

The Art of the Book: Lahore School 19th Century

A Thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy in Asian Studies



By

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis in its present form is the result of my individual research and it has not been submitted concurrently to any other university for any other degree.

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I hereby recommend the dissertation prepared under my supervision by **Ms. Nausheen Abbas**, entitled **The Art of the Book: Lahore School 19th Century** be accepted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Asian Studies.

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Prof. Dr. Mamoonah Khan
Research Co Supervisor

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Abstract

The study identifies and determines the stylistic parameters of a distinctive character of book art produced in Lahore during the 19th century, manifested in illumination and illustrations. This study is based on the manuscripts present in archival collections around the world, and has attempted to unveil many among them, unknown to art historians. Lahore formally emerged as a centre of book art under Mughal rule; and one of the hypothesis of the study is that the 19th century book art followed that legacy. This study attempts to explore the roots of book art in Lahore and also endeavours to investigate the other formative sources and influences, provided by Kashmiri, Pahāri and European art. The elements of art and design such as color, composition, shape, form, lines and texture in illustrations and illuminations are analyzed on the basis of their commonality, differences and divergence. Last quarter of 19th century in Lahore is the period when the public started to utilize lithographic printing for book production at large. The transitional effects of this new printing method on book art in Lahore has also been examined in this study. The 19th century book art contributors are scrutinized through the information offered by the colophons and other major primary sources of the time. Countless artists were found working within the ambit of Lahore school, similarly patronage of book art was also noted at all hierarchical levels of the multi-ethnic and multi-religious society of 19th century Lahore. In this way, the undertaken research extends the range of book art production from a few court attached patrons and artists to the common people of Lahore. On stylistic grounds, again, this study stretches the umbrella of the Lahore school of book art over a wider range of art specimens i.e. over and above the sumptuously illustrated and illuminated manuscripts, it also includes the ones with modest sizes and a lesser degree of finesse, but of no lesser importance.

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Transliteration

Arabic	Transliteration	Arabic	Transliteration
ا	A	ف	f
ب	B	ق	q
ت	T	ك	k
ث	<u>Th</u>	ل	l
ج	J	م	m
ح	ḥ	ن	n
خ	<u>Kh</u>	و	w
د	D	هـ	h
ذ	<u>Dh</u>	ء	'
ر	R	ي	y
ز	Z	Persian/Urdu	Transliteration
س	S	پ	p
ش	<u>Sh</u>	ٹ	T̄
ص	ṣ	چ	<u>Ch</u>
ض	ḍ	ڈ	D̄
ط	ṭ	ژ	R̄
ظ	ẓ	ژ	<u>Zh</u>
ع	‘	ک	G
غ	<u>Gh</u>	ں	ṅ
Short Vowels	transliteration	Long Vowels	Transliteration
َ	A	آ □	Ā
ُ	U	ؤ	Ū
ِ	I	يِ	Ī
Diphthongs	Transliteration		
وَ	Aw		
يِ	Ay		
يِ	Iyy		
وِ	Uww		

Transliteration for Names of Places

Names	Transliteration	Names	Transliteration
Agra	Āgra	Lahore	Lāhaur
Awadh	Awadh	Lucknow	Lakhna'u
Azarbaijan	Āzarbāijān	Ludhiana	Ludhīyāna
Balkh	Balkh	Madina	Madīnāh
Barelley	Baraili	Madras	Madrās
Basholi	Bāshuli	Mandi	Mandī
Bengal	Bangāl	Mankot	Mānkut
Bijapur	Bījāpūr	Mecca	Makkāh
Bilaspur	Bilāspūr	Mohenjodaro	Muhinjūdāru
Bombay	Bambai	Murshadabad	Murshadābād
Bukhara	Bukhāra	Pakistan	Pākistān
Cawnpur	Kānpūr	Patiala	Patīyāla
Deccan	Daccan	Patna	Patna
Delhi	Dihli	Punjab	Punjāb
Faisalabad	Faiṣalābād	Qandhar	Qandhār
Faizabad	Faiḍābād	Qazwin	Qazwīn
Ghazni	Ghazni	Rampur	Rām Pūr
Guler	Gullaī	Shiraz	Shīrāz
Herat	Hirāt	Sialkot	Sīālkut
Kabul	Kābul	Taxila	Taksila
Kangra	Kāngra	Wah	Wāh
Kashmir	Kāshmir	Wazirabad	Wazīrābād
Khyber Pakhtunkha	Khaibar Pakhtūnkhwa		

Abbreviations

Ac./ Acc.	Accession
No.	Numbers
A.H.	After Hijrat or after migration of Prophet Muḥammad ﷺ from Mecca to Madina (the start of Muslim Lunar calendar).
C.E.	Common Era
pl	plate
p	page
pp	multiple pages
Ms./MS	Manuscript (preceding the accession numbers as given in the catalogues of archives).
NM	National Museum (preceding the accession numbers of the catalogues of National Museum of Pakistan).

Introduction

This study is born primarily of the need to identify, record and analyze a distinctive style of book art, mainly in the form of illustrations and illuminations, produced during 19th century in Lahore. This art and its artists act as the vital connecting link between the past and future of Lahore, and in general, Pakistan. Beholding the glorious traditions of the previous ages of sub-continent, the book art of Lahore produced during 19th century, marks the final phase of hand written book. The undertaken study is not attempted at the judgment of the art specimens on their artistic merit rather, it is a modest endeavor to throw light on an important facet of art history of the sub-continent that has mostly remained in oblivion.

This research is essentially an extensive archival experience and involves examination of quite a considerable number of illustrated manuscripts. The sheer number of illustrated and illuminated manuscript and the variety of themes, styles and quality of execution in them has proved that book art is the most important genre of painting produced during 19th century Lahore. The unity of style on certain grounds amid diversity within a specific time and space, reiterates the fact that it should be categorized under the nomenclature of “Lahore School of book painting” in 19th century. In this way this study is the means of establishing relationship among individual works of book art through an analogous approach and placing disparate works into a specific time period and space.

Background of Research Problem

The pictorial art produced during 19th century in Lahore fall into many categories: miniatures, murals and printed images (mainly lithographic).

Frescoes, mosaics and murals had been a tradition of Lahore for centuries. In 19th century considerable amount of patronage was provided by the nobility. Under the Sikh regime,

courtiers, nobles, landlords locals or foreigners keeping their residence in Lahore employed artists to adorn the walls of their mansions. In addition, under Mahārāja Ranjīt Singh when Sikhism received royal patronage, Sikhs started to devote themselves to the splendor of their shrines. The walls of some 700 shrines in Punjab from which many are in Lahore, received eleemosynary grants for construction and embellishments (Kang, 1985, p. 3).

The category of miniature painting is divided into many sub-branches. In the form of portraiture and ivories, it was the exclusive preserve of the royal families. This branch is the most highlighted branch of 19th century paintings, naturally so, as it attracted some of the best of the artists, who preferred to paint for the royal patrons where fame and monetary returns were more. The second branch of miniature painting of Lahore during 19th century is almost completely hidden- the art of book illustration. It is this category that forms the basis of this study.

A piece of art is never created in a void. By utilizing pre-existing sources it adds something new to the vocabulary of ideas and style and thus a new art form is born. If applied to the 19th century book art of Lahore, these sources were provided by the long established Persian and Indian indigenous culture. In India, both of them found their best expression under the Mughals. In the history of painting in sub-continent, Persian culture made its impact and amalgamated with that of indigenous traditions right from the conquest of Muslims in 11th century C.E. Yet this remains an established fact that the historical connection between Iranians and the people of the sub-continent began from the times of great Achaemenian King, Darius Hystaspes (522- 486 B.C) (Baqar, 1970, p. 1). Persian literature in its illustrated form reached its zenith under the Mughals from 16th to 18th century. This literature when illustrated, got well amalgamated into the Indian, indigenous illustrative traditions of Jain and Buddhist texts. By 19th

century it has permeated and trickled down well in the society to be favored by the literary circles within the masses. Sikh rule of 19th century was the last Persianate court of sub-continent, though it did not patronized book illustration as its preceding courts did, still, there is a plethora of book art specimens from 19th century Lahore, that, with advances in research and documentation, are making themselves felt with the passage of time. This bulk, as the study proves, is the product of an artistic consciousness at the level of common people of Lahore, mostly Muslims but Hindus and Sikhs as well. Along with Persian literature, we find vernacular texts in Punjabi illustrated by the artists of Lahore. In addition to this, Urdu text also received their share in illustrations in the motley multi-lingual and multi-cultural environment of Lahore of 19th century. Besides culture and traditions, an element that provided stimulus for art production from the beginning is religion. Whatever the means, either grand or humble, man has always sought to connect him with the Ethereal Reality by artistic means. Calligraphy of Qur'ān and other religious books like "Gūru Granth and Janam Sakhis, received patronage of the people of Lahore and produced lot of illustrious calligraphers and artists. Illuminated and beautifully calligraphed Qur'ānic manuscripts from Lahore, not only from 19th century but throughout the history of Muslim rule also forms the invaluable collections of the archives.

The book art of 19th century Lahore is the blend of pre-existing Mughal, Kashmiri, Pāhāfi and trends of painting. Elements of European Art were also added to this art that ensued from the continuous interactions with foreign travelers from the west.

Born out of book- this art is also a testimony of deep artistic traditions imbedded into literary consciousness, that is running in the blood of the inhabitants of the city to this day when Lahore is still the hub of art activities in Pakistan. The immense number of manuscripts, illustrated or not, present in the archives around the globe are representative of a book loving,

multi faceted society of Lahore and in general Punjab. The study reinforces the observations of Lahore's distinguished linguist and educationist William Leitner, founding Principal of Government College Lahore (1864). Leitner in his treatise on Punjab Indigenous Education prior to and after annexation, observes, that in 19th century, before the colonial rule, five types of educational institutions, were there in Punjab: *Madrassās*, *Maktabas*, *Patshālās*, *Gurūmukhi* schools and *Mahājani* schools. These schools were not only attached to the worship places, mosques or temples but also were established evenly in markets, halls and open areas (Leitner, 1884). The colophons of a lot of manuscripts examined and documented by the author during the course of preliminary investigation has revealed that these manuscripts either illustrated or not, are the products of the aforementioned literate environment of Lahore and whole of the Punjab in general.

Methodology

This study is primarily aimed at unveiling a facet of painting history of Lahore that has for one reason or another could not come to light even after the lapse of around two centuries in between. It is essentially an archival experience that involves physical examination of illustrated manuscripts-the primary sources, in the major archival collections of Pakistan in Islamabad, Lahore, Karachi and Peshawar and some important ones in the British Library, London.

Many others that are in the archival collections of other countries like India, France, Hungary and the United States are also consulted side by side either from the detailed published catalogues of the repositories or through the digital database made available by them to the public.

The archival search procedure follows:

1. Catalogue consultation and short listing the books with indications of books with illuminations and/or illustrations according to subject appropriation or mentioned as illustrated , “*Muṣawwar*” or illuminated “ *tadhīb*” in the catalogue.
2. Categorization according to differences in styles.
3. Further short listing of those that are linked with Lahore School.
4. Detailed examination of text and deciphering information to confirm their affiliation with Lahore school by means of colophons that a few from the collection may contain.
5. Drawing analogies from the ones with categorically stated information and comparative study of stylistic characteristics.

