

GARDENS AND RELIGIOUS TOPOGRAPHY IN KASHMIR

"Let us not suffer any illusions. Man does not remember his past. He always reconstructs it" (Lucien Febvre)

This short essay is not intended to be yet another description of Mughal gardens in Kashmir, on which an extensive literature already exists, albeit based on the original work by Villiers-Stuart¹. Rather, the intention is to suggest a new perspective (susceptible to further study), based on two principles: 1) in spite of cultural and religious differences in the management of the Srinagar valley reservoir², there is a substantial continuity between the Hindu and Moslem dynasties; and 2) the appropriation of the territory takes place through a ritual refounding which goes through a process of resacralization of the place.

Including the surrounding mountains, the Vale of Kashmir is about 170 km long and 60 km wide, with an approximately oval shape. It has always corresponded to the basin of the River Vitasta, today the Jhelum. The region owes its political and linguistic unity to its isolation, due to its peculiar geographical position: a fertile plain surrounded by a chain of very high mountains, dominated by Mount Mahades, and large enough to support a kingdom and nourish an advanced civilization. A height of 1500 metres above sea level and its particular position create a climate protected against the torrid heat of India and the freezing chill of the Himalayan regions. An isolated world, that has enabled a conservative society to safeguard its original features, in spite of the various political changes and religious conversion³.

Srinagar, the capital, occupies the heart of the valley in a magnificent position along the course of the Jhelum, in the centre of lively trading of wares transported by boat, and with a broad, fertile hinterland in Lakes Dal and Anchar.

The canvas plan kept in the City Palace Museum in Jaipur⁴ evidences the structure of the city, incised by numerous canals; as opposed to a slender collar of *terra firma* on which rises the hill of Haraparat⁵, the city is protected on three sides by the waters of the river, by the marshes where Lake Anchar expands to the west and by the shores of Lake Dal to the east. Down below we read the knee-shaped Tsunth Kul or Mar, the canal that links the river to Lake Dal, protected by a continuous dyke (*setu*). Beyond the canal we find, in succession, the districts of Bardimar,

Balandimar and Khandabavan, where the ancient Skandabavana *vihara* (Hindu or Buddhist monastery) used to stand, and where today rises the *ziarat* (Islamic sanctuary) of Pir Muhammad Basur. Ancient ruins of the monastery were venerated until the 19th century as a *tirtha* (sacred spring). The confluence of the Mar with the river, too, level with the Shergarhi Palace, has always been a *tirtha* by the name of Marisamgana, used for funeral ceremonies. On the left bank, a canal starts towards the district of Khatul, and reaches the river after the last bridge, enabling boats to shorten the route. Further west, the city is protected by the Dudhganga, which flows down from the Pir Patsal chain and makes a confluence with the Jhelum, which Hindus hold sacred. On the right bank in the centre of the built area, we read the quadrangular form of the *Jami Masjid*, the congregational mosque around which numerous ancient remains bear witness to the earlier existence of Hindu temples. I think it is clear, from this bird's-eye description⁶, that to Hindu eyes Srinagar is a *ksetra*, a complex hierarchical system of holy places, linked by pilgrimage circuits (*yatra*)⁷.

The whole Indian subcontinent is structured by similar privileged spaces, which form an ensemble, where the practice of the ritual movement generates a hierarchy of pilgrimages, linked with a hierarchy of places. India is covered by this mesh of places and roads, in its turn divided into subsystems. Starting from the largest scale, which marks the four corners of the continent, and going down to the single cities, these are divided into zones, structured by complex configurations, governed by symmetrical references and by ritual movement, which reflect the beginning of the largest scale. These hierarchical systems become the more elaborate, the smaller the area covered and the more the non-spatial, social and ideological factors become prevalent. A mental construction that could be depicted as a series of small concentric rings. The smallest ring, the city – and Srinagar is no exception – is located in such a way that the topographic landmarks all around it suggest and strengthen the sacrality of the place.

We now have to identify the sacred area⁸ of largest scale around Srinagar, or rather those significant points that define its *limes*.

To the south the most important topographic element is the Takht-i-Sulaiman, with the re-

mains of an ancient Hindu temple atop its pyramidal shape, probably connected with the cult of Siva – Jyesthesvara. A *linga* known by the same name is today venerated at the spring of Jyether less than 2 km to the east at the foot of the hill⁹. Going eastwards we reach the village of Thid, amid vegetable gardens and vineyards: this is the Theda quoted in the Rajaratangini. Abu'l Fazl describes it as an enchanting spot "where seven springs meet; around sand stone buildings, reminders of bygone days"¹⁰. Further on, the little conurbation of Bran can be identified as the ancient Bhinadevi. The *thirta* has disappeared, but may be placed alongside the spring at Dampor, where later a Moslem shrine was established.

