

GARDENS IN THE TIME OF THE GREAT MUSLIM EMPIRES

THEORY AND DESIGN

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GARDEN TYPES IN MUGHAL LAHORE ACCORDING TO EARLY SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY WRITTEN AND VISUAL SOURCES

Mughal gardens have been discussed by several scholars in terms of their physical design, historical context, and relationship to cities.¹ For Lahore, Dar and Wescoat have made a comprehensive inventory of sites, and Wescoat has also determined the precise geometrical relationships in some imperial gardens.² But, although these are important works, the subject of the Mughal garden-city relationship has yet to be fully explored. The physical evidence is meager and patchy because of the indiscriminate expansion of the cities in which they were built, so reconstructions and interpretations are best made in conjunction with written or visual primary sources.

The *Bahār-i Sukhan* (1659) by Muhammad Salih Kambo, a native of Lahore who was appointed treasurer (*dīwan*) of the province of Lahore during the reign of Shah Jahan, is one of these sources. Kambo received his early education from Shaykh Inayat Allah Lahori, the head of official correspondence and records at Shah Jahan's court and therefore fluent in Persian. Kambo had access to the royal court through his tutor before he himself entered public service. Kambo wrote two books, the *Shāh Jahān Nāma* or *ʿAmal-i-Sālīh* and the *Bahār-i Sukhan* (The Spring of Prose); the latter was written in Shahjahanabad in 1655, the 29th year of Shah Jahan's reign.³ Its first section introduces the book and the emperor; the second provides the texts of letters the author wrote to Mughal nobility and high officials such as Aurangzeb, Shah Jahan, Asaf Khan, Qalij Khan, and Khan-i Dauran. The third section — the most important for urban designers and architectural historians — describes at length the important landmarks in three major cities, Shahjahanabad, Lahore, and Agra. The final section consists of commentary on the important writings of Shah Jahan's reign.

Miniature paintings from the Mughal era are an important source for the study of the urban garden, but they too have not been studied consistently from this point of view. Here I will use both Mughal texts and miniature paintings to describe the garden types of Lahore — that is, residential, funerary, and pleasure gardens — in the Shah Jahan period. Focusing particularly

on the *Bahār-i Sukhan's* descriptions, I will also explore the garden-city relationship in Mughal Lahore.

Lahore is situated on the ancient Mughal highway that connects Delhi and Agra in the east to Kabul in the west and Kashmir in the north (fig. 1). Like the rest of the Indian subcontinent, the climate in this region is generally harsh, especially its long hot summers. Its very limited formal landscape features before the Mughal period were confined mainly to tanks, pools, and natural water bodies. Babur describes it in the following terms on his first visit:

One of the great defects of Hindustan is lack of running water; it kept coming to my mind that water should be made to flow by means of wheels erected wherever I might settle down, also that grounds should be laid out in an orderly and symmetrical way. With this object in view, we crossed the Jun-Water to look at garden grounds a few days after entering Agra so bad and unattractive that we traversed them with a hundred disgusts and repulsions. So ugly and displeasing were they, that the idea of making a char-bagh in them passed from my mind, but need must! as there was no other land near Agra, that same ground was taken in hand a few days later.⁴

The province of Kabul, in contrast, had an ideal combination of natural features. It was "mountain, river, city and low land in one."⁵ Mild winters and cool summers made it superior to Samarqand, Delhi, and Agra. Even in the heat, the elevated citadel received cool breezes flowing down the Kabul river basin, channeled by the snow-capped mountains that flanked the river. Babur praised its air, its views over the valleys of irrigated orchards and gardens, and its contribution to harmonizing mountain, river, city, and lowland. Local climatic diversity made it possible to produce a wide range of both cold-weather and subtropical fruits.⁶ East of Kabul the hills had a rich cover of lush grasses, and on one hill slope was a dramatic display of several dozen varieties of naturalized tulips.

To the Mughals, Kashmir was a paradise, and they liked to spend the hot summers there because of its innumerable natural amenities. Jahangir described Kashmir in his memoirs in the following words:

Kashmir is a garden of eternal spring, or an iron fort to a palace of kings a delightful flower bed and a heart expanding heritage for dervishes. Its pleasant meads and enchanting cascades are beyond all description. Wherever the eye reaches, there are verdure and running water. The red rose, the violet, and the narcissus grow of themselves, in the fields, there are all kinds of flowers and all sorts of sweet, scented herbs more than can be calculated. In the soul-enchanting spring the hills and plains are filled with blossom, the gates, the walls, the courts, the roofs, are lighted up by the torches of banquet adorning tulips.⁷

The climate of Lahore is somewhat milder than that of Delhi and Agra, and it is closer to Kashmir and Kabul and therefore more accessible for local and Central Asian people traveling between them. It was also ideally situated at a crossroad of the land route and therefore many of the Mughal elite maintained a house there. But because vacant land in the walled city was in relatively short supply, a number of them kept their gardens outside (fig. 2). In Shah Jahan's reign in particular there were extensive garden suburbs to the east and southeast of the city, well integrated into the urban fabric and built mainly by important nobles. By the end of the seventeenth century there were several dozen gardens in and around the city, situated on both banks of the river on the east side. William Finch, an English traveler of the early seventeenth century, refers to "infinite numbers of gardens full of rarity exceeding two or three cos in length."⁸

Several writers have described the qualities of this urban and suburban environment. Salih Kambo writes,

Lahore is an extensive and peaceful town under the blue sky; no other town like it has ever been created on this earth. A description of its charming and fascinating gardens (*bustan*)⁹ canals, buildings, and forests that are the envy of paradise, are given below. . . .

. . . this is the time that I must plant the world of prose in the garden of my poetry and I want to make a bouquet of prose with the flow of my thoughts. I must make its Faiz Bagh fruits in the form of a bouquet of the best flowers and I must appreciate its every flower and beauty with a rainbow of colors. . . .

Glory be to God! there is no comparison of this liberality whose breeze is full of gladness and what a pleasant place that its dust is like the pleasure of heaven and only heaven can praise it. It is such a garden that its praiser can write beautiful prose on its every flower. This city is abundant with the freshness and cleanliness of heaven due to its freshness and charm. The elegance of its canals is giving excitement to the fountains of Kauther (abundance) and Nasim (cool breeze). Its morning is decorating stars and liberality like pious people. Its evening is a garland of sun because of its fragrance like a ringlet of beautiful people.