Since the second half of 19th century is the time when print media came into being in the sub-continent, this study also explores the transitional phase of hand written book and introduction of Lithography in Lahore. It is done by examining early lithographic productions in 1850’s till the end of the century. Primary sources from lithographic printers of Lahore present in National Archives of Pakistan, Ganj Bakhsh Library Islamabad and University of the Punjab Lahore have been utilized by the author for this purpose. In addition, published catalogues of lithographic books from museums and archives from around the globe have also been thoroughly studied

Literature review

Scrutinizing the history of Fine Art specifically that of the Orient, reveals that it has always presented itself into two main streams. One, that is readily seen and manifested in the records of chroniclers of court and patronized by ruling elite. The other one is less tangible and has an under toned appearance in recorded history, or none at all. This second stream manifests

itself in the masses in the form of the art that has been given many names by the historians: “sub-imperial”, “regional”, “popular” or “provincial”. Though many of the times its impetus and initiation is provided by the court itself but, it is actually this facet of fine arts that gives the testimony of deeper cultural trends of society. The same applies to art of the book of 19th century Lahore. Produced by common people of the society this art remained derelict.

Starting from early 20th century, initially, the art activity of 19th century Lahore was searched within the ambit of Sikh Court by the art historians. For the first time, E.B Havell, an eloquent writer of Indian Art in 1908 C.E recognized some “Sikh inspired” work. Giving examples of some figural compositions of nobles outside the court, he points out that such painting was a popular, not a courtly art, that it reached a wider and different public from that of previous Indian miniatures and at a time when British rule and Victorian standards were nullifying Indian painting, it was a new and valid form of Indian national expression (Havell, 1908, pp. 230-33). Though Havell’s views were formed on the basis of some figural portraits, yet it applies more to the book art of which Havell and many of his future historians remained unaware. Researches remained confined to Sikh court and its portraiture. Coomaraswamy in 1916 and S.N. Gupta in 1922, notified some of the portraits of Sikh nobles and also that of Gurus, painted in Kangra or Kashmir Style with Sikh regalia (Coomaraswamy, 1916, pl. I, 25; Gupta, 1922, p. 37-54).

W.G. Archer’s work (1960), too, attempted to trace out art developments within the circle of Sikh court and its nobles “in Punjab Plains”. His point of view, as intended, remained totally ‘Sikh’ oriented, and the ensuing genre that came under his scholarly research was of course portraiture. The same stance was shared by other scholars as well. They took “Sikh painting” as synonymous to “Sikh portraiture”. Though it appears as a convenient nomenclature and sets

limits to designate a period and style but has its drawbacks. This kind of a vision is essentially a key hole vision of a society which when examined with a wider horizon exhibits much more than portraiture or themes that are recognizably “Sikh”. Although too simplified, yet if we take Archer’s views of 19th century work as being ”Sikh” alone, we find certain flaws. In Archer’s words “ Sikhs had no traditional mythology and no feudal system” (Archer, 1966, p. XXI). Now an important determinant of book art other than feudal system or religious mythology, in 19th century Punjab, was increased literacy of common people and their ensuing love for book writing and ornamentation, in line with the glorious traditions of the past. Sikhs were also the part of this culture along with Hindus and Muslims which was producing flowers of “ Persian” culture and literature tinged with indigenous colors of Indian sub-continent since long. This homogenized culture was represented with clarity, on the walls of Lahore or other regions of Punjab in the form of murals, and on books, in the forms of illumination and illustration. It is true that portraiture is the genre most favored by Sikh nobility but the contribution of Sikhs in both these genres cannot be denied. Records of the manuscripts commissioned by Ranjīt Singh are rare but still we have historical mentions of at least three manuscripts commissioned by him including a Qur’ān and Gūru Garanth manuscripts. Sikh nobles also added their contributions to illustrated and illuminated books. *Gulghashta-i Punjab*, *Zafarnāmāh* of Ranjīt Singh, *Shamshair Khāni* manuscripts and *Ā’in-i Akbari* manuscripts are few examples of such manuscripts that categorically record the names of Sikh patrons. Archer, while documenting many portraits of Sikh nobility of Lahore, takes them as the derivative of Pahāfi (Hill states) specially Kangra painting style. This stance is supported by him on the basis of stylistic similarities he notices in these works with that of Kangra portraits. Still, Archer also notifies many new elements that these assumed Pahāfi artists introduced in their works in Lahore. These points of difference as

noted by him, if examined in book illustrations, are present in all the works as signature elements of Lahore school. Where Archer fails to give any name of Pahāfī artist responsible for those portraits, in case of book illustrations, we have evidences of many names who were not Pahāfī at all. It means that either they were the same people who were producing portraits in the court as well as the illustrating the books or, even if a few of the portrait artists were Pahāfī painters, they had constant interactions with many local artists who were present at the court.

Goswamy (1999), exposition of certain documents regarding grants of lands to painter families specially that of Pandit Sū family, add to our information of Sikh patronage of painting. He admits that Sikh patronage of 19th century Punjab must be seen in a wider context- genres other than portraiture. While doing so he presents examples of Janam Sakhi manuscripts produced in standard “Kashmīri style”, and also of some murals done in Pāhāfī style with Hindu mythological themes belonging to 18th and 19th century. Giving a justification of this phenomenon, Goswamy presents to us the heterogeneous environment of 19th century Punjab where there was not a sharp distinction between Hindu and Sikh themes (Goswamy, 1999, p. 107). Goswamy fails to notice here, the most contributing Muslim element to the painting of 19th century Lahore. Muslims were in biggest majority and remained instrumental in producing hundreds of manuscripts of religious and literary texts.

Some of the scholars notably ‘Abd al-Rahmān Chughtā’i and later R.P. Srivastava make amends and add to the earlier studies. Chughtā’i (1979) is the first one to perceive Lahore art of 19th century as the continuation of the art traditions of Lahore’s past where painters had established family traditions of art work. He is credited with coining the term “*Dabistān-i muṣawwari-i Lāhaur*” or Lahore School of painting. He identifies various artists whose forefathers were working for the Mughals, emphatically providing the art historians with

genealogical trees of artist families of Lahore. Chughtā'i asserts that most of the artists in 19th century Lahore were Muslims but also lists down many Sikh and Hindu artists. Chughtā'i completely denies that there was any Pāhāri influence at work and some artists even if migrated from Hill States did not come to Lahore till the death of Ranjīt Singh. According to Chughtā'i, portraiture, that has specially been treated by other art historians as an aftermath of Pāhāri traditions, in addition to other genres, was mainly the domain of locally settled Lahore painters. He presents examples of portraits of Sikh Gurūs and nobility painted by his uncle Bāba Miran Bakhsh and other artists of his family. He also reinforces his stance by identifying long developed settlements of Lahore artists in various localities of Lahore city. Chughtā'i's is a study of general art environment of Lahore during 19th century and is not supported by examination of any art piece either in the form of book or otherwise.

Srivastava's extensive research (1983) on Punjab painting must be taken as a pedantic approach to Chughtā'i's basic stance. Srivastava broadens the horizon of Lahore School and deals it under 'Punjab Painting' which necessarily include all trans and sis-Sutlaj locales. Srivastava sets the general parameters of Punjab painting macroscopically. It includes the identification of themes, styles, painters, patrons and techniques. Srivastava though takes into account the illustrated manuscripts and their thematical identification but the material he reproduces and on which his research is based is again, mostly portraiture or murals.

The only scholar who took up the documentation and archival research in the field of Art of the Book of Lahore in 18th and 19th century is Barbara Schmitz. She has unveiled many gems in the archival collections of India and Pakistan. Schmitz's ground breaking researches in Lahore manuscript illustrations already have paved way for the students of art history in the sub continent to widen up the horizon of the art history of Indian sub continent.

Schmitz, emphatically states “ During the second quarter of 19th century Lahore was simply the most important producer of illustrated Persian books in India; the wonder is that it has taken so long for the proper credits to be given to these talented and prolific Muslim artists.” (Schmitz, 2006, p. 8).

Schmitz, accessing the most prominent archival sources from Indian and Pakistan as well as America, has put to light, various illustrated manuscripts produced during 18th and 19th century Lahore. While analyzing the illustrations, it seems that at certain points that Schmitz oversimplifies some of the aspects of Art of Lahore Book. She gives credit to Imām Bakhsh Lāhauri being the artist who pioneered, originated and developed Lahore style of painting (Schmitz, 1997, p. 185; Schmitz, 2006, p. 135; Schmitz, 2010, p. 82). On close examination the dated and signed manuscripts that she attributes to Imām Bakhsh are three: General Court Memoirs, La Fontaine Fables and a signed portrait of Lahore *Darbār* present in Chandigarh Museum. The rest of illustrations are attributed to Imām Bakhsh on stylistic basis. Now the stylistic features that she identifies as a signature style of Imām Bakhsh has been noted by the author in quite a number of manuscripts, some with clear and categorical identification of the scribe/ artist of the book in the colophon other than him. Imām Bakhsh, was highly talented and fortunate enough to have secured commissions from foreigners and might also have influenced several artists but, to consider him solely responsible for the 19th century style is unjust and a generalization of a complex art scenario of Lahore during 19th century. In addition to this, examination of dated and undated manuscripts from Lahore also reveal that there are many styles developing side by side in Lahore. They do overlap a lot of characteristics of style but are also distinct from each other on the basis of individual differences in execution.

It is not surprising that Schmitz generalizes the whole situation and holds that Lahore book illustration of 19th century is a monolithic style attributed mainly to the efforts of one single artist. Her investigation is confined to the manuscripts with greater finesse present in large and prominent archives of America, India and just a very few from Pakistan. She could not possibly cover the material with modest sizes and lesser degree of finesse but, of no lesser importance in comparatively smaller archives of Pakistan. These archives hold the manuscripts not only of detailed and finer category but also those produced with lesser resources afforded by the common people of the region.

Schmitz's oversimplification is applied to yet another phenomenon- Book Dealers of Lahore in 19th century. She holds that Muḥammad Bakhsh Ṣāḥḥāf was the most important book dealer who was operating an art workshop-like setting where manuscripts were being prepared and sold to several patrons. She gives examples of some manuscripts with colophons bearing the name "Muḥammad Bakhsh". Now in the colophons reproduced by Schmitz, we find three different names, "Muḥammad Bakhsh Ṣāḥḥāf" (Schmitz, 2012, p. 92 & 93), "Muḥammad Bakhsh Lāhauri (Schmitz, 2012, p. 94) and " Miān Muḥammad Bakhsh (Schmitz, 2012, p. 88 & 89) whom she takes as one person. If we correlate the facts with other primary and secondary sources, those which list down names of people within art circle of Lahore during 19th century, we may clearly see that it is the matter of mistaken prosopography. There appear at least five persons with the name 'Muḥammad Bakhsh' with different family lineage and environment working within the same century in Lahore. Furthermore, there are many other dealers involved in the selling and buying of manuscripts during the later half of 19th century as mentioned by Chughtā'i (Chughtā'i, 1979, p. 69) and also reiterated by some colophons of the books

themselves as for example one in British Library, hailing from 1856 C.E Lahore, and prepared by a book dealer other than Muḥammad Bakhsh.

In addition to the book dealers, the inscriptions regarding ownership of the manuscripts appear in several manuscripts as examined by the researcher. They reveal that there were lots of people who were getting the possession of books on personal level, were acquiring them from the scribe, or the person who commissioned it and were selling to others. The preliminary data acquired by the author shows that in the galaxy of 19th century Lahore Art scene, countless stars have illuminated their own orbit while sharing the same universe.

