

The Aga Khan
Historic Cities Programme

Lahore

A Framework for
Urban Conservation

Edited by Philip Jodidio

PRESTEL

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Preface

HIS HIGHNESS THE AGA KHAN



The Aga Khan Development Network (AKDN) has been providing a broad range of services in Pakistan for many years. AKDN has sought to create a critical mass of integrated development activities that offer people in a given area not only a potential increase in income, but also a broad, sustained improvement in the overall quality of life. It encourages self-reliance and a long-term view of development. In fact, many areas that received AKDN support in the past have well-educated communities that are now masters of their own development, building their own schools and health centres and taking other measures to care for themselves and those less fortunate. Component parts of AKDN – such as the Aga Khan University founded in Karachi more than thirty-five years ago, and the Aga Khan Trust for Culture (AKTC), long active in Gilgit-Baltistan and more recently in Lahore – have carried forward educational, architectural and urban renovation projects that have had a positive impact in the country.

The high mountain valleys of Gilgit-Baltistan, which were once a part of the Central Asian Silk Route, were inaccessible to vehicular traffic until the construction of the Karakoram Highway in 1978. Increased accessibility, coupled with the impact of tourism, introduced a rapid transformation of local customs and economic patterns, which called for new strategic development visions and adapted procedures capable of steering ongoing rapid change. The conservation of the 700-year-old Baltit Fort – the pre-eminent landmark monument in Gilgit-Baltistan – and the rehabilitation of the historic core of Karimabad in the Hunza Valley were the first major interventions of the Aga Khan Historic Cities Programme, completed in 1996.

Lahore, the capital of the province of Punjab and the second most populous city in Pakistan, is also known as the “City of Gardens” thanks to its Mughal heritage. A vital part of the Mughal Empire, this once fortified city has a concentration of monuments and buildings that reflect cultural diversity in architecture and, despite a dynamic and tumultuous past that spans several centuries, it has retained much of its historic urban form. The Walled City of Lahore is famous for several historic monuments, including Lahore Fort (a UNESCO World Heritage Site) and the Badshahi and Wazir Khan mosques.

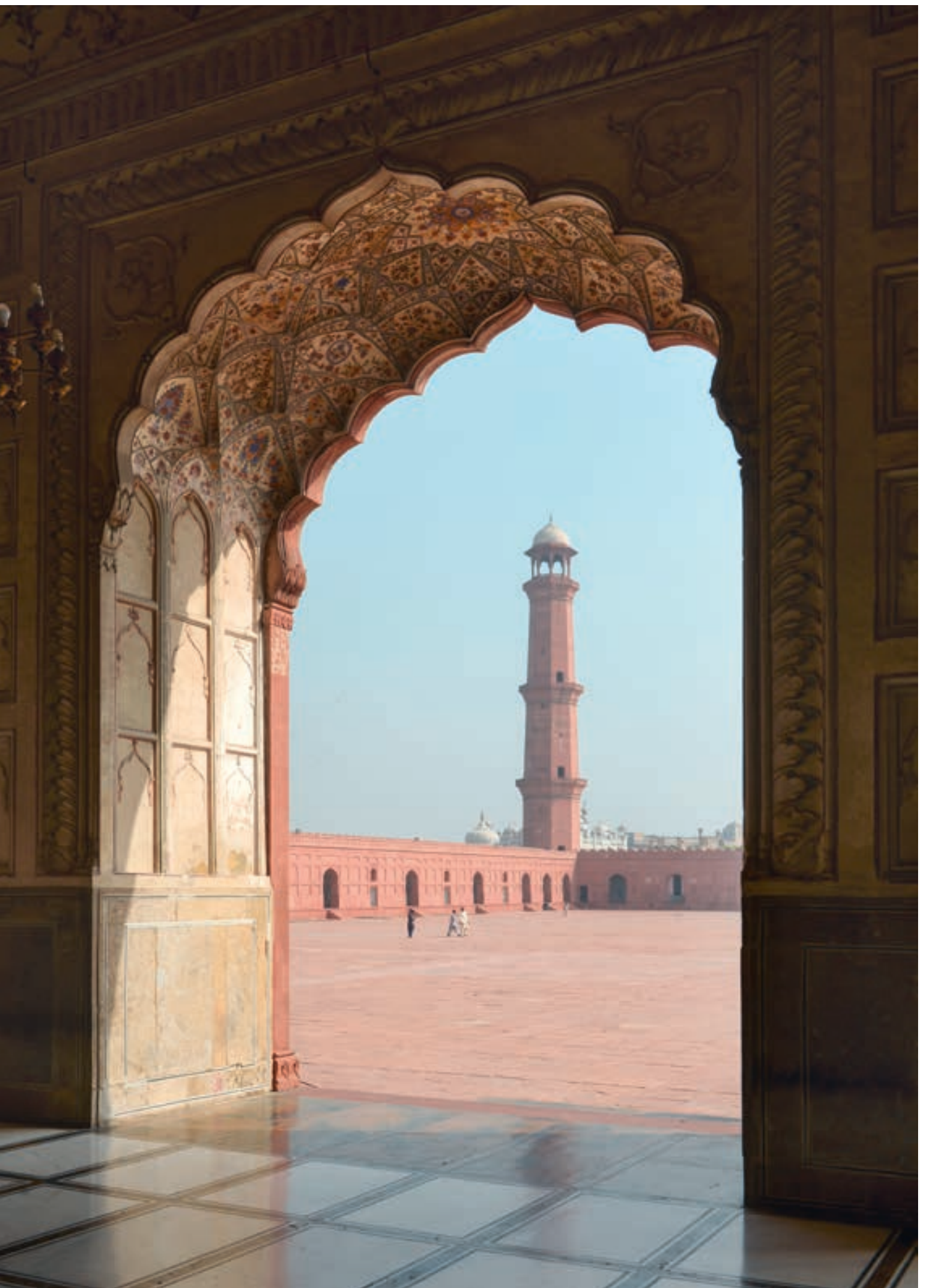
Subsequent to the completion of the Shigar Fort project in 2005, the government of Pakistan requested that AKTC make technical contributions to the World Bank-funded area development pilot project along Shahi Guzargah, the Royal Trail, in the Walled City of Lahore. The work consequently carried out by AKTC through the Aga Khan Cultural Service-Pakistan was initiated under a 2007 ‘Public-Private Partnership Framework Agreement’ with the government of Punjab. The first phase of this urban

