cool pavilions where the inhabitants may drink a wine that does not intoxicate. A qa'ida by Mo'ezzî praising a royal garden and probably dedicated to the Saljuq Malekšâd, contains many of the features of the garden of Paradise: the king like the sun and his throne raised to the seventh heaven, the presence of Rezvân, fruit trees, streams of water, and hoursîs (Divân, ed. 'A. Eqbâl, Tehran, 1318 Š./1939-40, p. 315). The idea of an earthly Paradise captured the imagination of Persian poets, and the image was so powerful that it appears as late as the nineteenth century in a qa'ida of the Qajar poet Fâth-Allâh Khan Šâhân, and the great nineteenth-century garden in Shiraz was called Bâg-e Eram (q.v.), after the earthly rival of Paradise.

From the image of the garden as an earthly Paradise, mystical poets and prose writers extended it to symbolize Paradise itself. Again the Koranic passages provided the model, and features of the actual garden such as the watercourses and cypress trees corresponded to the divine archetype. The cypress tree, for example, is likened to the Šûbâ, and then, in a line from Hâfez, associated with his beloved: "You think about the Šûbâ tree and I about my beloved's stature; everyone thinks according to his aspiration" (Divân, ed. M. M. Qazvini and Q. Ganî, Tehran, 1330 Š./1951-52, p. 40). The beloved was frequently described as one of the hoursîs who were promised to the faithful for their enjoyment. In this regard, the 7th/13th-century mystic Rûzbehân Bagîlī "draws our attention to the alleged prophetic tradition that one should find spiritual recreation by looking at three things: water, greenery, and a lovely face" (A. Schimmel, 1976, p. 23). For Jalâl-âl-Dîn Rûmî, the garden becomes a symbol of divine beauty which both displays and conceals the eternal beauty of the archetypal gardener, God. The mystical lover and his divine beloved are like a rose and its thorn. When the lover becomes one with the beloved, the rose becomes one with the thorn and all duality is resolved.

In modern poetry, the garden continues to be a prominent image, but now it often appears in contexts of social criticism as well as of love. In 1932 Abûl-Qâsem Lâhûtî wrote a poem entitled "Bâbštân" (The gardener) in which he compares Stalin to a wise gardener who knows best what to prune in the garden and what to encourage. More recently, Forûg Farrokhzâd in "Del-am bârâ-ye bâgštâ misôzâd" (My heart bleeds for the garden) used a withered and dying garden at the back of her house as a symbol of Iranian culture and society in her time. She remembers the garden as flourishing when she was a child, and now that she is an adult she finds that people are filled with self-concern but nobody cares for the garden. In a different vein, in her poem "Fath-e bâg" (The victory of the garden) is a joyful love poem set in a garden, using garden imagery to express her feelings.

The garden is not always an image of happiness and beauty, however. In classical poetry, autumn in the garden was a time of sadness and nostalgia, when cold winds take the place of warm breezes and black and white are the predominant colors (crow and snow). A modern poet has used the garden as the central image in a poem consoling a friend on the death of his child: "Kâdîv my friend, truly death's hand is fickle. It always plucks the rose and never sees the thorns and twigs. Instead of the brush and thorns, it carries the rose from the garden: what a sinister gardener, what a fearful pruning" (M. A'zânâv Tâleţ, "al-Sâlâm yá sayyednâ al-Kâdîv," Negîn 9, no. 99, 1352 Š./1973-74, p. 10).

As conceptualized in literature, the garden is used to symbolize man's relation to nature in Persian culture. The garden's life cycle parallels that of man: Each has its youth and spring and its autumn and decline. However, the stylized, idealized idea of the garden presented in poetry represents a stark contrast with what lies outside the garden wall: the desert. Hot, dry, dangerous, and inhospitable, the desert is always a threat to life, and the wall serves to keep the desert out as it keeps the garden in. Within the wall, nature is controlled and made to serve the purposes of man: The chaos and danger of nature outside are changed to order and security. In this small Paradise man, not nature, is dominant, and nature can be enjoyed on man's terms.


(W. L. Hanaway)

IV. IN AFGHANISTAN

Much of Afghanistan consists of treeless craggly mountains, dry sandy deserts, or semi-desert plains. The people inhabiting this land have consequently cherished all forms of gardens, which have become an integral part of Afghan culture. Villagers hold meetings and socialize in their orchards, middle-class urbanites delight in visiting outlying gardens, and the wealthy most often have large gardens inside their walled compounds. Some maintain gardens outside the cities, with or without structures, to which they repair on weekends and holidays.