Lithography came in Lahore in 1840s and in the second half it assumed a position of great importance and preference for the production of books. J.P.Losty observes this phenomenon as “...the end of traditions of manuscript production and illustration in the 19th century caused by the twin modern invention of printing press and camera”(Losty, 1982, p. 17). On the contrary, the archival material constituting lithographed works proves, that lithography provided a smooth transition from the previous practice of manuscript writing which had a definitive cultural authority. It gave the best possible printed version of a well loved handwritten, illuminated and illustrated book on a much larger scale and duplication. The traditional scribes and artists of Lahore who were engaged in the transcription of books since ages continued their work in the changing atmosphere of Lahore. Their transcribed lithographic versions thus presented the printed books not as an alien artifact form as the typographs, rather, as a thing with which they had an intimate link for generations. Shaw and Shcheglova’s have studied early printing methods in India. Their studies naturally have investigated those cities of India which had maximum number of lithographic book production mainly Lucknow and Cawnpur. Lahore is mentioned but only fleetingly. This study would also be an effort to identify

and understand the position of Lahore in the context of lithographic printing which overlapped the production of manuscripts in the second half of 19th century: the domain that still remains to be explored by any art historian.

The Research Objectives and ensuing chapters break up

General Objective

To identify and analyze the visual repertoire of the art of book, in the form of illustrations and illuminations, produced during 19th century, in Lahore and determine the stylistic characteristics that may bind this vocabulary into a distinctive and peculiar school of book art.

Specific Objectives

- To explore the elements of art and design, as color, compositions, shapes, forms lines and texture in illustrations and illuminations and analyze their shared grounds and points of differences and divergence.
- To understand the basis of Lahore School of Book Art and explore its roots, formative sources and influences to determine whether it is a continuation of tradition already there in Lahore or a time isolated activity that emerged in 19th century as suggested by some scholars.
- To identify the major contributors of this art.
- Since the second half of 19th century is also the period of introduction of print media in Lahore, to examine the effects it generated on hand-produced book art.
- To present sufficient data in the form of a selection of manuscripts analyzed on their physical as well as stylistic properties so that the observations made through the discussion be reinforced.

The study break up, and forms chapters that are intended to achieve the above mentioned objectives. The first chapter corresponds with the objective to search for the basis and roots of 19th century book art. By briefly delineating the development of Lahore as a centre of book production starting formally from the Ghaznawīds, it aims at focusing the book art production in Lahore, starting from the establishment of Akbar's Lahore royal atelier. It specifically aims at the effects that regional Lahore elements exerted on the book art produced under Mughals. It also intends to investigate the sub-imperial centers of book art emerged in Lahore during the Mughals by nobles of the court and literate circles. This chapter takes the journey of Lahore book art till the end of 18th century.

After a search through the past of Lahore, the formative stimuli for the book art of Lahore are searched in areas physically proximate to Lahore-Kashmir and Hill States in the second chapter. These areas were important centers of painting in 18th century. The influences exerted by the painters of Hill States on Lahore art scene of 19th century, much acclaimed by various scholars is critically examined in the context of book art. Kashmiri influences on the school of illustration and illumination is also investigated, separately in this chapter and throughout in other chapters wherever found necessary. Input of the European trends in painting into the book art of 19th century Lahore is also discussed in this chapter.

The third chapter on illumination, not only examines at length, the stylistic character of illuminative art in the books but also traces the continuation of these trends right from the Mughals to 19th century. It includes some rare illuminated manuscripts from 17th and 18th centuries and a connectivity of their style with that of 19th century specimens is attempted. The design elements of 19th century illuminations from Lahore are discussed at length on the basis of their shared characteristics and standardized vocabulary.

Illustrative art of Lahore during 19th century, is examined in detail in the fourth chapter. It is an attempt to categorize the illustrations of disparate illustrations on the basis of differences of style into six groups. This diversification is then analyzed on the basis of its convergence into a whole overlapping many of the stylistic traits—thus binding them together.

Going through various stages, the book art of Lahore is seen entering into the phase of lithographic printing, in the fifth chapter, thus addressing the objective of examination of its transitional phase.

A search through the colophons of the manuscripts and the historical accounts of the historians, the key contributors to the book art are investigated into the sixth chapter. It attempts at seeking for the patrons as well as the artists of 19th century book art of Lahore.

Since the discussion in between the chapters cannot possibly afford full length explanation of the primary evidences of this study—the manuscripts, therefore, in chapter seven, selected illustrated books are separately dealt with. It allowed for their complete physical description as well as their analysis on individual basis, thus endeavoring to achieve all the objectives as comprehensively as possible.

Practical implications of the study

The theoretical implications of the study have already been discussed in the literature review. The practical significance of this investigation and alike is foremostly that, it takes the required steps towards detailed cataloguing of an archival material and to treat the books with paintings as a separate entity. This involves; recording, analysis and their categorization. In the case of book art, the material is even more fragile and susceptible to damages—the paper and the pigments. Therefore, this study should also be taken as a reaction to the sense of frustration after seeing these works going through a decaying process resulting partially from neglect and

partially from the natural hot and humid climate of the country prone to damages by natural decay, insects and pests of which, much has already been claimed by time and the forces of nature. The researcher therefore feel that there is an urgency needed for this kind of work not only in the well known archives but also in countless smaller repositories in the country either private or State owned, for there is a great danger that many of these works will disappear irreversibly before they have been sufficiently recorded.

If not systematically recorded, this invaluable treasure is susceptible to another threat and that is stealing. Through the course of preliminary investigation, to great dismay to the author, it was noted that some valuable manuscripts previously recorded in catalogues are no more there. This include some royal manuscripts from Lahore, prepared under Mughals and also during Ranjīt Singh's reign from some prominent repositories of the country.

This study attempts to set parameters of Lahore school of book art by the identification and examination of Lahore originated manuscripts. In this way, it also seeks to rectify some mistakenly designated illustrated manuscripts, to other regional centers, that actually belong to Lahore school in the database provided by some archives around the world and even in our own country.

The present investigation targets an essentially compact, identifiable but little known phase and an important center of the early history of art of Indian sub-continent, and the issues it rises. Much has to be excluded: the small suburban cities or towns near Lahore, linked with Lahore school of book art, prior to and after it ran its course, that may add further to the art history of this region, the Gurūmukhi manuscripts with illustrations were continued to be produced in the areas east of Lahore-the sis-sutlaj states that were governed by Sikh princes independently after annexation with the British also remains an area with much potential for

further studies. The illustrated books written by the foreigners in Lahore during and after 19th century is another interesting area to be explored. Whatever the delimitations, the period taken here as the focal point is well-defined and is rich enough to afford an extensive research in an area of study that enhances our understanding of art history of the artistically most important region of the country while providing fresh insights into the ways things happened in the past.

1. The Art of the Book in Lahore: Historical Stages before 19th century

Book production in Lahore: Pre-Mughal period

The tradition of manuscript illustration in India goes back to the earliest group of sacred texts from Buddhist and Jain communities. These two orders resorted to the written word early in their development unlike Hindus, who depended on oral traditions for centuries. The available records in the form of chronicles of Chinese pilgrims during the 7th century C.E. mentions images and texts but no illustrated manuscripts (Khandalwala & Doshi, 1987, p. 54). The insertions of miniatures in the texts is a tradition that can first be noticed in Buddhist manuscripts of 10th to 11th century coming from Pāla dynasty that ruled in eastern India. In the beginning, its purpose was to sanctify and protect the religious text. In this way it was a miniature that was not narrative. The Jain tradition that emanated from Western India in 10th century corresponds closely with the Buddhists. The period covering 10th to 12th century, represents the phase when manuscripts do not illustrate the text. The miniatures painted in them, served as protective symbols that enhance the spiritual potency of the text. Towards the end of 13th century, pictorial narration entered the sphere of miniatures within books (Grey, 1963, p. 55; Khandalwala & Doshi, 1987, p. 57). The introduction of paper further gave way to more elaborate compositions and rich illumination as for example those, manifest in Kalpāsutra and Kalākāchāriya Jain manuscripts¹ (Losty, 1982, p. 22; Gray, 1963, p. 55).

Islamic presence in the western part of the sub-continent began in 711 C.E with the conquest of Muḥammad bin Qāsim who conquered a port at the mouth of river Indus. Islamic influence

¹ The earliest manuscript with narrative paintings is dated 1288 C.E. with 23 miniatures, and that of Kalpasūtra, the life of Mahāvīra, which was standard text for illustration is dated 1370 C.E. By this time of course there was a considerable influence of Muslim traditions on arts of India, so it is possible that these narrative paintings was the result of Persian influence on Indian illustrative and illuminative arts. The same view is held by Losty (Losty, 1982, p. 22).

spread north ward along the rivers with major settlement at Multan. Persian was the language of its inhabitants (Istakhri, 951 C.E as cited in Baqir, 1970, p. 7).

Although Lahore, by that time was a flourishing city but was mainly inhabited by Hindus (unknown author, 982 C.E as cited in Baqir, 1963, p. 1)². It was in 1022 C.E when Maḥmūd of Ghazni eradicated Hindu Shāhi dynastic rule from Lahore. It was governed by the viceroys or *nā'ibs* of Ghaznawīds. From 1098-1114 C.E it also became the capital-in-exile of the house of Ghazni (Aijazuddin, 1991, p. 10). With reference to art of the book of Lahore certain points are of utmost importance during Ghaznawīds:

- Establishment of a cosmopolitan society that started to absorb Central Asian and Persian Islamic trends in language and literature. The composition of the population of Lahore consisted of Hindus and a large number of immigrants from Ghazna and the neighboring territory, who spoke Persian (Ghani, 1941, pp. 155-233).
- Presence of Muslim saints and scholars and the resulting establishment of Islamic educational institutions or *madāris* where Arabic and Persian calligraphy was the part of their curriculum (Rehmani, 2010, p. 31). Prominent among these Islamic scholars were: Shāh Isma'īl Muḥaddith (d.1057 C.E)³, Syyad Ḥusayn Zanjāni⁴ (d. 1040), Sayyad 'Ali Hajwairi (d.1073)⁵, Abu Naṣr Fārsi⁶.

² *Hadūd-i 'Ālam* is a geographical treatise. The author is not known however the date written is 372 A.H/962 C.E.

³ Kanhyya Lāl (*Tārikh-i Lāhaur*, p. 312), and Fauq (Naqoosh, Lahore Number, p.116) holds that he came to Lahore in 412 A.H, however according to Nūr Aḥmad Chishtī (*Tahqīqāt-i Chishtī* p.179) he came during Ludhi and Sirvān Dynastic rule in Lahore.

⁴ Safia Yousaf in her unpublished research no. 126-A Lok Virsa Islamabad, (*Dil'a Lāhaur ka Saqā'fatī Jā'iza*. Chapter. 4) notes that he came to Lahore in 535 A.H. during the reign of Bahrōm Shāh Ghaznawī.

⁵ He arrived in Lahore in 431 A.H / 1040 C.E. His *Kaṣṣaf al- Maḥjūb* is probably the first recorded manuscript produced in Lahore by calligrapher Abu Ḥāmid (Bhutta, 2007, p. 152).