rehabilitation project, completed in 2014, included the design and improvement of infrastructure services and the documentation of major Mughal-period monuments. An important social and economic dimension aimed at poverty alleviation along with the creation of economic opportunities for local residents were facilitated through community participation. The technical engagement of AKTC continues today on the basis of a 'Memorandum of Understanding' with the Walled City of Lahore Authority.

There are many, today, across the Muslim world who know their history and deeply value their heritage, but who are also keenly sensitive to the radically altered conditions of the modern world. They realize, too, how erroneous and unreasonable it is to believe that there is an unbridgeable divide between their heritage and the modern world. There is clearly a need to mitigate not what is a 'clash of civilizations' but a 'clash of ignorance', where peoples of different faiths or cultural traditions are so ignorant of each other that they are unable to find a common language with which to communicate.

Working in the Walled City of Lahore, AKTC has engendered a significant transfer of competencies, demonstrating that the ancient heritage of the city is not something to be swept aside in favour of commercially driven modernity; it is, rather, a source of strength and a value for the future. By improving living conditions and beginning to heal the historic urban context and monumental heritage of this unique site, a step in the right direction has been taken. Pride born of an ancient civilization is progressively replacing substandard living conditions and deteriorating monuments, and, most importantly, this effort is now being led by local government and residents.

I wish to thank the governments of Pakistan and Punjab for their outstanding support and leadership, and the citizens of Lahore for their gracious participation. These projects could not have been carried forward without the active support of institutions and governmental authorities such as the World Bank, the Walled City of Lahore Authority, the Royal Norwegian Embassy, the US Ambassadors Fund for Cultural Preservation, AFD, and the government of the Federal Republic of Germany.



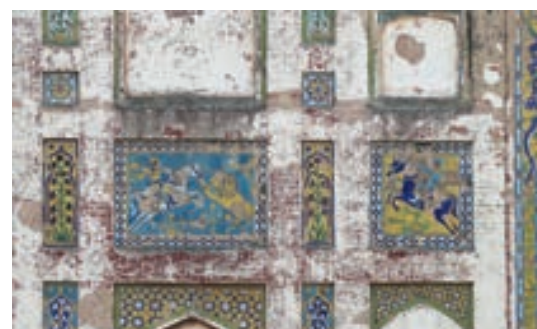
THE PICTURE WALL'S ICONOGRAPHY AND AESTHETIC ANALYSIS

NADHRA SHAHBAZ KHAN

The *Shahi Qal'a*, or imperial Fort, stands in the old part of Lahore as a testimony to the city's Mughal history. Built by Akbar and enlarged by both Jahangir and Shah Jahan, it has several elements that connect it to Agra and Delhi forts. One remarkable feature though – its Picture Wall – surpasses the other two. The superintendent of Punjab for the Archaeological Survey of India (1901–14) Jean Philippe Vogel, a Dutch Sanskritist and epigraphist, believed that: "The imperial palace of Lahore outshines all these buildings by the truly princely magnitude of its colour decoration. A wall nearly 500 yards [457 metres; in fact, 461 metres] in length and 16 yards [14.5 metres; in fact, 18 metres] in height – in other words a surface of about 8,000 square yards [6,689 square metres] – has been adorned with panels of tile-mosaics."¹ Like an open-air picture gallery, the entire breadth and height of Lahore Fort's northern and western walls are embellished with several decorative techniques, such as wall painting or *naqqashi*, glazed-tile mosaic or *kashikari*, carving or *munabbatkari* and terracotta filigree or *jali* work.² The surface of these walls is divided into panels of various shapes and dimensions by raised string courses, mouldings, arc-shaped window openings and arched blind niches while some are subdivided into smaller sections. Spandrels of most of these windows and arched niches, as well as sunken panels, carry figurative imagery that includes humans, animals, birds and imaginary creatures, as well as geometrical patterns and vegetal motifs in *kashikari*.