. . . Its every season is like the jewelry of seasonal flowers. Its

breeze is sprinkling happiness and joy on the heart of the beloved. . . .

It is a delightful valley whose neighborhoods (*kuchas*) and bazaars are full of the light of wisdom. The atmosphere of its buildings is colorful because of the fine quality of their workmanship. Its soil grows fortune instead of greenery. Its suburbs are fresher than the suburbs of a garden. Its land is a flower of a garden of paradise. . . .¹⁰

Though the style of the work is prolix, it certainly conveys the beauties of the town and the abundance in its various types of gardens. A place of pilgrimage because of the tombs and graves of the saints, shaykhs, pirs, and other holy men there, Lahore was among the important sites on the subcontinent. To it came thousands of pilgrims seeking advice, comfort, and help. In 1642, when the Augustinian friar Sebastian Manrique visited Lahore, he noted that "the city. . . , the second of the Mughal Empire, is famous as much for having been, after Delhi, the second seat of its Monarchs, as on account of its wealth and grandeur, this having been enhanced by the establishment of grand palaces, fine gardens, and fruit orchards, full of tanks and fountains of good water."¹¹

The first type of garden found in Lahore was the garden attached to a residence. When Akbar rebuilt the walls of the city between 1584 and 1598, it is likely that he extended them to include areas in the eastern part that were less densely settled to allow for residential gardens, and the limited Mughal sources and European travelers' accounts both indicate that they did exist within the walled city (fig. 3), though subsequent developments have eliminated any trace of them. The sources mention that the area just outside the eastern gate of the walled city had two extensive gardens from the time of Mirza Kamran, built in the early sixteenth century; they were probably the earliest gardens to be built near residential areas. Near the eastern garden Dara Shikoh built a residential estate in the mid seventeenth century named Mahallah Dara Shikoh, which also must have had gardens, though the only trace of it remaining is a Mughal bathhouse.

When entering the walled city through the Delhi Gate one passes the bathhouse of Wazir Khan; an extensive garden belonging to Fidae Khan Koka, the foster brother of Emperor Aurangzeb, was said to have been just beyond it. The present delapidated haveli (*hawli*, palatial mansion), of Beja Nath close to the Wazir Khan Mosque square had vast courtyards with an elaborate water system and fountains. After Partition in 1947, it was occupied by a number of families and only traces of its water system are left today. Further west, in the middle of

the walled city, was the haveli of Mian Khan, Shah Jahan's prime minister. This haveli also had extensive courtyards and a water system that included fountains and baths, but no trace of it remains today.

There was also a small garden west of the Sonehri Masjid, near a *baoli* (stepwell) said to have been built in the Suri period. A small garden still exists there for the local people. In front of the Masti Gate of the old fort in the Chuna Mandi area were two more havelis with garden courtyards. The main haveli had an extensive courtyard divided into four parts with a fountain in the middle. Modifications of it are recorded from Sikh times; the most recent restoration was completed in 1993. The other site, commonly known as the Teja Sing haveli, was originally one of the havelis of Asaf Khan, the brother-in-law of Jahangir. Even today a garden survives in its well-proportioned courtyard. The haveli was designed by Ustad Ahmad Lahori, one of the architects of the Taj Mahal; it is mentioned in Shah Jahani sources, and its garden is described by the traveler William Finch in the following words:

On the east side of the castle, hard without the wall, is the garden of Asoph Khan [Asaf Khan], small, neat, with walkes (planted with cypresse trees), divers tanks and jounters, as you enter, a fair devoncan supported with stone pillars, with a faire tanke in the midst, and in the midst of that, on foure stone pillars, a jounter for cooleness. Beyond are other galleries and walkes, divers lodgings for his women neatly contrived, and behind, a small garden and a garden house. . . . In the midst of the garden is a very stately jounter with faire buildings overhead, and a tank in the centre with large and goodly galleries alongst the foure sides thereof, supported with high stone pillars. Adjoining to this is a garden of a king, in which are very good apples, but small, toot (mulburry) white and red, almonds, peaches, figges, grapes, quinces, oranges, limmons, pomgranates, roses, stock yellow flowers . . . marigolds, wall flowers, ireos, pinkes white and red, with divers sorts of indian flowers.¹²

Another garden is reported to have existed south of the Lahore Fort near the Tehsil area. Princess Gulbadan states that Humayun, after his defeat in Bengal, fled from Agra to Lahore where he stayed in a residential garden.¹³

Over the years the pressure on urban land converted the largest havelis with landscaped courtyards into multiple dwellings, and there is very little evidence left of them in the historic quarters of the old city today.

A sub-category of residential garden was the fort or palace garden (fig. 4). The imperial fort had spaces for different functions ranging from private and semi-public to public and from residential to official, and numerous

courtyards, some of them divided into *charbāghs* with pools and fountains. The water systems in them both provided sensory delight and served practical purposes (fig. 5).

A second category of garden was associated with the tombs of holy men and rulers. Sufi saints loved nature and usually lived outside the quarters of towns and cities, in places where they could plant trees and flowering shrubs. Sources mention that the rulers often gave them extensive plots of land, and that these were often the place where they built their tombs which the rulers would then visit after they died. Gardens were also sometimes built to commemorate holy men. Dara Shikoh, the brother of the emperor Aurangzeb, had a special spiritual relationship with Mian Mir, and while he was governor of Lahore, the Mian Mir area acquired special spiritual significance. Over time the site established there achieved a remarkable synthesis of Mughal and imperial Sufi traditions. Dara Shikoh mentions the names of several gardens in Sakinat al-Aulia which Mian Mir frequented during his lifetime.

An illustration for the *Baharistan* of Jami^c by Basawan in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, exemplifies the Sufi tradition in landscape design. The *Baharistan* copied and illustrated in Lahore in 1595 contains a miniature depicting the meeting of the Sufi holy man Abu'l Abbas Qaqab with a vain dervish. Basawan presents the scene in an unusually beautiful way, depicting the encounter between two men against the dark-red stone buildings of Lahore. The theatrical mood always present in Basawan's oeuvre emerges here in the twisted tree near the well and the numerous almost organic folds of the patched garment of the dervish. The painter's attention to detail is also revealed in his moving and superb handling of the two men's hands, especially the dervish's right hand. The painting illustrates the plantation and animals attached to the house of a dervish.¹⁴

The Mughal rulers also laid out spacious tomb gardens for themselves on the *charbāgh* plan, conceived with paradisaical imagery in mind; they had boundary walls, gateways, and sometimes water channels, tanks, and fountains lined with different kinds of trees (fig. 6). Mughal tomb gardens with their square static plans, paradisaical symbolism, and solemnity represent the only enduring place of rest for the Mughal nobility. The survivors were obliged to include in their travels ritual visits to these tomb gardens before entering the city and on death-day celebrations (*ʿurs*).¹⁵

A third, and the most important, category of garden was the pleasure garden. These gardens were inspired by

nature and were first developed by the Mughals on contoured sites in the Farghana valley. They were initially developed for sloping sites, so where they could, the Mughals selected uneven sites for them to achieve similar effects. If the site was flat, they developed hydraulic systems using Persian wheels to lift water and obtain adequate pressure. These gardens were mainly used in the evening and in the spring.