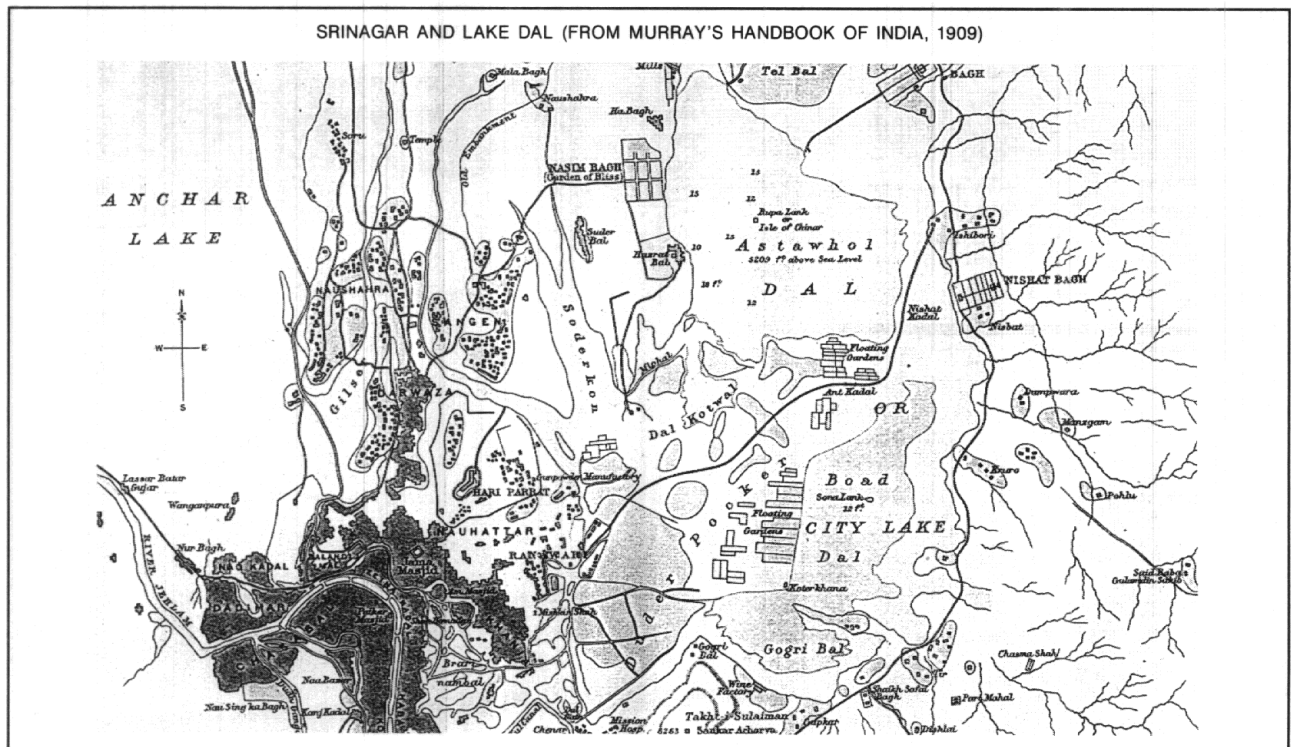
Great fame and importance attaches to the village of Isabar, situated beside the Mughal garden of Nishat; sacred to Durga, it has numerous places of pilgrimage along the cliffs, which sweep down to the lake¹¹. Passing the garden of Shalimar, we reach the village and spring of Ranyil, in the Sind plain; and Zukur is also situated among the branches of the river north of Lake Dal. Shrines and tombs in the village are probably

made with remains of an ancient *vihara*. Further on in the village of Amburher, the *ziarat* of Farrukhzad Sahib covers an old temple of Siva. Three km lower down towards Srinagar is the large village of Vicar Nag, in the midst of walnut plantations; here the image of a sacred snake (*naga*) is the goal for a popular pilgrimage in the month of Caitra. To the west of the village the ruins of three Hindu temples stand, today transformed into *ziarat* and tombs¹².

Situated on a deep inlet of Lake Dal is the village of Sudarabal, where the Sodara spring was located formerly. Beside the village mosque there are two basins fed by perennial springs. A few hundred metres further west, the Moslem shrine of Hazrat Bal, the most popular one in Kashmir, where a hair from the beard of the Prophet is religiously preserved, is built on a previous garden, probably of Moslem era, as pointed out by Stuart-Villiers¹³.

Joining up all the points we obtain a broken line, the *limes* of this sacred space, which surprisingly does not follow the crest of the hills, overlooking the Jhelum valley, but marks the edge of the cultivated lands, sepa-

SRINAGAR AND LAKE DAL (FROM MURRAY'S HANDBOOK OF INDIA, 1909)



rating the artificial world of the vegetable gardens, the vineyards, the floating gardens of Lake Dal and the canals, from the swamps and the forests. It is after all not by chance that in Brahman images the *ksetra* is always represented as an enclosed garden!