⁶ He was the prominent noble of the court of Ibrāhīm Ghaznawī (1059 C.E- 1098 C.E), and established a *Khānqāh* and *madrasāh* in Lahore (Bhutta, 2007 p. 111).

- Though we have knowledge of the treatises written by the aforementioned scholars residing in Lahore, but no specimen of their transcribed manuscripts of those books is available. However, we can judge the calligraphic trends of those times by coins struck under Ghaznawids. They are in decorative Kūfi and Naskh Script and are bi-lingual in Arabic and Sanskrit in Diwnāgri script.

During the rule of Dehli Sulṭāns, history records a few incidents which prove that Lahore remained a city of books and libraries and an abode of learned people, sufis and saints. Fakhr-i Mudabbir is known to have completed his two books, by utilizing thousands of books present in the library at Lahore, and was presented to Quṭb al-Dīn Aibak in 1206 C.E.(as cited by Bhutta, 2007, p. 153; Rehmani. 2010, p. 32). Amīr Khusraw and Ḥusayn Sijzi, were present at the court of Sulṭān of Lahore, Prince Muhammad, son of Ghayās al-Dīn Balban. Numerous poetic works of Amīr Khusraw were popular in his life time and were written and composed in Lahore, Multan and Delhi. Out of supposedly many, one name of the calligraphers of this period is recorded. Rehmani (2012, p.), citing Aufi from his Lubāb al-Albāb⁷, notes his name as Syyad al-Kutub Jamāl al-Dīn‘Ali Lāhauri. Manuscripts from this period are in Nasta‘īq.

After the second half of 15th century, India began to experience the effects of constant famines, decentralization of power and lack of patronage on part of Sulṭāns of Delhi. The flow of poets and scholars turned towards newly created empires of Deccan. Persian was slowly giving way to Urdu. Had there been no invasion of Bābar (1526 C.E/ 932-933 A.H) Persian language would have completely died out in India (Dil, 1965, p. 51). Bābar’s invasion marks a definite stage in the literary history of the sub-continent and consequently of Lahore. From his rule down to Aurangzaib there is a brilliant row of poets migrating to India from Persia, Bukhara,

⁷ Lubāb al-Bāb is considered as the oldest extant work written in early 13th century in Persian by Ḍahīr al-Dīn Naṣr Muḥammad Aufi. It is a biographical work of Persian poets.

Samarqand, Herat and Turkistan, being attracted by munificence of the Mughal and Deccan courts. Along with them the center of Persian gradually shifted again to India (Dil, 1965, pp. 51-54).

The Mughals

Bābar

Bābar (1526 – 1530), himself a poet, scholar and man of letters has left us a *Diwān* in Turki, of which a manuscript exists in his own annotations on it written in Agra in 1528-9 C.E. presently in Rampur State Library (Losty, 1982, p. 74) and an autobiography, one of the greatest works of the genre in any language.

Daulat Khān Ludhi the governor of Punjab, had invited Bābar to claim the throne of the country. Bābar started for Lahore in 1524. After successfully entering the city, the emperor stayed there for four days and left but soon came back on hearing the revolt of Daulat Khān (Latif, 1892, p. 20). The library of Daulat Khān was seized and the books were distributed by Bābar amongst his own sons (Bhutta, 2007, p. 154.). In *Bābarnāmāh*, the memoir of Bābar, he writes; “ After spending two night on the rise, I inspected the fort. I went into Ghāzi Khān’s (son of Daulat Khān) book room, some of the precious things I found in it, I gave to Humā’yūn, some sent to Kāmārān....” (Bābar, p. 493).

When Bābar came to India, he was accompanied by many artisans, calligraphers and illuminators (Dil, 1965, p. 51). Histories have recorded names of many calligraphers from Bābar’s period. These calligraphers laid foundations of Khataṭ-i Nasta’līq in Lahore (Bhutta, 2007, p. 154). Bābar himself was a calligraphist. Some of the historians associate a distinct way of writing with Bābar called Khataṭ-i Bābari. Important calligraphers during Bābar’s reign include ‘Abd al- Ḥādī, Munshi Mashhadi, Mīr ‘Abd Allāh Qānūni, Maulāna Baqā’i, Ṭāhir

Muḥammad Sabzwāri, ‘Abd al-Nabi bin Ayyūb (Rahi, 1986). During the rule of Bābar and Humā’yūṅ, under Shaikh Muḥammad Manju and Mulla Surkh a lot of people related to book binding, illumination and calligraphy were producing books in Lahore (Bhutta, 2007, p. 154). Maulāna Shahāb al-Dīn Harwi (952 A.H/ 1545 C.E.) went to Delhi from Lahore and wrote some of the tomb stones of Ḥaḍrat Nizām al-Dīn Auliya (Rahi, 1989; Bhutta, 2007, p. 154). From the historical facts from Bābar’s period mentioned above following conclusions may be drawn;

- Even during the period of political turmoil in the sub-continent, Lahore was a city that was one of the centers where repositories of books were maintained.
- Bābar being a calligraphist himself was also connoisseur of book art. He proved instrumental in bringing Central Asian and in turn Persian elements in the Art of Book in the sub-continent

Humā’yūṅ

Within days after Bābar’s death in the winter of 1530 C.E., one of his sons, Mīrza Kāmārān, then the governor of Kabul and Qandahar, saw an opportunity for himself as a candidate for the throne of Delhi. He hurried to Lahore and appropriated it for himself by stratagem before Humā’yūṅ could secure it for himself. Humā’yūṅ indulgently overlooked his sibling’s challenge and confirmed his younger brother’s claim to the city for ten years (Aijazuddin, 1991, p. 11).

Following his father’s tradition, Humā’yūṅ was also devoted to books. At some later date when he was trying to regain the throne of India, he was much delighted to found the lost portmanteau of his father containing valuable manuscripts as recorded by Akbar in Akbarnāmāh (Losty, 1982, p. 82). It was the court of Shāh Ṭhamāsp in 1544 C.E. at Tabriz when he was exposed to the finesse of Safawid book art traditions of Persia. From there, two artists of

Safawid court Khawāja ‘Abd al- Şamad and Mīr Syyad ‘Ali took up his invitation to go to India. It were these two along with their fellows who brought Persian book traditions to India.

During Humāy’ūn’s reign, due to his patronage of scholars many migrated from Iran to India. Badāūni observes that one of his court employee Bahrām Khān was a great patron of Persian learning and after Humāy’ūn, when Bahrām Khān was the regent, this flow did not come to a stop (as cited in Dil, 1965, p.53).

A manuscript of Qur’ān from the period of Humāyūn is in Lahore Museum Collection transcribed by Kamāl ibn-i Shahāb al-Dīn son of Maulāna Shahāb al-Dīn in Lahore. The huge undertaking of Ḥamzāhnāmāh, is believed by many scholars to be commenced by Humāy’ūn, most of whose work was done during Akbar (Chughtā’i, 1961, p. 15.; Brown, 1963, p. 78; Robinson, 1976;).

Akbar (1556- 1605 C.E.): Akbar’s period can justly be called the golden period of art of book in Lahore. Under his patronage Lahore became the hub of learned men, poets, authors, orators and artists, who flocked to the Imperial court here from Bukhara, Samarqand, Herat, Shiraz and other centers of learning. Additionally, the natives of Lahore, who had been living there for centuries and contributing to the cause of art while remaining within their possible means, found a new potentially favorable environment and stability to enhance their skills. In addition to the Central Asian and Persian interaction, Akbar’s period in Lahore specifically, is also instrumental in introducing European trends in paintings which were to amalgamate into the local styles to form the character of Art of India in future. Initiated by the Jesuit missions at Akbar’s court in Lahore, the paintings and engravings of western artists were introduced to the court painters. Sometimes in addition to the paintings, the painters themselves were the part of

Jesuit missionary entourage. The first European painter ever at Mughal court was Portuguese and the part of third Jesuit mission to Lahore in 1595 (Bach & Bressan, 1995, pp. 93-102).

Even before the year when Lahore was made the seat of government, it held great importance in terms of being a center of arts. Akbar visited Lahore many times on different occasions (Latif, 1892, pp. 25-27)

From 1584 -1598 C.E, a large number of manuscripts were produced in the Royal Atelier in Lahore where for the period of 14 years Akbar and Jahāṅgīr resided. These manuscripts define Mughal Art to this day.

Lahore emerged as the most significant nucleus of calligraphic expertise and training during Akbar and during later Mughals and even beyond that time as well. At least thirty two calligraphers of fame have been identified working during Akbar who continued to work in later decades (Bhutta, 2007, p. 155). Two most important ones were: Muḥammad Ḥusayn Zarīn Qalam, the scribe of famous manuscripts of Akbar period including *Dārābnāmāh*, *Ā'in-i Akbari*, *Dīwān-i Ḥasan Dihlawi*, *Dīwān-i Ḥāfiẓ* and *Dīwān-i Anwari* (Welch & Schimmel, 1982). The other one is ‘Abd al- Raḥīm ‘Ambarīn Qalam. He came from Khurasan to Lahore early in his life and worked as a calligraphist in the book institute of ‘Abd al- Raḥīm Khān-i Khānān. British Museum’s manuscript of *Anwār-i Sūhaili* was transcribed by him during Akbar’s period in Lahore in 1896 C.E. (Chaghatai, 1970, p. 15).

Manuscripts produced by Akbar’s Atelier at Lahore

Qur’ān, British Library London Add.18497

Copied by Hibāt Allah al Ḥusayni for the use of the Sultan, Lahore, 981 A.H/ 1573 C.E. The illumination with its fondness of certain colors- pinks, oranges and greens differentiate it from its Safawid counterparts (Losty, 1982, p. 85).

It is the preference and use of these colors that remained the characteristic of Lahore school of Book Art, specially used in illuminations for times to come. It may also be inferred by examining the elaborate illumination of this copy that Lahore was the home to the experts of this field even before it was elevated to the position of house of royalty⁸.

Dārābnāmāh

Although this manuscript is undated but it is believed that most part of it was prepared after the shift of Akbar's capital to Lahore in 1585 C.E (Gray, 1963; Brown, 1981; Losty, 1982; Titley, 1983; Beach, 1992). Two of the painters bear the epithet "Lāhauri": Ibrāhīm Lāhauri and Kālu Lāhauri. Most of the researchers of Mughal painting designate a crude and "dreadful" (Titley, 1983, p. 193) style of painting by these two. Schimmel and Welch notes ' Ibrahim Lāhauri and Kalu Lāhauri, whose somewhat crude, angular manner, with accentuated figures, represents the bazaar-level recollections of a now little known sultanate style". This examination at least suggests the existence of a painting style in Lahore prior to the Mughals.

There are two characteristics of Dārābnāmāh miniatures that can be regarded as the lasting feature of Lahore school of Book Art in the later ages. One is the use of harsh reds and greens (Grey, 1963, p. 86) and the other is the lack of division of labor in single painting rather these illustrations were by single painter working alone in most cases (Beach, 1992, p. 60).