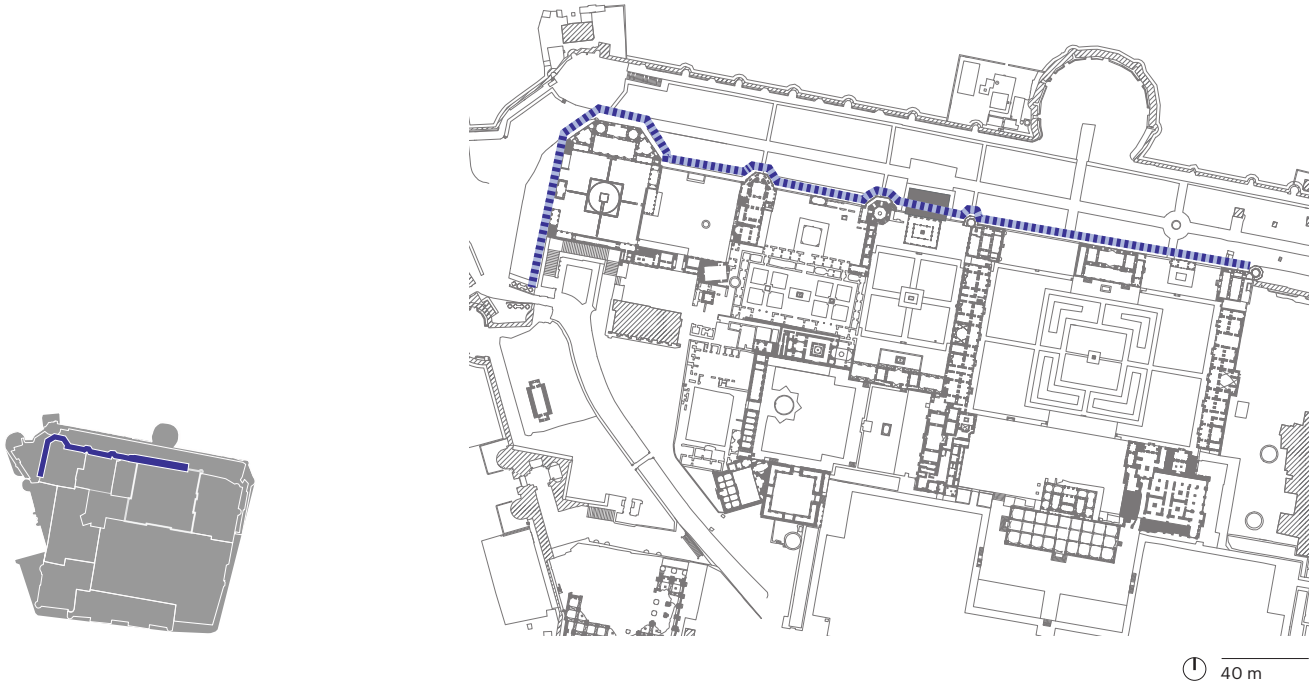
This decoration is datable to two Mughal eras. The area of the Picture Wall ascribable to Jahangir (r. 1605–27) spans between the first tower on the eastern end of the northern wall to the limits of Kala Burj, while Shah Jahan's (1628–58) segment starts at this point and culminates at the Hathi Pol towards the end of the western wall (see the plan on p. 296). While the epigraphic panels on the Hathi Pol attribute its completion to Shah Jahan, no written evidence found thus far offers precise evidence of Jahangir's involvement in it. It is only material and structural signs that corroborate this theory. Recent scholarship refers to Lahore Fort's northern and western ornamental walls as the Picture Wall, but Mughal chronicles make no mention of their embellishment nor of the message intended to be conveyed by their pictorial narrative. European travellers visiting the city in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are also almost silent on this. Only William Moorcroft, a veterinary surgeon working for the East India Company who visited Maharaja Ranjit Singh in May of 1620, mentioned the Picture Wall in passing:

*"The palace within this inclosure [sic], called the Saman Burj, which is of many stories, is entirely faced with a kind of porcelain enamel, on which processions and combats of men and animals are depicted. Many of these are as perfect as when first placed in the wall."*³



Opposite page, an arched panel in the western Picture Wall. The Picture Wall is embellished with several decorative techniques including fresco, glazed-tile mosaic and terracotta 'filigree' work.

Above, the imagery on the Picture Wall consists of humans, animals, birds and imaginary creatures, as well as geometric and floral motifs.