The tradition of garden design reached its zenith with the construction of the Shalimar Gardens in Lahore (fig. 7). The description of Shalimar by Inayat Khan in the *Shāh Jahān Nāma* encapsulates the concept of a typical Mughal pleasure garden:

And the gardens and the agreeable pavilions which had been erected above the ground, which vied with the heavens in grandeur, were now found suitable to the royal taste. In fact, never before had a garden of such magnificent description been seen or heard of, for the buildings along this earthly paradise had been erected at an outlay of six laks of rupees.¹⁶

Courtiers and others of the elite followed the emperor in building gardens, and by the middle of the seventeenth century, gardens representing all social levels were so numerous in Lahore that it was known as "the city of gardens."

It was difficult to irrigate such a large number of gardens, given the flat terrain of the southern and eastern suburbs. To overcome the problem Shah Jahan ordered the construction of an irrigation channel, and gardens sprang up along its entire length. The canal itself became an important landscape feature of the larger urban context. Streams emerging from the channel provided water to the gardens flanking it on either side or lying in built-up areas.

The Shalimar Garden was called by the emperor Shah Jahan Farah Baksh (Garden of Delight) and Faiz Baksh (Garden of Bounty). A court poet of Shah Jahan composed a chronogram for the foundation of the garden which reads as follows: "When Shah Jahan, the King Defender of the Faith, laid out the Shalimar in becoming style, I asked the date of the foundation from the doorkeeper of Paradise. He answered, saying, "This is the example of the highest Paradise."¹⁷ Salih Kambo also mentions the Bagh-i Farah Bakhsh and Faiz Bakhsh in the *Bahār-i Sukhan* in Dhu'l Hijja 1055 (February 1646), four years after the Shalimar Garden was completed:

I am paying tribute to the dust of this garden so that I can give new life to my writings. The beauty of this garden is heavenly. It has given freshness to each and every thing

with the help of spring. This freshness has given bounty and liberality to its greenery. One can find fate, happiness, and success in its dust. The nightingale has also started scattering melodies there. Its fragrant air removes the veil from the beauty of the garden. . . . The plant of life is being raised on the bank of its stream because God has nurtured this flowered earth with the water of heaven. The sunflower is being washed with rose water. God has filtered its dust with a heavenly sieve. Its beds are full of flowers and give an impression that a galaxy of stars are knit together.

. . . Its fragrance seems like the soul of pious people. Its lawns are full of tulips. The gardens of paradise feel depressed to see the greenery of its grassy plots. The nightingale is surprised at this perception. The intoxication of its narcissus has worked in such a way that the morning breeze is distressed in search of this condition. Due to the beauty and quality of its atmosphere the rosebud has removed its veil without the help of the morning breeze.

. . . Its plants have rooted themselves in each head due to their well-balanced, symmetrical and rhythmical beauty and elegance. The hyacinth has flawless fragrance and its gilly flower has lower down the value of perfume. God has put a black mole on the face of its tulip to keep it away from the evil eye. The garden of the wild rose has won the competition of flower arrangement from the galaxies of stars. The breeze of heaven has come to make a circuit of its garden before the sun rises. These qualities are so strong that it is justified to be called Farah Bakhsh. . . .

Its Urdu Bihisht [flower] garden is like a bouquet of its excellent variety of flowers. Due to the freshness of its fragrant atmosphere, its surroundings are like a stem of hyacinth. This fascinating adventure is written perfectly by the order of the magician of the land. This unique garden is unusual, curious, and has become elegance on this earth. The blue sky feels contemptible because of its flawless beauty. . . .¹⁸

After the description of flowers, the author describes the water system and the symbolic meaning of its various effects:

In the center of this earthly paradise a sacred stream flows gently with its full elegance and sweetness [fig. 7]. This stream flows with its charming, fascinating, and exhilarating nature and passes through the garden irrigating the flower beds. Its smile is like the smile of the sun. It gives so much freshness that the ringlet of its waves, in order to deceive the bride of the garden, has tightened the bouquet with the string of the sun in an elegant manner. The moon which is the source of illumination in the dark obtains light for the sword of the water in this stream. Its water is as beautiful as greenery. The divine mercy is clearly apparent from its existence. The vast stream is just like clouds pouring rain and opens the doors of divine mercy. Its chevron patterns are like an institution of worship where the hearts of believers are enlightened. . . .¹⁹

Mughal gardens were more often used in the evenings

than the daytime and therefore made use of both lamps and moonlight. The moon and candlelight often figure in the physical design. Salih Kambo's description refers to the garden's niches whose lamps are reflected in the water:

The moon is keeping an eye on it for light and coolness. Intelligent and enlightened people who are fond of the light of devotion can learn from the clarity of water. The niches can be seen on its sacred bank which have lamps on them. Each lamp is like a divine light which gives the light of leisure to the world, and has made this land a wonder place in the eyes of the sky. In flowing water the reflection of lamps looks as if the stars are dancing with happiness in the blue sky. The presence of camphor lamps on the edge of the tanks seems as if thousands of moons are standing straight in the stream of the sky. . . .

The *chadar* [chute] under the surface of the crystal-clear water along with light niches or springs of bounty are glittering like happy faces [fig. 8]. The lamps are burning face to face, eliminating darkness and bringing clarity like the heart of pious people. These lamps are as involved in themselves as innocent people who sometimes become lost in a deeper sea of realities. The chute of water together with the lamps appears to be spreading beads and arches along with cascades which are shining like scholarly people. This night of 27 Dhu'l Hijja 1055 [February 1646] appears as a symbol of bounty in this condition.²⁰ . . . its fountains are apparent like opportune meanings. Thousands of camphorate lamps are burning face to face to light the sky. The garden has permanent light from their luster. They have opened their lips in praise of Almighty God. . . .

