

# **The History of Lahore and the Preservation of its Historic Buildings**

A symposium held in Cambridge

13–14 October 2017

**Summaries of talks**



# The History of Lahore and the Preservation of its Historic Buildings

A symposium held in Cambridge  
13–14 October 2017

at Wolfson College, Clare College  
and The Ancient India & Iran Trust

Organised by Sir Nicholas Barrington  
and Dr Abdul Majid Sheikh

**Summaries of talks**

## INTRODUCTION

At the end of 2016, various elements came together to suggest that it would be time to organise a conference in Cambridge on 'The History of Lahore and the Preservation of its Historic Buildings'.

As British High Commissioner in Islamabad 20 years ago, I had taken special interest in the history of Pakistan, particularly the number of historic sites in Lahore. I claimed to have discovered monuments in the back streets of the city of which most of my sophisticated Pakistani friends had seemed unaware. But my research had only been superficial.

Pakistan has been in the news for many reasons, but there are now few visitors. Security concerns have restricted the sort of tourism that India enjoys. Because the country has this poor image, it was appropriate to remind people about its rich history. I also knew that Lahore's antiquities were under threat, most recently from a mass transit plan already under construction, with a high-level rail system going through the heart of the city, so the issue was topical.

As a Trustee of the Ancient India and Iran Trust in Cambridge, I was able to persuade the management to sponsor a two-day symposium and provide some administrative back-up. What clinched the decision was that Dr Abdul Majid Sheikh, a respected journalist and author with deep knowledge about, and interest in, Lahore, had taken to working in the Trust's library. We could organise the conference together. He had links with the Centre of South Asian Studies at Cambridge University and was a Research Associate at Wolfson College, which was a suitable conference venue.

Experienced and aspiring scholars, mostly personally known to me, expressed keenness to come for a two-day conference in October. They included potential high-profile speakers, including an acknowledged Pakistani expert on Lahore and a British UNESCO professor who had produced a report on the mass transit scheme, which was then subject to a court case. Dr Sheikh and I drew up a programme covering a range of different aspects of

Lahore's history. It was an ambitious project. Sufficient funding was needed, and eventually secured, for which we are most grateful to a number of donors (see p. 40).

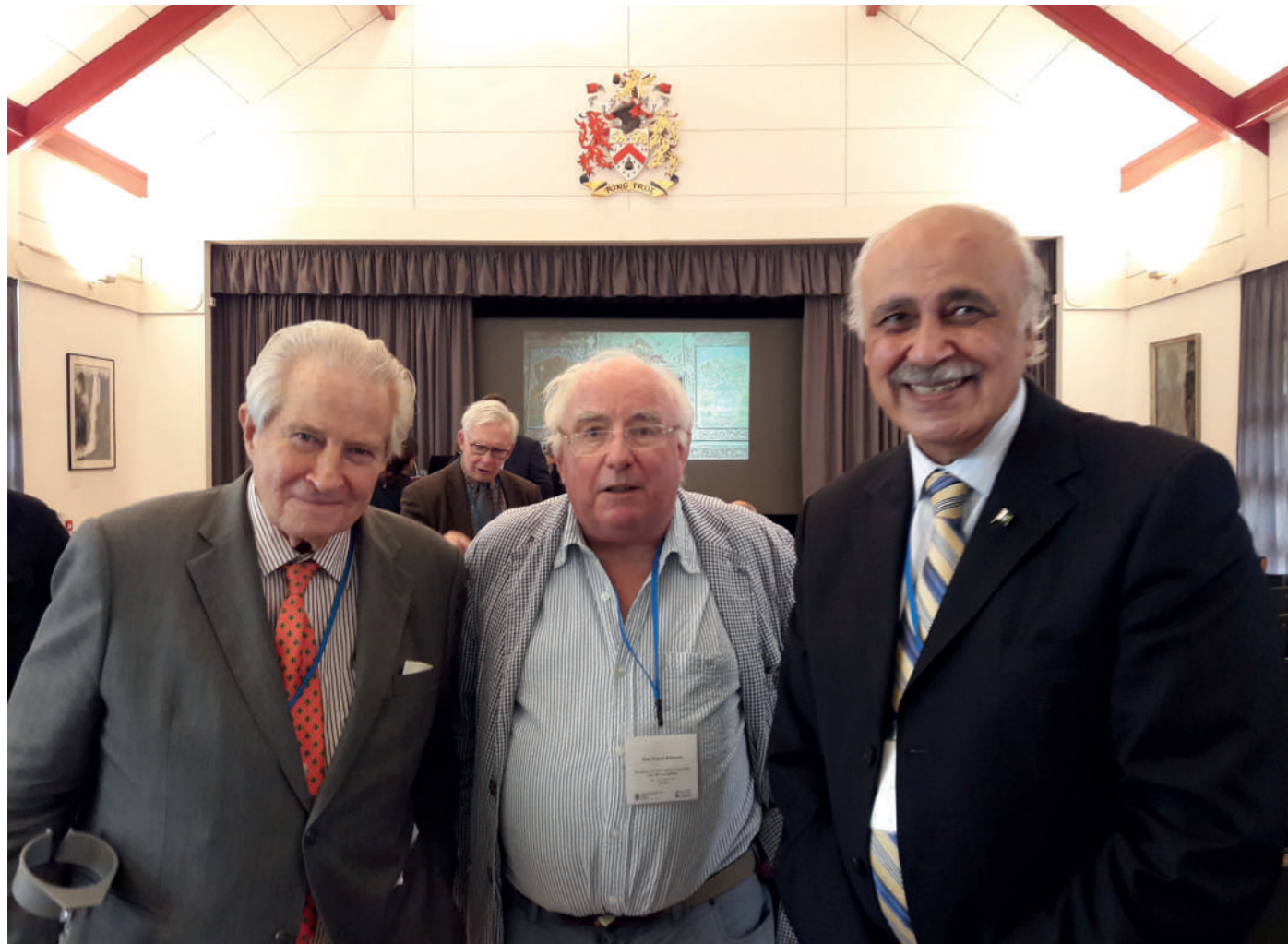
The Trust spread the word as best we could. In due course the subject attracted interest. Well over 100 people from different backgrounds came and enjoyed the event. Many expressed appreciation.

This booklet has not been subject to academic rigour. It is designed for people who could not attend the symposium, giving them informal summaries of the talks as drafted by the speakers themselves, together with pictures of the main monuments discussed. It is planned that an academic volume of the proceedings will be published by the British Association for South Asian Studies, probably in 2020.

**Nicholas Barrington  
April 2018**

### *Note on images*

Most of the photographs are from our own sources. Others have been provided by Ms Eman Omar, a student at Warwick University, and Ms Meeraal Shafaat-Bokharae, a PhD candidate at the University of Cambridge.



Left to right: Nicholas Barrington, Francis Robinson and Fakir Syed Aijazuddin at Wolfson College, 13 Oct.



Dinner at Clare College with the High Commissioner for Pakistan, 13 Oct.



Abdul Majid Sheikh at the Ancient India & Iran Trust reception, 14 Oct.

# PROGRAMME

**13 OCTOBER 2017**  
**LEE SENG TEE HALL, WOLFSON COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE**

- 2:00 pm Welcome and introduction  
*Sir Nicholas Barrington*
- 2:05 pm The early history of Lahore, its Walled City and Fort  
*Dr Abdul Majid Sheikh, Wolfson College, Cambridge*
- 2:50 pm The Arrival of Islam in the Punjab and Lahore: historiographical debates  
*Prof. Iftikhar Malik, Bath Spa University*
- 3:30 pm Tea/coffee break
- 4:00 pm Iranian influence in Mughal architecture  
*Prof. Robert Hillenbrand FBA, University of St Andrews*
- 4:40 pm Case studies in Mughal architecture: the Royal Tombs of Shahdara  
*Dr Mehreen Chida-Razvi, SOAS, University of London*

## RILEY AUDITORIUM, CLARE COLLEGE MEMORIAL COURT

- 6:00 pm Keynote lecture – Heritage and development: Lahore’s monuments and the potential impact of mega-infrastructure  
*Prof. Robin Coningham, UNESCO Chair in Archaeological Ethics and Practice in Cultural Heritage, Durham University*
- 7:45 pm Dinner, Clare College Memorial Court



Robin Coningham speaking at Clare College, 13 Oct.

**14 OCTOBER 2017**  
**LEE SENG TEE HALL, WOLFSON COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE**

- 9:00 am So many minor monuments, often under threat  
*Sir Nicholas Barrington, Dr Abdul Majid Sheikh*
- 9:30 am Lahore and the imperial Mughal workshops  
*Susan Stronge, Senior Curator, V&A Museum*
- 10:10 am Lahore and dynastic diplomacy in Maharaja Ranjit Singh’s empire  
*Dr Priya Atwal, University of Oxford*
- 10:50 am Tea/coffee break
- 11:20 am Indigenous private buildings of Lahore  
*Lucy Peck, author and researcher*
- 12:00 pm Reflections on Lahore as a power centre  
*Prof. Francis Robinson CBE, Royal Holloway, University of London*
- 1:00 pm Lunch
- 2:30 pm The churches of Lahore and related buildings  
*The Rt Revd Dr Michael Nazir-Ali, Oxford Centre for Training, Research, Advocacy and Dialogue*
- 3:10 pm Lockwood Kipling and Indo-Saracenic architecture of Lahore  
*Julius Bryant, Keeper of Word and Image, V&A Museum*
- 3:50 pm Break
- 4:00 pm Keynote address – Lahore: a crucible of history  
*Fakir Syed Aijazuddin OBE, author and researcher*
- 6:30–8:00 pm Reception, Ancient India and Iran Trust, Cambridge



Students from the University of Warwick at the Ancient India & Iran Trust reception, 14 Oct.

# IS LAHORE A CITY OF THE LATE HARAPPAN ERA?

ABDUL MAJID SHEIKH

In this brief discourse I dwell on Lahore's probable origins, trying to trace its history using geographical facts, inching forward with myths, inserting historical references and then using archaeological data to determine its age.

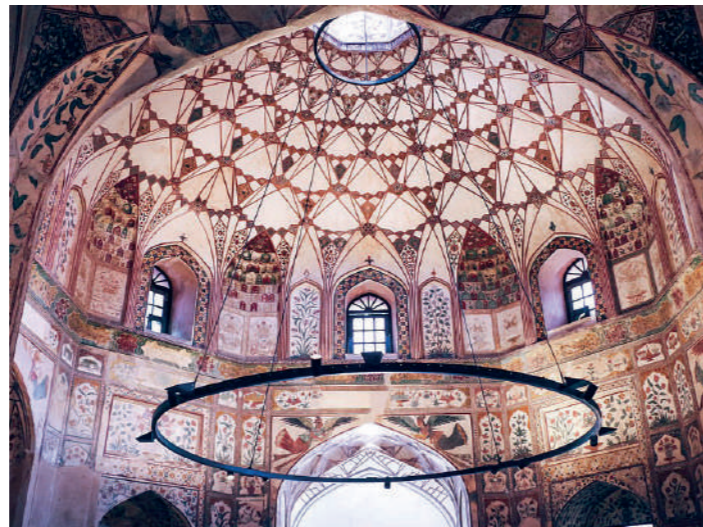
By the time the English poet John Milton wrote his immortal poem *Paradise Lost* in 1670, claiming Agra and Lahore were revealed to Adam after the Fall as wonders of God's creation, Lahore was larger than Constantinople and bigger than Paris and London collectively. From the Lahore Fort, the 'Great Mughals' ruled major portions of Afghanistan, Pakistan, India and Bangladesh. Punjabis claim: 'If you have not seen Lahore you have yet to be born'.

But, away from the exaggeration and poetry, I will touch on the probable origins of Lahore; why geography is important in understanding the reason the city emerged; how historians approach the question of its origins; how myths tackled it, and finally, how archaeological evidence dates it.

First, the current picture. The World Bank, like Pakistan's 2017 Census, claims Lahore is today (in 2017) the fifteenth most populated city in the world, with over 14 million inhabitants. A recent research report has the scary projection that at the current annual population growth rate of 3.6 per cent, by 2050 it will be the largest city in the world with 44 million people. Straight-line population growth theories are frightening at the best of times.

Modern Lahore has sprung from the ancient Old Walled City and its nearby Fort. These two sites are, and will always remain, its identity markers. So, to geography. To begin, we have to understand the topographical high points of the Punjab Plain at this place where the River Ravi snakes through. Over time, the river moved westwards in a process known as 'meandering'.

There was a time, merely 300 years ago, when it flowed around the Walled City. Today, it has moved almost



The Shahi Hammam, 1635, built during the reign of Mughal Emperor Shah Jahan. Image: Kumail Hasan via Wikimedia Commons



Model of the The Old Walled City and Fort. Image: cc via Wikipedia

two miles to the west and straightened. The portion left behind was known as *Budha Ravi* (Old Ravi), which still exists in name only. In British days, parts of it served as a wastewater outlet to the river. Then, with time, the river moved on. The waste is still there.

So, when we study the early history and origins of Lahore we must keep in mind the fact that populations dwelled on the 'safe' high grounds on the mounds of the Punjab Plain. Lahore is on the eastern side of the River Ravi. In local parlance, these mounds are called *tibbas*, and on them the first settlers of Lahore lived, safe from the annual floods.

The River Ravi is one of the five rivers of the Punjab – *punj* means five and *aab* means water, hence the Punjab is called the Land of Five Rivers. In ancient Vedic texts, this land was called *Sapta Sindhu* – the Land of Seven Rivers. The other two rivers dried up, with the dried Ghakkar River bed still seen vaguely in satellite pictures.

If we trace the River Ravi to its mention in the Vedas, we see it named the *Iravati* and also the *Parushani*. The Ancient Greeks called it the *Hydraotes*. In the first Veda, the *Rig Veda*, we see the famous 'Battle of the Ten Kings', the '*Dasarajna*', in which the *Bharatas*, from which India's official name *Bharat* is derived, win an epic battle against the combined forces of the Ten Kings to consolidate their capital of Lahore.

To introduce a timeline to these ancient Hindu texts would be useful. The *Rig Veda* was composed in 1500 to 1100 BCE, or 3,500 years ago. The *Mahabharata*, the *Bhagavad Gita* and the *Ramayana* in 400 to 300 BCE, or a mere 2,400 years ago. The battle described in the *Mahabharata* was over the use of the waters of the Ravi, an issue that still exists between India and Pakistan.