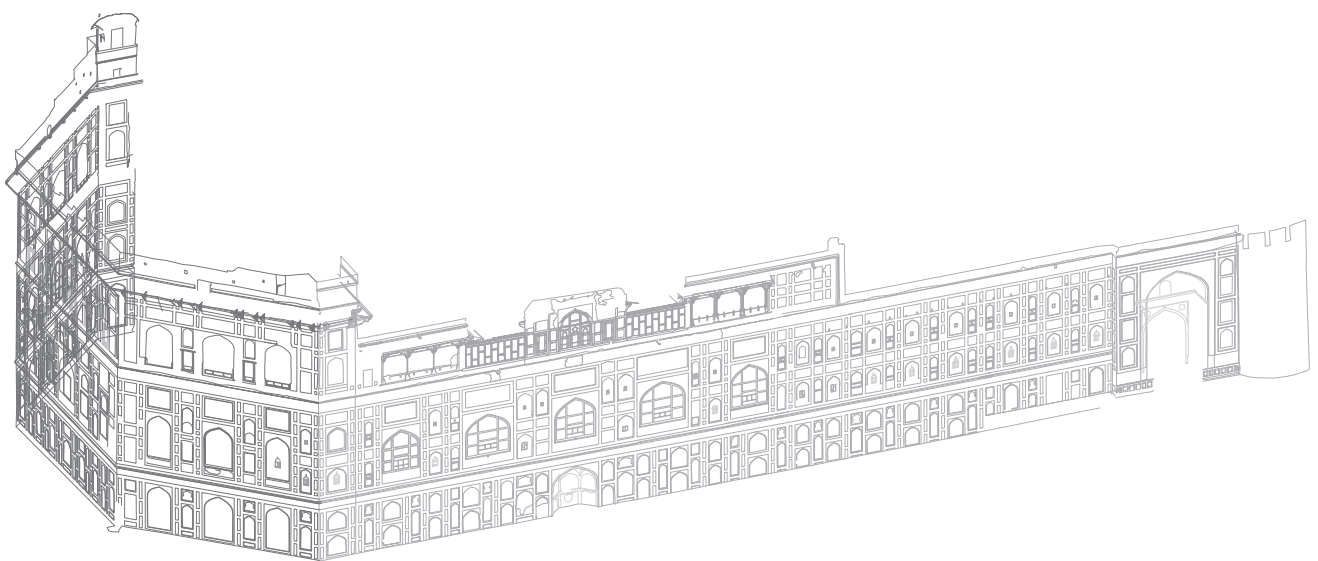
Above, location of the Picture Wall in the context of Lahore Fort.

Opposite page, above, aerial view of the western facade of the Picture Wall.
Below, EDM documentation of the wall.

The first person to highlight the beauty and significance of these walls was T. H. Thornton, a British officer who served in various capacities in Lahore after Punjab's annexation in 1849. He brought it to public attention in his guidebook titled *Lahore*, published in 1860. Thornton discussed the two walls in some detail under three different headings: "Coloured Designs on the Palace Front", "Historical Interest of the Designs", and "Origin of the Art Called Kashi".⁴

The credit for the first monograph on this extremely important feature of Lahore Fort goes to Vogel. He first visited the Fort in April 1899 and decided to record the Picture Wall tile mosaic for reasons of "their far-advanced decay and their unique nature".⁵ Vogel's monograph is remarkable as it not only includes a discussion of the Fort's buildings and descriptions of narrative panels but also presents drawings prepared from tracings of existing panels. What struck both Thornton and Vogel in this mosaic decoration were the representations of living beings that Thornton believed were "in defiance of Muhammadan orthodoxy".⁶ Featured on 116 panels, Vogel, for his part, had his assistants make tracings of these panels in the beginning of 1902. Completed in almost four months, these were then used to prepare drawings on a reduced scale that took almost five years to finish.⁷ The painted or *naqqashi* panels of the Picture Wall that are barely visible at present had already lost much of their brilliance when Vogel saw them.

Vogel's work is the only detailed study of this subject to date and provides invaluable information about several panels now lost due to decay and damage. After a gap of more than a century, the Aga Khan Cultural Service-Pakistan (AKCS-P) team, with funds provided by the Royal Norwegian Embassy, became involved in 2015 to document and conserve the Picture Wall, but also to take the process a step further and to explore the iconology of its extant panels in an attempt to understand the overall narrative. During these recent investigations, several panels covered with plaster





The conservation of the Picture Wall's north facade is scheduled for completion in 2021.

have been reclaimed where the intact biscuit makes the composition readable. Since access to the Fort is mostly through the Hathi Pol, it is the western section of the Picture Wall that garners attention and was therefore the first to receive conservation measures.

The *kashikari* narrative panels on these two walls are of particular interest. Iconography used here is reminiscent of not only Mughal but also Persian miniature paintings in which representations of royal processions, hunting scenes, animal fights, winged creatures hovering over imperial heads, and dragons and simurghs abound. While some panels offer glimpses of everyday events at the Mughal court – such as elephant fights, dromedaries brought to the emperor led by their masters, equestrian princes strolling at their ease or engaged in a fight – others carry images of various types of winged creatures that appear to represent esoteric meanings and messages. Seyyed Hossein Nasr explains that “birds, their flight, and their wings are universal symbols of the spirit and of spiritual journeying”.⁸ Ali Asani, expressing similar

thoughts, states: "A whole range of birds [...] populate the 'alam-i mithal, the 'world of symbols', through which the Sufi poet accesses the hidden reality that underlies existence".⁹ The winged creatures on the Picture Wall manifest the Mughal rulers' fantasy of flight as well as connections forged with the heavens. At present, the approach to the Picture Wall is from the western side and the most prominent feature of this section are spandrels of five large arches in what Vogel calls the curtain wall of the Summer Palace.¹⁰ All five feature winged creatures.