This stream, which has a quality of freshness and dampness, has fountains in its surrounds. These fountains always emit beads from their mouth. The vast greenery is the color of emeralds. The abundance of red roses which are blooming there has brought the meaning closer to the reader. . . .

In the center of this garden extraordinary, curious and tall cypress trees decorate the beauty of the garden. On one side the cypress trees with their luster have increased its charm in the courtyard, and on the other side fountains with their musical sound have awakened the dead without the Seraph's trumpet. . . .

Sometimes tears come out of the eyes of the fountain because of the scene of the cypress trees. Sometimes sweet melodies of fountains surprise the cypress trees. It seems as if two lovers in this beautiful courtyard are picking the flower of love and relationship. Glory be to Allah! what a fascinating scene is this. The rose is twisting and twining due to the beauty of this scene. Its courtyard is cleansed of every darkness and impurity like the heart of the pious people. Its doors are scattering unlimited happiness and love like the door of heaven.²¹

After mentioning the flowers, stream, and fountains Salih Kambo describes the pavilion in the garden once decorated by beautiful fresco paintings. Chandar Bhan

supports Salih Kambo's view that these paintings depict the image of paradise:

What a beautiful pavilion is this. The eye concentrates on its walls, portraying the painting of gardens. Its door is like the door of heaven which spreads unlimited happiness. The floral decorations on the walls and ceilings have a pleasant atmosphere. The pious are extremely satisfied with the culmination of water and color. Its colored pillars come close to the heart like the beloved. The palace of heaven provides an opportunity to see the unlimited beauties of paradise on earth. Its high pavilion is a place from where the divine light rises every morning. It is like a residence of heaven which willingly spreads eternal generosity. Its high *jharoka* is the place of the rising sun and opens the doors of fortune and happiness on the world like the breaking of dawn. We feel proud of its crystal clear pool [fig. 9]. God's blessings are lying on its heart like beads in the lap of a shell. Generosity has been contained in its nature like sweetness in a cup of sugar candy. The sky keeps its face lit with the reflection from its pond. . . . In its tank thousands of delicate fishes are mingled and composed like suitable lines in a verse.²²

Michael Brand has written of the garden, "At Shalimar a combination of aesthetic and technical ingenuity produced a garden that must have stunned early visitors: never before had a garden of such focussed power been constructed on the hot plains of the subcontinent."²³ The Mughal pleasure gardens were an extension of the royal palace. Important administrative activities were performed there, ceremonies were held, nobles and the elite were honored, and the problems of commoners were solved; all classes of people met there. They served as halting places on long journeys. A painting by Bichitr (on a page from the Minto Album in the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, ms. no. 7) shows the meeting of Prince Dara Shikoh with holy men, probably in the garden of Hasan Abdal, in a town 195 miles from Lahore. Bichitr painted many scenes of imperial pomp and grandeur and was one of the major figures in the *kitāb-khāna* during the reigns of both Jahangir and Shah Jahan. This painting was executed around 1630. In it the pavilion and railing of the garden are clearly shown; the gathering in a cool fragrant garden at dusk perfectly exemplifies the civilized pleasures of princely Mughal life. The royal host is enjoying a scholarly discussion, or perhaps a poetry reading, accompanied by music and good things to eat and drink. Bichitr has depicted each paintable delight, the wise and witty company, elegantly decorous attendants, a superb dhurrie beneath yet another marvelous carpet with arabesques, one of them entirely in whites, a black pedestal, apparently of Mughal workman-

ship, an invitingly placed couch beneath a canopy at the end of the garden.²⁴

A painting in the collection of Howard Hodgkin, entitled "Noblemen with Musicians" (late 17th century), also shows the relationship between the royal fort and suburban gardens in Lahore (fig. 10). The painting was executed perhaps at Aurangabad and depicts a meeting between two nobles on a terrace alongside a lake or river. The distant waterfront is lined with walled gardens, private pleasure grounds to which boats are ferrying visitors; each has an architecturally distinct entrance facing the water.²⁵

The large imperial or sub-imperial garden sites required many people for their regular maintenance, including craftsmen and supervisors as well as gardeners. These people generally lived in communities near the garden site, as in Baghbanpura, Begumpura, and Shahdara. These satellite settlements were dependent on the main town for their daily economic and commercial activities, so roads had to be built to connect them with the town. Over the years the vacant areas were filled in with smaller gardens. In the Mughal period a series of gardens lined both sides of the Grand Trunk Road and the Multan Road. The geographic boundary of the town was much extended beyond the city center. By this combination of small and large pleasure, residential, and tomb gardens, a strong continuity existed between garden, city, and suburb. These gardens were places of pleasure and pride, provided fruits and vegetables, and enhanced the environmental quality of Lahore.

The pleasure gardens were also used on military campaigns, administrative tours, and by artists and bureaucrats following shifts in patronage. The Mughal period demanded an almost incessant circulation of goods, bureaucrats, armies, administrators, and kings. Gardens may also have been a corrective to the pressures and risks of imperial travel.

Like the pleasure gardens for men there were also harem gardens in the cities, such as the Chauburji garden in Lahore, which had all the features of royal gardens (fig. 11). A painting executed by Faizullah in 1765 perfectly shows the garden, city, and river relationship; it is entitled "In a Harem Garden" and shows a series of gardens on either side of the river, irrigated by canals. Faizullah created a wonderful perspective. Colonnades, watercourses, verdant alleys, and many-storied pavilions dancing to the rhythm of his vanishing points, are sprinkled like confetti and charge the already festive atmosphere. The idealized palaces surrounded by formal gardens sit within the landscape that stretches across the

world. The ladies loll, smoke *huggas*, perform and listen to music.²⁶ All the qualities of a paradise garden are set in the natural landscape.

Milo Beach notes that Akbar traveled to establish imperial control; Jahangir seems constantly to have been moving about just to keep himself in touch with his kingdom and be entertained; Shah Jahan mainly traveled for recreation, but he also saw to administrative duties in a variety of places.²⁷ Emperor Aurangzeb halted in gardens on military campaigns, where he maintained a strong connection with nearby towns and settlements. He is said to have stayed in the garden of Hasan Abdal for a year and a half, and during that time it became a seat of government where day-to-day business would be conducted and necessary orders issued.