Khamsāh-i Nizāmi

A small scaled book, Khamsāh-i Nizāmi in Kier collection is datable to 1587 C.E (Brend, 1989). It was copied in Yazd in 1506 C.E from where it found its way to the Mughal studio. It is here when the already left spaces for miniatures were painted (Losty, 1982, p. 89). It has 35 miniatures attributed to many artists whose information is given by the court librarian on the

⁸ Detailed account of this manuscript and analysis of its illumination is in chapter, 3, "Illumination: An unbroken tradition of Lahore's art of the book", see Figures, 3.1, 3.2.

corner of the pages. The more ambitious of the artists include; Farrukh Baig, Lāl and Basāwan. Farrukh Baig, an Iranian émigré, joined Akbar's court in 1585 C.E at Lahore, after arriving in Rawalpindi (Beach, 1992, p. 60).

Dīwān-i Ḥāfiẓ

A terminus ante quem for another manuscript datable to the period of Akbar at Lahore has been provided by the name of Farrukh Baig. This artist joined Akbar's studio at Lahore in 1585 C.E. and has an illustration of this manuscript attributed to him. Now in Raza Rampur Library, Rampur, this manuscript, was brought to Mughal studio from Khurasan, as proposed by Schmitz and Desai. This inference is drawn by the stenciled borders of the script which was not known at that time in India. There are 11 miniatures in all, ascribed to the leading artists of Akbar's atelier including Kanha, Sāṅwala, Farrukh Chaila, Manuhar and Narsingh (Schmitz & Desai, 2006, p. 79).

Dīwān-i Anwari

This manuscript is one of the few that contains in its colophon the name of the city Lahore as the place of production in the year 1588 C.E. It's a pocket sized book prepared for the private use rather than the relatively larger sized manuscripts prepared for the Royal Studio.

Stylistically the illustrations of the paintings of this manuscript exhibit delicacy, restrained energy as compared to *Dārābnāmāh*. These qualities are attributed by Welch and Schimmel to the presence of Prince Salīm in Lahore in those years (Schimmel & Welch, 1983, p. 51). One of the painting of this manuscript is considered as the first attempt by a Mughal artist to include Western perspective in the background. The painting is by 'Abd al- Ṣamad.

Bahāristān-i Jāmi

On stylistic basis, and correlating the period of production, many manuscripts can be associated with Lahore as being produced during the period when it was the capital under Akbar from 1585-1598 C.E. However this one is of those rare ones having the dated evidence of being undertaken in Lahore in 1595 C.E. Transcribed by renowned calligrapher of his time, Muḥammad Ḥusayn Zarīḡ Qalam, and painted by many Hindu and Muslim artists, this one of the luxury manuscripts of Persian Classics produced under Akbar in Lahore. In addition to the names of Basāwan, Lāl, Mukhund and Bālchānd we find other Muslim artist's names as Aḥmad, Bābu Ustād, Ḥusayn, Khiḡr, Miskīn, Mukhliḡ or Maklās and Salmān (Brown, 1981, pp. 195-198).

Khamsāh-i Nizāmi

Divided among two repositories, the British Museum and Walters Baltimore, is this *de luxe* manuscript completed in 40th regnal or Ilāhi year/ 1595 C.E., transcribed by ‘Abd al- Raḡīm, ‘Ambarīḡ Qalam (Welch, 1960; Losty, 1982, p. 90). It was most probably produced in Lahore, and might be a companion volume to Bahāristān-i Jāmi, produced a year or a few months before in Lahore having the same size and format. The illuminations are a joy for their brilliance and inventiveness. Two of the head pieces are signed by Khawāja Jān. Communal or shared work is not found in these miniatures just like in Bahāristān-i Jāmi. The margins of the folios are illuminated in various shades of gold, depicting animals and birds. The inventiveness of these margins is remarkable; although the theme remains the same the details always vary. All the paintings are attributed to the master artists of the imperial studio. They include Lāl, Manuḡar, Miskīn, Nanha, Mukand.

Khamsōh-i Amīr Khusraw

The Khamsōh of Amīr Khusraw of Walter’s Art Gallery was completed in the 42nd regnal year of Akbar/ 1597-98 C.E. Signed by Akbar atelier’s famed scribe Muḥḥamad Ḥusayn Zarīn Qalam, have four illuminators; Ḥusayn Naqqāsh, Khawāja Jān Shīrāzi, Luṭf Allāh Muḥadhḥib and Maṣṣūr Naqqāsh. There is a record of 12 painters under the paintings: ‘Ali Quli, Basāwan, Dharam Dās, Jagnāth, Farrukh, Lāl, Mukund, Manuhar, Miskīna, Narsingh, Sāṇwala and Sur Dās Gujrāti (Brend, 1989, pp, 281-315). In general the illustrations represent a developed and mature Lahore style started a decade or more ago. The hands of individual artists may be discerned by style and by attribution too. Detailed landscape features have been meticulously painted. There seems inclusion of western perspective, however, some of the iconographic details from Timurids and Sultanate style have been retained.

Tārīkh-i Alfi

Though illustrated in lesser numbers as compared to the poetical works, historical works can also be traced to the Akbar’s painting studio at Lahore. One of them is presented to Akbar in 1593 C.E. making a millennium after Prophet’s migration to Madinah. This book is now dispersed and only fragments of it remains in various museums: Freer Gallery, Museum of Fine Arts Boston, The British Museum, National Museum New Delhi (Beach, 2012, pp. 77-80: Binney, 1973, p. 38).

Changaiznāmōh

History of Changaiz Khān, from Rashīd al-Dīn’s Jām‘ah al-Tawārīkh, mostly in Gulistān Palace Library, Tehran, was illustrated in 1596 C.E, according to the colophon, is also one of the manuscripts prepared by the royal atelier in Lahore (Knizkova, 1963, pp. 29, 30).

Bābarnāmāh

After receiving the manuscript of ‘Abd al-Raḥīm’s translation of Bābar’s memoirs in 1589, Akbar ordered other copies to be made and we find at least three full-scale versions prepared during 1590-1597 C.E. The British Library copy executed in 1590 C.E. is the largest in scale. Fifty-four artists are named in the attributions. Still five are un named (Losty, 1982, p. 90).

‘Ayyār-i Dānīsh

A Persian translation of Kalila wā Dimna, was completed by Abu-al Faḍl’s brother Faiḍi, and was presented to the emperor in Lahore on July 10, 1588 C.E. A copy of it in Chester Beatty contains 96 miniatures and was transcribed in Nasta‘līq in 1590-96 C.E. Some of the painted folios are also in Varanasi, Bharat Kala Bhawan at Benaras Hindu University No. 9065 (Das, 2016).

In addition to arts of the book, many other forms of art and crafts received royal and sub-imperial patronage in Lahore during Akbar’s rule. Carpet weavers from Iran got settled in Lahore. The production of Kaṣhmīri shawls was encouraged in every possible way and in Lahore there were over a thousand shawl workshops (Stronge, 1990, p. 118). Mural decorations are also recorded during Akbar’s long stay in Lahore. As Percy Brown writes “....the emperor employed some of his personal staff of artists in their favorite art of wall decoration, for the interior of Lahore palace was freely ornamented with colored scenes” (Brown, 1981, p. 68).

Akbar left Lahore after fourteen years keeping it as his capital in 1589 C.E. and moved to Agra on his way to Deccan. He left Prince Khurram (later emperor Shāh Jahān) in Lahore with the royal seraglio till the following year (Latif, 1892, p. 38).

Sub-imperial workshops during and after Akbar in Lahore

Parallel to the royal atelier, nobles of the court were maintaining libraries and manuscript workshops on their own. Akbar's tutor Bahrām Khān's son 'Abd al- Raḥīm Khān-i Khānān was maintaining an elaborate workshop in Lahore where in addition to production of manuscripts many students were trained in arts of book (Ziauddin, 1936, p. 31). Another important workshop to prepare the manuscripts was in Abu al- Faḍl house which was visited by Jahāṅgīr as prince Salīm in Lahore and was reported by him to Akbar that he found 40-50 scribes working on manuscripts (Bhutta, 2007, p. 159). Rāja Mān Singh, Ilāhwardi Khān, Munim Khān and Mirza 'Azīz Kuka are also believed to be patrons of several artists of the book. Mirza 'Azīz Kuka besides being a poet, had a remarkable sense of history. A favorite play mate of Akbar and a close associate all along, he was initiated into calligraphic flourishes early in his life by his tutor, Muḥammad Bāqar. Their ateliers also accommodated local painters and calligraphers belonging to a lesser sophisticated cluster of the imperial workshop.

The 'sub-imperial' works commissioned by nobles of realm, differ and vary in quality of miniatures. These varieties are dependent on the means, resources and available artists. An important point to be noted here can also be felt in later paintings of Lahore in 19th century. The royal copies though much sumptuous are subtle and sophisticated in the synthesis of Persian and Indian elements, the sub-imperial ones are more indigenous or Indianized and as the result more tangibly pronounced in their display of Persian and Indian elements and less receptive of European influences. This aspects connects the sub-imperial Mughal style with more bondage to 19th century Art of Book of Lahore. However the basic initiation of concepts and themes can be felt coming from the parent school under the Royal Mughals.

Rāmāyāna and other manuscripts from Khan-i Khanaṇ Atelier

An important book produced under Abd al- Raḥīm Khān-i Khānān in his workshop is Rāmāyāna (Seyller, 1994, pp. 85-100). Khān-i Khānān was born in Lahore and was the son of Bahrām Khān. Father and son had big establishments at Lahore. Khān-i Khānān spent most of his life in Lahore and many incidences have been recorded by the historians of Lahore in which he was employed by Akbar as well as Jahāṅgīr to accomplish important tasks in Lahore (Latif, 1892, pp. 26,31,39). It is unclear whether his studio was taken along with him on his travels when as an administrator he had to go to Gujrat and Deccan. This Rāmāyāna now in Smithsonian collection of Freer Gallery Washington, gives us an excellent opportunity to compare the Imperial with the sub-imperial produced in Lahore. This copy has every probability that it was produced in Lahore being the proposed dates as 1589-98 C.E (Losty, 1982, p. 102), the time when activity in royal studio in Lahore was in full swing. Perhaps resulting from the direct observation of the royal copy of same text, as also suggested by John Seyller (1999), it follows more or less same cycle of illustration.

If we analyze the miniatures on stylistic grounds we find that the landscape and specially the rocks are layered following the Persian examples but number of figures are minimized to the essential. The treatment of figures and their costumes is flat and the shading applied is not by means of gradation of different colors but a swell of color as in Ajanta frescoes. The palette is more intense and bright blue and yellow are applied flat in contrast to relatively subtle and naturalistic background. The composition in Royal Rāmāyāna follows a complex pattern with the inculcation of varied layers of the scene on the picture plane. On the other hand, in the sub-imperial version the artist arranges the figures in shallower spatial depth. The figures are

differentiated from the surrounding spaces by outlines rather than shading. There is also lesser varieties of postures, gestures and expressions (see Figures, 1.1, 1.2).



Figure 1.1. Freer Rāmāyāna, Ms. Acc, No, F1907.271.173 , Retrieved from: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Abd_al-Rahim_-_The_Ramayana



Figure 1.2. Krishna lifts mount Govardhan.. Harivamsa, 1590 C. E. Metropolitan Museum of Arts. (Okada, p. 132).