The line contains a mainly aquatic world: "The Gods approach the places, which contain water and gardens", says the Bhavisya Purana (I.CXXX,10). We cannot know whether in a pre-Islamic age there were formally laid-out gardens or simple parks by the springs, but it can be sensed: "The Gods reside close to the forests, rivers and mountains, streams and in the cities which are full of gardens", states the same sacred text (I.CXXX,15). In the *Kadambari* of Banabhatt (7th century A.D.) we find a description of a garden-palace and of plants for raising and conveying water, and of canals and pools for bathing. Kalhana in the *Rajatarangini* mentions a garden founded by King Jaysingh in 1150 in Kashmir (VII,3360).

We are thus entitled to imagine along the boundary a continuous range of gardens of varied layout, at times merging with the pattern of productive gardens, floating on the lake¹⁴. A total synthesis of water and crops, a worthy response of a civilization, which as opposed to the Moslem world, has not established a dialectic or opposed relationship with Nature, but one of total devotion and belonging.

But the preceding reconstruction brings to light another interesting fact: the coincidence of the topography of Hindu and Moslem holy places. Lacking any confirmation that comes from a thorough work on the sources, we may envisage that initially the appropriation of the territory of the Islamic dynasties from Shams-ud-din to Akbar took place by the mere substitution and reconsecration of the venerated springs. Continuity, for that matter, is borne out by the place names, with their unmistakable Sanskrit origin¹⁵.

Akbar, the Great Mughal, went only three times to the valley, after Kashmir was added to the crown possessions. He built his palace in the fort of Haraparnbat – the walls and two gates at the foot of the hill still exist – and inserted a small garden, today no more. The other garden attributed to Akbar, Nasim Bagh, is now a wood of plane trees, planted in straight rows by his nephew Shahjahan, and facing onto Lake Dal. Of the original plantation there remain some relics of terraces along the lake, while of the hydraulic

plants, an indispensable element for any Mughal garden, no trace remains.

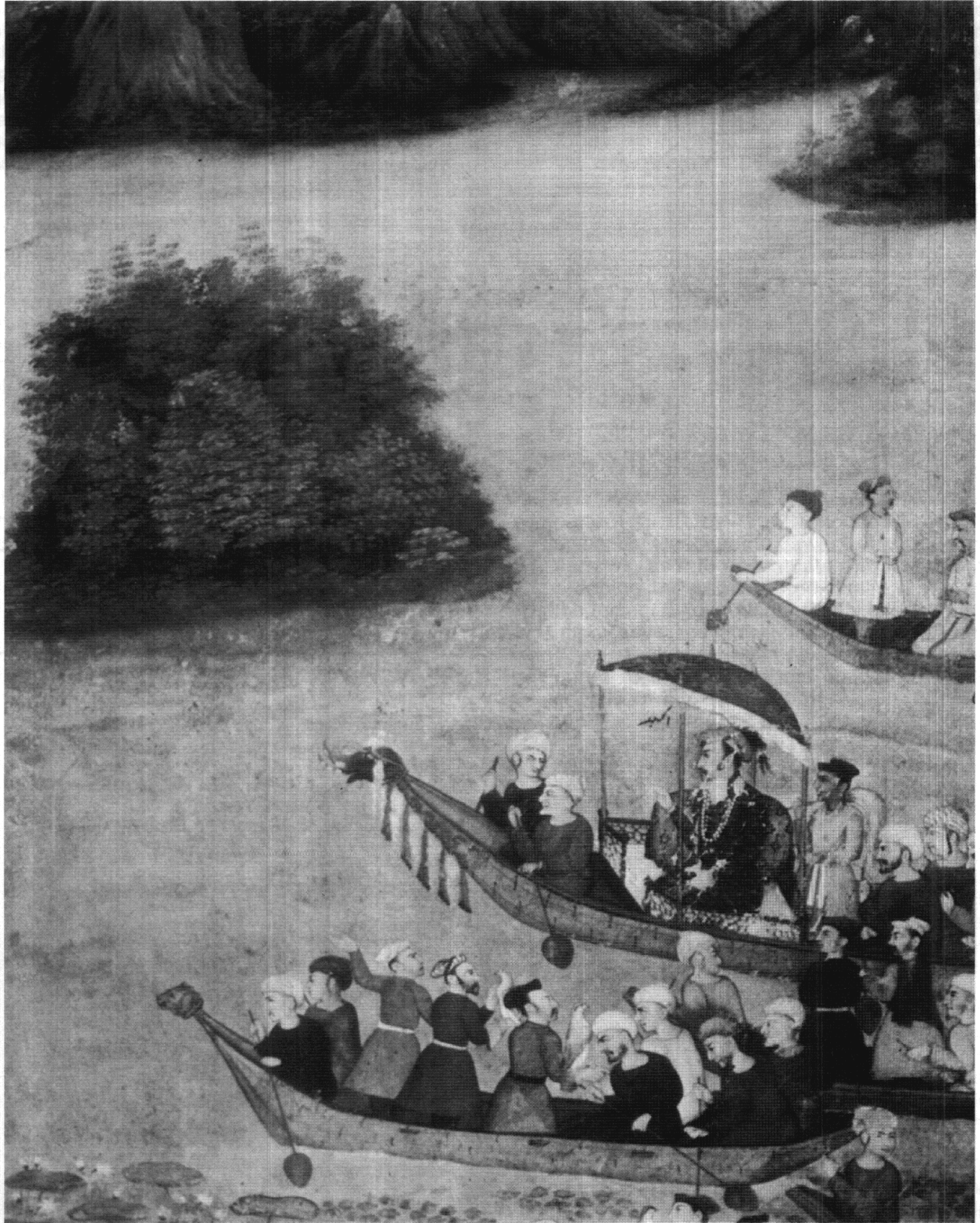
The real architect of the remodelling of the valley was indeed his son Jahangir, who, gifted with scientific curiosity and talent as a naturalist, created a symbiotic relationship between place and architect. First of all he tackled his father's garden: "In the palace there was a small garden, with a pavilion in which my revered father used to sit. It appeared to me in disorder and ruins... I ordered Mu'tamid K., a faithful servant, who knows my temperament, to make every effort to clear up the garden and remake the pavilion. Within a short time, thanks to his assiduity, it took on fresh beauty. He made a square terrace in the garden, its sides measuring 32 *gaz* (about 25 metres), divided into three areas, and after repairing the building, he decorated it with paintings. I call this garden Nur-afza"¹⁶. The palace with its gardens, in its state prior to being destroyed by the Afghan dynasties, is shown in detail in the plan of Jaipur.