There was a strong relationship between Mughal aesthetics, Sufism, and gardens.²⁸ The description of the Mughal gardens in the *Bahār-i Sukhan* reflects Sufi concepts, and it is evident that the gardens were designed to highlight and to re-create nature. Both the Mughal ruling elite and the Sufis appreciated the various color schemes and designs of flowers and leaves, sounds of water and birds, and other sensory effects at various times of the day and night. By appreciating their qualities they could praise the Creator, all themes mentioned in the *Bahār-i Bukhan*.

The most significant aspect of Mughal gardens as revealed in the descriptions is that they remained very close to the natural environment. Man-made structures were so organized as to harmonize with and to seem to be part of nature. The individual elements form a whole, and the whole is always dominated by and subordinated to nature. Gardens became places of meditation and revelation, visited by people from all walks of life to witness the changes of season. Even today by walking through what remains of these gardens the visitor is stimulated by the sights and sounds as well as by an intellectual appreciation of the garden's symbolic form.

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NOTES

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1. Jons Lehrman, *Earthly Paradise: Gardens and Courtyard in Islam* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1980), pp.139–45, and Elizabeth Moynihan, *Paradise as a Garden in Persia and Mughal India* (New York: George Brazillier, 1979) have written on physical design; Catherine Asher, *Architecture of Mughal India*, New Cambridge History of India 2,4 (Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press, 1992), has studied the subimperial contribution to garden design and layout planning; and James L. Wescoat, Jr. "Gardens, Urbanization and Urbanism in Lahore, 1531–1657," in *The Mughal Garden*, ed. J. Wolschke-Bulmahn and J.L. Wescoat, Jr. (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, forthcoming), has placed these gardens in their historical context with reference to travelers and trade routes and to some degree to garden-city relationships.
2. S.R. Dar, *Historical Gardens of Lahore* (Lahore: Aziz Publishers, 1982); J.L. Wescoat, Jr., Michael Brand, and N. Mir, "The Shalamar Gardens of Lahore: Site Documentation and Spatial Analysis," *Pakistan Archaeology* 25 (1990): 333–66.
3. The manuscript copy used here comprises 224 folios, and is now in the Punjab Public Library in Lahore (ms. nos. 876–79). For published editions and other information on M. Salih Kambo's works, see M. Tufail, *Naqoosh*, special number on Lahore (1962), pp.967–72; and Wayne Begley and Z.A. Desai, *Taj Mahal: The Illumined Tomb* (Cambridge, Mass., 1989), Introduction, p.xxi, n. 4 and xxviii–xxix. For other references to gardens in Kambo's works, see the article by Ebba Koch, elsewhere in this volume.
4. Zāhir al-Dīn Muḥammad Bābur, *Bābur-nāma*, trans. A. Beveridge (rpt., Delhi: Oriental Books, 1970), p.531.
5. *Ibid.*, p.202.
6. James L. Wescoat, "Garden versus Citadel: The Territorial Context of Early Mughal Gardens," *Dumbarton Oaks Colloquium on the History of Landscape Architecture* 13, ed. John Dixon Hunt (Washington, D.C., 1992), pp.348–54.
7. Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad Jahangīr, *Tuzuk-i Jahangīrī, or the Memoirs of Jahangīr*, trans. A. Rogers and ed. H. Beveridge (rpt., Lahore, 1974), p.143.
8. William Finch in William Foster, *Early Travels in India 1583–1619* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1921), p.166.
9. *Busātin* (sg. *bustān*), lit., "sweet-smelling places" from *bu* (fragrance) and *stān* (place).
10. Kambō, *Bahār-i Sukhan*, fols. 113–15.
11. E.D. Maclagan, "The Travels of Fry Sebastian Manrique in the Punjab, 1641," *Journal of the Punjab Historical Society* 4 (1982): 43.
12. *Early Travels in India*, pp.165–66.
13. Gulbadan Begam, *Humayun-Nāma*, trans. A.S. Beveridge (Delhi: Idara Farogh-e-Adhiyat, 1902), p.144.
14. Amina Okada, *Imperial Mughal Painters. Indian Miniatures from the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century* (Paris: Flammarion, 1992).
15. James L. Wescoat, et al., *The Mughal Gardens of Lahore: A Processional Guide* (Washington, D.C., and Lahore, 1993).
16. Wayne Begley and Z.A. Desai, ed. and trans., *The Shah Jahan Nama of Inayat Khan* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1990), p.298.
17. R.E.M. Wheeler, *Five Thousand Years of Pakistan* (London: Royal India and Pakistan Society, 1950), p.87.
18. Bahār-i Sukhan, fols. 118–19.
19. *Ibid.*, fol. 119.
20. *Ibid.*, fols. 121–22.
21. *Ibid.*, fol. 120.
22. *Ibid.*, fol. 121.
23. Sajjid Kausar, James L. Wescoat, Michael Brand, *Shalamar Garden of Lahore: Landscape, Form and Meaning* (Lahore: Government of Pakistan, 1990), p.1.
24. Okada, *Imperial Mughal Painters*, p.173.
25. Andrew Topsfield and Milo Beach, *Indian Paintings and Drawings from the Collection of Howard Hodgkin* (New York and London: Thames and Hudson, 1991), pp.52–53.
26. S.C. Welch, *India and Pakistan: Art and Culture, 1300–1900* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1988), p.279.
27. Milo Beach, *The Imperial Image: Paintings for the Mughal Court* (Washington, D.C.: Freer Gallery of Art, 1981), p.32.
28. See Laleh Bakhtiar, *Sufi Expressions of the Mystic Quest* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1971).