In history, the name Lahore has evolved. My methodology uses, firstly, myths, then historical references and, lastly, archaeological carbon dating. Here, the most-used reference is the '*Dasarajna*' as told in the *Rig Veda*, (Book 7, Hymns 18, 33 and 83.4–8). The *Rig Veda* is the oldest written text in any Indo-Iranian language, and as the latest linguistic theory claims, it probably evolved from Old Punjabi, the spoken language of the land before Sanskrit evolved. But that debate has yet to be settled.

The Battle of the Ten Kings took place in approximately 1700 BCE on the banks of the River Ravi near Lahore at the present Mahmood Booti Embankment, just north of Lahore's Walled City. The battle was between the rulers of Lahore, the *Bharatas* (Vedic Aryans), and the confederation of *Trtsu-Bharata* led by their *Puru*, *Sudas*. *Puru* means king and every language of the subcontinent, be it Tamil, Bengali or Punjabi, uses this description. The *Rig Veda* also uses this word for a ruler. The Greek language converted *Puru* into *Porus*, though in local parlance he was *Puru Yaduvanshi Shurasena* of the *Paurava* Rajput tribe.

So, if we are to believe the story of the *Rig Veda*, Lahore was very much a major capital city of the Punjab 3,700 years ago. This brings us to another popular and colourful myth that is peddled the most, of Lahore being named after *Loh*, the son of the Hindu deity *Ram* and his famous and beautiful wife, *Sita*.

But what exactly is the famous myth of the deity *Ram* and his sons *Loh* and *Kash*? Surely this belief throws matters back into an infinite time warp. *Ram*, known as *Ramachandra*, is claimed to be the seventh avatar of the deity *Vishnu*, who, as belief has it, reincarnated in the form of *Krishna*. In a much later lifetime, he returned as *Gautama Buddha*. Most Hindus believe he is the Supreme Being. But we do know that the great *Gautama Buddha* was, so it is claimed, born in the year 563 BCE (2,580 years ago) and died in 480 BCE (2,497 years ago). If we follow Buddhist accounts, we know that he visited Lahore for over three months, most probably staying in *Mohallah Maullian* inside *Lohari Gate*, where a small Buddhist temple still exists.

So we know that Lahore was an important Buddhist city well over 2,500 years ago. Over the ages, it has been a Jain city, a Buddhist city, a Hindu city and then a Hindu-Muslim-Sikh city, the amalgam of faiths making it an exceptionally tolerant place. The Partition of 1947 ended that.

Now to historical references. The oldest written mention of Lahore available is over 1,200 years ago in the year 894. The famous chronicler of the Baghdad court, *Ahmed bin Yahya Al-Baladhuri*, writing in his classic *Futuh al-Buldan*, mentions Lahore by the name of '*Al-Ahvar*' and tells stories he has heard of its important grain markets, its fruit trees and the strength of its fort. He mentions the beautiful temples and the peace-loving and friendly people. Almost 100 years later, in *Hudud al-Alam*, written by an unknown author in 982, the word Lahore is first mentioned as '*Lahor*', a town 'full of temples and amply-stocked markets and clean streets paved with stones with no Muslims'.

Next, we see Al-Biruni mention Lahore in his famous *Tarikh al-Hind*, and we also have a most detailed account in Sheikh Ahmed Zanjani's famous treatise *Tuhfat al-Wasilin*, written in 1043 with the remark, 'Lahore was founded by Raja Parachit, a descendent of the Pandavas'. He notes that Lahore was depopulated a number of times by famines and brutal invasions, but goes on to write: 'Every time it is depopulated it is reborn. This has been going on for centuries. Raja Bikramjit populated it and then Jogi Samand Pal Nagari expanded it and the town flourished. When Lohar Chand came to power the town was called "Loharpur" and the high fort next to Loharpur was called "Loharkot". The collective name then corrupted to Lahore.' It seems Zanjani provides the most stunning details.

Lastly, we have Syed Ali Hasan of Hajveri, known popularly as Data Sahib, who writes in his *Kashf-ul-Mahjub* about living in Lahore. He refers to the people of Lahore as 'unbelievers and sceptics to the last'.



The wall of Lahore Fort. Image: Muhammad Haider Sajjad via Wikimedia Commons

So, from a few historical accounts it is clear that the origins of Lahore were never crystal clear to any scholar. What is clear is that they date back a few thousand years. The evidence from historical accounts, as also from the myths, is unreliable and not detailed enough to move forward accurately.

This is why we must use the scientifically verifiable method of carbon dating. Two major archaeological undertakings are on record. The first was a dig conducted in 1959 by a British archaeological team for Pakistan's Archaeological Department. The dig went to a depth of 52 feet. In this stage-by-stage approach we see Ghaznavi Period coins of 1034 being discovered after just 12 feet. By the time the dig reached 38 feet, human habitation was discovered, and carbon dating in a London laboratory of pottery fragments found them to be between 3,950 and 4,050 years old. So this is undisputed scientific data and we know that, for well over 4,000 years, humans have dwelled at the mound where the Lahore Fort exists today.

This brings forth the exciting possibility that Lahore, no matter what its name, existed at the end of the Harappan period, which as we now know disappeared because of climate change and floods. The geographical location of Lahore suggests that it was very much along the old trade routes to the middle of the subcontinent. It evolved on river bank mounds safe for human survival when massive floods annually hit the plains. But these matters have to be tested and that is why archaeological work in Lahore is becoming a much more important and critical area of research.

We do not know whether this was the original city 4,000 years ago, or if it was only a fort. It could have, in all probability, been a few hamlets on one of many 'safe' high points in the plains on both sides of the River Ravi. The results of that 1959 dig are still locked away in the record room of Lahore's Archaeology Department as 'Top Secret'. Since then, no 'official' archaeological dig has taken place in Lahore.

The second piece of evidence was shards of old pottery found in 2010 in the foundations of a demolished

house in Mohallah Maullian inside the Old Walled City. As developers building a new plaza of concrete dug deeper and deeper, they kept finding more and more storeys of rooms. At the lowest level, earthen pots were found. These fragments were brought to England, where carbon dating concluded they were 2,950 to 3,150 years old.

We can thus safely reach the conclusion that the origin of Lahore's walled city, no matter what its size then, dates back approximately 3,500 to 4,000 years. It is clear from all this that there is a need to study Lahore in greater detail, not least through extensive archaeological digs inside the Old Walled City. In a sense, Lahore needs to be rediscovered and the findings scientifically verified. But until then, the myth of Rama's son Loh will prevail.

**Abdul Majid Sheikh** has been a Research Associate of Wolfson College, Cambridge, since 2017; Visiting Professor of History at the Lahore University of Management Sciences Lahore (LUMS) since 2015, teaching both History of Lahore and History of Punjab, and a Sunday columnist on Lahore's history in *Dawn* since 1998.

He previously worked as a correspondent for the BBC World Service in Lahore (1976–79) and as a journalist for *The Birmingham Post* (1979–84) and *The Pakistan Times* (1971–79). He was Commerce Editor and columnist for *The Nation* (1986–88) and CEO of a market research company in Lahore (1986–2015). Among his books are *History of Women Entrepreneurs of the Punjab* (UNDP Pakistan, 2005); *Lahore and its Oral History Tradition* (2007); *Lahore: Tales without End* (2008), and *Lahore: 101 Tales of a Fabled City* (2015).

# THE ARRIVAL OF ISLAM IN PUNJAB AND LAHORE: HISTORIOGRAPHICAL DEBATES

IFTIKHAR H. MALIK

Glimpsing through the earliest sources such as Ali Kufi's *Chachnama*, Al-Biruni's *Tarikh al-Hind*, Hajveri's *Kashf-ul-Mahjub*, Isami's *Futuh-us-Salateen*, Siraj's *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, Ibn Battuta's *Travels*, and several more including Amir Khusrau's *Khazain-ul-Futuh*, we can locate the evolution of Muslim communities in Punjab and, for that matter, across the Indus regions. Following the conquests of Makran, Debal, Sehwan Sharif, Uchh and Multan in 711–12 by the Umayyads, we find Lahore and Dipalpur emerging as the new focal points across Al-Sindh, before Muslim influence reaches Delhi and further across the Gangetic regions, often called Al-Hind. While several historical studies, including those by Muslim and British writers, mainly focus on the Ghaznavid Sultanate (977–1186) for Islam's impact on the subcontinent, the period between the Umayyad conquests and Mahmud's invasions receives sparse and cursory attention. Here, the competition between Hinduism and Buddhism in the Indus Valley and the parallel conflict between Buddhist and Zoroastrian communities in Multan, and beyond in Khorasan, are the subject of largely under-researched academic inquiry.

We know that the Ismaili Dais (missionaries) had been active in the Indus regions. Even the Friday sermons in Multan were dedicated to the Fatimid caliphs in Cairo until Mahmud Ghaznavi (971–1030) established Sunni practices. During that interregnum, vast Persian regions, like their Indus counterparts, manifested ethno-religious pluralism where initial encounters with Islam allowed the development of Sufi *tariqas*. The Karamis or Karamatins in Khorasan and further east, more like the Hindus and Buddhists in the Indus regions, were slowly but steadily impacted by the advent of Sufis whose austerity, but dynamic immersion in an Islamic ethos, helped Islam gain a significant number of followers. In the same vein, the early Khawarij (a Muslim extremist group) presence in Balochistan, as noted by Bosworth, also eventually disappeared before a triumphalist Sunni Islam. As explained by André Wink, from the Arab conquest of these Asian regions, followed by the adoption of Sassanid mores, we witness the emergence of what Marshall Hodgson latterly called a 'Persianate' entity.

Here, an element of political stability and integration in wider Umayyad, Abbasid and Fatimid caliphates allowed entrepreneurs such as the Jews to establish sizeable communities and networks. No wonder that during the 980s, Ghazni – Ali Hajveri's birthplace – included 80,000 Jews in its population. There were similarly sizeable Jewish communities in Samarkand, Bukhara and Merv, allowing greater interdependence between the Indus regions and Transoxiana. Most probably, while Islam was gaining territories and adherents in Central and southern Asia, Judaism was concurrently expanding even among the Khazars.

The consolidation of the Indian Ocean trade under the Abbasid caliphs, especially around the Gulf and across the Arabian Sea, duly helped this inland expansion of Islam all the way into southern and Central Asia, where the indigenous pluralism of faith proved even more receptive towards Sufi humanism. Historians such as Margoliouth may allocate more credit to Abdul Qadir Gilani (1077–1166) for large-scale conversions to Islam, but the process seems to have been actually initiated from Lahore by Ali Hajveri (Data Ganj Bakhsh, 1009–72), to be continued by the Suhrawardis and Chishtis. Here, Multan, Lahore, Dipalpur, Mithankot, Ajmer, Sirhind and Delhi became the focal points for 'pioneering'



The Shrine of Data Ganj Bakhsh Hajveri. Image: Guilhem Vellut via Flickr

Sufi mentors, who in most cases were born in Central Asia until the native-born generation of Bahauddin Zakariya, Fariduddin Ganjshakar and Amir Khusrau arrived. Zakariya (1170–1267) encouraged Sultan Shahabuddin Ghori (1149–1206) to strengthen Sunni Islam in Multan – a process begun earlier by Mahmud of Ghazni. The Sultans, in most cases, depended on the Turkic and Persian elite, but Sufis built trans-communal bridges across the subcontinent. While Malik Ayaz, Mahmud's Georgian slave and governor of Lahore from 1037–1040, diligently undertook the fortification and beautification of Lahore, more work was accomplished later on under Ghori, who formally established the Delhi Sultanate in the early thirteenth century. His slave and successor, Qutbuddin Aibak (1150–1210), while ensuring Lahore's pre-eminence, opted for Delhi as his capital for strategic reasons. The Delhi Sultanate started in Lahore, expanded further into Al-Hind and, unlike the Deccan and Malabar, which associated with slaves from Yemen, Zanzibar and Ethiopia, sought the Turkic elite and slave soldiers to consolidate its writ.

Like the Sufi mentors, early Muslim scholars of India such as Al-Biruni (973–1048) and Masud Saad Salman (1046–1121) were also from Central Asia. Salman, one of the earliest Persian poets of Lahore, missed his favourite city while in exile in Nishapur – a city of knowledge unto itself. Taking up some of the issues raised by Rajmohan Gandhi, contrasting with Aziz Ahmed's searchlight on the intellectual history of Islam in India, my paper posits Lahore and the Punjab within the mainstream of Shahab Ahmad's 'Bosnia to Bengal' paradigm. On this journey, apart from classical Muslim historians of the formative era and the Sultanate period, we are guided by research at Aligarh by Professors Mohammad Habib and Khaliq Nizami, and commentaries by Sir Jaddunath Sarkar, Tara Chand and several Western scholars. This paper, while concentrating on political, religious and doctrinal developments in the Indus regions, also takes into account the resistance put up by the Hindu Shahis, who fought against the Ghaznavids and Ghorids. Many of these conquests were not Islamic in the true sense of word. They were motivated by all kinds of factors. Being a Muslim then indicated Turkic origin, instead of the erstwhile Arab identification.

Unlike a reductionist view of these historical developments, the Umayyad annexation of Sindh – Mehran and Multan, called Al-Sindh – depended on several factors. It was certainly not a clear-cut holy war against unbelievers. There were Arab exiles in Raja Dahir's non-Muslim court in Sindh (probably Hindu and perhaps also Buddhist), which had deeply annoyed Hajjaj bin Yusuf (661–714), the Umayyad governor of Mesopotamia. However, his efficient strategy in guiding and supplying Muhammad bin Qasim (695–715) with ideas, food, troops and, most of all, an innovative way of curing scurvy, helped Arabs conquer this region. Qasim's army had taken its final shape in Shiraz – already a major political and cultural focal point – and included troops from Syria, Persia, Mesopotamia and Africa. In his study of the Umayyad conquest, Sarkar apportions blame to the Sindhi Buddhists for betraying Dahir (663–712), the son of Raja Chach, and credits Muslims for their missionary zeal, besides their abstention from alcohol, which enabled them to capture Mehran. On the other hand, the *Chachnama's* Arab (or Persian) author, among other factors, mainly attributes Dahir's defeat to his astrologers who forbade him from resisting in the first instance (though the Raja did fight later on near Sehwan Sharif and got killed). The Hindu Shahi rulers who controlled regions from Lahore all the way to Jalalabad were not dismissed as 'infidels' by early Muslim observers and chroniclers including Al-Biruni; in fact, he praised their gentleness.