The source of the River Bihar, known as Virnag, is at the entrance to the valley after Banihal pass. It is a remote place, sur

SRINAGAR AND HARAPARNBAT GARDENS

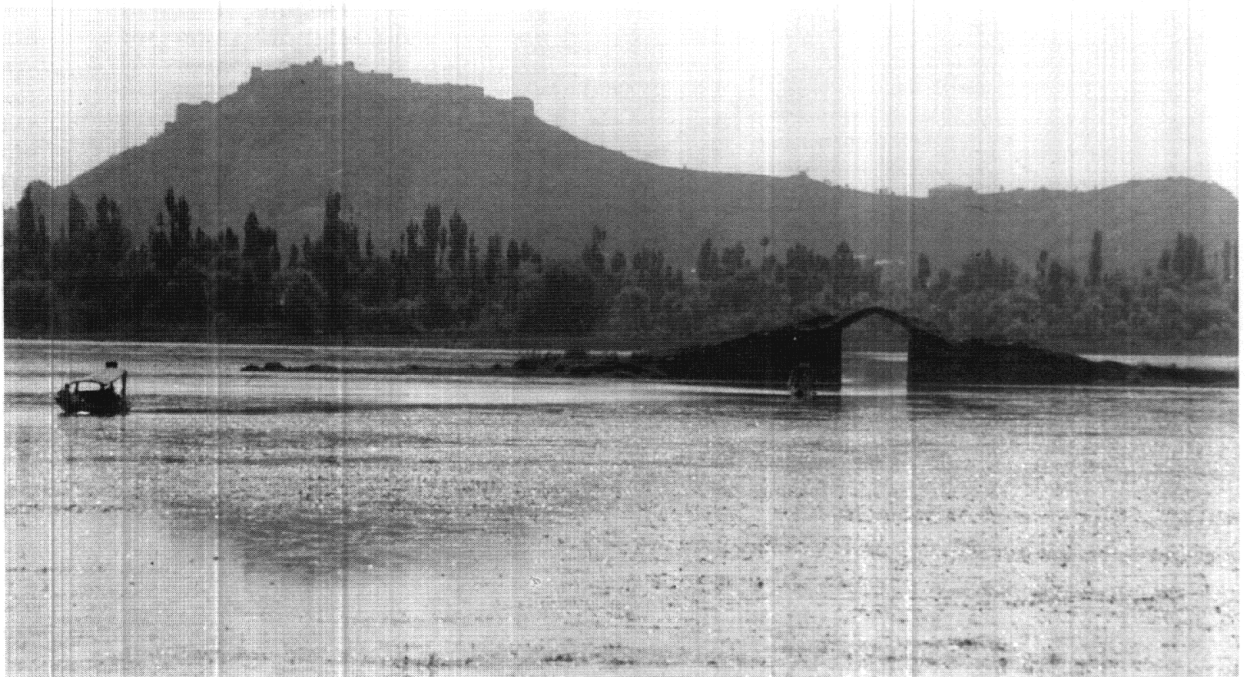


JAHANGIR PROGRESSING ON LAKE WULAR (COURTESY VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM)