Spandrels of the central large arch of this set of five carry images of an angel/fairy or *pari*,¹¹ with a lassoed *div* or *jinn* on each side (see partly in the top-right image below). With a rope tied around their waists, the *divs* appear to be floating in an unconscious state, lying on their backs against a bright yellow background. The head of the *div* in the left spandrel is turned downward while the other lies straight. Their claw-like feet are turned upward and there is no tension in the rope that softly curves between the hands of the winged figures and the *divs'* waists, indicating a lack of resistance on the captives' part. Spandrels of two smaller arches near this large arch carry a single *div* on each side caught in mid-flight holding a cudgel and a buckler (a small round shield) in their hands (see below, bottom right).

On the western part of the Picture Wall, spandrels of arches carry images of angels (top right), *divs* (bottom right) and winged figures.



Ebba Koch explains that “in the Persianate world, angels are designated as *paris* – fairies, or positive winged spirits – and the demons as *diws*”.¹² The latter are comparable to the *jinn* mentioned in the Qur’an (literally hidden from sight, thus invisible to the human eye). Although their physical description in these texts is very limited, their visual representation shows them as composite creatures; a human body with an animal head, black or greyish blue in colour, fangs protruding from their mouths and claws instead of hands and feet. From the Qur’anic perspective, they have been created from smokeless fire and are different from angels made from light. Their leader was Iblis, who disobeyed God in prostrating himself before Adam and was thus condemned forever, and thereafter known as *shaitān* or Satan. The etymology of *div* is not straightforward as it presents Indo-Iranian origins with positive connotations and needs more investigation to trace the demonization of this expression over time. Unlike angels, *divs* or *jinn*s are understood to have a free will similar to humans and are good or evil. They are also mentioned in connection with Solomon who had complete control over them and deployed them for many hard tasks, like metalwork and buildings projects. One instance of his domination is described in the Qur’an as follows:

Quite a few panels of the Picture Wall carry images of elephants, both wild and tame, horse-riders and camels.





“And before Solomon were marshalled his hosts – of jinn and men and birds, and they were all kept in order and ranks” (Qur’an 27:17).

A curious characteristic of these creatures circulating in fiction is that they tend to sleep during the day and roam about at night. Any effort to catch them, therefore, must be carried out while the sun shines. Once overcome by a king or a hero, they serve him for the rest of their lives or as long as the master lives. The bright yellow background of the large arch probably indicates their abduction taking place in the

Above, a portion of the northern Picture Wall where flora and fauna first appear, as well as human figures juxtaposed with animals, birds or flowers.

Below, dragons and lesser animals also make their first appearance on the north facade.

daytime while they are deeply asleep and therefore not offering any resistance to their captors. Instead, their individual images in the smaller spandrels depict them as loyal slaves serving their master, guarding the garden-like space of the interior. Allusion to this verdant space can be readily conjectured from the faded flowers painted in the slightly sunken arched niche of this panel, above which the *divs* are hovering. Other than mystical allusions, can these panels also be read as political statements – allegories or warnings denoting heavenly assistance extended to Shah Jahan to capture and subdue evil forces in his territory?

Flanking this central arch are exquisitely rendered images of fantastical simurghs (literally *si*: thirty, *murgh*: bird; “the king of the birds” *shah-i murghan*)¹³ and dragons or the Persian *azdhá* (see p. 301, below).¹⁴ While the simurgh pounces on the dragon in each spandrel, it turns its head backwards seeking to release itself from the bird’s talons. The bright yellow background enhances the light green, turquoise and deep blue body of the dragon and some parts of the simurgh’s feathers in the upper section. Following Chinese tradition, the dragons shown here are quadruped with prominent claws and flame-like wings on top of their legs. Their long scaly bodies have white dots on their vertebrae-like backs that end in sinuously curving tails.

References to these two fantastical creatures abound in fables, poetry and epics universally. Interesting for the purpose of discerning iconological content is Persian and Arabic literature and illustrated manuscripts, such as Ferdowsi’s *Shahnameh* (“The Book of Kings”), Farid ud-Din Attar’s *Mantiq Ut-Tair* (“The Conference of the Birds”) and the *Kitāb Manāfi’al-Hayawān* (“The Book on the Usefulness of Animals”), which are known to have circulated in Mughal courts.¹⁵ An emblem of good luck and