The conquest of the upper Indus Valley – Gandhara – by Muslim forces was not an easy feat since tribes such as the Ghakhars kept on fighting Turkic (Turani) dynasts for quite some time, even after the establishment of the Delhi Sultanate. For instance, when Sultan Iltutmish (d. 1236), Ghiyasuddin Balban (d. 1287) and Alauddin Khilji (d. 1316) were valorously fighting the Mongols, the Ghakhars kept irritating Lahore and Delhi. The subjugation of Pothwar's Ghakhars happened much later under the Mughals. Their last major fight was against Sher Shah Suri (1486–1545).

Unlike the cursory view of the Islam versus Hinduism paradigm of this early period in South Asian history, this paper is meant to highlight pluralities on all sides, with the region's eventual integration across the vast Muslim territories bestowing enormous potential and resources. Secondly, egalitarian efforts by Sufis ensured the consolidation of Islam both in Al-Sindh and Al-Hind where urban centres continued to replenish theological, literary and artistic traditions until the Raj. Like historical and literary works, the evolution of architectural edifices equally combined southern, Central and western Asian skills and patterns displaying a greater sense of shared ethos. This Muslim cosmopolitanism may also explain the enduring presence of a pronounced Islamic entity in Asian regions, of which Lahore was always a centre.

Iftikhar H. Malik teaches Modern History at Bath Spa University and is an MCR at Wolfson College, Oxford. With doctoral and post-doctoral training at Michigan State, Columbia and the University of California, Berkeley, his recent volumes include: *Crescent between Cross and Star: Muslims and the West after 9/11* (2006); *The History of Pakistan* (2008); *Pakistan: Democracy, Terror and the Building of a Nation* (2010); *Pashtun Identity and Geopolitics in Southwest Asia: Pakistan and Afghanistan since 9/11* (2016), and *The Silk Road and Beyond: Narratives of a Muslim Historian* (forthcoming, 2018). He is also co-editor of *Muslims and Western Europe in the Modern Era: Contemporary Debates in Historical Perspective* (2018).

## MUGHAL LAHORE: THE ART-HISTORICAL CONTEXT

ROBERT HILLENBRAND

The following text sets the scene for a much longer paper to be published in due course, and provides a general historical and art-historical context for the conference as a whole.

By general consent, the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries produced some of the crowning achievements of Islamic architecture. The Royal Square in Isfahan, the Blue Mosque in Istanbul and the Taj Mahal in Agra are monuments renowned the world over. They have a dimension of celebrity that few earlier Islamic monuments can match. There is something easily accessible about them, which guarantees their continuing popularity. They are that rarity in Islamic art: marketable tourist attractions. Moreover, they epitomise an age which saw the Islamic world moving from medieval towards modern times. It was an epoch supremely well-fitted to



The Wazir Khan Mosque, completed in 1641. Image: Muhammad Ashar via Wikimedia Commons



The Badshahi Mosque, Lahore, completed in 1673. Image: Ali Imran via Wikimedia Commons

gather up the themes and concerns of earlier periods and rework them into a new and final synthesis. The period 1500–1700, then, marks at once the terminus of the medieval period and its apotheosis.

What follows? Islamic art and architecture in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries mirror a civilisation that in some respects has lost its way and is trying vainly to assert its traditional values in the face of ebbing power, wealth and self-confidence, and also the remorseless political and cultural encroachment of Europe. The great styles of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries peter out in repetition, reduction, decline and pastiche. They are not a springboard for new, forward-looking work. With the hindsight of history, it may confidently be said that with the achievements of these two great centuries, Islamic art had had its day.

All this surely provides ample justification for the intensive study of this wonderfully productive period. Yet it is precisely the vast output of these centuries that has hampered a proper assessment of their art. In

the case of architecture alone, the tally of surviving monuments in Turkey runs into several hundreds, and in the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent there are many more. Yet relatively few of these buildings have been properly published. Thus a secure foundation for the detailed study of general trends scarcely exists. The situation is admittedly better with Safavid and Mughal painting, but much remains to be done, while in the case of some of the minor arts, modern scholarship is still further behind. It is as if the wealth of material available has acted as a positive deterrent to further inquiry. There emerges, therefore, the paradox of an age whose abundant surviving artistic legacy is readily accessible to, and admired by, the public at large but is nevertheless accorded significantly less attention in some respects than the output of the earlier medieval period.

One further key element in understanding the architecture of these gunpowder empires is money. The sheer extent of these empires gave their rulers immense resources, which were frequently channelled into the visual arts, especially architecture. That investment encouraged the development of a house style to the detriment of local ones. This process was fostered, indeed accelerated, by the rejection of the previously common Islamic practice of peripatetic courts in favour of permanent or semi-permanent capitals – Istanbul, Isfahan, Delhi, Agra. This more settled style of court life helps to explain the survival, for almost the first time in Islamic architecture, of huge palaces such as the Topkapi Saray, the royal precinct adjoining the Isfahan maidan, and the great Mughal forts of Lahore, Agra and Delhi. No doubt, they owe their preservation in large part to their enclosing walls, but the key detail is that these miniature royal cities were built to last, and frequently inhabited by a whole succession of monarchs, whereas the earlier norm had been to build hurriedly and to pull down the work of the previous ruler. This continuity reflects the basic stability of these empires, which is itself in large measure attributable to the efficient administrative machine that operated beneath the surface political turbulence of the times.

Modern scholarship has somewhat neglected studies of the reciprocal connections between these great empires, for example the impact of Iran on Mughal architecture. The reasons for this neglect are not far to seek. The Islamic architecture of the subcontinent offers a formidable challenge merely by virtue of its abundance. Very few scholars have assimilated this wealth of material. Few people know that Delhi has more than twice as many extant pre-modern Islamic monuments as its nearest rival, Cairo, or that the subcontinent has more such monuments than the rest of the Islamic world put together. Small wonder, then, that most of those scholars who have tackled this mountain of material should have been engulfed by it, to the consequent detriment of their wider vision. Most specialists in Indian Islamic architecture have had little or no first-hand experience of the architecture of Iran and Central Asia. Thus the Persian connection makes a guest appearance in their works but its nature and its extent are not investigated in any depth.

The paper to be published seeks to remedy this lacuna both in the context of Mughal architecture as a whole and in that of Lahore. It will highlight the salient issues by concentrating on a few seminal buildings. The principal aim will be to identify the sources of the Mughal grand style, but a secondary purpose will be to show how Persian ideas manifested themselves in Mughal architecture, what accommodations were made and how they were transformed in their new context. It will also take account of the lessons learned from Iran by the architects of the Sultanate period, and will examine the crucial role of Babur, with his love of all things Persian, in facilitating the introduction of Persian modes into the culture of Hindustan.

The paper will cover such issues as scale, including spatial experiment; colour; material, including the implications of the move from brick to stone; the role of gardens, and the architecture of death.

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# THE ROYAL TOMBS OF SHAHDARA

MEHREEN CHIDA-RAZVI

Collectively built between 1628 and 1645, the Royal Tomb Complex of Shahdara is comprised of three Mughal mausoleums: the imperial tomb of the fourth Emperor, Jahangir (d. 1627), that of his favourite wife, Nur Jahan (d. 1645), and that of her brother, Asaf Khan (d. 1641). This paper highlighted the importance of this exceptional grouping of funerary monuments to stress the need for their preservation and upkeep, and that of their respective gardens. This was done by discussing some of the important aspects of the conceptualisation of the Royal Tomb Complex as well as unique elements of the architecture and decoration of the structures. Some examples of historical damage to the site were then shared to illustrate the long-term nature of some of the conservation issues affecting the complex, followed by some of the contemporary issues being dealt with. A very brief synopsis of some of these is given here.

Conceptually, the Royal Tomb Complex is completely unique in the placement of the mausoleums and their spatial relationships with each other. Each was originally constructed in the centre of their own *charbagh*, but the spaces of Nur Jahan's and Asaf Khan's tomb gardens were conceived based on the layout and proportions of Jahangir's tomb garden. This purposeful planning and creation of the mausoleums and gardens to spatially interact with each other is a unique aspect of Mughal tomb and tomb garden design. Furthermore, the grouping of these mausoleums indicates a patron's desire for the creation of a cohesive burial complex, which had symbolic significance in the portrayal of imperial and political power through architecture and dynastic importance.

Another unique aspect of the conceptualisation of the site discussed is the orientation of Jahangir's mausoleum, which has a single entrance to the tomb chamber from the western side of the mausoleum. This is the only example of an imperial Mughal mausoleum in which the architectural layout conforms to the pre-existing space within which it was created. The pre-existing pleasure garden that was transformed into a tomb garden had a single entrance in its western wall, and so the tomb was also oriented to have its entrance from the west. This is a singular instance in Mughal imperial tombs in terms of conception and orientation, as the rest are entered from the south and were constructed in purpose-built gardens.

Several unique architectural features are found in the Royal Tomb Complex, one of which is the use of *minars* as an integral part of the architecture of Jahangir's tomb. This was unprecedented in Mughal funerary architecture and is one of several architectural features utilised to give the site distinction. Unique architectural elements were incorporated into the wider complex as well, including the mirroring of the Emperor's and Empress's tombs. Nur Jahan constructed her own mausoleum after her husband's, and she clearly intended the two to be considered together as the external profile and facades of her tomb were created to look like a smaller version of Jahangir's. This echo is also evident in the placement of both tombs within the centre of a 16-part *charbagh*; the use and placement of a *chabutra* on the roof terrace of both monuments, and the profuse use of *nakashi* floral decoration in a style typical of Jahangir's reign.

A final example of the architectural importance of the Shahdara tombs is that when Jahangir's mausoleum is viewed within the wider context of monumental imperial Mughal tombs, his very clearly bridges the gap between its predecessor, Akbar's mausoleum in Sikandra, and its successor, the Taj Mahal in Agra. Jahangir's mausoleum is therefore a pivotal site for the understanding of the architectural progression of imperial Mughal tombs and tomb types.

The tombs of the Royal Tomb Complex and their respective funerary gardens have been in need of conservation for much of their history, being subject to both natural and deliberate causes of damage. The former include: the age of the structures; structural exposure to water and the resultant damage; atmospheric conditions; chemical exposure; autonomous botanical growth; insect damage and natural disasters. For example, there have been a series of floods which have affected the sites since at least the nineteenth century. These led to damage to the walkways, the floors of the pavilions, the sarcophagus in Jahangir's tomb chamber, and the enclosure walls of the gardens.

With regard to historical damage, Jahangir's tomb is focused on in this booklet as it is the best documented. Specific examples of such damage include: the removal of the cenotaph from the roof terrace of the



Top to bottom: The tombs of Jahangir, Nur Jahan and Asaf Khan. Images: Mehreen Chida-Razvi, 2015.

mausoleum sometime before 1820 (possible as early as the latter half of the seventeenth century); the insertion of a skylight into the centre of the *chabutra* in 1870; the removal of the marble railings of the roof terrace and the *minars* in the nineteenth century; the use of the tomb and tomb garden as a residence by army officials in both the Sikh and British eras. As for the complex, a railway line was placed through the central north–south axis of the forecourt to Jahangir’s tomb garden in the latter part of the twentieth century. It is important to note, however, that extensive damage was also purposefully inflicted to the tombs and tomb gardens of Nur Jahan and Asaf Khan in the historical past.

In more recent years, despite the ongoing conservation works and preservation projects that have been underway at the Royal Tomb Complex, there is still evidence of decay and a lack of awareness of the importance of this monument by the wider public. This has led to misuse of the sites and unknowing contributions of damage to the structures, their decoration and the gardens.

The intention to carry out proper conservation of the sites is always in place and there have been various planned conservation projects carried out. Others were well-planned but never executed, one example of which was a Global Heritage Fund (GHF) project to conserve Asaf Khan’s tomb. In 2006, a detailed conservation proposal was submitted as part of a joint project by the Government of Pakistan and the GHF, but ultimately fell through because the funds to be raised by the government were not accumulated. This was a real tragedy because when the report was created the structure itself was deemed to be in a fairly good state. One of the key recommendations for preservation was to make repairs to the roof, including the use of kankar lime concrete, to ensure proper drainage that would not seep into the structure. When I last visited the site in 2015, I was told that water damage to the dome was extensive and had weakened the inherent stability of the structure to the point that the dome will be in danger of collapsing if steps are not taken.

While there are obviously still major issues which remain in terms of the conservation and preservation of the Shahdara tombs, without the pre-1947 interventions by the Archaeological Survey of India and those post-1947 by Pakistan’s Department of Archaeology, the complex would be in a much worse state and, possibly, one or more of the tombs would no longer even exist. Hopefully this will never be the fate of any part of the Royal Tomb Complex as these are an exceptional grouping of Mughal funerary monuments. In their conceptualisation, architecture and decoration, the tombs and tomb gardens of Jahangir, Nur Jahan and Asaf Khan represent a unique moment in the history of Mughal architecture and must be cared for and preserved for the future.

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# HERITAGE AND DEVELOPMENT: LAHORE'S MONUMENTS AND THE POTENTIAL IMPACT OF MEGA-INFRASTRUCTURE

ROBIN CONINGHAM

Home to one-third of the world's human population and generating US\$1.854 trillion of its gross domestic product, South Asia has a corresponding richness of cultural heritage with at least two separate Neolithics and two independent urbanisations, the Indus and Early Historic. This wealth of heritage is mirrored by Pakistan, where the list of UNESCO World Heritage Sites stretches from one of the Bronze Age's greatest cities, Mohenjodaro, the Gandharan monastery of Takht-i-Bahi and city of Taxila to the necropolis of Thatta, Rohtas Fort and, of course, Lahore Fort and the Shalamar Gardens. The Shalamar Gardens were jointly inscribed on UNESCO's list of World Heritage Sites with Lahore's Fort in 1981. Completed in 1641, the 17 hectare walled complex contains pavilions and *hammams* set around a series of formally planned tanks, paths, waterfalls and canals. The World Heritage Committee particularly noted that its design of three descending terraces represents an example of highly advanced hydraulic engineering, which allowed sufficient water pressure to be built to feed the gardens' fountains and waterfalls, which were designed to create different patterns of water flow and sound.