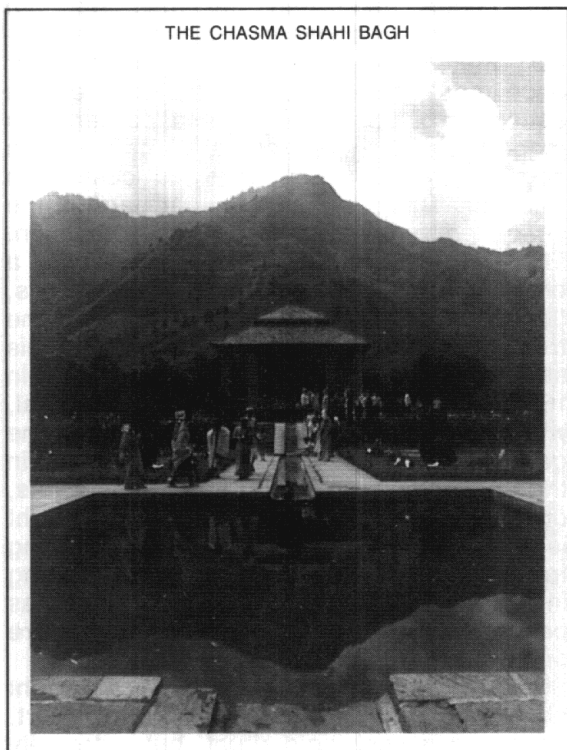
THE NASIM BAGH



THE HARAPARBAT

rounded by pine forests, where a spring, dedicated to a *naga* since time immemorial, issues from a deep pool of water. The king's plan was merely that of giving a geometrical shape to the natural element: a light blue, octagonal tank¹⁷, surrounded by a continuous portico, permitting only views of the mountain, over which the profile of the sky is delineated, borders the pool of limpid water, in which shoals of carp swim. From the tank runs a rivulet which, flowing over a lawn as smooth as a billiard table, empties into a torrent full of trout. The essential thing pertains to the great designers: vis-à-vis the lush, impending nature, in any case always bound to prevail, Jahangir opposes the abstract composition of a node, a line, a surface. At Achabal, a perennial spring gushes out from the base of the hill. Here the wholly new problem is posed of putting an impetus of nature, violently bursting upwards, into order; anyone who has seen a torrential stream in Kashmir when the snow melts, knows what this means. The earlier generations of Mughal gardens were always modelled on the canonical pattern of the *cahar bagh*, with its theoretically infinite reiterative divisions,

THE CHASMA SHAHI BAGH



both in the garden-tomb version (Humayun's Mausoleum in Delhi and Akbar's Mausoleum at Sikandra), and that of the garden of delights (Akbar's gardens at Fathpur Sikri) where the water, almost still and anyway in a minimum quantity, flows along narrow little channels, often no wider than a shoe. Here the memory of the rivers and mountains of Afghanistan is evoked through the illusion of the metaphor. There were some attempts to speed up the movement of water, introducing a privileged symmetrical axis along terraces at progressively different heights, but at the price of tremendous efforts! We know that Babur in his garden at Dholpur had to build an artificial hill for the purpose.

Jahangir's proposal at Achabal once more is not grandiose. Monumentality is not achieved by the heroic scale, but by mastering the force of the natural elements: the theme is that of a bed of stone, the regular banks of which restrain a water course. The great masses of water flow into the rectangular tanks and then hurl onto the inclined levels of the *chadar*, where the *mahipusht* pattern imitates the reflections of the splashes. Descending downstream the canal narrows, as if to accentuate the pressure its reducing the section, and finally flows into the torrent below. All the rest is of secondary importance: the lateral branches of the *cahar bagh* having no further reason to exist compared to the symmetrical main bed, disappear from the composition.

But it is above all in the basin around Srinagar that Jahangir and his son Shahjahan, imitated by the dignitaries of the empire, strove to transform the territory to reflect their image¹⁸. On the monumental complexes their sizes were limited to their duty as Grand Protectors of Islam, preferring instead to dedicate more assiduous construction activity to the gardens. All this fervour, according to the sources, produced no fewer than seven hundred gardens in the valley. In the "sacred enclosure" of Srinagar a systematic design activity was carried that can only superficially be interpreted as an attempt at secularization. Gardens and parks are regarded as "services" only in the West since the Enlightenment period. On the contrary, it is an organic attempt to create a third branch of the sacred, with the figure of the king as the protagonist.

A well-known article by Begley¹⁹ on the Taj Mahal has shown that the emblems of power were the everyday obsession of the mughals, and that the equation between architec-

tural forms and celestial prototypes, always viewed in terms of the celebration of the deified image of the king, was the real spur for any architectural enterprise. What could not be stated by the orthodox Moslem, vicar of Allah, was left to the metaphor of stone. Playing continually on the ambiguity between Divine Throne and royal throne, an unbridled vanity, urged on by an adulatory court poetry, transformed tombs and monuments into symbols of glory and called for the laying out of gardens, replicas of the Koranic Paradise, to exalt the figure of the (holy) demiurge. "The garden is the place of illusions", says Pierre Grimal, "where the king is adulated and where the (wholly imaginary) evidence of his power has accumulated"²⁰.