Shīrīn wa Farhād by Ghināi (Raza Library Rampur) is another illustrated manuscript from the sub-imperial studio. The miniatures of this manuscript are by two artists. The more talented artist works in a good provincial style. Many of the features in the miniatures connect this manuscript with that of manuscripts produced for Khān-i Khānān (Seyller, 1999, pp. 275-277). The name of the artists mentioned are those whose names do not appear in royal copies as Qāsim, Mushfiq and Kamāl. These names however appear in the later dated Shāhnāmāh (1616 C.E in British Library Add. 5600) proposed by Losty to have prepared in Khān-i Khānān's studio (Losty, 1982, p. 122). Other manuscripts are also associated with his studio as Khamsāh of Amīr Khusrāw Dihlawi in Berlin and Panj Ganj in Dublin. The stylistic features of these paintings are akin to Rāmāyānā discussed above (see Figure, 1.1).

The sub-imperial works are important with reference to the establishment of regional school and also due to the stylistic characteristics it developed. Where Royal Mughal works represent a more generalized and standardized version of Mughal book art, Lahore local sub-imperial workshops and their artists were representative of the local taste of Lahore.

Jahāṅgīr (1605- 1627 C.E.)

Prince Salīm ascended the throne in 1606 C.E. in Agra and assumed the title Jahāṅgīr. The governorship of Punjab was given to Saʿīd Khān one of the distinguished grandees of Akbar. The first important event with regard to the history of Mughal Lahore, after Jahāṅgīr took the position of head of the state, was the rebellion of Prince Khusrav. He fled from Agra to Lahore. The rebellion was turned down and the companions and advisors of the Prince faced a bitter fate by the orders of Jahāṅgīr who himself came to Lahore to ensure the implication of the punishment (Aijazuddin, 1991. P.11). According to *Iqbāl-nāmāh-i Jahāṅgīri* written by Mʿautamid Khān, the pay master of Jāhāṅgīr, court was held many times in Lahore on his way to, and then on return, from Kabul and Kashmir and the emperor received many foreign convoys in Lahore (as cited in Latif, 1892, p. 44). Lahore being the important center of learned men of *ṣūfī* orders remained a sought after destination for Jahāṅgīr as well as for Akbar. Two of them, Maulāna Muḥammad Amīn and the famous Mīān Mīr are specially noted in *Jahāṅgīr-nāmāh*. To meet the former he came to Lahore, and the later was invited to Agra from Lahore. The emperor also visited Jahāṅgīr-ābād, now called Shaikhūpūrāh, where a handsome monument was erected in the memory of his favorite antelope called “Hiran Mīnār” whose grave stone had been inscribed by Muḥammad Ḥusayn Kashmīri, famous for the art of calligraphy. In Nov. 1621 C.E Jahāṅgīr held his court after returning from Kashmir in Lahore. On this visit Jahāṅgīr stayed in the palace built under the supervision of Mʿaimār Khān“.... painted and decorated by the

masters of the age” as written in his Tuzk (as cited in Latif, 1892, p. 48) At that time he stayed in Lahore for three months. Later he paid three more visits to Lahore for brief intervals during his travels to Kashmir. On his way back from Kashmir to Lahore during his last visit he died and was laid to rest in Lahore.

Superb examples of mural paintings and mosaics on edifices of Lahore under Jahāṅgīr bear testimony to the high standard of art and craftsmanship working in Lahore. In 1610-11C.E., William Finch visited Lahore, he saw frescoes in Lahore Fort. He gives detailed account of pictures comprising of the portraits of family of Mughals, the predecessors and descendents of the Emperor Jahāṅgīr. He also mentions paintings of Christ and Mary (as cited in Kang, 1985, p. 21). The northern and western wall mosaics of Lahore Fort is a wonder of age of a kind. It is a highly elaborate and unique example of art and craftsmanship commissioned by Jahāṅgīr and completed in the initial years of Shāhjahān’s rule (Vogel, 1911, p.17; Chughtā’i, 2015, p.16).

Mural paintings and architecture of Jahāṅgīr period in Lahore though received much attention but Illustrated book record giving provenance to Lahore is equal to none. But it does not at all may imply that illustrated and illuminated books were not being produced here. An illustrated copy of Yūsuf wa Zulaikha, as reported in the catalogue of Punjab University Library Lahore is with a colophon that mentions the date 1590 C.E, Dhīq’ad, 998 A.H., in Lahore, with a seal that says “*Nuskha-i Kitāb Khāna-i Shāhi*”- the copy that belongs to the Royal Library, with the seal and inscription by Jahāṅgīr himself stating that this book has been inspected.

Unfortunately this manuscript was found missing by the author⁹.

⁹ It is reported in two of the catalogues. One by Dr. Muḥammad Baṣḥūr Ḥusayn (1968, Ferozsons Lahore), in the group of Makhṭūtāt-i Shīrāni or the Sherani Collection by the number 4609/1559

Another catalogue by Manzavi notes this manuscript with number- 4609 SPi/ VI 38 C. Manzavi, A. (2005). A Comprehensive Catalogue of Persian manuscripts, Islamabad: Iran-Pakistan Institute of Persian Studies

We have all the evidences of the presence of groups of artists, calligraphers of high ranking order in Lahore as the paintings of Lahore Fort (Khalid, 2010) and calligraphic specimens testify. One of the superb examples of calligraphic, geometric and arabesque design expertise during Jahāṅgīr period in Lahore is well testified by the exquisite work in Maryam Zamāni Mosque commissioned by Jahāṅgīr in 1612 C.E.

Near Muti Masjid in Lahore Fort, during Jahāṅgīr's reign compartments were built where calligraphers used to work and train the new comers in other affiliated crafts (Ansari, 1992). 'Abd Allāh Ḥusayni titled "Mushkīn Qalam", was a renowned calligraphist in Jahāṅgīr's reign. He prepared many calligraphic *waslīs* for Qalīch Baig, governor of Lahore (Now in Lahore Museum). Two of his sons, Mīr Mumin and Mīr Ṣālih were attached with royal court of Shāhjahān (Bhuta, 2007, p. 160).

From Jahāṅgīr onwards a change of attitude towards the subjects of books commissioned can also be clearly noticed. Though we have many manuscripts of Persian classics commissioned in Allahabad by Jahāṅgīr as a prince, but later as the ruler, he exhibits far lesser desire to commission heavily illustrated manuscripts so typical of his father's reign. Instead his artists experimented with other formats as *muraqq'ās* and the addition of paintings to earlier transcribed manuscripts. Whenever his artists produced illustrations of some Persian classics, they seem to revert to pre-Mughal format of composition, a horizontal strip in the middle of the text as in Gulistān of 1605-10 C.E. of which only a folio survives (Beach, 1978, pp. 66-70).

Shāhjahān (1627-1658 C.E)

Prince Khurram (Shāhjahān) was born in Lahore in 1593 C.E. Being his birth place, Shāhjahān was very attached to Lahore. If Akbar's phase of rule in Lahore marks the zenith of painting, Shāhjahān's reign can rightly be called the golden age of architecture and calligraphy

in Lahore. The people in Lahore during Shahjāhān's reign were prosperous beyond all precedent. According to Bādshāhnāmāh, the revenue of the *ṣūba-i Lāhaur* – province of Lahore was 90 *karor*- million, that of Multan was 28 and of Kashmir was 13 *karor* (as cited in Latif, 1892, p.58). Lahore remained thus amongst the very important cities of Shāhjahān's reign. Court was held many times in Lahore during the years 1628-38 C.E according to many details given in Bādshāhnāmāh (as cited in Latif, 1892, pp. 53-58).

The most important books commissioned by Shāhjahān to be written and illustrated were authored by two of the men of letters of Lahore. The first one is Bādshāhnāmāh-the official chronicle of the reign by 'Abd al-Hamīd Lāhauri, a pupil of Abu al- Faḍl. The second is 'Amal-i Ṣālih by Mulla Muḥammad Ṣālih Kambuh Lāhauri another chronicle of Shāhjahān's reign.

Calligraphic and design excellence during the reign of Shāhjahān can be well judged by the inscriptions found in many monuments of that time. The cenotaphs of Jahāṅgīr and that of Āṣif Khān are in beautiful Naskh style. The exquisitely calligraphed marble slab at the entrance gate to Shāh Burj at Lahore fort was also inscribed in 1631-32 C.E at Lahore. The patterns and calligraphy on Wazīr Khān mosque, made on the order Governor of Lahore under Shāhjahān, 'Ālim al- Dīn, better known as Wazīr Khān, are unparalleled in finesse and expertise. The calligraphers of Lahore who undoubtedly had been extending their services to all other arts including book art, are at their best in all styles of ornamentation here. Muḥammad 'Ali and Hājī Yūsuf Kashmīri's signatures under the calligraphic panels suggest only two of the many experts who were working in Lahore at that time. Dāra Shikuh in his *Sakīnat al- Aulīya* mentions Muḥammad 'Ali as the disciple of Miān Mūr the famous saint of Lahore (as cited in Rehmani, 2010, p. 44). The vestibule complex as one enter the mosque had chambers on its sides. These chambers were meant for providing work place for the calligraphers, illuminators and illustrators

and they kept on serving this purpose till the end of 19th century (Chughta'i, 1979, p. 35; Bhutta, 2007, p. 171). These chambers were to be kept reserved for these people uncharged, according to the will of 'Alīm al-Dīn Wazīr Khān himself (Khan, 2011, plate. 5, p. 311), and remained operational so, till the end of 19th century.

Shāhjahān, like Jahāngīr, was not much inclined to the production of heavily illustrated Persian manuscripts of poetry and prose as were produced under Akbar. A fortunate heir to the Mughal throne, Shāhjahān opulently provided his connoisseurship to the sophisticated and elegant architectural edifices. Three manuscripts, one recording the events of his time and two others of Persian prose and poetry are there to analyze the stylistic character of his time. Though any direct or indirect links of these illustrations with Lahore, specifically, is not known but they hint at the trends of the times in general effecting the local off shoots of Mughal painting as well, including of course Lahore.

From the mid 15th century, the Mughal painters were assimilating various aspects of perceived reality into the paintings. During the final phase of painting under Jahāngīr, painting in the form of albums assumed a descriptive execution of the natural and rational world---a radical shift from the Islamic and Indian traditions as well. From the last phase of Jahāngīr and now under Shāhjahān, specially in Bādshāhnāmāh, we envision a reversion to more Indian and Islamic concerns. It was the stress on universal rather than individual. This resulted in a more Indianized version of Persian Islamic trends in paintings. The same stance was continuously asserting itself in sub-imperial category and now the royal manuscripts also started to get closer to it. The horizontal format of paintings inserted within the lines of texts in the centre, wherever needed the group representation as iconographic types all seem to point to this change (Beach,

1992, pp. 134, 139, 140). All these characteristics are important in the context of emerging local schools of painting and specially that of 19th century Lahore.

The number of artists kept by Shāhjahān in the royal studio was far lesser than the huge atelier of Akbar. Though the trend started under Jahāngīr yet further minimizing the artists in court necessarily paved way towards decentralization of arts under Shāhjahān. The leading families in the society found it increasingly desirable and fashionable to keep the artists in their service. One such example specifically in Lahore was Āṣif Khān whose palace was very lavishly decorated and painted by the artists of Lahore that it found mention in many foreign accounts (Brown, 1981, p. 153). We also find beautifully illuminated manuscripts commissioned in Lahore, in some of the archival collections. Two such manuscripts are in British Library, made on the orders of noblemen of Lahore¹⁰.

At this point in the history, Kashmir great famine is of tremendous importance in the history of Lahore. It resulted in the influx of people from Kashmir to Lahore after 1634 A.D. from all walks of life, the number exceeding 30,000 (Latif, 1892).