Although strikingly rich, South Asia's cultural heritage is a non-renewable resource and there is increasing pressure on monuments, cityscapes and landscapes from agriculture intensification and resource extraction as well as the spread of modern urbanisation, industrialisation and investment in mega-infrastructure. The balance between heritage and development has been successfully reached at a number of sites; however, this is not always the case and there are also examples of irreversible damage. Despite the fact that Shalamar's hydraulic design was recognised as an integral part of the UNESCO site's Outstanding Universal Value (OUV), protected by Pakistan's own 1975 Antiquities Act, two of the gardens' three water reservoirs on the south side of the Grand Trunk Road were destroyed when the Government of Punjab widened the road in 1999. This destruction led to the placing of the Shalamar Gardens on UNESCO's sites 'In Danger' list in 2000 until it was removed with a programme of mitigations in 2012. The Shalamar Gardens, and other monuments along the Grand Trunk Road, are now threatened by the impacts of the Government of Punjab's US\$1.6 billion Orange Line metro project.

In a technical report in 2016, China Railway-Norinco observed that rapid population growth in Lahore, accompanied by rises in vehicle ownership, had intensified congestion as there was a daily transport demand of 6.8 million person trips for work, shopping or recreation. The 27.1 kilometre Orange Line was designed to partially meet this challenge, with NESPAK stating that it would 'greatly benefit the commuters by providing better quality and environmentally friendly public transport, reducing the number of vehicles on the road, reducing fuel consumption and consequently air emissions from vehicular exhaust especially in case of traffic congestion'. Serving 24 stations between its Dera Gujran and Ali Town terminals, 25.4 kilometres of its length is elevated on viaducts typically 10.97 metres high and spaced between 10 and 27 metres apart. The remaining 1.72 kilometres is underground within a cut and cover scheme, and the Government of Punjab reduced overall costs by following the Grand Trunk Road for a good proportion of its elevated distance.

This choice of route brought the line directly into the 200 feet protective buffer zones of the Shalamar Gardens, Gulabi Bagh's Gateway, Buddhu's Tomb, Chauburji and Zaib un Nisa's Tomb (monuments protected by the 1975 Antiquities Act), as well as the Lakshmi Building, General Post Office, Lahore High Court/Aiwan-e-Auqaf Building, St Andrew's Church, Supreme Court Registry Building and Mauj Darya Shrine (monuments protected by the 1985 Punjab Special Premises (Preservation) Ordinance). In May 2016, Dr Javed Yonas Uppa, Director-General of Archaeology (Government of Punjab), issued No Objection Certificates to approve five contraventions of the 1975 Antiquities Act and six contraventions of the 1985 Punjab Special Premises (Preservation) Ordinance based on a report from his Directorate, a Heritage Impact conducted by Rogers, Kolachi, Khan and Associates and a study of the control of vibrations, noise and foundations for the protection of heritage sites. However, following cases brought by civil society, the Lahore High Court



Pit cut for one of the Orange Line's viaduct piers in front of Chauburji. Image: Maryam Hussain, 2016

stayed the construction around Shalamar and five of the monuments in August 2016 with an appeal from the Government of Punjab going to the Supreme Court of Pakistan. Work progressed elsewhere along the line and UNESCO's World Heritage Centre voiced its concerns about the impact of the scheme on the Shalamar Gardens, noting the clear absence of a 'comprehensive Heritage Impact Assessment (HIA) in line with the ICOMOS Guidelines', making it 'unclear on which grounds the State Party concluded that the Orange Line metro project would have no negative impacts on the OUV of the property, nor on what basis the Department of Archaeology of the Government of Punjab issued a Non-objection Certificate'.

With a majority of four, Pakistan's Supreme Court delivered its judgement in December 2017, setting aside the Lahore High Court's stay, dismissing the civil petition and refusing leave to Appeal. Having identified 31 conditions ranging from 'The appellant shall make all necessary arrangements to ensure that the monuments remain stable and undamaged in all respects during the execution of the Project as specified in the HIA and Study of Control of Vibration, Noise and Foundation' to 'The decorative motifs of Shalamar Garden would be replicated on the train station near the Shalamar Garden to create harmony with the Garden', the Orange Line will now be completed by the Government of the Punjab. Although permitted by Pakistan's Supreme Court, the impact of the construction of the Orange Line metro on the Shalamar Gardens' OUVs will be now considered by UNESCO. In its last decision in 2017, the World Heritage Committee urged Pakistan 'that the highest priority must be given to considering how the Shalamar Gardens and their spiritual associations can be sustained alongside any necessary measures to satisfy the needs of a growing city, by setting out the precise and detailed nature of the potential impacts of the Orange Line metro project on the OUV of the property, and whether and how mitigation measures can be undertaken'. Given the fact that construction is recommencing, this UNESCO World Heritage Site may well return to the 'In Danger' list or be removed from UNESCO's list entirely. As the German city of Dresden's cultural landscape was deleted in 2009 following the construction of a motorway bridge across the Elbe in 2009, and Oman's Arabian Oryx Sanctuary was deleted in 2007 following the decision to reduce the area of the sanctuary by 90% to allow hydrocarbon exploration, such a decision is not without precedence.

**Robin Coningham** holds the UNESCO Chair in Archaeological Ethics and Practice in Cultural Heritage, Durham University. He was educated at King's College, Cambridge. He has directed fieldwork across South Asia aimed at refining Early Historic chronologies, enhancing the understanding of the region's second urbanisation, the genesis of Indian Ocean trade and the archaeology of early Buddhism. Professor Coningham is committed to heritage preservation, joining over 25 UNESCO missions, including the updating of Pakistan's Tentative World Heritage List and excavations within Lumbini's Maya Devi Temple. He published CUP's *Archaeology of South Asia: From the Indus to Asoka* with Ruth Young in 2015.

# LAHORE: SO MANY MINOR MONUMENTS, OFTEN UNDER THREAT

NICHOLAS BARRINGTON

The four major Mughal monuments in Lahore are well-known: the Fort, Jehangir's Tomb, the Shalamar Gardens and the Badshahi Mosque, which, with its white domes above red sandstone in its spacious uncluttered courtyard, can claim to be one of the most beautiful mosques in the world. The Wazir Khan Mosque, of equivalent quality and renown, is inside the Walled City. Less well-known are Lahore's myriad of minor monuments and buildings – pavilions, tombs, shrines and mosques. Many are worth visiting. Often, they suffer from neglect and other threats, and are worth preserving.

Lahore used to be famed as a city of gardens. Some of the best surviving early buildings were gateways, or pavilions (sometimes called baradaris), which led to fine gardens, now disappeared. Wazir Khan's Baradari (c. 1630), in the city centre, was found useful for various functions over the centuries and kept in good order. Chauburji (1640), more massive, and the Gulabi Bagh Gateway, more delicate, retain colourful mosaics and tilework. Unfortunately, they are both now under threat from the provincial government's new overhead metro system, designed to deal with traffic congestion. Planners have routed this above the east-west Grand Trunk Road going right through the city, almost at touching distance from these two monuments. There may also be damage to their foundations.

The Nawankot Gateway, the over-restored Kamran's Baradari, on an island in the River Ravi, and the neglected pavilion of the Tomb of Nadira Begum, wife of Prince Dara Shikoh, near the Mian Mir Shrine, are other examples of buildings surviving the loss of their gardens. In the same category, perhaps, though more modern, is the Hazuri Bagh Baradari, built in 1818 by Ranjit Singh, in the garden midway between the gates of the Fort and the Badshahi Mosque. The Maharaja loved to sit and conduct business in this white marble pavilion. There are little-visited colonnaded rooms below.

Many early Mughal octagonal tombs survive. Anarkali's Tomb in the city centre (1615) is well-preserved, having been used as a church among other things, and is now a repository for government records. The Tomb of Qasim Khan, patron of wrestlers, has been incorporated into the dining room of the spacious official residence of the Governor of Punjab. Other major secular tombs include that of Nawab Bahadur Shah, very visible, out in the open, with fine brickwork, and that of Ali Mardan Khan, difficult to get to inside the railway workshops. Some tiles remain on its small gateway



Top to bottom:  
Wazir Khan's Baradari.  
Image: Eman Omar

Chauburji.  
Image: Junaidalvi via  
Wikimedia Commons

Detail from Chauburji.  
Image: Hhaarroonn  
via Wikimedia Commons

nearby. The tomb of the important Mughal figure Asaf Khan, with its high dome, stripped of almost all decoration, in a compound next to the tomb of his brother-in-law, the Emperor Jehangir, is structurally under threat and should be a priority for restoration.

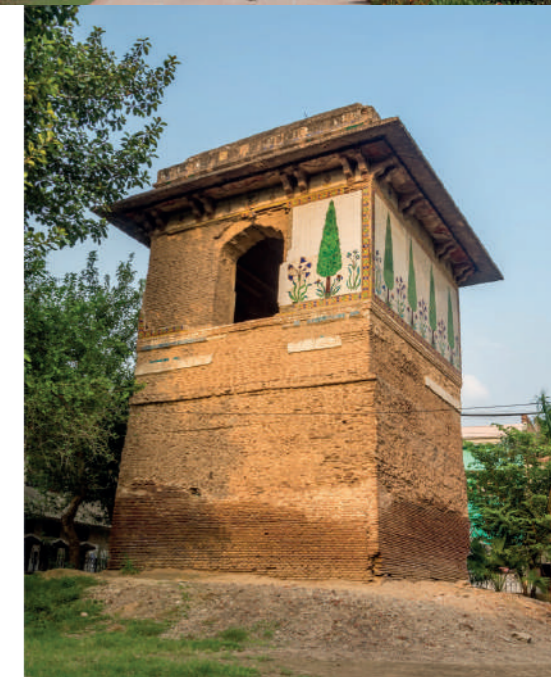
There are numerous other tombs, in all sorts of condition, that can be encountered by surprise in back streets, or glimpsed hidden behind private walls. Some are on the books of the under-resourced Archaeology Department, others left to fend for themselves, perhaps with help from neighbours. Few can be properly protected. Two attractive Mughal tombs can be found in the area north of the Grand Trunk Road called Begumpura. This area was developed by a handful of powerful governors, virtual viceroys who governed the Punjab in the mid-eighteenth century.

Northern India was subjected to a series of invasions in this period, initially by the Persian roving military adventurer Nadir Shah Afshar, and then by successor Afghan rulers, all carrying away hordes of wealth and treasure. Their armies kept at bay increasingly powerful Sikh militants and Hindu Marathas from central India. In his *History of the Punjab*, Rajmohan Gandhi, the Mahatma's grandson, suggests that local Muslims must have decided to keep their heads down.

One of these tombs is named after Dai Anga, the wet-nurse of Shah Jehan. Fine calligraphy remains inside. It is separated by only a small park from the Gulabi Bagh Gateway. A little further off is the Cypress Tomb, built by a lady related to one of those Mughal governors. The colourful panels of green Cypress trees and flowers round the rim of this tapering brick tomb, with access only at a high level, are striking. Efforts to provide a decent setting for the tomb by a small park were foiled by corrupt encroachment.

Many tombs are, of course, the shrines of holy men and scholars. Several arrived from Central Asia in the wake of the first Islamic invaders. The most revered shrine, considered one of the holiest places in the subcontinent, is that of Ali Makhdum Hajveri, known as Data Ganj Baksh, who died in 1072. He was an eminent scholar who wrote about the history of Sufism. The site, near the Walled City, is always a hive of activity, attracting crowds of pilgrims, including Hindus and Sikhs, especially for festivals. Such has been the money from donations that antique elements in the structure have been swamped by modern buildings. A more relaxed and spiritual atmosphere pervades the shrine, built in the seventeenth century, of Hazrat Mian Mir in eastern Lahore, a Sufi scholar who seems to have charmed everyone who met him.

Lahore can boast of one shrine, that of Madhu Lal Hussain, where Islamic asceticism gives way at its spring festival to drink, dance and merriment, which used to be very popular with Ranjit Singh. Cheerful party-going used to be the theme throughout Lahore during the spring festival of Basant, with competitive kite-flying, now sadly discontinued on health and safety grounds.



Top to bottom: Dai Anga's Tomb. Image: Eman Omar

The Cypress Tomb. Image: Muhammad Ashar via  
Wikimedia Commons

Detail from Cypress tomb. Image: Eman Omar



Above the entrance to Dai Anga's Mosque. Image: Eman Omar

Detail from Maryam Zamani's Mosque. Image: Michael Foley via Flickr

It is no surprise that Lahore is also full of mosques, some with ancient pedigree and surviving decoration; many altered and added to over the years. Lucy Peck's recent comprehensive handy guide, *Lahore: The Architectural Heritage*, with good maps, suggests that 35 of these mosques are of cultural and historical merit. Examples are the Dai Anga Mosque (that same wet-nurse!) near the railway station, and Maryam Zamani's Mosque, inside the Walled City. Both have colourful mosaics, well-preserved, inside and out.

Most of Lahore's monuments suffer from neglect. There are not enough funds to keep them properly maintained and not enough public interest, it appears, to make sure this is done. Some restoration has been destructive, not preserving original elements, nor recording the difference between old and modern structures and decoration; some, using wrong materials, can do more harm than good. Encroachment for greed has been resisted in some places, for example the courtyard in front of the Wazir Khan Mosque, which was blighted with quasi-religious structures from a local Mullah, and has now been cleared. The park leading to the Dai Anga Mosque has been greatly improved since my time. The baths near the Delhi Gate of the Old City have been expertly restored by British and then Aga Khan consultants. But the Cypress Tomb is fenced in. Some structures have just disappeared through local sharp practice, or, in the case of Hindu buildings, because of tension after the Babri Mosque destruction in Ayodhya. The opponents of the overhead metro line eventually lost their case in the Supreme Court. It can only be hoped that more such obtrusive structures are not built with Chinese help in other areas of the city if significant monuments are affected.

The consensus of this symposium was that the people of Lahore should be encouraged to preserve their unique heritage, which should hopefully, in years to come, attract tourism and income for the city. But Pakistan, with all its defects, is a democratic country and it is up to the people themselves, and the media, to decide what should be done. Might it be possible, for instance, for prominent individuals to create a Pakistani National Trust, which doesn't exist at the moment (though there is one in India)? The Master of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, who is currently Chair of the International Association of National Trusts, would be happy to help with advice, if asked.

**Nicholas Barrington** was a British diplomat for 37 years. He started his career in 1957 by learning Persian. Two-thirds of his service was spent in overseas postings, including Iran, Afghanistan, Egypt and Pakistan. These were good places to pursue his personal interest in history and archaeology. He met, helped and entertained visiting scholars. His final post was as British Ambassador and High Commissioner in Pakistan. In 1992, shortly before retirement, he was asked by Raymond and Bridget Allchin to become a Trustee of the Ancient India & Iran Trust. Based in Cambridge and London, he also became actively involved with learned societies dealing with Asia and the Middle East. He has published two books of memoirs.