Another original aspect was the great mobility of the whole court, which certainly had its origin in the distant nomadic tradition of the Turkish *chagatai*, but was dictated also by the need for a spreadout presence of the royal image throughout the country, in order to control people's consciences and intimidate rebels. During the summer stays in Kashmir this tradition manifested itself in the coming and going of flotillas of *sikara* (local gondolas), taking the king on a pilgrimage from palace to gardens; in naturalistic explorations: "In those two or three days I frequently went aboard boats and it was pleasant to go around admiring the flowers of Phak or of Shalimar"²¹, and on more distant expeditions up secondary branches of the Jhelum. An analogous form of *tirthayatra*. In the gardens the springs are harnessed and the water flows under the king's throne (*chabutra*), "a distillate of the emanation of the Divine Being, a ray of sunshine illuminating the Universe, the subject of the book of perfection, the repository of all the virtues"²²; the *tirtha* has been rededicated.

Shalimar Bagh lies on the eastern shore of Lake Dal, on both sides of a narrow gorge, over which the mountains rise sheer.

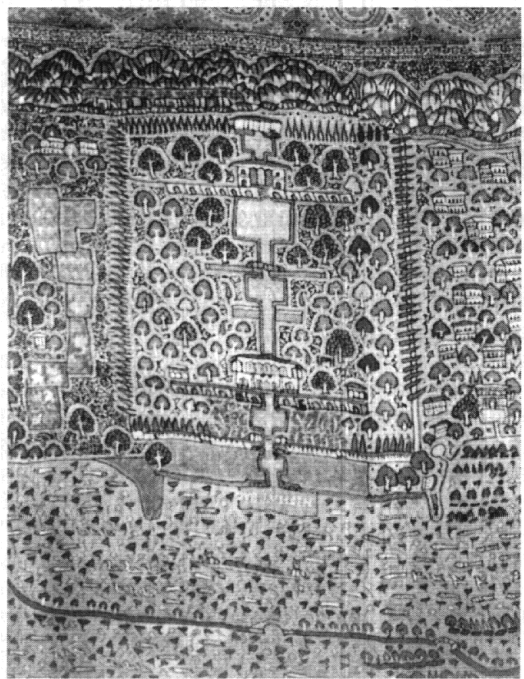
The site is squeezed between the mountains and a lagoon, which mediates relations with the lake. An access canal is cut through it, a kilometre and a half long, used in the past by the royal fleet. The land slopes gently down and the modest terraces are camouflaged in the background landscape. Shalimar is a garden that has to be discovered step by step, one enclosure after the other. It is a royal garden (*Padshahi Bagh*). Typologically it refers to a scheme, which aligns in sequence the public (*diwan-i Amm*), the semi-public (*diwan-i Khass*), reserved for the king

and his court intimates, and the private (*harem*) sectors. It is repeated in all the palaces, but has a clear origin in the model of the Timuride encampment, not only in the distribution of the spaces, but also in the architecture and in the nomenclature taken from the tents. The Mughal palace is defined as a "stone camp"²³.

Similarly, in Shalimar, the first terrace behind the entrance marked out by Jahangir in 1619, dominated by a *talar*, a pavilion to provide shelter for the throne, was the place for holding the *darbar*, audiences, the representation of the king's divine origin, where with clear theatrical instinct, etiquette established a precise role for all. "When the king sits on the throne, all those present shall prostrate themselves and then remain standing in the place assigned on the basis of rank, their arms crossed, receiving the light from the Divine Countenance... The firstborn prince shall be at a distance of one to four *gaz* from the throne... The secondborn ... sits at a distance of three to twelve ..." ²⁴. The *diwan-i Amm* was moreover *especially* decorated for the purpose and illuminated for the king's solar and lunar birthdays, during the religious festivals of *Id*, *Dasahra* and *Diwali*, and to celebrate military victories; on these occasions the scenic venue was expanded to the extent of taking in the whole lake.

The second and third terraces are two classical *cahar baghs* completed by Shahjahan after 1630. One is the private garden: once more the king sits in the centre of a square basin of water, whose corners are marked by four monumental plane trees, in accordance with a widespread custom in Kashmir. The other is the *cahar bagh* of the *zenana* with the magnificent Black Pavilion. The torrent diverted into the garden is a broad canal measuring six metres across, flowing majestically in the shade of plane trees (*chinar*: *Platanus orientalis*). All this struck the imagination of François Bernier in 1665: "Here starts a magnificent canal, which runs with short rises to the end of the garden. This canal is paved with stone and in the middle there is a long line of water jets, one every fifteen feet..." ²⁵. The effect sought is that of a continuous sheet of water, falling from one terrace to the next, then dropping into low tanks, surmounted by pavilions as palafittes, placed in alternation in the centre or in pairs at the sides.

Shalimar's three enclosures are the right physical support for everyday life at court, based on a very rigid ritual, but extremely



NISHAT BAGH



SRINAGAR, THE CITY CENTRE

THE VALE OF SRINAGAR (SHAWL XIXTH CENTURY, COURTESY VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM)



flexible in its use of spaces. The single quadrants were in Jahangir's day planted with fruit trees in rigorous geometrical order, whereas today the free composition of colonial taste prevails.