Pre-Mughal gardens. Since the time the Achaemenids began their eastward expansion in the sixth century B.C., the Afghan area has periodically come under the rule of empires originating in Iran, Central Asia, and India, all of which nurtured garden traditions. Because these earliest gardens were destroyed by the passage of conquering armies one must turn to descriptions by ancient writers or the findings of archeologists in order to glean any information about them. For instance, in 1151 A.D. 'Ali'-î-Dîn Gûrî destroyed the gardenpalaces of the Ghaznavids (977/1186) in Gâzni (see the summary report on the Italian Archeological Mission in Afghanistan by A. Bombaci and U. Scerrato in East and West, N. S. 10, 1939, pp. 3-56) as well as those at Bost
and Laškari Bázár (D. Schlumberger, "Lashkari Bazar," in *MDAFA* 18, 1963, p. 80). The armies of Jengiz Khan (1220) and Timūr (Tamerlane; 1281) wrought much havoc (Klaus Fischer, *Nimruz, Bonn, I*, 1976; II, 1974), but their Timurid and Mughal successors, ruling at Herat and Kabul, initiated a cultural renaissance which touched the entire Indo-Iranian region. Gardens were celebrated components of this florescence.

In Herat, the gardens at Gāzarāgh tended by Timūr’s son, Šāhroḵ (d. 1447) and those at Taḵt-e Šafar created by the grandson of Timūr’s son ‘Omar, Šultan Ḥosayn Bāyγār (d. 1506), have lost all semblance to their original Persian garden forms but their names remain, recalling a golden age.

**Mughal gardens.** Kabul was taken in 1504 by a young fugitive from Fargānā, a descendant of both Jengiz Khan and Timūr who was destined to become the emperor Bābor (r. 1526-30), founder of the Mughal empire of India (1526-1857). The adornment of Kabul and its environs became his lifelong passion. In his memoirs, the *Bābor-nāma* (tr. A. Beveridge, London, 1917), Bābor writes that scarcely a year after his takeover he purchased a garden with “great plane (čeňar) trees” at Estalīf, a hillside village 34 miles north of Kabul. Here he built a *tāq* under the čeňar and made the “zig-zag” water channels “straight and orderly” to conform to the ideals of a Persian garden (p. 216). Just below this garden he enclosed the spring of ʿAbd-al-Raḥmān Bāyγār, the third and fourth terraces, and at the entrance at the bottom of the slope. Shah Jahan ordered the tomb on the fourteenth terrace to be surrounded by a pierced-marble screen and a marble mosque built on the terrace below. It was completed in 1640 (inscription).

This fits the configuration of Bāb-e Bābor today, but only the general form, the terraces, three venerable čeňar, the mosque and tomb are recognizable. In 1883 when Amir ‘Abd-al-Ḡafrīn gave up residence in the old city of Kabul (Fayz Moḥammad, *Sārāy al-tawārīḵ, Kabul, 1915, p. 379), he constructed a pavilion with a wooden-pillared verandah over the reservoir on the tenth terrace, and a large haram-sarāy nearby. The gardens then gradually assumed the form of an English garden much favored by later royal families. Ladies’ *mēlās* (fairs) and other festive occasions were held here, including the coronation of Amir Ḥabīb-Allāh (r. 1901-19), K. Seraj and N. H. Dupree, *The KES Collection of Vintage Photographs, New York, 1979*, nos. 90-93.

The pavilion and the haram-sarāy were later used as residences for foreigners (A. Hamilton, *Afghanistan*, London, 1906, pp. 354, 375) and embassies (O. von Niedermayer, *Afghanistan*, Leipzig, 1925, pp. 31-32; E. Trinkler, *Through the Heart of Afghanistan*, tr. B. Featherston, London, 1928, p. 176). Finally, Bāb-e Bābor became a public park and swimming pools were added, but the complex was increasingly neglected during the 1960s when the pavilion became a hospital and the haram-sarāy a boarding school for tribal boys. The Italian archeological mission (IsMEO) began the restoration of the mosque in 1964 and in 1970 a survey considered the possibility of reconstructing the gardens in the Mughal style (M. Parpagliolo, *Kabul: The Bagh-i-Babur, Rome, 1972*). These plans were never implemented.

The only Mughal garden in Afghanistan retaining any of its original appearance is the garden at Nemla, 26 miles west of Jalālābād on the old road to Kabul. Local lore credits Nūr Jahān, wife of Emperor Jahāngīr who was renowned for her gardens, with its creation. In his memoirs the emperor speaks of creating the Jahānārā (World-adorning) garden in Kabul in 1607 (p. 106), but makes no mention of a garden at Nemla although he describes a grand hunt in its vicinity on their way back to India (p. 125). Architectural details suggest a date between the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth centuries, however (M. Parpagliolo, p. 2, n. 3).

The enclosed garden is 400 square yards and contains many classic Mughal elements including an orderly grid pattern of intersecting water channels lined with cypress interspersed with poplar and fruit trees. One waterfall wall is honeycombed with deep niches in which candles were placed behind the cascade, a favorite detail of the period. The bungalow now at its center was built by Amir Ḥabīb-Allāh (r. 1901-19).

Mahomed Khan, London, 1900, II, p. 104). The amir retained an English gardener from Yorkshire named Wild (J. A. Gray, *At the Court of the Amir*, London, 1895, p. 482) to oversee these gardens filled with trellises, arbors, reflecting pools, sculptured fountains, and tall gas lamps, features which became prominent in subsequent periods (K. Seraj, no. 89, dated 1900).