## LAHORE AND THE IMPERIAL MUGHAL WORKSHOPS

SUSAN STRONGE

Discussions concerning Mughal cultural history rarely focus on exactly where works of art were made. Their origin is usually obscure, unless inscriptions on an individual artefact give its place of completion. Yet, the court and the royal household were not always in the same location, and artists and some craftsmen certainly moved out of their workshops to accompany the imperial encampment. All the emperors in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries travelled extensively over their increasingly vast empire, often in order to deal with outbreaks of rebellion or the threat of invasion. They also travelled for pleasure, notably to the 'Paradise-like' province of Kashmir to escape from the intense heat of Agra or Delhi in summer, moving to Lahore before the winter snows cut off the routes through mountain passes.

At all times, the court was deemed to be wherever the emperor was, whether in camp or within palace buildings in the capital cities. If the period of residence in a particular city was likely to be prolonged, the *Ketabkhana* or 'House of Books' would be transferred there. The *Ketabkhana* not only stored, but also created manuscripts, necessitating the presence of calligraphers, artists, illuminators and binders. Such was the case when Akbar (r. 1556–1605) transferred the capital from Fatehpur Sikri to Lahore in 1585 and stayed there until 1598. This is demonstrated by the notations on manuscripts recording their inspection in Lahore by the royal librarians. Other manuscripts have colophons that state they were made in the city, with dates demonstrating that they were completed while Akbar was there.

It is certain that artisans would also have accompanied the court to Lahore. Inscribed objects are extremely rare, but the presence of craftsmen such as master goldsmiths and lapidaries would have been essential. They were needed to create the sophisticated jewelled artefacts that played a fundamental role in court ritual, either as items to be worn or gifts to be exchanged. The equipment of these artisans was portable, and could easily have been transported from city to city.

At the same time, Lahore had its own well-established industries that could supply the visiting court. A family of Lahori astrolabists claimed a connection with the Emperor Humayun. Throughout the sixteenth century, they produced remarkable celestial spheres and astronomical instruments that they signed and dated, and continued to do so in the seventeenth century. Other industries sprang up as a result of initiatives of the energetic emperor, and would become specialities of the city. Carpet weaving was the most notable of these, encouraged by Akbar who wanted carpets that would rival the best



Akbar receives the Iranian ambassador Sayyed Beg in 1562  
Illustration to the *Akbarnama*, Mughal (Lahore), c. 1590–95  
Opaque watercolour and gold on paper  
©Victoria and Albert Museum London: IS.2:27-117

of those made in Iran. Lahore continued to produce extremely fine carpets for most of the seventeenth century.

Other industries are known from the names of particular areas of the city that survived into the nineteenth century. They derive from the clusters of specialist artisans that lived and worked there, including painters, goldsmiths, bow-makers and those involved in various aspects of textile production and metalworking.

Local buildings constructed for the elite of the empire in this northern capital displayed another distinctive Lahori craft. Palaces, mansions, tombs and mosques were usually made of brick ornamented with glazed tile mosaic. Their tile revetments became increasingly elaborate in the seventeenth century, and in the reign of Shah Jahan (1628–58) the city's artisans introduced a short-lived fashion for square or rectangular glazed tiles. Large expanses of exterior walls were covered with finely painted polychrome calligraphy and floral motifs. Only fragments of these remain today, notably on the tomb of Asaf Khan who died in 1641.

In the eighteenth century, the Mughal Empire disintegrated and the emperors lost control of the Punjab. Political turmoil and repeated invasions throughout the century by Afghan armies and others led to the decline of Lahore. The population diminished significantly, trade was disrupted, and the grand dwellings of the Mughal elite fell into ruin.

In 1799, a young Sikh, Ranjit Singh, united other Sikh groups behind him. With the military support of his powerful mother-in-law, he entered the city and two years later was pronounced Maharaja there. He became the first Sikh ruler of the Punjab and gradually provided political stability. The ruined buildings and desolate gardens were repaired and restored, and as trade improved, traditional industries revived. Weavers and embroiderers once more produced luxury fabrics; the mint struck coins, though this time in the name of the Sikh Gurus rather than the ruler. Foundries were re-established in the city. They made cannon that carefully copied the examples presented to the Maharaja by a British diplomatic mission in 1831. The new models were considerably more effective than those previously made for the Khalsa army. Artists were also patronised by the Maharaja and others within the court circle, not least some of the French military adventurers employed by Ranjit Singh to drill his troops in the European manner.

The court *toshakhana* stored and supplied jewellery, expensive shawl-cloth, and the profusion of gold-ornamented steel arms and armour worn by the elite of the army.

During Ranjit Singh's reign, the traditional crafts of Lahore recovered. Almost incredibly, they survived the chaos that followed his death in 1839, two Anglo-Sikh wars and the British annexation of the Punjab in 1849. Nevertheless, the loss of court patronage forced the city's artisans to find new markets, profoundly changing what they made.

**Susan Stronge** is a Senior Curator in the Asian Department of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Her main research area is the Mughal court in the reigns of Akbar, Jahangir and Shah Jahan, and she has published on a wide range of topics ranging from the Mughal art of the book to the jewellery of this period. Her exhibitions include the award-winning *Arts of the Sikh Kingdoms*, and *Bejewelled Treasures: The Al Thani Collection*, both held at the V&A. Her books include *Painting for the Mughal Emperor* (2002); *Tipu's Tigers* (2009); *Made for Mughal Emperors* (2010), and *Bejewelled Treasures: The Al Thani Collection* (2015).

## LAHORE AND DYNASTIC DIPLOMACY IN MAHARAJA RANJIT SINGH'S EMPIRE

PRIYA ATWAL

My conference paper examined the dynastic style of diplomacy developed by Maharaja Ranjit Singh during the period of Sikh rule over Lahore and the Punjab in the early nineteenth century. Diplomacy was a key means through which Ranjit Singh sought to project a particular image of himself, his family and his kingdom to the wider world, and Lahore itself was an integral component in these diplomatic endeavours: its architectural heritage and landscape provided the perfect setting for a new and ambitious clan to project themselves into the competitive league of regional powers.

Most narratives about the Maharaja's diplomatic relations have tended to focus on a few key activities: the large military reviews of troops that he would engage in with the East India Company; or the extravagant hospitality that he would offer at his lavish *darbars*, including heavy drinking bouts and 'nautch' parties with dancing girls and his mock female bodyguard – amidst which important political negotiations somehow managed to take place. There is usually a heavy dose of Orientalist discourse pervading such narratives about the courtly world of Ranjit Singh. This even colours the accounts written by modern Punjabi biographers such as Khushwant Singh to an extent, who quite uncritically repeated tales spun by British colonial officers of the more boisterous aspects of Punjabi diplomacy, without looking more deeply into other events and conversations that took place during Anglo-Punjabi encounters. It is perhaps understandable that such activities have garnered significant attention in the historiography written since the takeover of the Punjab. Characterisations of the supposedly worsening decadence of the Lahore *Darbar* were a key argument utilised to justify British intervention in the Punjabi kingdom after the death of Ranjit Singh. The military history of the Sikhs was also an important foundation of the imperialist narrative, which spurred the development of the idea of Sikhs as a 'martial race' after the 1857 Rebellion, when British imperial officers were looking for new, loyal recruits for the Indian Army.

What we lose from an excessive emphasis on such activities, however, is an understanding of why certain *locations* were themselves very important in Punjabi diplomacy, for the purpose of shaping a particular image of Ranjit Singh's rule and kingdom. Instead, what I sought to outline at this symposium were the illuminating insights that can be gained by digging deeper into the cultural dynamics of the Maharaja's diplomatic style, to enable us to better appreciate the value of the stage upon which he sought to show off his dynasty's newfound authority, alongside considering the nature of the act itself.



Hazuri Bagh Baradari, above and below ground. Images: Ali Imran, and The Walled City of Lahore Authority, both via Wikimedia Commons

I therefore aimed to encourage the group to consider how and why Ranjit Singh and members of his immediate family utilised some of the sites and spaces that they conquered during the early nineteenth century (particularly those of Mughal heritage), alongside constructing new edifices of their own, in their efforts to forge a new set of political relations internally within the Punjab as well as with neighbouring powers and rivals. In particular, I focused on how Sikh royal interest in the built and natural spaces of Lahore is helpful for understanding how this highly symbolic cityscape was utilised and engaged with – especially the royal spaces of the Lahore Fort and its surrounding gardens, including Hazuri Bagh and Shalamar Bagh. The Sikh rulers’ interest in and admiration for the Mughal courtly sites that had come under their control was a matter that I argued requires more nuanced consideration and analysis – amongst both historians and heritage professionals – since it contradicts the more simplistic, communalised understanding of Sikh–Muslim/Mughal conflicts, which have tended to colour existing historical narratives both of community relations in Punjab and of the nature of the period of Sikh rule in the early nineteenth century. Preserving, remodelling or constructing anew the architectural heritage of Lahore – and above all, celebrating it – was certainly an important facet of the nascent royal and political culture developed by Ranjit Singh and his kin in their 40-year-long reign. They used and reshaped the city of Lahore for their own purposes, and perhaps to good or bad effect depending on what one may think of the impact of their actions; but what is clear is that Lahore’s heritage (and indeed that of other sites, such as Sheikhpura) was deeply valued by the newer Sikh elite, particularly for its symbolic royal and political history, which they actively drew upon and discussed when hosting important guests for diplomatic events in Punjab, most particularly high-ranking officials from the British East India Company.

Drawing on findings from my doctoral research, I connected this concern for architectural patronage and political display with another key cultural shift amongst the Sikh elites of the period, discussing how late eighteenth-/early nineteenth-century figures such as Ranjit Singh were more actively interested in experimenting with ideas of royal culture in thoughtful and nuanced ways, whilst casting themselves as the embodiments of a new kind of ruling class. This point can be evidenced in a relatively simple way: although Ranjit Singh, as Maharaja, supposedly declined to utilise the splendid former throne of the Mughals with the pious claim that the *Sacha Padshah* (or ‘True Emperor’) could only ever be God alone, he nevertheless was quite prepared to leave his ancestral fort and dwellings in Gujranwala in order to occupy the imperial living quarters in the Lahore Fort, which he even proceeded to embellish further in the process, patronising the artistic development of a new blend of Sikh royal imagery.

Above all, at the heart of my paper was a desire to use this nineteenth-century Sikh case study not only as a means of understanding how the people of that period utilised and shaped Lahore’s heritage in their own time (and without necessarily passing judgment on their actions), but equally and simply to appreciate the fact of how past generations themselves valued and understood the rich history of their surroundings.

**Priya Atwal** is a postdoctoral researcher and Knowledge Exchange Fellow in History at the University of Oxford. Her recently completed DPhil project is entitled, 'Between the Courts of Lahore and Windsor: Anglo-Indian Relations and the Re-making of Royalty in the Nineteenth Century'. She is currently working on a book about monarchy and empire based on her doctoral research, alongside coordinating an AHRC-funded public engagement project about the Indian Army in the First World War.

## LATE NINETEENTH-CENTURY AND EARLY TWENTIETH-CENTURY INDIGENOUS BUILDINGS

LUCY PECK

The largest group of historic buildings in Lahore today are those constructed during the colonial period by and for the use of local people. Although many inhabitants now take pride in their colonial heritage, such as government buildings, museums and schools, the far more numerous examples of domestic architecture built at the same time are largely ignored. This may be because the buildings are mainly in private hands and, therefore, their fate is deemed to be out of government control, but this should not be the case.

Syed Muhammad Latif’s description of Lahore, published in his great work of 1892, shows us how much the city has changed since those days: apart from the 115 historic buildings listed, the majority of which survive, he also recorded 15 great *havelis*, described as ‘Notable Houses’, 31 temples, 8 *samadhs* and numerous gardens. Many of them, especially the Notable Houses, were in poor condition in 1892 and over the next few decades all but a few disappeared and were replaced by more modest buildings. The same thing was happening to many of the smaller, but picturesque, houses in the Walled City that were so admired by Lockwood Kipling. These striking buildings were superseded by more up-to-date models, or demolished for road widening and drain laying, but what replaced them is often worthy of admiration too. While this includes temples, mosques and commercial structures, the majority of these buildings are domestic.

These would have presented a striking contrast with the colonial buildings that were being constructed at the same time. This is partly because of the urban form: colonial bungalows on large sites must have stood in stark contrast to houses up to four or five storeys high, often on very small sites. Now, however, unlike colonial bungalows, of which few remain because their valuable sites have been redeveloped, these indigenous buildings can still be found in large numbers both inside and outside the Walled City. Some of the best-preserved neighbourhoods are found outside it, in the areas that were being laid out as new residential districts in the early twentieth century, the most striking being the area around Gawal Mandi and Chamberlain Road, and in pre-existing villages such as Qila Gujjar Singh. The buildings are often large, built to cater to the more traditional lifestyle of multi-generational joint families, again a contrast with colonial bungalows for small European households with servants housed at the rear of the site.

Another interesting contrast can be found with buildings constructed in other colonial cities, both in terms of structure and decoration. From the Mughal period onwards, visitors to Lahore remarked on its congested nature and the height of the buildings, which latterly often had narrow frontages and tiny footprints, much smaller than most in the comparable cities of Agra or Delhi. The restricted sites, however, did not inhibit architectural adornment, evident both from what survives and from drawings found in the Lahore archives.<sup>1</sup> While the blandly classical Public Works Department (PWD) bungalow was

1. See William J Glover, *Making Lahore Modern*, University of Minnesota Press, 2008.



Facade of an Art Deco building in Hira Mandi, in the Walled City. Image: Lucy Peck

common to all colonial cities, the fine buildings constructed by locals are noticeably different, both to PWD bungalows and to what was built in other cities. In Agra, the style largely followed local tradition, while in Delhi either a traditional or a fairly austere European style was favoured. In Lahore, there seems to have been a self-confidence and boldness of conception that were to some extent missing in Delhi and Agra. It seems that in Lahore local builders drew their inspiration from a wide range of sources, one obviously being the existing architecture, largely Mughal and Sikh. The latter would have predominated, not only because more buildings from that period remained, but also because craftsmen from the Sikh period were still around in early colonial times and passed down their skills to subsequent generations. Other influences, adding to their repertoire of styles, were of course the new buildings introduced by the colonial power, and buildings seen in magazines or copybooks, such as *Joshi's Modern Designs*, which came out in 1937, featuring facades not unlike those seen on the streets today. New construction in the Walled City was, perhaps, constrained by the small size of the plots: much of it was a traditional, watered-down version of what was being replaced, but many other buildings, especially on the slightly less constricted sites outside the Walled City, effectively combine traditional features with European decorations.