Nishat Bagh fronts onto Lake Dal and is in direct relationship with it – access to it through a passage under a bridge, from a loop of the clearest water. Although a modern road has destroyed the lower level and reduced the surprise effect of the approach: the series of steps, the secular plane trees and the silhouette of the hills together in one and the same image, are designed in order to be reflected in the stretch of water in front. The very accentuated changes in height, marked in the centre by *chadar*, *chabutra*, steps and decorations, the majestic *chinar* trees along the central avenue seek a monumental effect, which is not produced in the other gardens. Based more on the presence of spaces of equal size and pavilions at human scale, where the monumental spirit lies in the counterpoint between plant ranking and the nodality of stone, rather than in the heroic dimension of the components. The design theme is that of the endless extension, a Baroque principle; the terraces, twelve in number as the signs of the Zodiac, merge into a single flight of steps. It was intended as a metaphor of that pilgrimage in stages, which the sovereigns and their suite followed every year to escape from the torrid heat of Lahore. But according to a shrewd scenography, repeated in the coeval Taj Mahal in Agra, the circuit stops abruptly up against the wall of the *zenana*, six metres in height, built with large niches and ending in two slender little towers of octagonal layout. The visual axis and the circuit axis are differentiated: the latter rotated at 90° is downgraded.

The Chasma Shahi Bagh, or Garden of the Royal Spring, established by Shahjahan in 1632, has been reorganized to a great extent, and its character has been partly altered. The garden is a rectangle divided into three terraces: the spring is protected by an *aywan* type pavilion, open towards the lake panorama. The thin stream of water, after feeding a tank on each terrace, dropped at the end with a surprise effect onto the last one, passing through a Kashmiri style pavilion. A misinterpreted concept of historicist restoration led to the demolition, not many years ago, of all subsequent structures: thus together with the pavilion of Chasma Shahi,

the *baradari* of the entrance to Nishat Bagh also suddenly disappeared!

The study of Hindu religious topography is a research theme of great evocative interest, indispensable to understand the successive attitudes of the Mughals towards nature and the landscape. Of the many points I have neglected, I will take up just one: in the closed world of the Hindu *ksetra*, analogical vision is of extreme importance: the form of the spaces and the arrangement of the significant objects in space or the circuits from one object to another, refer "by analogy" to a *ksetra* at a larger scale and/or to a cosmological construction, which has no real existence. Now, something very similar is present in the imagination of the Mughals: Babur's memoirs recall with nostalgia the meadows of Samarkand, never sublimated in the gardens of Agra and Dhokpur; Akbar's architectural forms at Fatehpur Sikri may also be read as an oneiric attempt to renew a link with the "home" never known. To the Mughals, Kashmir represents, with its landscapes, its climate and its rushing waters (but docile to harness), the end of the pilgrimage, a return to the family home, paradise regained.

Attilio Petruccioli

1) See Villiers-Stuart, C.M. *Gardens of the Great Mughals*, London, 1913, and also: Crowe, S. and Haywood, S. *The Gardens of Mughal India*, London, 1972; Dunn, T.O.D. *Kashmir and its Moghul Gardens*, in "Cuttack Review", no. 288, p. 148-156, 1917.

2) In Mughal literature, the terms Kashmir and Srinagar mean the same thing, creating no little confusion. Srinagar corresponds to the ancient Srinagari, which Kalhana mentions in the *Rajatarangini*, as the capital founded by the great Asoka. It was situated to the south of the present site and is commonly identified with the village of Pandrethan. The foundation of the new capital was, according to chronicles, the work of King Pravarasena II, who baptized it Srinagar or Pravara-pura. After the Moslem conquest of 1320, it changed its name to Kashmir, finally reacquiring the place name of Sanskrit origin with the advent of the Sikh dynasties in the 19th century. The etymology of Kashmir derives from the Sanskrit Kasmira, which later went into Prakrit as Kasvir, transcribed by Ptolemy, Alexander the Great's ambassador, as Kaspira.

3) For a geographical description see: Drew, F. *The Jum-moo and Kashmir Territories. A Geographical Account*,

repr. Graz, Akademische Druck, 1976, chap. VII-X, and Hambliton, W. *A Geographical, Statistical and Historical Description of Hindostan and Adjacent Countries*, repr. Delhi, Oriental Publishers, 1971, p. 504-513.

4) Cat. no. 120 of the museum. It measures 280 x 223 cm. In the centre of the plan is Lake Dal, at the top the city with the fort. Countless gardens of the Mughal era are reproduced, but the author did not transcribe their names. The drawing, stressing the position of the waters, visualizes an aquatic microcosm.

5) Where the demons, according to legend, showed King Pravasesvara the site for the new foundation. At the foot of the hill there is a rock, for long venerated as a physical manifestation of Ganesa, a *svayambhu*. Nearby is the *ziarat* of Baha-ud-din Sahib, built with materials recovered from an ancient temple. Not far away is also the *Jami Masjid*.

