliya* (op. cit.).

21 Only the magnificent gateway with four minarets and beautiful glazed-tile work and inscriptions survive today.

22 The humble tomb of Mian Mir is surrounded by a walled enclosure but there are no vestiges of any garden layout between the four walls and the tomb.

23 Three Mughal gardens at Fatehgarh were first reported by Wali Ullah Khan ("Lahore's Vanishing Gardens", *Daily Pakistan Times*, Lahore, 15 February 1976), and were then thoroughly surveyed and reported by this author in 1995 (Saifur Rahman Dar, "Two Unrecorded Mughal Gardens of Lahore", *Journal of the Research Society of Pakistan*, Lahore, vol. 33, no. 2, April 1996, pp. 31–50, later reprinted in Musarrat Abid et al. [eds.], *Cultural Heritage of the Mughals*, Institute of Pakistan Studies, University of Punjab, 2000, pp. 155–175).

24 Parts of the enclosure wall on the east and south were washed away by floods and have been reconstructed in recent years.

25 Sylvia Crowe and Sheila Haywood, *The Gardens of Mughal India*, Thames and Hudson, London, 1972, pp. 148–153.

26 However, much confusion surrounds this date. Baqir has discussed this issue at great length and finally suggested this date (see Baqir, *Lahore – Past and Present* op. cit., pp. 395–398).

27 Crowe and Haywood, *The Gardens of Mughal India* op. cit., p. 148.

28 See footnotes 10 and 11 above regarding the garden of Zain Khan Kokaltash. But we do not know in detail how the *savan bhadon* feature in a Mughal garden differed in the Akbar period (see Wali Ullah Khan, *Lahore and Its Important Monuments*, Anjuman Press, Karachi, 1966).

29 The architecture of the mosque in this space indicates that this forecourt belongs to an earlier period. Some even date it to the period of Sher Shah Suri. It seems to have been adopted as an entrance space for the funerary garden.

30 This is the only Mughal garden in Lahore that has a mosque and its replica.

31 The walls and garden are now being restored. Work is in progress on the four sides of the tomb building as well.

32 The only comparable complex is the mausoleum of Sher Shah Suri (1540–45) in Sasaram, who ruled India during the short interregnum when Humayun spent his life in exile.

33 No almond tree grows in Lahore today. But almond trees were mentioned by Hudud al-Alam – the earliest written source on Lahore: in Lahore there were: "...a great number of pine-trees (*chalgoza*), almond-trees (*badam*) and coconut trees (*joz-i-Hindi*)..." (see V. Minorsky, *Hudud al-Alam [The Regions of the World]*, Luzac, London, 1937, pp. 89–90, as quoted in Baqir, *Lahore – Past and Present* op. cit., p. 2).