What grew out of the various architectural influences in Lahore during the colonial period – Mughal, Sikh, colonial and local craft traditions – was something exceptionally varied and lively, but what of these buildings' future? One problem is maintenance – the sheer cost of repairing them. Then, of course, there is wilful neglect, allowing buildings to fall down, or the threat of the money to be gained from dealing in 'architectural salvage', causing people to remove architectural elements to sell them elsewhere. Can we take comfort from other world cities, where people are adapting to denser living, alongside improved public transport and less need for cars? That certainly makes the idea of adapting such old buildings as these to modern standards more viable, and the Walled City Authority have demonstrated that upgrading old buildings is both feasible and popular. Further threats are destructive infrastructure projects, such as the Orange Line metro. It could be argued that the route chosen, along McLeod and Nicholson Roads avoids a lot of demolition, but the damage to the fabric of neighbouring buildings caused by vibrations during construction and the running of the trains has yet to be determined. There is also the visual destruction of the streetscape to consider: the Lower Mall has already been spoilt by the Lahore Metrobus raised track, which sadly does not seem to be running frequently enough to make a significant difference to the shortage of public transport.

Cities in more wealthy countries struggle with conservation because, however strong the legislation, it will always depend on effective administration and enforcement. There is continuous pressure to redevelop valuable city-centre sites, and local authorities and developers often do not see the worth of historic neighbourhoods until it is almost too late to save them. This is not an easy task, but it is to be hoped that many of these fascinating late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century buildings will be saved, ideally not piecemeal, but as intact areas.

**Lucy Peck** trained as an architect and town planner in the UK. During ten years' residence in Delhi, she became interested in the history and buildings of Delhi and other cities. She is the author of *Delhi: A Thousand Years of Building* (2005), *Agra: The Architectural Heritage* (2010), *Fatehpur Sikri: Revisiting Akbar's Masterpiece* (2014) and *Lahore: The Architectural Heritage* (2014).



Haveli in northern Anarkali, which contains a well-preserved temple, Banshi ka Mandir. Image: Lucy Peck

## REFLECTIONS ON LAHORE AND POWER

FRANCIS ROBINSON

This lecture explored four themes in the relationship between Lahore and power. The first focuses on a grouping of Mughal mausolea and the pathos of great power lost. They are the mausoleum of Nur Jahan, the wife of the Mughal Emperor Jahangir, the mausoleum of Asaf Khan, her brother, and the magnificent mausoleum of Jahangir himself. They were grouped in Nur Jahan's garden by the River Ravi at Shahdara. In 1611, Nur Jahan married Jahangir (she was 34 and he was 42) and rose to become the most powerful woman, indeed the most powerful person, in the empire. The reasons were her hold over Jahangir, her considerable intellect and her notable administrative skills. She was, however, unable to succeed in that feature of Mughal government, the succession struggle. In the 1620s, the participants began sparring and the struggle broke out in earnest on Jahangir's death in 1627. On one side, there was Prince Kurram (later Shah Jahan) supported by Nur Jahan's brother Asaf, who was married to Kurram's daughter. On the other side was Nur Jahan, who had married her daughter by her first husband, Ladli Begum, to Jahangir's son by a concubine, Shahriyar. To keep the power she had wielded under Jahangir, Nur Jahan aimed to put Shahriyar on the throne. She lost. She was confined with Ladli Begum to a property in Lahore with an annual pension of Rs. 200,000 in addition to her great wealth. Amongst other things, she devoted herself to building Jahangir's great mausoleum and her own. Shah Jahan had her brother's mausoleum built close by. Nur Jahan and Ladli Begum were laid to rest in Nur Jahan's mausoleum. Her sarcophagus bears this epigraph: 'Let there be neither lamp nor rose. Let neither the butterfly burn nor a nightingale sing'.

The second theme involves the issue of language and power. After having conquered the Punjab, the British replaced Persian with Urdu as the language of government. This meant that they became concerned to reduce its elements of high-flown courtly idiom and fashion it into a workmanlike tongue. Leading Urdu literary figures such as Muhammad Husain Azad and Altaf Husain Hali wished to move in the same direction. In 1874, they worked with Colonel Holroyd, the Director of Public Instruction, in running nine *mushairas* at the Anjuman-i Punjab to explore new ways of using Urdu. Moreover, they produced works justifying the reconstitution of Urdu and large numbers of textbooks in the new workmanlike language. Hali's great poem, the *Musaddas*, on the rise and fall of Islam, broadcast his new thinking on Urdu. For 30 years after its publication in 1879, it was the most influential poem in the Urdu sphere. Urdu became established as the language in which to communicate modern ideas, whether they were those of Lahore's great poet, Muhammad Iqbal, or the worthy social and human themes addressed by the Progressive Writers' Movement. In this context, Lahore became a leading centre of Urdu and Urdu publishing.

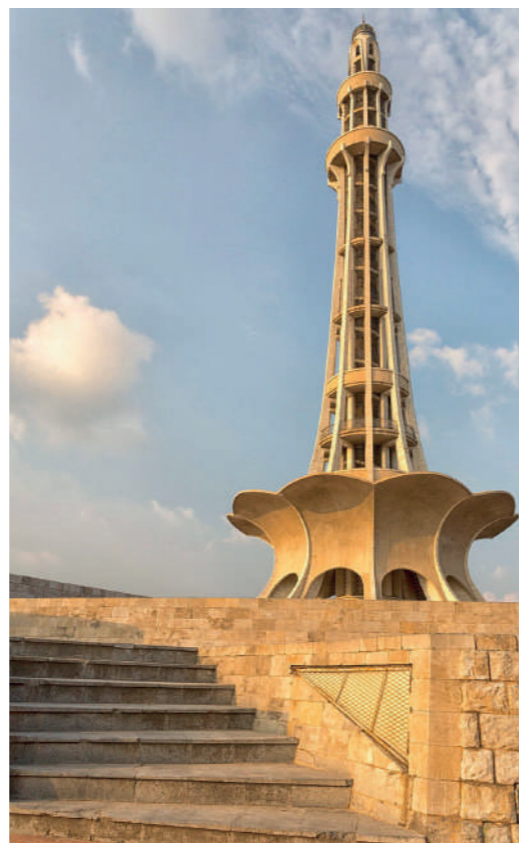
One would have thought that when, at Independence, Urdu was made one of Pakistan's two national languages – subsequently, Pakistan's leaders set out to make it the one language of government – its future would be secure. But this has not been the case. As in East Pakistan/Bangladesh, in recent decades Lahore has seen the emergence of local resistance to Urdu, in this case from Punjabi. At the elite level, the move for Punjabiyyat has been expressed in the work of writers such as Najm Husain Syed and Fakhar Zaman. But so far, to judge by newspaper sales, they have not made serious inroads on Urdu. But at the popular level, a different story may be emerging. Lahore's Lollywood, the centre of the Pakistani film industry, is at the forefront of the process. Punjabi-language films have come to crush Urdu films at the box office. At the centre of the phenomenon is a genre of action films featuring the Punjabi peasant hero, Maula Jat. One wonders if the success of the Punjabi-language film, alongside the social mobilisation of Punjab's rural population, presages the marginalisation of Urdu.

The third theme involves the emergence of Lahore from the nineteenth century as a major centre of cricket in the region. In the 1920s, this came to be expressed in the rivalry between the city's colleges, in particular Government College and Islamiyya College. There was a particular spice to this rivalry. Government College was a replica of the old Delhi College destroyed in the Mutiny. Founded in 1865, it was funded by the government. Islamiyya College was founded in 1892 by the Anjuman-i Himayat-i Islam. It was independently funded and tended to oppose British rule. We should note that from the 1950s Islamiyya College was the great nursery of Pakistan test cricketers, from A.H. Kadar and Fazal Mahmood, the first two captains, and Khan Muhammad who took the first test wicket for Pakistan, through many others including Imtiaz Ahmad

and Saeed Ahmad to, more recently, Waseem Akram. As the twentieth century moved on, Lahore's position as the centre of Pakistani cricket became consolidated in administrative terms. It has a great stadium, the Gaddafi Stadium, which was the base for the Pakistan Cricket Board and for the Pakistan test team.

You might ask what all this has to do with power. Cricket has become one of the most powerful vehicles for the expression of Pakistan's national pride. Great moments such as when Pakistan first beat England at the Oval in 1954, or when Pakistan first won the World Cup in 1992 are treasured. So important is cricket to many Pakistanis that it represents a shared world of symbols and emotions. It is a form of national cement. Because of its importance, cricket has the capacity to breed celebrity, no more so than in the case of Imran Khan, the charismatic player and captain, once of Aitchison College, Lahore, who led the team that won the World Cup. Had he not become a celebrity through cricket, it is unlikely that he would have been able to form his Progress and Justice Party, which has given him a place in the National Assembly and made him a notable opponent of the Nawaz Sharif regime.

The final theme involves Lahore's Hazuri Bagh and the memory and promise of power. The classic Charbagh garden laid out by Ranjit Singh is freighted with the memory of power lost and regained. There is at its eastern end the great Alamgiri Gate to the fort, which looms over the garden. And at the Western end there is Alamgir's Badshahi Mosque with its exquisite three domes. Both of these fine buildings are reminders of the greatness of Mughal power. Then, there are the remains of Ranjit Singh's marble Baradari, or pavilion, in the centre of his garden, and his Samadhi (mausoleum) forming the northern wall of the space, both reminders of the nearly 50 years of Sikh rule in Lahore. Finally, there is Iqbal's tomb in the southwest corner in front of the Badshahi Mosque, and a bowshot away from this to the north the Minar-e-Pakistan in what was Minto Park. This recalls the Muslim League's so-called Pakistan Resolution, delivered on this spot in March 1940. The tomb and the minar are symbols of the revival of Muslim power both in Lahore and in South Asia in general. The space is magical in its construction and atmosphere, but also in its connection to the past and present. It has no rival in South Asia. It compares well with other spaces across the world where great symbols, religious, political and memorial, are brought together. I think of the forum of ancient Rome, the central piazzas of former medieval Italian city states, the Maidan-e Shah in Isfahan, Parliament Square in London, Red Square in Moscow, and so on.



The Minar-e-Pakistan, completed in 1968. Image: via Wikimedia Commons

**Francis Robinson** has been Professor of the History of South Asia at Royal Holloway, University of London, since 1990, and was Vice-Principal from 1997–2004. He was President of the Royal Asiatic Society from 1997–2000, and 2003–06; Visiting Professor in the History of the Islamic World at the University of Oxford from 2008–11, and Mellon Visiting Professor of Islamic Studies at the University of Chicago in 2016. His recent publications include: *Islam and Muslim History in South Asia* (2000); *The Ulama of Farangi Mahall and Islamic Culture in South Asia* (2001); *Islam, South Asia and the West* (2007); *The Mughal Emperors and the Islamic Dynasties of India, Iran and Central Asia* (2007); *Islam in the Age of Western Dominance* (ed.), *New Cambridge History of Islam Vol. 5* (2010); *Jamal Mian: the Life of Maulana Jamaluddin Abdul Wahab of Farangi Mahall* (2017).

## CHURCHES OF LAHORE AND RELATED BUILDINGS

MICHAEL NAZIR-ALI

It is well-known that Christianity arrived in what is now Pakistan very early. The discoveries in Taxila provide a background to the second-century claim that the Apostle Thomas visited this area. The fact that Aramaic, the language of Jesus, was spoken here since Seleucid times and that there was a flourishing of Indo-Greek culture add verisimilitude to claims of an early arrival.

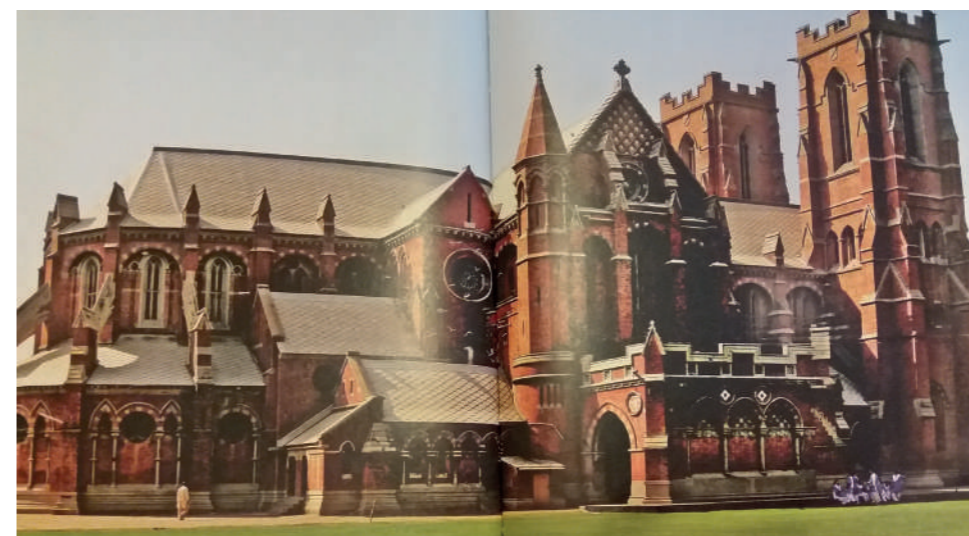
Where Lahore is concerned, however, Christian presence cannot be established with certainty before the sixteenth century. I would like to point out, though, that this presence is seen to be of both the 'Oriental' and the 'Western' type. The Emperor Akbar had a wife with Christian connections and an adopted son who was Christian. Oriental Christians, often called Armenian but from different parts of the Middle East, openly served in the Mughal artillery and cavalry. There seems to have been a Christian quarter in Lahore, but the only surviving Oriental ecclesiastical remains seem to be in the Zenana at the Fort: the paintings have been badly damaged, but we can still see a bishop with a patriarchal Cross – Jesus? – praying in the Garden of Gethsemane, someone reading from the Bible, sacraments being administered etc.

The first church building that we know of for certain was erected by the Jesuits, with Akbar's permission and funds from Prince Salim (later to become the Emperor Jahangir), in the last decade of the sixteenth century. It has had a history of mixed fortunes, being closed and destroyed at different times. Dr Majid Sheikh has identified the present church, which stands on the site. How a Jesuit-founded church became Presbyterian is a mystery to me but there are other instances of church property changing hands in Lahore.