6) A scientific, but partial, reconstruction of the *tirtha* of Srinagar and surrounds has been attempted by Stein. See Stein, M.A. *Memoir on Maps Illustrating the Ancient Geography of Kashmir*, in "Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal", 2, 1899, p. 147 et seq.; Abu'l Fazl'Allami, the biographer of the Mughal emperor Akbar, lists for the whole region forty-five shrines dedicated to Mahadeva, sixty-four to Visnu, three to Brahma and twenty-two to Durga. In seven hundred localities he notes carved images of snakes, an object of devotion. See Abu'l Fazl'Allami *The Ain-i Akbari*, translation by H.S. Jarret, repr. Delhi, Oriental Books, 1978, vol. II, p. 352. Two hundred and fifty plans are kept in Srinagar museum, representing *tirtha*, belonging to a manuscript of Pandit Sahibram, who died in 1872.

7) *Tirthayatra* in Sanskrit is a visit to the sacred places by

a prescribed itinerary. An interesting parallel could be made with the Katmandu valley, the great majority of whose population is Hindu and Buddhist. According to Gutschow, who made a study of religious festivals in Katmandu and Bhaktapur, processional rites tend to give significance to the spaces they touch. There is stated to be a mutual strengthening of significance between the rite and the place. Conversely, the circumambulatory rite is said to "group together" scattered places in a single concept. See: Gutschow, N. *Functions of Squares in Bhaktapur*. in "Ritual Spaces in India: Studies in Architectural Anthropology", ed. J. Pieper, London, 1980, and *ibid* Katmandu. *Simbolik einer Stadt in Raum und Zeit*, in "Urban Space and Ritual", ed. N. Gutschow & Th. Sieverts, Darmstadt, 1978. The concept of grouping is sometimes extended to the idea of delimitation of a sacred space, on a par with the *lustrationes* described in the Gubbio tablets. See: Herdick, R. *Stadt und Ritual. Am Beispiel der Newarstadt Kirtipur*, in "Stadt und Ritual", op.cit.

8) According to a tradition that also has a basis in the Islamic world: the *Haram* around Mecca; or in the West, the Sacred Hills of Varese, for example.

9) The distance of the *tirtha* from the temple is no greater than that of the temple of Lalitaditya at Martand from the sacred spring, to which it is dedicated. From this it may be inferred that the two structures at Takht-i-Sulaiman are associated with the same cult.

10) See Abu'l Fazl, *Ain-i Akbari*, op.cit., II, p. 361.

11) The *tirtha* of Isabar is quoted in all Kashmiri texts as exceptionally holy, and sought by pious men before their death. The main attraction of the place is a spring known as Guptagariga, which fills an ancient tank in the centre of the village.

12) For these ruins see: Cole, H.H. *Illustrations of Ancient Buildings in Kashmir*, 1869, p. 31.

13) See Stuart-Villiers, op. cit. p. 160.

14) The "floating gardens" of Lake Dal are artificial gardens consisting of a layer of soil and humus on broad waterlily leaves, fixed to the bed by a stake transfixing them like a large pin. Like rafts they can be moved, and are therefore liable to be stolen by neighbours.

15) This is demonstrated by the recurrence of the terms ending in *-pur*, *-mar* and *-khot* in village names; *-sar*, *-nambal* and *-nag* in the names of lakes and marshes; and *-kul* and *-khan* in the names of rivers and torrential streams.

16) See Tuzuk-i Jahangir, op.cit., II, p. 150.

17) The octagon was always a privileged geometrical figure, continuously adopted in India starting with the Lodi (1450-1526) for tombs, kiosks and isolated buildings in general.

18) See: Jones, D. (ed.) *Lo Specchio del Principe. Mecenate e Medici paralleli: Medici e Moghul*, Rome, Edizioni dell'Elefante, 1991, and also therein my article entitled: "La città come teatro: Note in margine all'urbanistica delle grandi capitali moghul dei secoli XVI e XVII", p. 63-75.

19) See: Begley, W. *The Myth of the Taj Mahal and a New Theory of its Symbolic Meaning*, in "Art Bulletin", March 1979, p. 7-37.

20) See: Grimal, P. *Jardin des Hommes, Jardin des Rois*, in "Traverses", 5/6, 1976, p. 71-72.

21) See: Tuzuk-i Jahangiri, op.cit., II, p. 150.

22) See: Abu'l Fazl *Akbarnama*, 3 vol., Calcutta, Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1877-86, vol. I, p. 18.

23) See: Petruccioli, A. *Fathpur Sikri. Città del sole e delle acque*, Rome, Carucci, 1988, p. 20-21.

24) See: Abu'l Fazl *Akbarnama*, op.cit.

25) See: Bernier, F. *Travels in the Moghul Empire: A.D. 1656-1672*, repr. New Delhi, Chand & Co., 1972.

A VIEW OF NISHAT BAGH