Aurangzaib (1656- 1707 C.E.)

Aurangzaib, the third son of Shāhjahān took over the Mughal throne in 1658 C.E. Aurangzaib's puritanical approach is generally taken as a death blow to the connoisseurship of arts and crafts. However, Illumination and calligraphy received patronage in Lahore and elsewhere in his domain. Besides, the nobility who had been providing their contribution share to the art of book for a long time, continued to do so in the empire. By the time of Aurangzaib, regional schools of book art including Lahore already had assumed a definitive character. Two illuminated manuscripts in the British Library transcribed in Lahore commissioned by residents

¹⁰ Detailed analysis of these manuscripts and their illumination is in chapter, 3: Illumination. Figures, 3.3-3.6.

of Lahore are testimony to the fact that book production had been taken up by the literate circle of Lahore by the mid of 17th century. The finesse in calligraphic and illuminative embellishment found in previous manuscripts is missing now. Yet, the character of the regional school of Lahore is fully formed¹¹

Aurangzaib was himself a calligrapher of high caliber. His teacher was Syiad ‘Ali Khān, *Jawāhir Qalam* of Lahore. Aurangzaib himself did calligraphy of two Qur’ān manuscripts and get them decorated by the sum of 7000 Rs. each and sent them to Makkah and Madina. Bādshāhi Mosque was constructed in Lahore during Aurangzaib’s reign and quarters at its sides were allocated for the preparation of books and as work stations and learning areas for the students (Bhutta, 2007, p. 164). Certain books present in the archives are also there to give us the testimony of the fact that Lahore continued to be a producer of books relating to different subjects during the time of this last of the Great Mughals. A lots of them are about Islamic theology and jurisprudence. Though not illustrated, many of them are illuminated. A famous journal on Islamic jurisprudence, ‘Umdat-al Islām in Persian is present in “Uch Gūlāni”, Library. The scribe of the journal is Faiḍ Allāh, resident of the capital city Lahore. He completed it in 1076 A.H./1665 C.E (Rahmat, 1997, p. 148).

Affinities of Mughal’s book art of Lahore with 19th century book.

Stylistically as well as thematically, the parent school which later sub-divided into regional schools of arts of the book is the Mughal School in Indian sub-continent. Lahore book art of 19th century was undoubtedly the torch bearer of Mughal traditions of book painting. It is credited with taking its tradition to the maximum range of time till the last period after which all books started to get produced by printing methods.

¹¹ The two illuminated manuscript written in Lahore during Aurangzaib period, are discussed in detail I in chapter, 3. Figures 3.11, 3.12.

On examination of the **themes of the books** produced during Mughals and sub-imperial Mughals in Lahore, we may clearly notice that Persian classics was a preferred genre. It was ardently taken up by the Mughals to get illustrated, and the tradition continued till the last of the Persianate court in 19th century Lahore. The difference being that, by 19th century it did not remain the sole preserve of the court and was produced by the people at large. Hindu mythological themes, just like Mughals, were also added to the list. Qur'ānic calligraphy and illumination were greatly patronized and mosques of Lahore acted as center of book production and in turn, centers of book art which remained so till the production of books in 19th century. Monumental mosques as *Bādshāhi Masjid* or *Masjid Wazīr Khān*, and many more were erected in the city which not only kept producing Qur'ānic manuscripts but illustrated manuscripts of Persian and Urdu classics (documented by the author as for example M.S. 13284 no. of Ganj Bakhsh Library¹², and many others mentioning the names of mosques in Lahore¹³) till 19th century. The aesthetic taste of a beautifully illuminated and illustrated book trickled down deep into the society and Persian classics remained a well loved genre to be illustrated. Mughal rule produced and developed a class of artisans who proved instrumental in keeping the tradition alive even after the rule of Mughals got weakened and transmitted it from generation to generation of families or institutions already established in Lahore. Just like Mughals, the themes of the books illustrated did not remain confined to the aforementioned categories, but contemporary prose was also found favor of adornments. One of the many examples is *Zafarnāmāh* of Ranjīt Singh written and illustrated after Akbar's *Akbarnāmāh*. In addition to

¹² See chapter, 7, "Manuscripts from Lahore: A selection" *Mathnawi- i Saḥr al-Bayān*, Figures, 7.1 to 7.4.

¹³ See chapter, 6, "Artists and Patrons", under the heading: Artists working in the educational institutions attached to mosques.

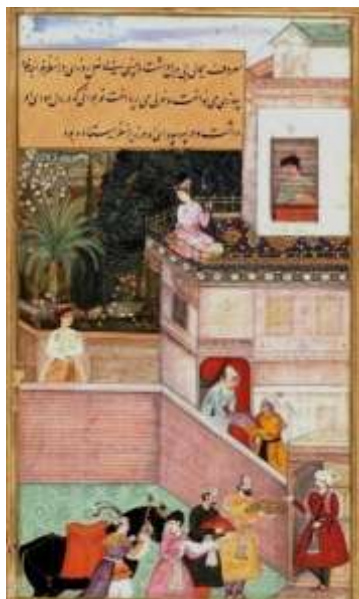
this one, there are many pertaining to historical accounts and list of contemporary prose that got illustrated is quite long in 19th century Lahore.

In addition to thematic affinities of Mughal Book of Lahore with that of 19th century book of Lahore, basic style of Mughal illustrations remained the basis of inspiration. The approach towards the treatment of these themes in 19th century Lahore's book, essentially remained realistic as that of the Mughals. There is a marked change from the idealism of Persian book painting, specially the early Safawids. Real portraits were added in the manuscript illustrations wherever found necessary just like Mughals. There is no dream like quality in the paintings of 19th century book of Lahore, just like the realistic Mughals.

Following are the basics of style derived from the Mughals:

- Conditional composition, which refers to a composition that is subject to multiple conditions of figures or group of figures within the same picture plane. It separates groups or, figures engaged in separate activities, from each other demarcated by means of partition devices as walls, tents, hills. These elements separate, as well as connect the figures together (see Figures, 1.3 & 1.4). However, the levels of the figural arrangement are not as varied and complex as that of Mughals, thus Lahore School of 19th century, is closer to sub-imperial while deriving this characteristic from the royal Mughals (see Figures, 1.5, 1.6).
- Multiple perspective is a device used by Persians and taken up by the Mughals as well. It refers to disparate view points within the same picture plane to allow maximum exposure of the subject of painting to the onlooker. This device allows the viewer to peek behind hills, inside the pavilions and even under the ground (see Figures, 1.5, 1.6).

- Real portraiture was inculcated in book illustrations just like Mughal fashion wherever required, along with contemporary dresses and accessories (see manuscripts of *Āʿīn-i Akbari*, and *Shairsinghnāmāh* in chapter, 7. Figures, 7.66, 7.70, 7.105 to 7.108).
- Architectural elements were taken up from the surroundings. Since Mughal edifices were intact and being used by the court and dignitaries of Lahore, it was shown in the illustrations too. Buildings erected by the people of Lahore, in 19th century were also derivatives of Mughal structure with some amendments. Same is true to the setting the figures in front of these architectural pavilions. Therefore, the traditions continued (see Figures, 1.7, 1.8).
- As already mentioned, European elements were amalgamated into the Mughal paintings. Ariel and linear perspective along with modeling of facial features and forms were selectively taken by the Mughal artist. The same is applied to the Lahore book illustrations of 19th century. They are however, not as blended as in Mughal illustrations rather the presence is pronounced along with the Indian and Persian traditions more like sub-imperial Mughal book (see Figure, 1.6).
- The change of color palette to brighter hues of reds, yellows and oranges have been noted by many scholars as the court shifted to Lahore (Losty, 1980; Gray, 1963). It continued till its last phase of book in 19th century, (see Figures, 1.4, 1.6).



Figure, 1.3. Bahāristān-i Jāmi, singer on balcony, 1550-1598 C.E. in Lahore, Bodelian Library, University of Oxford. Retrieved from: bodley30.bodley.ox.ac.uk (note the settings of conditional composition as how the groups are separated and joined together)



Figure, 1.4, Ā'in-i Akbari, detail of frontispiece illustration, Akbar in court, Ms. 07, Lahore Fort Museum, 2nd quarter of 19th century, Lahore. Full image in figure, 7.71, Photo by author. (the compositional devices are the same as in Mughal version in Figure, 1.3)



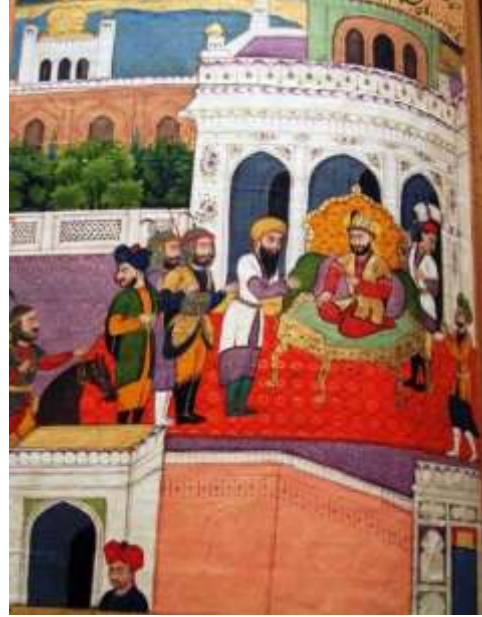
Figure, 1.5 . Bahāristān-i Jāmi, the slave who fed the dog, 1550-1598 C.E. in Lahore, Bodelian Library, University of Oxford. Retrieved from: bodley30.bodley.ox.ac.uk (Note multiple levels of perspective used in the picture)



Figure, 1.6 Shāhnāmāh, Lahore, 19th century. Lewis, 0.56, Folio. 091, r, Free Library of Philadelphia, Retrieved from: shahnama.caret.cam.ac.uk (we are able to see behind the the rock and also the distant city inside the walled boundary)



Figure, 1.7, Detail of frontispiece ‘Ajā’ib al-Makh̄lūqāt, (Note the Mughal architecture style and also diminished size of domed pavilion). Full image, in Chapter, 7, Figure, 7.



Figure, 1.8, Shāhnāmāh, Govt. Museum Alwar, Ms. Acc. 114. Retrieved from: shahnama.caret.com.pk

Lahore after the Mughals till 19th century: A period of chaos

With the death of Aurangzaib, the brilliant period of history of Lahore may be said to come to an end. Receiving little support from seat of the government, Delhi, people of Lahore faced a century of unrest in the form of invading armies from the west and internal insurgences of Sikh forces.

After his accession in 1713 C.E. in Delhi, Farrukhsayyār appointed ‘Abd-al Ṣamad Khān, the Viceroy of Punjab and strengthened him with troops to subjugate the Sikhs (Latif, 1892, p. 72). ‘Abd-al Ṣamad Khān was succeeded by his son Zakariya Khān. For 21 years (1717-1738 C.E.) there was an interval of relative peace in Lahore. After this, Lahore remained constantly under threats of or virtual attacks by either armies from the west (Persian Emperor Nādir Shāh in 1738 C.E), or Sikh warrior groups. Shāh Nawāz Khān, successor of Zakariya Khān, took the

vicerealty of Lahore, but soon was challenged by the Aḥmad Shāh Durrani, in 1848 C.E. He occupied the city and levied heavy contributions from town's people (Lāl, 1882, p. 30, 31; Latif, 1892, p. 75). From 1748 to 1767 C.E. Aḥmad Shāh, invaded Lahore seven times. In between, Sikh forces constantly kept on their insurgencies, and Aḥmad Shāh after his last invasion adopted a conciliatory policy towards Sikh *sardārs* only to be again challenged by his grandson, Shāh Zamān in 1797 C.E. and 1798 C.E., but the tidings from Persia rendered his return necessary. The year however is memorable as Ranjūt Singh made himself conspicuous by obtaining a formal grant of the city of Lahore by the retiring monarch (Lāl, 1882, p. 34; Latif, 1892, p. 83; Baqir, 1963, p. 16).