At first, the British used existing Mughal period buildings as churches. So, the Diwan-i-Khas, or Hall of Private Audience, inside the Fort was used as a garrison church and, from 1851–91, Anarkali's tomb in the grounds of the Secretariat was so used.

As far as purpose-built churches in the nineteenth century are concerned, the beautiful St Mary Magdalene in Lahore Cantonment seems to be the first, with the building begun in 1854. The entire building is in white stone, supposedly to give a message of peace and love. The clock, installed in 1857, is still working. St Andrew's Nabha Road Presbyterian Church was founded in 1860 and is one of Lahore's historic buildings affected by the planned Orange Line metro. It celebrated its sesquicentennial in 2010.

Perhaps the best-known church is 'Kookarh Wala Girja' (the Weathercock Church). Its formal name, the Cathedral Church of the Resurrection, is little used on the street. This was built and consecrated as a cathedral for the newly created Diocese of Lahore (1867), and designed by the son of the famous Gilbert Scott. Its style is a combination of 'Early English' and Indo-Saracenic. It is built in red sandstone and brick, standing as a grand complement to the High Court buildings opposite. The well-known Taxila Cross is kept here.



The Cathedral Church of the Resurrection. Image: Syed Javaid A. Kazi, in Safdar Ali Shah and Syed Javaid A. Kazi, *Churches of Pakistan* (Constellation Plus, 2011).



The Taxila Cross. Image: Salman Rashid via Wikimedia Commons

Only a few yards up the Mall is the Roman Catholic Cathedral of the Sacred Heart. This is also a famous landmark and is built in a mixed Byzantine and Western style. The design was prize-winning in its time. The steeple is 168 feet high, the nave is 68 feet long and the transept is 125 feet wide.

With the coming of the railways, Lahore became not only an important East–West and North–South junction but a major workshop and the headquarters of the North-Western Railway system. Many of the skilled workers were Europeans, Anglo Indians or, as they were called, native Christians. This led to the building of the so-called ‘railway churches’. The oldest of these is St Andrew’s on Empress Road. This is a fine example of a late Victorian church and stands modestly in its own grounds, having, as is often the case, its school adjacent to it. St Anthony’s Roman Catholic Church is another example of a railway church and was recently expanded because of the growing size of its congregations. The building of churches, their repair and extension is very much a burden on the local Christians as there is little assistance from abroad. St Oswald’s in Mughalpura is another gem of a railway church. At one time, it was the centre of outreach work throughout the east of Lahore up to the Indian border. It retains a large and active congregation.

Holy Trinity, Nila Gumbad and Naulakha Presbyterian (with its distinctive domed tower) are examples of churches built for worship in the vernacular, i.e. Urdu and Punjabi. These days, of course, most worship is in these languages, with English or Latin being offered in only a few places.

Although many churches in Lahore are from the nineteenth or early twentieth centuries, many others are much more recent: St Mary’s Catholic Church in Gulberg dates from the 1960s, and the Diocese of Raiwind’s new Cathedral of the Praying Hands was consecrated only a few years ago.

There are about 100 churches in Lahore. Some are large and magnificent buildings but many are in poor areas and in restricted circumstances. Most are used enthusiastically for worship and other activities but some cannot be used because the surrounding community will not allow it. Many churches have schools, halls and other facilities attached to them from where they can serve the wider community. Christian schools, colleges, universities and hospitals also often have chapels attached to them, which are used for divine worship and for service to the community. Religious orders invariably have chapels for contemplation, prayer and study. Lahore has many fine examples of such chapels.

In addition, there are now a large number of ‘house churches’, with congregations meeting in private homes for bible study and devotions but these, though significant, are outside the scope of this address.

The future of churches in Pakistan, like much else, is under threat from extremism and terrorism. A number have been attacked, with loss of life and limb. The government now requires high walls to be built around these previously accessible buildings. Although this reduces the risk of attack, it is a stark picture of how extremism has separated and ghettoised communities in Pakistan. Let us pray and work for the return of an open society where people are free to practise their faith and to share with one another.

An eminent Pakistani poet, Ghulam Masih Naaman, has put it well:

‘A city where stone-throwing is the price of glass-making  
A fool is the one who blows glass in such a place!’

May it not be so for Lahore.

**Michael Nazir-Ali** was the 106th Bishop of Rochester, for 15 years, until 1 September 2009. Originally from south-west Asia, he read Economics, Sociology and Islamic History at the University of Karachi, and Theology at Cambridge, with research in Comparative Literature at Oxford and elsewhere. In Pakistan, Michael taught at Karachi Theological College, worked as a parish priest in a poor urban area, became Provost of Lahore Cathedral and was consecrated the first Bishop of Raiwind. He has lectured at a number of universities and colleges in the UK, Canada, the USA and Australia. With both a Christian and a Muslim family background, he is the author of 12 books, a number of monographs and reports, and numerous articles on faith and public life, freedom of belief, bioethics, mission, ecumenism, the Anglican Communion, and relations with people of other faiths (particularly Islam). He is now President of the Oxford Centre for Training, Research, Advocacy and Dialogue (OXTRAD). He continues to serve on international and national committees and trusts.

## JOHN LOCKWOOD KIPLING’S CONTRIBUTION TO ARCHITECTURE IN LAHORE (1875–93)

JULIUS BRYANT

As a contribution to events marking the 70th anniversary of the birth of Pakistan and of India’s independence, in 2017 the Victoria and Albert Museum collaborated with the Bard Graduate Center, New York, and with Yale University Press in producing a major exhibition and book on John Lockwood Kipling (1837–1911). Better known (in the West) as the father of Rudyard, Kipling moved to Lahore in 1875 as the first Principal of the Mayo School of Art (today Pakistan’s National College of Arts) and as curator of the Lahore Museum. In the opening pages of his novel *Kim* (1901), Rudyard pays an affectionate tribute to his father in a pen portrait of the curator, ‘the Keeper of Images in the Wonder House’.



Lahore Museum. Image: Guilhem Vellut via Wikimedia Commons

Today, John Lockwood Kipling is still revered in both institutions in Lahore, where he gazes down from portraits painted by his former pupil and Assistant Master, Sher Muhammad. His reputation in Lahore rests on his success at preserving the ancient arts and crafts of the Punjab through collecting fine examples for the museum, and promoting the study of them and of traditional skills in the school alongside. He also campaigned to find markets abroad for new products, as a curator at international exhibitions and as Founder Editor of the *Journal of Indian Art*. Less familiar, indeed all but forgotten, is his contribution to the architecture of Lahore.

As initiator of the exhibition, and its lead curator at the V&A Museum, I searched the stores for objects that J.L. Kipling must have known, for he remained in regular contact with the museum where he had worked in the 1860s. His contribution to the conservation of the buildings in Lahore’s Walled City continues today thanks to the visual records he made, both in documentary paintings and in photographs. J.L. Kipling encouraged his art school pupils to draw inspiration for their own designs from the walls of buildings, such as Wazir Khan’s Mosque and the Gulabi Bagh Gateway, by painting faithful copies of their decoration. He founded a photography class and sent back over 30 views of the Walled City and of the Lahore Museum’s collections; these were rediscovered in the V&A Museum in time for the exhibition. As historic buildings were dismantled in the Walled City to make way for a reservoir and sanitation improvements, J.L. Kipling salvaged carved windows, doorways and shop fronts both for the Lahore Museum and for the V&A Museum. In his articles for the *Journal of Indian Art* he criticised the Public Works Department for the poor quality of its functional buildings, its adverse influence on new architecture and its emphasis on written examinations

and standardised designs at the expense of the *mistri* tradition of the creative master craftsman. Through illustrating his students' paintings of the city's historic building in the journal, he promoted, as he wrote, 'the systematic study of Oriental Architecture, the source and fountain head of all the Indian Arts'.

Beyond J.L. Kipling's contribution to architectural preservation and conservation in the Punjab, the research project sought to identify his own work as a designer of buildings, interiors and furniture in Lahore. Thanks to the generous support and hospitality of the British Council, I made two visits to Lahore to visit buildings and archives and to meet scholars already working on the architecture of the colonial era. In the 580-page book published to coincide with the exhibitions in London and New York,<sup>1</sup> J.L. Kipling's work as an architectural designer is set out with supporting evidence. It was important to distinguish his role from that of his best-known assistant, Bhai Ram Singh (whom he called in 1892 'our most accomplished architect') and of the executive civil engineers Rai Bahadur Kanhia Lal and Sir Ganga Ram. His pioneering contributions in a more scholarly Indo-Saracenic style can be seen at the Mayo School of Art, the Lahore Museum, the Chief Court and Aitchison College (formerly the Punjab Chiefs' College).

In these vulnerable times, when new transport systems threaten Lahore's global reputation as a city of beauty, a convincing case could be made to UNESCO to award World Heritage Site status to the campus of colonial architecture along the Mall, designed and built by J.L. Kipling and his colleagues from the Punjab.

1. Julius Bryant and Susan Weber, eds, *John Lockwood Kipling: Arts and Crafts in the Punjab and London*, Yale University Press, 2017.

**Julius Bryant** is Keeper of Word and Image at the V&A Museum, with responsibility for paintings, prints, drawings, designs, miniatures, watercolours, photographs, the National Art Library and the Archive of Art and Design. He is co-curator of the exhibition *John Lockwood Kipling* (V&A, 2017; Bard Graduate Center (BGC), New York City, September 2017–January 2018), and co-editor of the accompanying book, both with Dr Susan Weber, Founder Director of the BGC.



Aitchison College. Image: Mianhammad59 via Wikimedia Commons

## LAHORE: THE CRUCIBLE OF HISTORY

FAKIR SYED AIJAZUDDIN

How does one compress 800 plus years of Lahore's history into a 40-minute presentation? How does one embroider a Bayeux Tapestry of Lahore's colourful, vibrant chronicle in less than an hour?

During a recent BBC interview, I described the Commonwealth as 'the severed, but still thrashing tail of the British Empire'. Is Lahore the severed but still thrashing tail of empire, or should I say many empires? Is it the detritus of the short-lived Sikh empire of Maharaja Ranjit Singh? Is it the solid residue left to us by the imperial Mughals who thought in marble and sandstone? Is it the residuum remaining after the evaporation of the Lodis, the Khiljis, the Tughlaqs, the Ghoris, the slave dynasties, the Ghaznavids and even earlier supremacies that time has forgotten?

Lahore has survived them all. It has endured their ambitions, their accretions and their adaptations, their depredations and their mutilations, their vandalism and their scarring enthusiasm.

Lahore will outlive even the ravages wrought in the twentieth and the twenty-first centuries. 'It is not the strongest of the species that survives, nor the most intelligent that survives,' Charles Darwin maintained, 'it is the one that is most adaptable to change'. And Lahore as a city has demonstrated that it can adapt, it can change and it can survive.

Scholars over the past two days have spoken authoritatively about facets of Lahore. I will give you an elliptical view of the city. Lahore is built on mounds. Below its present surface lie layers of time, compressed, each pulverised in the crucible of history. Each generation has built not only upon the foundations of the one before, but has often purloined bricks and stone from ancient ruins to fabricate their own phoenixes.

We all know that the bricks of Harappa were used for the Northern Railways. Equally sadly, the ruins of Dara Shikoh's chowk outside Delhi Gate were sold to the contractor Mohd. Sultan, who also pulled down the mosque built by Dara Shikoh. Tripolia Mosque (near the railway station), built by Jahangir, was sold for its bricks.

When the French adventurer Colonel Jean Baptiste Gentil came to India in 1752, the French and the British were fighting over the carcass of Mughal India. The Souba of Lahore lay beyond the control of all three. The traveller Thevenot – also a Jean Baptiste – described Lahore as 'a very pretty town when the Kings kept their court in it ... It is large, and hath been adorned as the others are with Mosques, publick Baths, Quervanserais, Squares, Tanquies, Palaces, and Gardens'.

Akbar had made Lahore his capital for 14 years but never his home. His son Jahangir lived in it less, but loved it more. Similarly, Jahangir's respect for other religions – especially Christianity – had more to do with politics than belief. Thevenot, visiting India 40 years after Jahangir's death, suspected as much. He recalled seeing in the Lahore Fort pictures of the Crucifix and Virgin Mary on one gate, 'but I believe these two pieces of devotion were only put there by the Hypocrise of King Gehanguir, who pretended a kindness for the Christian Religion to flatter the Portuguese'.



Top: The Sheesh Mahal, Lahore Fort, completed in 1632  
Bottom: Ranjit Singh's Samadhi, completed in 1848. Images: Omer Wazir via Flickr and Ali Imran via Wikimedia Commons

Jahangir loved Lahore enough to will that he should be buried in it. His embalmed body was transported from Kashmir and interred in a garden on the Shahdara side of the Ravi River.

When one looks at early maps of Lahore, one can understand why it was so congested. There was barely enough room to live in, let alone to be buried in. The Old City, like most contemporary medieval towns, was ringed by a protective wall, which had twelve gates. In the northeast corner stood the monarchs of Lahore – the Fort and adjacent to it the Badshahi Masjid.

A better idea of the urban congestion could be gained from a wooden model kept in the Victoria and Albert Museum until someone there decided it would be better burned than returned to a museum in Lahore. Destruction is not limited to monuments. Even scale models are vulnerable.

Fancifully carved woodwork within the Old City was itself a monument to the carpenters' craft. In 1881, John Lockwood Kipling and an American enthusiast, Lockwood de Forrest, held an exhibition of such woodwork at the old Lahore Museum (now Tollinton Market).

Congestion within the Old City forced any expansion to be vertical. Storeys were stacked one upon another, defying gravity. A recent study of such vertical urbanisation reveals that seven to eight stories seem to be the norm. A foolhardy Icarus amongst them has gone as high as twelve.

Within the grime of the Old City stands an oasis of calm and beauty – the Mosque of Wazir Khan, described by John Lockwood Kipling as a 'university of design'. The area in front of it is being gradually cleared so that the faithful can approach it as believers of every faith should – whether at the Temple at Luxor, St Peter's in Rome, the Meenakshi temple at Madurai or the Harmandir Sahib in Amritsar – in a state of cleanliness, open-mindedness and spiritual anticipation.

If the Old City was crowded with the living, the dead had all the space they needed outside its 12 gates. Beyond the Old City's forbidding ramparts lay private gardens and even more secluded graves and mausoleums. Mohd. Din Kalim Qadri in his *Madinat ul Qadri* (1976) lists 618 graves and shrines within a ten-mile radius of Lahore.