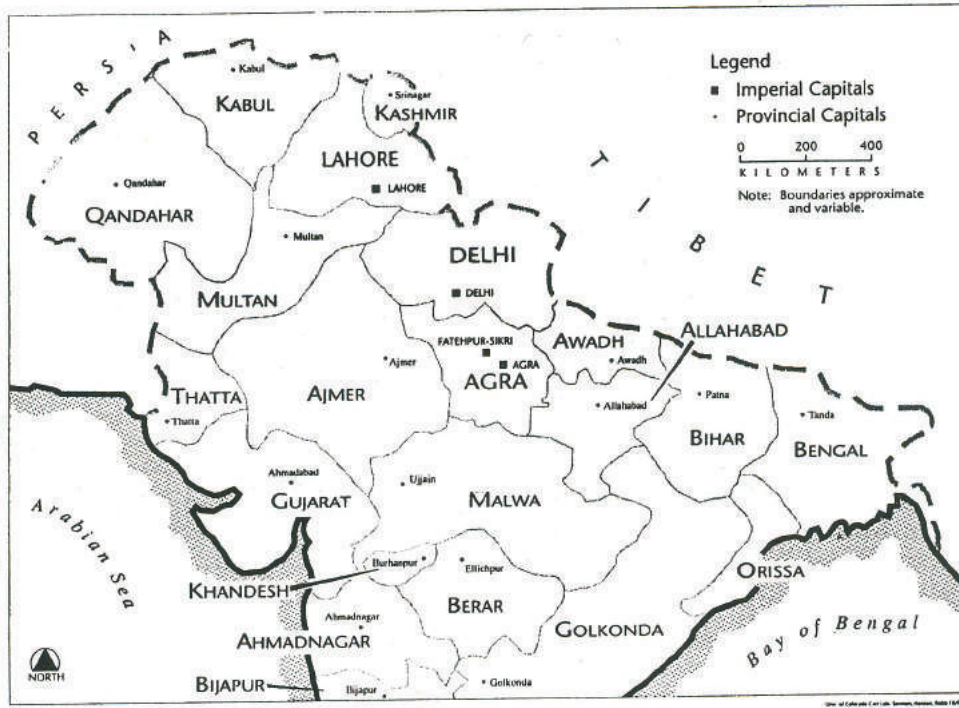


Fig. 1. Map of the Mughal Empire. (Reproduced courtesy of James L. Wescoat, Jr.)

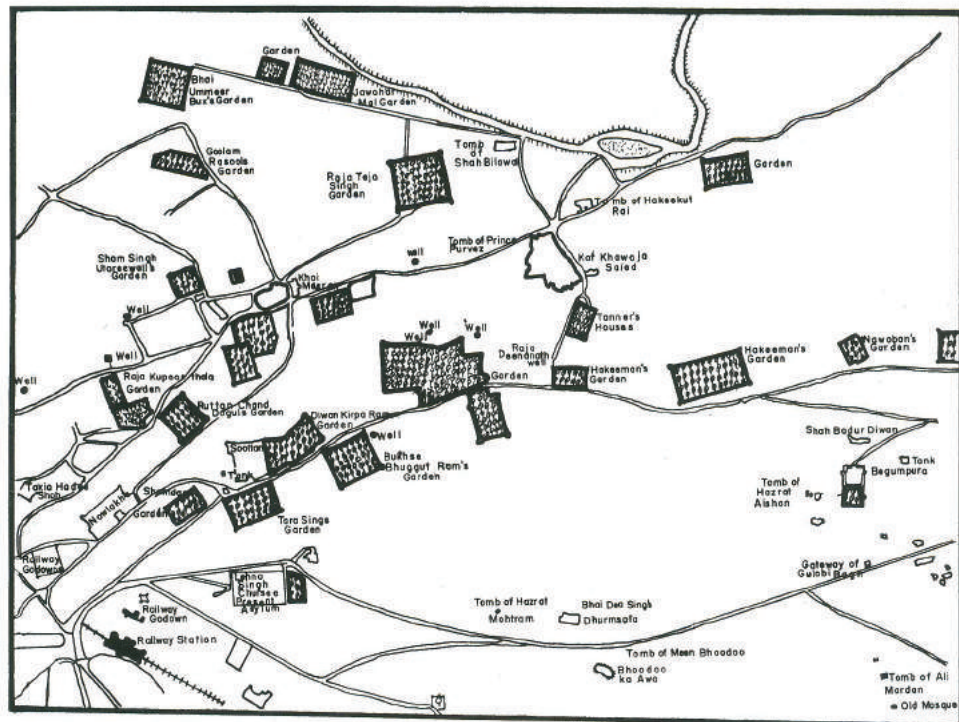


Fig. 2. Section of a map of Lahore, dated ca. 1867, showing the distribution of gardens along the Grand Trunk Road.

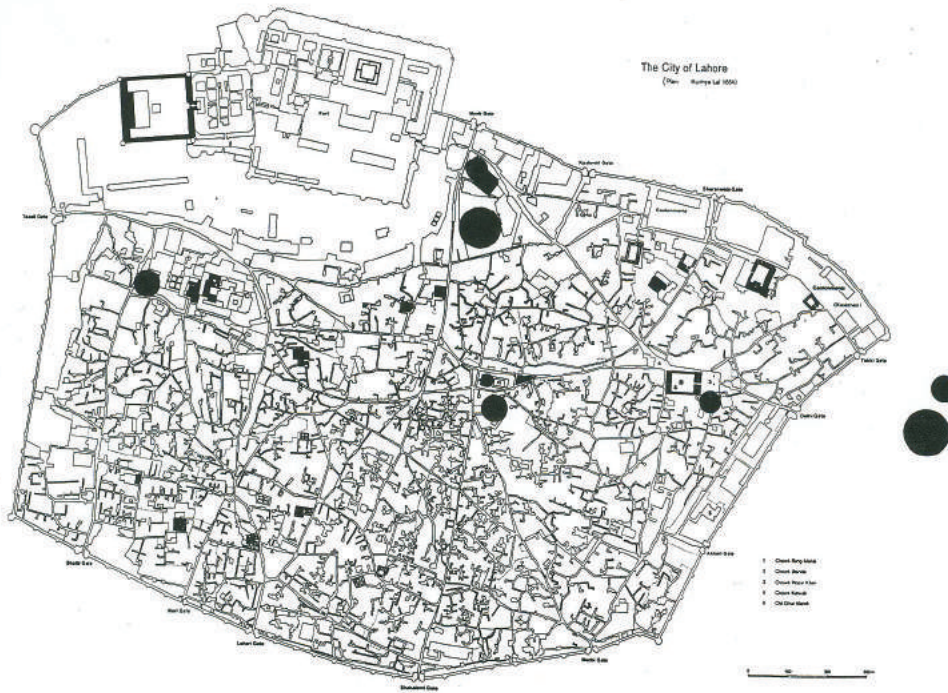


Fig. 3. Distribution of residential gardens in the walled city of Lahore.