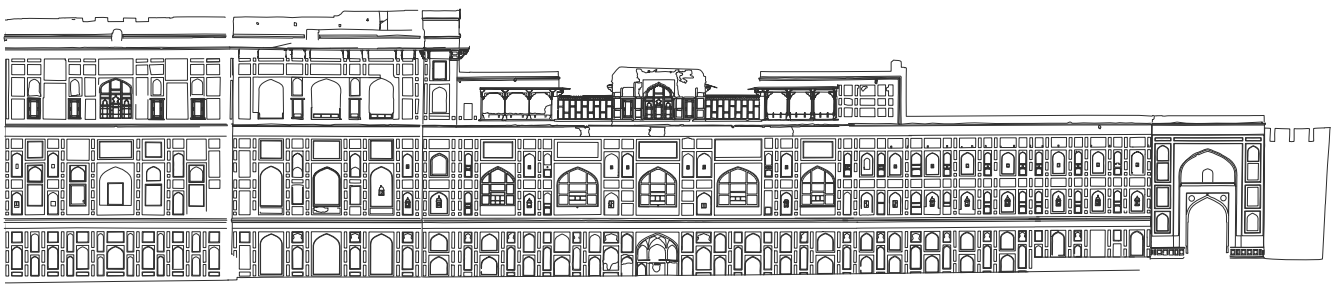
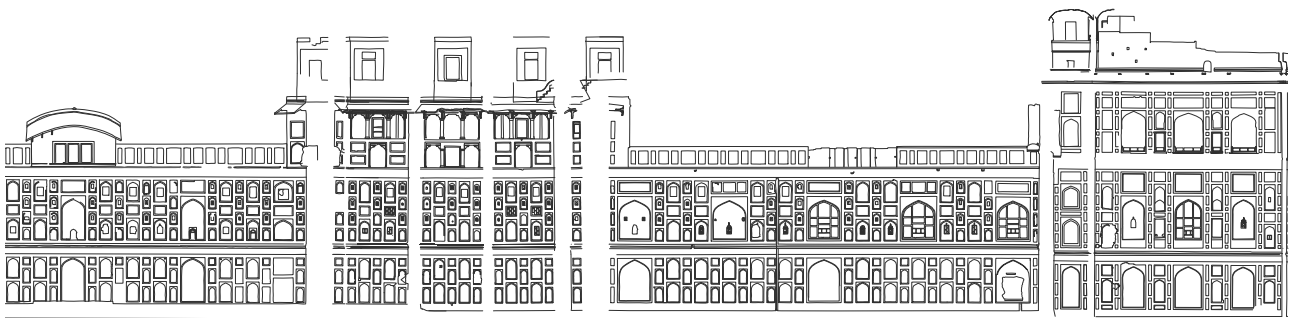
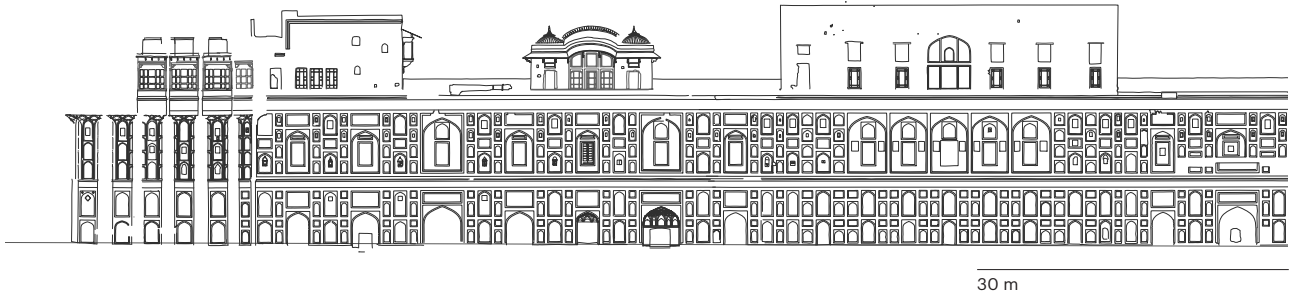
Ornate panels of floral motives juxtaposed with servants bearing gifts for the emperor.





a symbol fit to represent the emperor in Chinese art, the dragon takes on a demonic persona in Persian literature and art where it must be subdued by the hero. The simurgh, on the other hand, resonates as a protector and nurturer of heroes, as well as the search for self and the flight of the soul up to heaven. The position of these two creatures in each spandrel in which the simurgh appears to fly in from above and pounce on them is laden with symbolism. The dragons struggling to break free are shown moving backwards with their heads turned away from the predator and downwards as if wanting to slide back into the deep waters they emerged from. Where this battle alludes to the primordial tension between good and evil, it also signifies the simurgh's victorious and superior position as a representative of the heavens and skies over earthly beings: furthermore, it offers interpretations in terms of victory of the higher self over *nafs-e ammarā* or baser instincts – Sufi concepts articulated in Persian and Arabic literature.

Panels depicting princes off on a hunt; a prince on horseback leading a maddened elephant away; a dromedary; and keepers controlling two fighting elephants.





Considered to be a measure of the strength and pomp of the owner in early modern South Asia, quite a few panels of the Picture Wall carry images of elephants, both wild and tame, richly caparisoned with a mahout (elephant driver) holding a *mehmīz*, or goad, with an attendant in the rear. Annemarie Schimmel states that men were assigned as caretakers of elephants according to the animal's rank and value. A young and strong one of the highest class "had five and a half (!) servants, namely the driver (mahout) and another servant sitting behind him, and other men of both higher and lower ranks to feed, saddle and deck him out. Even the smallest imperial elephant had two servants, and the largest female elephant had four."¹⁶ These panels speak volumes about the resourcefulness, majesty and magnificence of their owners. In Thomas T. Allsen's words:

*"Since this measure was so widely accepted, rulers in India and South East Asia lost no opportunity to demonstrate their elephant power. They displayed their beasts in endless processions, diplomatic receptions, religious celebrations, entertainments, and rites of passage in the royal family – weddings, coronations, and funerals."*¹⁷

The walking elephants appear to be led towards fighting arenas as none of these carry a howda, while others are rendered while being poked in the hind legs to charge against their opponents (see p. 303). This dangerous sport of elephant fighting was something over which the Mughal emperors claimed a monopoly and even princes had to seek royal permission if they wished to hold such an event. Abraham Eraly explains the spectacle:

Opposite page, EDM documentation of the Picture Wall's northern and western facades.