Lahore, though, was not simply about temporal power. It was a prayer mat of spirituality. For example, Shah Jahan's son Prince Dara Shikoh wrote a number of treatises on saints, among them Safinat ul-Auliya and Sakinat ul-Auliya. Dara Shikoh knew too many saints for his own good. A friend of the seventh Guru, Har Rai, he was a devotee of Hazrat Mian Mir who laid the foundation stone of Harmandir Sahib in Amritsar.

No major monument in Lahore has escaped adaptation. The Badshahi Masjid adapted from being a mosque to an ammunition dump under the Sikhs and the British. It was restored as a place of worship to Muslims in 1856. Jahangir's Tomb in Shahdara was used as a residence by *firanghis* employed by Ranjit Singh, and later as a railway shunting yard by the Punjab Railways.

The Tomb of Anarkali was consecrated as St James's Church and then deconsecrated to become the Punjab Archives. The Tomb of Saleh Kamboh stood engulfed in St Andrew's Church for the Northern Railway employees. The offices of the *Civil and Military Gazette* (where Rudyard Kipling worked) was bought by a textile group, which in turn sold it to developers. It is now the Panorama shopping centre.

The Old Masonic Hall has transformed into the Lady Macalagan Girls' School. The New Masonic Hall is now occupied by the Chief Minister of the Punjab as one of his town offices, its panelled sanctum sanctorum converted into a dining room.

Bradlaugh Hall is where every major Indian political leader before 1946 spoke. After 1947, it was used as a storehouse for grain, a home for migrants from Amritsar, and is now the National Technical Institute. Tollinton Market, the site of the first Museum of Lahore in 1865 and the city's first supermarket, is now the City Heritage Museum. Lawrence Hall and its companion Montgomery Hall, refashioned as the site of the Lahore Gymkhana Club, later became Martial Law offices, and are today the Quaid-e-Azam Public Library.

Nedou's Hotel was demolished to make way for the Avari Hotel. Food Street – once the *kothas* of Lahore's famous courtesans – satiates during the night different sorts of appetites and tastes. The over-decorated Haveli of Maharaja Nau Nehal Singh, a determined Anglophobe, is now humiliatingly the Victoria Girls' School.

One Mughal tomb is said to be that of either Syed Badiuddin Jilani or Muhammad Qasim Khan, a noble of

Akbar's time. For the past 150 years, it has been incorporated as a dining room in the official home of the Governor of the Punjab. One Punjab Governor, Nawab Kalabagh, refused to eat, as he put it, above a grave. His objection was valid. What would the Windsors have felt if St George's Chapel was converted into a dining hall?

And, as a final example of change, the former Punjab Club was where civilians were once trained to become gentlemen, and is today where gentlemen are trained to become bureaucrats.

Two events in the twentieth century left their scars on the Punjab. The first occurred on 14 August 1947. Few Punjabi cities suffered as much as Lahore from that trauma. Cyril Radcliffe, who had never been to India, was given five weeks to decide the borders of the provinces of Punjab and Bengal, and with that the fate of millions. It was an unconscionable decision, as ludicrous as appointing a subcontinental lawyer who has never been to the UK or Europe to negotiate Brexit, and without even being given two years in which to negotiate it.

Punjab's assets were divided: one-third to India; two-thirds to the fledgling state of Pakistan. Seventy years later, the absurdity of this distribution was brought home to me. I wanted a copy of Hutchison and Vogel's two-volume *History of the Panjab Hills States* (1933). I found hundreds of copies in the Punjab Printing Press. I was delighted, until I discovered we had only Volume I. Volume II had all been sent to India.

Radcliffe's incision passed through that bastion of Hindu, Sikh and Muslim integration: Aitchison College. In 1946, the school was still populated by boys from all three religions. When the school reopened in September 1947 for the winter term, it became, like the Punjab itself, almost entirely Muslim.

The second trauma occurred on 6 December 1992 – hundreds of miles away in Ayodhya – the birthplace of Loh's father, Lord Rama. The destruction of the Babri Masjid on 6 December unleashed an unspeakable backlash in Lahore. Defenceless temples and samadhis became unfair game for rioters. Jain temples and Sikh *samadhis* were vandalised by vengeful mobs. The *mandir* dedicated to Kali Mata at Thokar Niaz Beg, and even a smaller temple in Anarkali, were irreparably damaged or flagrantly misused.

Gone are the Sikh *samadhis* of Jamadar Khushal Singh, Raja Suchet Singh, Raja Udham Singh and Bhai Vasti Ram; gone are the *gurdwaras* of Guru Ram Das in Chuna Mandi, and the one built by Raja Tej Singh at end of Moti Bazaar; gone the *mandirs*: the Tirpolia Shiwala – said to be as old as Lahore, Shiwala Tibbi Wala (Lahore's oldest), Thakurdwara of Bankey Bihari (the richest) and the Kali Mata Mandir in Gumti Bazaar; gone are the *darameher* of the Parsees: their sacred fire burns furtively in a private home in Gulberg. Certainly, the most premeditated attack was the annihilation by minions of the Punjab government of the Jain Mandir in Old Anarkali, to make way for the controversial Orange Line metro.

Looking at Lahore's augmentation, major private colonies began with Model Town. It was, as its name implied, an experiment, not only in organised accommodation but also in religious integration. The plan in the 1920s was that on each corner would stand a mosque, a church a *mandir* and a *gurdwara*. Common facilities would be within a central circle. Residents were offered designs for Grade A-, B- and C-type houses. A C-type house like this could be built in 32 days and cost Rs 6,500. Post 1947, most of the houses stood empty, inviting squatters.

The demands of second and third generations have put paid to its founder Dewan Khem Chand's original policy that the built-up area should not exceed one-third of the area available. Newer privately funded housing societies such as the Defence Housing Authority can hardly keep up with the burgeoning demand. Today, there are over 300 private housing societies, which recognise no laws other than their own. The law of the jungle is creating concrete jungles.

Lahore's most ambitious and popular housing society is now Bahria Town. It has a replica of the Eiffel Tower for Lahori Francophiles, and an imitation of Trafalgar Square without a presiding Lord Nelson for Anglophiles. Its focal mosque competes with the largest in Asia.

Once, royalty occupied the northeast corner of Lahore. Today, it resides in the southwest – in Bilawal House, built by a grateful contractor, Malik Riaz, for his mentor Asif Zardari. A hundred years from now, will tourists visit it as others do Sanssouci or Tsarskoe Selo?

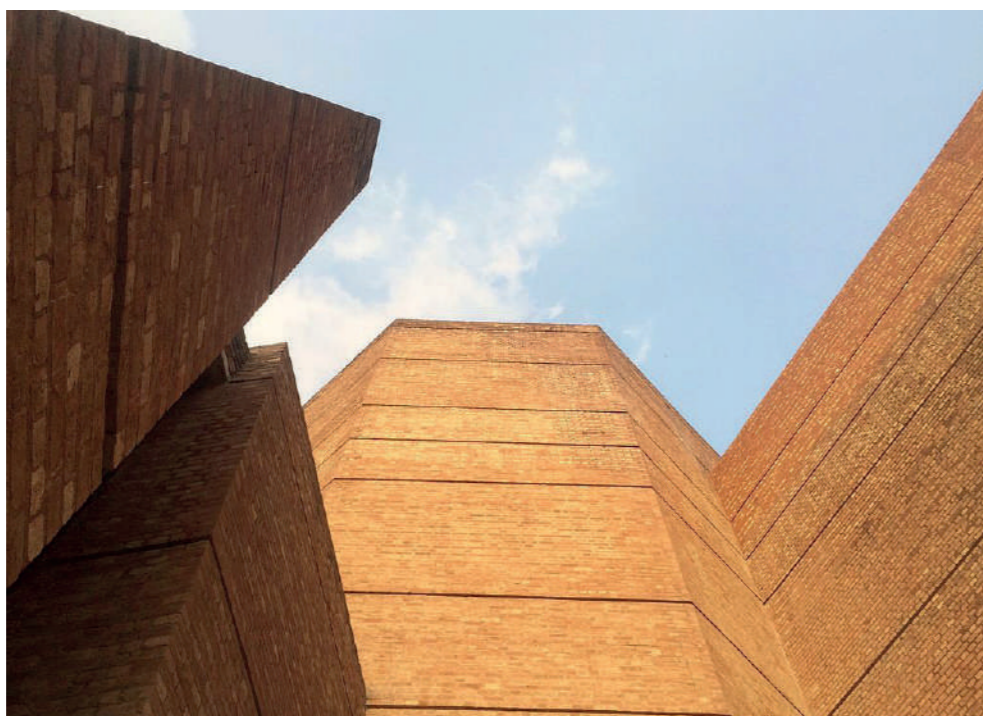
Cities need lungs as much as politicians do. The area outside the Fort walls became Lahore's first public park

and racecourse. This has been remodeled recently into a large recreational area surrounding the Minar-e-Pakistan. The racecourse was later shifted to the centre of the city, closer to its clients – government officers. In the 1970s, it was expelled to the outskirts and the area converted into Jilani Park. Lahore’s sporting public has new cricket and hockey stadia of international standard in Gulberg.

When you think about it, the monuments we tout as tourist sights all belong to a period before 1947. Which are the monuments, then, that our grandchildren will be shown as examples of Lahore’s newer heritage? These would be on a future tourist’s list: the Minar-e-Pakistan built to commemorate the adoption of the Pakistan Resolution in 1940 – how many of us know that it was financed by a levy on cinema tickets and betting coupons?) – or WAPDA House, designed by the American Edward Durrell Stone.

No modern Pakistani architect has contributed as much to Lahore’s present visage than Nayyar Ali Dada. His Alhamra Arts Council complex won the Aga Khan award for architecture. Its companion – inspired by the Colosseum – is near the Gaddafi Stadium. His tribute to his mentor, Shakir Ali (Lockwood Kipling’s successor as Principal of the Mayo School of Arts), used burnt bricks as a theme. Two other buildings by Nayyar are the Expo Centre – a temple to commerce – and the Shaukat Khanum Hospital – a temple to medicine.

The Lahore University of Management Sciences (LUMS) is comparatively new. Designed by Habib Fida Ali, it was built in instalments over 15 years. And the University of Central Punjab looks like Lahore’s answer to Moscow’s Stalinist confections. Modernity is symbolised by the Arfa Karim IT Centre on Ferozepur Road. Its glass-wrapped tower is the flagpost of the future, in design and in purpose.



And for those who prefer all their choices under one roof, there are the new shopping malls – the Nishat and the Packages. Shopping malls did not invent traffic jams; they simply aggravate them. Not everyone agrees with the solutions implemented by the present Punjab Government to resolve Lahore’s traffic problems. The Lahore Rapid Mass Transit System is one of them. A ring road encircles Lahore. Overhead bridges have been dedicated for metro bus lanes. These must constitute the most expensive single occupancy since the Taj Mahal. Lahore’s Allama Iqbal Airport, built in the 1990s, is already insufficient. Its proposed expansion cannot but lead to more congestion – in the air.

What will the features of Lahore be in 2030? The population growth of Lahore in the last century has been phenomenal – and uncontrolled. From 202,000 in 1901, it ballooned to 2.8 million in 1980, and is expected to exceed 13 million by 2030. The administration can hardly keep up. Master plans, like pie crusts and electoral promises, are made to be broken. Town planners propose, estate agents dispose. Lahore will become what its population demands.

Someone said that doctors are fortunate: they can bury their mistakes. Certain projects scar the face of Lahore irreversibly. One of them is the controversial Orange Line metro. Like a malicious afterthought, it passes dangerously close to almost every precious ancient monument in Lahore, particularly the Shalamar Gardens, the Begumpura Gateway and Chauburji.

What would Rudyard Kipling have said? He would have been apoplectic. As it was, he choked when he heard

what was happening to Taxali Gate when he returned to the city he called ‘the only real home I had yet known’. Revisiting Lahore in December 1891, he wrote in the *Civil and Military Gazette*:

The Lahore Municipality has sold the Taksali Gate for brickwork, leaving an ugly scar in the city wall. Gentlemen, whose souls would be dear at one brick a piece, you have done a sin; for that gate was built like the Pyramids. It had little beauty save of age and time ... You could have bought bricks from the potter, but you will never build another Taksali Gate.

Lahore’s past and present are a colourful Bayeux Tapestry, but one that it is incomplete, for the history of Lahore foresees no end.

Almost exactly 400 years ago, King James sent Sir Thomas Roe as his emissary to the court of the Mughal Emperor Jahangir. Exactly 400 years later, Roe’s ambassadorial successor – Sir Nicholas Barrington – has assembled scholars and writers at this symposium in Cambridge, a city as old as Lahore. It is his way of reminding all of us – those who live in Lahore, and those who wish they did – that Lahore deserves rehabilitation, restoration and, above all, our respect.



British connections with the Mughals: King James I (and then Nicholas Barrington) inserted into a corner of a picture of Emperor Jahangir. Image: slide from F.S Aijazuddin’s talk

**Fakir Syed Aijazuddin OBE** is an internationally recognised art historian, writer and educationist. He has served in various senior managerial positions in both the private and public sectors in Pakistan and in Abu Dhabi (UAE). He was Minister for Culture and Tourism in the Interim Punjab Cabinet 2007–08, Chairman of the Lahore Arts Council and a board member and then Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Lahore Museum. He has held several professorial positions in academic institutions such as LUMS, FFC College University and the National Management College, Lahore. Most recently, he was Principal of Aitchison College, Lahore (2008–11). Since 1994, he has been serving as the Honorary British Consul, Lahore. For his contribution in that capacity, he was awarded the OBE in 1997. He has published 18 books on various aspects of the history and culture of the subcontinent, including books on Pahari and Sikh miniatures, Sikh portraiture, US–Pakistan–China relations, cartography, a monograph on Dr Kissinger’s secret visit to China in July 1971 and two definitive books on Lahore. His most recent publications have been *The Resourceful Fakirs: Three Muslim brothers at the Sikh Court of Lahore* (2014), and *The Fickle Years: Memoirs 1972–1979* (2016).

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The Shalamar Gardens. Image: Ibnazhar via Wikimedia Commons



Bottom: Symposium administrators, Margaret Widdess, Ancient India and Iran Trust, and Mrinalini Venkateswaran, PhD candidate, University of Cambridge. Images: Meeraal Shafaat Bokharee.



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