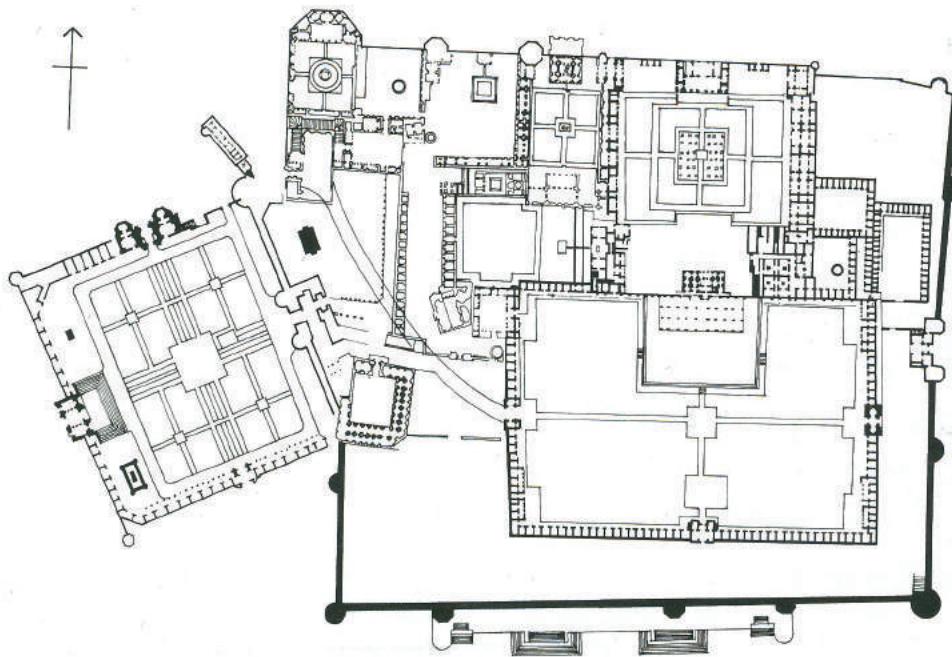


Fig. 4. Lahore Fort. Plan.



Fig. 5. Lahore Fort. Garden in Jahangir quadrangle.

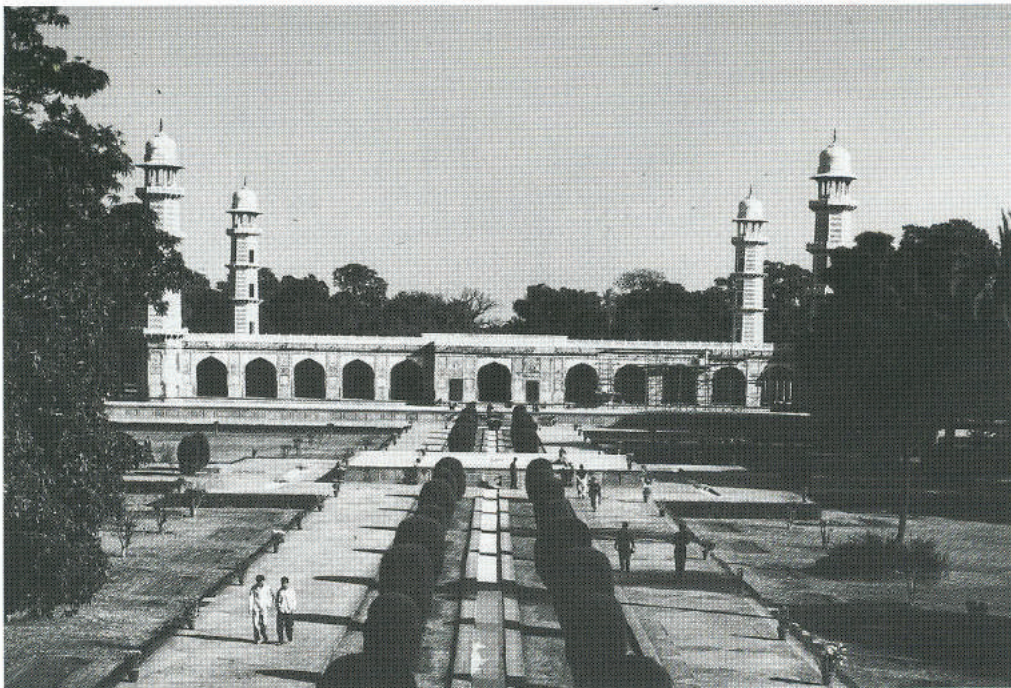


Fig. 6. Jahangir's tomb and garden.

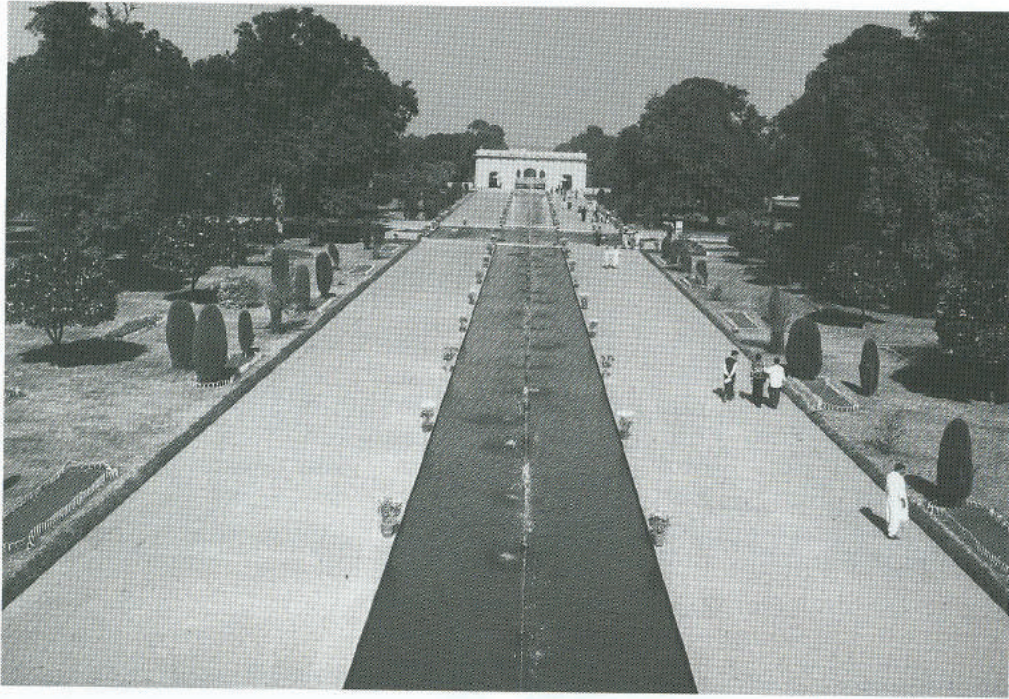


Fig. 7. Shalamar Garden. Upper terrace with central water channel.