Above, a pair of riders on a decorative panel.



Panels depicting a person of importance receiving a visitor; a camel caravan; and a sword fight.

“A pair of carefully matched elephants [...] set to fight against each other across a mud wall three or four feet [1.2 metres] wide and five or six feet [1.5 to 1.8 metres] high. The fight began with the elephants rushing on each other and butting, and it ended when the mud wall was demolished and one elephant chased away the other, or they got into a clinch, in which case they were separated by setting off fireworks.”¹⁸

Camels and horse-riders are the next important theme depicted in the mosaic panels. Out of the extant panels on the western section of the Picture Wall, eight are dedicated to the first and six to the second. Schimmel explains that camels during Mughal times were used for transporting logs and other heavy goods but were also trained for riding. The best specimens, according to her, came from Sind, especially the Thatta region, but the two-humped Bactrian camels were also popular.¹⁹ Referred to as *shutr bakhti*, Muhammad Salih Kamboh notes that a hundred of these were presented to Shah Jahan by Kabul’s governor Saeed Khan in Lahore in 1634.²⁰ As with other riding animals, the girths and breast bands of these camels were heavily ornamented, “set with shells or metal bells, [...] their caparisons were made of fine, colourful material – no fabric or jewellery was too valuable for the best camels”.²¹ The Picture Wall depicts both single and double-humped camels, known as ‘ships of the desert’. Bactrian camels were termed *shutur-i sahraī* and “were held to be a most fitting and formidable opponent for a prince” a reference perhaps related to the difficulty in taming them.²² All the square and oblong panels show a single camel led by its driver or *shutr-bān*, who walks ahead of it holding the rope attached to its muzzle. For purposes of narrative complexity or emblematic variety, the camels are shown treading flat and uneven terrain (see left).

The Picture Wall features diverse supernatural creatures positioned in symbolic actions carrying equally meaningful objects, birds and animals of a variety of species, both predators and prey, and men of different races, occupations and statures captured in multiple activities. The ornamental programme thus relies heavily on symbols and parables that appear to be intended for informed viewers, as they were expected to be decoded and understood. When viewed in reference to the Picture Wall patrons – Jahangir and Shah Jahan – this careful selection of visual metaphors and their intended messages seems natural.

Reliance on symbols and metaphors to circulate ideas of power, glory and spirituality for both Jahangir and Shah Jahan was not limited to court chronicles and epigraphic inscriptions.²³ It was, rather, the entire literary, artistic and architectural vocabulary that was built on synecdoche meant to inflate ideas of hegemony and grandeur at the receiver’s end. Drawn from Central Asian, Persian, ancient Indian and European artistic traditions, these symbols were adapted and assimilated into the local vocabulary for their own specific purposes. Allegorical paintings symbolizing temporal and divine powers were another genre used especially by Jahangir and Shah Jahan for the self-projection of being stronger and more prestigious than others. What leads us to investigate the Picture Wall’s potential for being used as a means to broadcast carefully formulated royal statements through these representations is Shah Jahan’s court chronicler Muhammad Waris’s statement about images on the wall in Delhi Fort’s Diwan-e-Aam behind the *jharoka*, or high balcony. Here, the wall is divided into panels in which each panel carries an image of a bird, except for one that features Orpheus placed at the top.²⁴ Waris writes that the wall carries “different kinds of designs having allegorical themes (*tamasīl*) [...] painted on them”.²⁵ The Persian word *tamasīl* means “allegory, parable, proverb or exemplum” and unambiguously

illustrates that Shah Jahan chose imperial public places to engage with his audience through carefully chosen messages. This historical annotation reinforces the possibility that the visual narrative of the Picture Wall may also carry a concrete connection between imperial thought and the public gaze. It also confirms its function as an active site for encoding imperial allegorical memoranda and poses interesting questions of how this space and its visuality were negotiated by both outsiders and palace dwellers. Moreover, it opens up several avenues of investigation for exploring the relationship between producers and consumers of these images and the social, cultural and aesthetic power of the signs and symbols employed.

The range of extant animate images on the Picture Wall is fascinating and extensive. The inflatable visual vocabulary and aesthetic appeal allows the Picture Wall to be seen as a *muraqqa'*, or an album showcasing novel ideas and images intended as *tamasīl* rather than an illustrated manuscript meant to communicate self-affirmative messages echoed in the court chronicles and epigraphs. In short, the overall impression the images impart may be of grandeur and majesty from a distance but a closer study softens these claims of supremacy as the Picture Wall offers something interesting to every onlooker who cares to 'stand and stare'.

Following pages, part of the recently restored western front of the Picture Wall of Lahore Fort.

Note: I would like to acknowledge the efforts of my research assistant Maleeha Hameed in collecting and compiling material for this project.