Outside the walled city of Kabul, west of the river, the amir built a massive 500-yard square citadel (Arg; ca. 1882) with "a garden nearly as large as the whole city of Kabul around it" (*The Life of Abdur Rahman II*, p. 61). Spacious courtyard gardens were planted throughout the complex, and the amir's private pavilion, the Kot-e Bāgča (House of the Little Garden), was surrounded with fragrant flowers (Hamilton, p. 350). The Arg continues to be the seat of government, but buildings have encroached on most of the outer garden space. The amir was proud of his building program (ibid., p. 68) and many of his palaces are still in use, although somewhat altered. Bāg-e Šāhī with its adjoining haram-sarāy in Bāg-e Kawkab (Star garden; begun 1300/1883, completed 1303/1887, Fayz Šah Mohammad, pp. 424, 489) in the eastern town of Jalālibād, the winter capital, has been in continuous use and the eleven acres of lush gardens at Bāg-e Šāhī were meticulously maintained. It has rarely been open to the public. Manzel-bāg (begun 1300/1883, completed 1302/1884; Fayz Šah Mohammad, p. 417) in a 20-acre walled garden one stage (manzel) east of the southern city of Kandahar, has served variously as a hotel, a cinema, and a tractor depot so the gardens are largely depleted but still retain vestiges of their former state. The massive Bāg-e Jahānārā palace at Kolīn (begun 1307/1889, completed 1309/1892; Fayz Šah Mohammad, p. 784) in the north was highlighted by stately firs, fruit trees, terraced gardens, and a reflecting pool. Restored in 1973 as a museum, it was rendered uninhabitable by an earthquake in 1976.

In Kabul, the 30-acre garden surrounding the Čehel-sotūn (Forty pillars) palace (1880; inscription) are still well-maintained. Outside the south gate of the Arg there were two garden-sarais, Būstān (Gardet) and Golestān (Rose-garden). Named after works by the renowned thirteenth-century poet, Šādī, often quoted by Bābor, these sarais had once belonged to Oloq Beg Šāboli, an uncle of Bābor's who ruled Kabul and Gāznī from ca. 1464-1501 (*Bahurunma*, pp. 95, 251). Here Amir 'Abd-al-Rahmān built a palace with adjoining haram-sarāy (1893; inscription). The amir's palace in the Būstān-sarāy eventually became his mausoleum, and in 1964 the surrounding walls were removed to create Kabul's newest public garden called Zarnegār (Adorned with gold).

The many-domed and arcuated palace at Bāg-e Bālā (1893; Gray, p. 498) located on a high, vine-covered hill some 2.5 miles west of Kabul best represents the amir's garden-palaces. It has been accessible to the public since it became a fashionable restaurant after restoration in 1966. The plan, clearly derived from the Central Asian Islamic tradition, utilizes a square with two spacious high-domed halls at the center and four small-domed rooms at each corner connected by wide colonnaded verandahs.

The interior is finished in gleaming white gypsum plaster. The whitewashed interior ornamentation, in both impressed and carved plasterwork, is classically Islamic, depicting arabesques and a variety of floral patterns; paster painted in bold colors are set with mirrors. Arched openings between rooms were hung with embroidered hangings in place of doors, and the rooms were provided with such novelties as wall-firesplaces, wall-lighting fixtures, and massive imported crystal chandeliers. A Mughal-style fountain originally in the entrance hall was not included in the restoration, but the reflecting pool occupying a high terrace on the east was retained. The amir presided over darbars from a window overlooking the pool (*The Life of Abdur Rahman II*, frontispiece) and died in the same room at midnight on 2 October 1901.

'Abd-al-Rahmān's son, Amir Ḥabīb-Allāh, built lavish palaces largely in British colonial style, but the next garden-building surge occurred under his son, King Amān-Allāh (r. 1919-29). The garden landscaping at the center of Dār al-Amān (1923), a new city six miles south of Kabul, caused some Western visitors to "gasp" (J. Fleming, *Asia* 29/4, p. 328). Amān-Allāh, advocated tearing down garden walls and opened the first public garden, Bāg-e 'Omūṁī, at the site of Bābor's Čār-bāg along the Kabul river. It gradually gave way to buildings, but the landscaped complex of terraces forming Amān-Allāh's Bāg-e 'Omūṁī in the hill resort of Pağmān, 12 miles west of Kabul, continued to be popular until the current hostilities erupted in 1979. It was furnished with fountains, a café, a band stand, a cinema/theater, and an amphitheater forming the core of an ambitious building program carefully regulated by the Ṣeṣān-nāma-ye ta'mīrāt-e Pağmān (July, 1922).

Article 4 of this building code required all structures to be fronted with "gardens of willows, ēnārs, and other flowering shrubs" so that the entire town might resemble a garden. The last Afghan monarch, Moḥammad Šahrī Shah (r. 1922-73) was an avid horticulturist and continually embellished the more formal public gardens at the Taps (King's garden), also in Pağmān.


(N. H. Dupree)