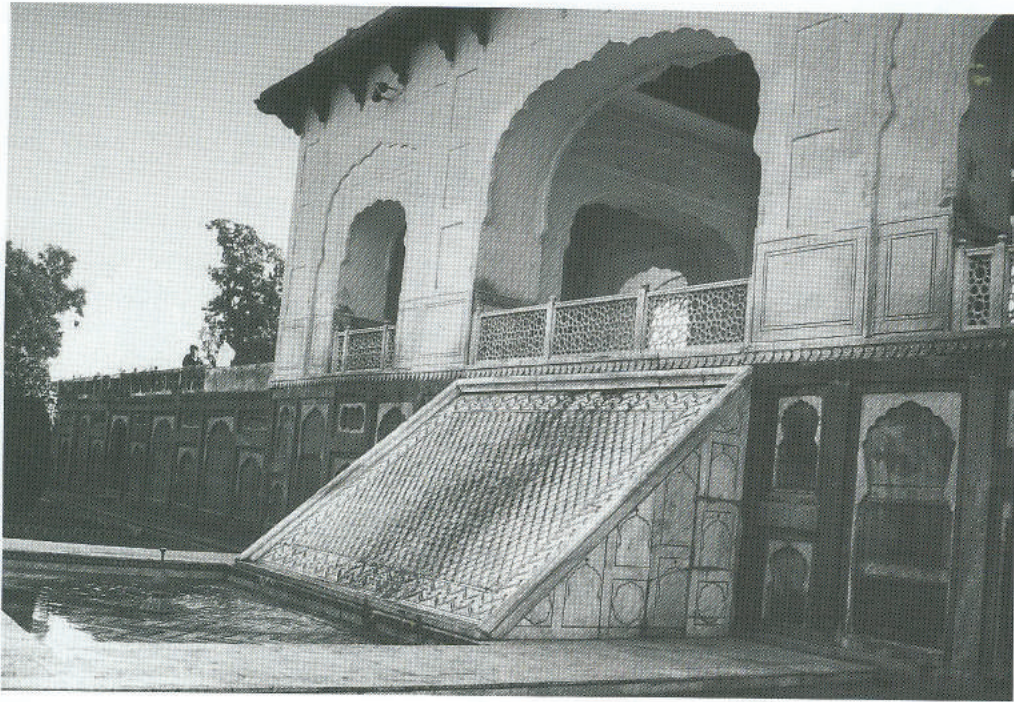


Fig. 8. Shalamar Garden. The *chadar* in the middle terrace.

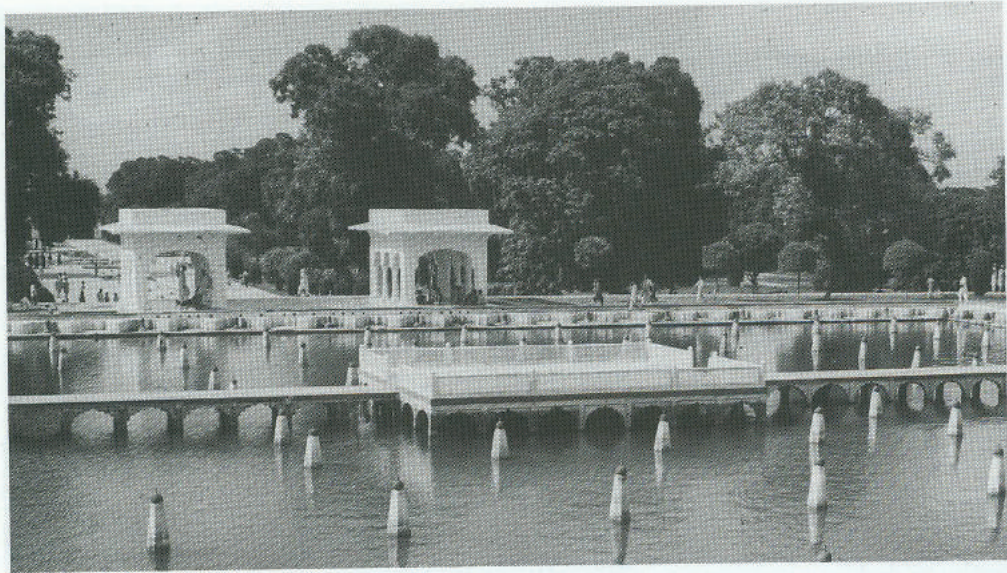


Fig. 9. Shalimar Garden. Pool in the middle terrace.



Fig. 10. Nobleman with Musicians. Deccani, late 17th century. Collection Howard Hodgkin. (Photo: courtesy Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.)

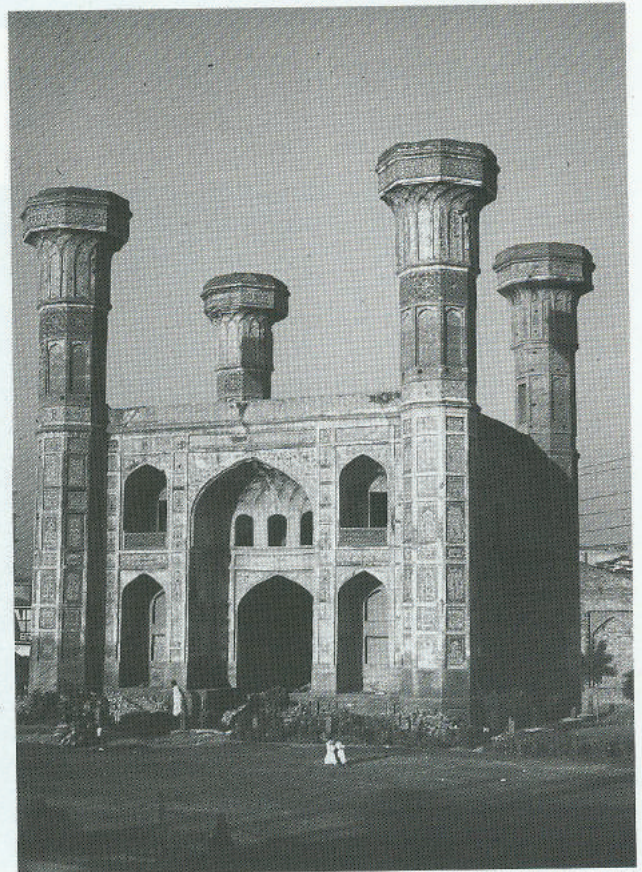


Fig. 11. Chauburji garden. Gateway.