1 J. Ph. Vogel, *Tile-Mosaics of the Lahore Fort*, John Marshall (ed.), Superintendent Government Printing, Calcutta, 1920, p. 2. For a detailed history of the Fort, see "Historical Notes on the Lahore Fort and Its Buildings" (in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, 1902-03*, Calcutta, 1904) by Maulvi Nur Bakhsh, assistant to Vogel, who consolidated several scattered pieces of information and published a detailed article on the history of the Fort's site and structures.

2 For details of the *kashikari* technique see Syad Muhammad Latif, *Lahore: Its Historical, Architectural Remains and Antiquities*, New Imperial Press, Lahore, 1892, pp. 392-393.

3 Horace Hayman Wilson (ed.), *Travels in the Himalayan Provinces of Hindustan and the Panjab; in Ladakh and Kashmir; in Peshawar, Kabul, Kunduz, and Bokhara by Mr. William Moorcroft and Mr. George Trebeck from 1819-1825*, John Murray, London, 1841, vol. 1, p. 104.

4 Anis Nagi, "Preface", in *Ancient Lahore: A Brief Account of the History and Antiquities of Lahore*, Gautam, Lahore, 1994, pp. 71-75. Nagi reprinted Thornton's 1860 publication with the addition of his own preface and without the original author's name. For details of this see Nadhra Shahbaz Khan, *The Samadhi of Maharaja Ranjit Singh in Lahore: A Summation of Sikh Architectural and Decorative Practices*, EB Verlag, Berlin, 2018, pp. 18-20.

5 Vogel, *Tile-Mosaics of the Lahore Fort* op. cit., p. i.

6 T. H. Thornton and J. Lockwood Kipling, *Lahore*, Government Civil Secretariat Press, Lahore, 1876, p. 53.

7 Vogel explains in the preface that the drawings project took this long as it could only be done during parts of the summer months. See Vogel, *Tile-Mosaics of the Lahore Fort* op. cit., p. ii.

8 Seyyed Hossein Nasr, "Foreword", in Alexis York Lumbard and Demi, *The Conference of the Birds*, Wisdom Tales, Indiana, 2012.

9 Ali S. Asani, "Oh That I Could Be a Bird and Fly, I Would Rush to the Beloved", in Paul Waldau and Kimberley Patton (eds.), *A Communion of Subjects: Animals in Religion and Ethics*, Columbia University Press, New York, 2006, p. 172.

10 Vogel, *Tile-Mosaics of the Lahore Fort* op. cit., p. 27.

11 *Par* literally means feathers or wings. Ebba Koch offers a detailed description and discussion of such images in Mughal art in her essay "Solomonic Angels in a Mughal Sky: The Wall Paintings of the Kala Burj at the Lahore Fort Revisited and Their Reception in Later South Asian and Qajar Art", in Katharina Weiler and Niels Gutschow (eds.), *Spirits in Transcultural Skies: Auspicious and Protective Spirits in Artifacts and Architecture Between East and West*, Springer, New York, 2015.

12 Koch, "Solomonic Angels in a Mughal Sky" op. cit., p. 158.

13 Ibid., p. 158.

14 British plaster covering the spandrels of the right arch was recently removed by the AKCS-P team. Almost all glaze has been lost but the intact biscuit and mortar edges adequately yield the original image.

15 The *Kitāb Manāfī'al-Hayawān* is one of several similar illustrated manuscripts commissioned in Persian and Arabic (sometimes translated from one into the other) bestiaries that appear to have been inspired by Aristotle's *Historia Animalium*. For details, and the English translation of the title, see Anna Contadini,

"The Kitāb Manāfī'al-Hayawān in the Escorial Library", in *Islamic Art*, vol. 3 (1988-89), pp. 41-42.

16 Annemarie Schimmel, *The Empire of the Great Mughals: History, Art and Culture*, Reaktion Books, London, 2004, p. 216.

17 Thomas T. Allsen, *The Royal Hunt in Eurasian History*, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 2006, p. 72.

18 Abraham Eraly, *The Mughal World: Life in India's Last Golden Age*, Penguin Books, New Delhi, 2007, p. 74.

19 Schimmel, *The Empire of the Great Mughals* op. cit., p. 219.

20 Ghulam Yazdani (ed.), *Amal-i-Ş. alih or Shāh Jahān Nāmah of Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Kambo*, Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 1923, vol. 2, p. 6.

21 Schimmel, *The Empire of the Great Mughals* op. cit., p. 219.

22 Allsen, *The Royal Hunt* op. cit., p. 132.

23 There are two buildings in Lahore Fort carrying epigraphic inscriptions in Persian by Jahangir and Shah Jahan. The Makateeb Khana (the Room of Letters/Petitions) for the former and the Hathi Pol for the latter.

24 See Ebba Koch, *Shah Jahan and Orpheus: The Pietre Dure Decoration and the Programme of the Throne in the Hall of Public Audiences at the Red Fort of Delhi*, Akademische Druck-u. Verlagsanstalt, Graz, 1988.

25 Translation of the *Padshahnama* by Muhammad Waris, Ms. Or. 1675, The British Library London, pp. 38-56, in Syed Ali Nadeem Rezavi, "'The Mighty Defensive Fort': Red Fort at Delhi Under Shah Jahan - Its Plan and Structures as Described by Muhammad Waris", in *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, vol. 71 (2010-11), p. 1118.