Now the examination of the history of this chaotic century, it seems unlikely that there existed any book production. But this is not the case. A large number of books were being produced in Lahore as proven by a number of examples of the books and their information about provenance and time period, gathered by the author from three archives of Pakistan¹⁴ giving categorical proof in their colophons by stating, “written in Lahore”. However, the subjects of the books produced during this time, quite understandably, pertain to religion, ethics, history or medicine. These books did not offer space for illustrations. There are examples that have illumination in them- exhibiting a definitive continuation of traditions from Mughal times but no illustrations.

A rare specimen of illustrated book however has been put to light by Barbara Schmitz (2010), from Bibliothique Nationale Paris. This is the manuscript of Hātifi's *Laila wa Majnūn*. Its colophon records that it was made under Shāh Nawāz Khān, brother and successor of Zakarya Khān, in 1738 C.E. Two paintings from the manuscript have been reproduced by Schimitz (Schmitz, 2010, p. 14, 15). In one there is a tripartite division of picture plane

¹⁴ This is further discussed in detail in chapter, 3 “Illumination: An unbroken tradition of Lahore's Book Art”.

horizontally and a closed space by solid background. The other is that of Mjnuṇ's death, again arranged in close space with exotic animals. Two more manuscripts are assigned to 18th century Lahore, by Schmitz on stylistic basis but we can never be sure of that as except for a solid background nothing seems common (Schmitz, 2010, pp. 14-21).

The only manuscript so far known is thus the aforementioned Hātifi's *Laila wa Majnūn*. It is difficult to make its comparison with the early manuscript illustrations of 19th century due to a gap of 70 years in them. In the dearth of information about illustrated manuscript of 18th century, it may be concluded that,

- the artists kept working on calligraphy and illuminations, a continuation of their stylistic character may clearly be noted right from the Mughals till 19th century.
- the illustrations almost ceased to contribute towards book art of Lahore, remained dormant in 18th century
- in the 19th century it emerged into a developed style.

Lahore's Book Art of 19th century: Formative sources and Influences

A given art form in a period of its specific time and space is, the product of its past trends and present circumstances. The artist creatively blend them all together into a distinct whole. Lahore's Book Art of 19th century is no exception. In its formation we may discern disparate influences from past and its present. The indigenous source that provided its basic form was granted by the Mughals, as examined in the previous chapter, and specially, in turn by the sub-imperial manifestations of book art in Lahore during the Mughal times.

19th century Lahore present to us a dynamic environment with multi-cultural, multi-ethnic and multi-religious elements. Stability in socio-economic conditions led to the intermingling of these elements into the formation of arts on a new scale. Artists from adjacent areas of Kashmir, Hill states, northern Punjab¹⁵ and central India started coming to Lahore- the seat of the Government, to explore this new avenue. The local artists along with the migrated ones provided a homogenous environment for the creation of a distinct style of Book Art. Renewed exposure to European art further added its tinge to its motley character.

Links with Kashmir Style

A stylistic influence that remained pre-dominant in Lahore starting from the Mughals till 19th century was the Kashmirian style which manifested itself not only in book art but also in lot of other forms of art as carpet weaving and shawl making. There were over thousand Kashmīri shawl making workshops during Akbar's reign in Punjab (Stronge, 1990, p. 75).

The Royal patronage was at an elevated level with the Mughals and there exists clear evidence that painters from Kashmir were part of royal atelier under Akbar. We come across

¹⁵ Four manuscripts hailing from Sialkot, Jalalpur and Gujrat (according to the information given in their colophons), are analyzed by the author in the chapter, "Manuscripts from Lahore : A selection" see Figures, 7.45 to 7.50.

various names in 16th and early 17th centuries as: Kamāl Kashmīri, Ḥaidar Kashmīri, Ya‘qūb Kashmīri, Muḥammad Kashmīri and Ismā‘īl Kashmīri who worked on the illustrations of Bābarnāmah and Taimūrnāmāh. Abu al-Faḍl records at least five of them in Ā’in-i Akbari (Brown, 1981, p. 197).

Sikh campaigns started in Kashmir in 1814 C.E. and finally in 1819 C.E it came completely under the rule of Sikhs with Dīwān Chānd and Gūlāb Singh of Jammu. Shair Singh was appointed as a Governor in 1833 C.E. Shair Singh is known as a fair enthusiast of art (Goswamy, 1999, p. 10). In 1830’s due to famine a large number of weavers artisans and painters were compelled to migrate to Punjab specially Lahore and Amritsar (Srivastava, 1983, p. 57, note, 20).

There are many artists whose works in the books gives us factual information about them being Kashmīri and working in Lahore:

A father and a son Pandit Rājā Rām Kaul Ṭṭa and Daya Rām Kaul Ṭṭa seems to have transcribed many manuscripts. The former being the famous scribe and artist of Gulgashta-i Panjāb in Ranjīt Singh Museum Amritsar. Yet another famous work of him is Zafarnāmāh-i Ranjīt Singh originally written by Dīwān Amar Nāth and transcribed by Rām Kaul Ṭṭa in 1856 (Srivastava, 1983, p. 55). From National Museum Karachi, there is a manuscript of “Ikhtasār-i Shāhjahānnāmāh” bearing in the colophon the name of Rājā Rām Kaul Ṭṭa, as the scribe of the manuscript. Three manuscripts from Raza Library Rampur, (M.K 782, 790 and 791) contains signatures of Daya Rām Kaul Ṭṭa, who transcribed the manuscripts from 1869 C.E to 1873 C.E (Schmitz & Desai 2006). Daya Rām Kaul is also known to have worked for the first Urdu daily from Lahore “the Kuhinūr” in January 1850 C.E. From this information we also come to know that Dayā Rām Kaul Ṭṭā, was still working in the last quarter of 19th century and his son must had remained active even after that.

Another artist from Kashmir is Khwājāh Asad Allāh, scribe and artist of a copy of *Gulistān* and *Būstān* of Sa‘di Shīrāzi, in Lahore Museum. In the informative colophon of this work he provides the information about him as belonging to Kashmir and residing in Lahore in the house of Ghulām Muḥammad. From this information analogies may be drawn that some artists might shifted to Lahore for good like Rām Kaul Ṭuṭa and his son, and some may kept coming in cool months from the hills to find their living in Lahore like Khwājāh Asad Allāh

Another factual evidence is a manuscript in Khuda Bakhsh Library Patna. It is Shāhnāmah manuscript whose colophon clearly indicates that the manuscript was scribed in Kashmir in 1242 A.H/ 1830 C.E, in valley of Kashmir. The large illustration cycle of this manuscript have paintings in both Kashmir’s style of 19th century as well as those belonging to Lahore School of Book Art. These phenomena indicate that there existed a constant interchange of artists and books in between two regions.

Yet another example of constant interchange of artists and/or manuscripts between Lahore and Kashmir is Imām Wairdī (d.1880) who is considered as a father of Lahore school of Calligraphy in the 19th century (Rahi, 1982; Bhutta, 2007, p. 167) came from Kabul. In his way to Kashmir he stayed in Lahore and later returned Lahore for good. Wairdī used to live with the Governor of Kashmir Nawāb Shaiḵh Imām Dīn in Lahore (Bhutta, 2007, p. 167).

A student of Imām Wairdī, Khalīfa Muḥammad Husayn (d.1937), is another prominent name in calligraphy was also attached to the court of Mahārājāh of Jammu and Kashmir. He used to live in Kashmir but frequently visited Lahore and used to stay in Ḍairāh Kātībāṅ. Another name that points to his affiliation with Kashmir at least by his name is Mirza Aḥmad ‘Ali Kashmīri who was a 19th century calligrapher living in Lahore (Rahi, 1982).

The Punjabi University of Patiala have considerable number of Janam Sakhi manuscripts which were produced in standard Kashmir Style (Goswamy, B.N. 1999, p. 109). The manuscript of Shāhnāmāh, in the Raza Library Rampur, bears the name of Muḥammad Bakhsh who copied this manuscript for Miān Muhammad Bakhsh Ṣaḥḥāf in Lahore. There appears three artist who have worked for the illustrations. One of them, according to Schmitz is a Kashmīri notable for his , “...thin black outlines and lack of shading.... who attempts to blend his style with the one prevailing in Lahore” (Schmitz & Desai, 2006. p. 142).

An important evidence from National Museum Karachi may be added to this list. Judging from the stylistic characteristics manuscript 168.569, Bāhār-i Dānīsh, is decorated with typical Kashmiri illumination. The paintings in its first quarter part also are probably done by the same hand with Kashmirian characteristics. The rest are painted later in the days when Lahore style got matured. In the Kashmiri miniatures of this manuscript the figures have crisp and thin black outlines, there is no shading applied to the faces, the gestures of the figures are less varied. The jewelry worn by the females have definite Kashmiri linkage with white dotted strings as pearls all around the neck, in ears and on head dresses. This feature remains much unchanged in all 19th century Lahore miniatures.

Some of the Kashmir originated manuscripts give us evidence of their possession by a person from Punjab plains. One of them is Tulsi Rāmāyāna, that was owned by Barkat Rām, resident of Rasūlpur, in Gujranwala District (Goswamy, K., 1998, p. 81).

The areas close to Kashmir’s border specially Sialkot and Gujrat played an important role in the penetration of Kashmirian style in Lahore art of illumination and illustration. Their

population consisted many of the families who had migrated from Kashmir, besides they were important stations to stay while commuting to and from Kashmir¹⁶.

All these above mentioned factual evidences reinforce the proposition that Kashmir was the greatest contributor of style to Lahore's book art. The features of Kashmir school that were assimilated in the illustrations are many and are all separately dealt with in chapter, 4, under the heading of Style II, and III the Lahore-Kashmir style (see figures, 4.5 to 4.14).

Pāhāri Influence

This element at play, in the scenario of 19th century Lahore school, has received maximum amount of attention. Owing to the investigations by many art historians of Punjab, we now are in the position to notice decisive contribution of Pāhāri painters in the development of Lahore School of painting (specially in portraiture), in 19th century. We also know that they came to Lahore not before the second quarter of 19th century (Archer, 1966, p. 36; Goswamy, B.N, 1999, p.13). However, the influences exerted by them seems to be over exaggerated by most of the art historians. The view of Goswamy cannot be taken as it is when, he comments '...work of the Punjab Plains is to be seen in a much more definite sense as an extension of the work that was being done in the hills up to the first quarter of 19th century' (Goswamy, B.N., 1999, p. 9). Even if at the risk of over simplification, this statement is applied to "portraiture" within the court circle, it may not be applied to the art of book of 19th century at all. The earliest illustrative work is that of Akbarnāmāh Ad. 26203 in the British Library dated 1817 C.E¹⁷. This manuscript betray all the emblematic features of Lahore school of illustration. The second manuscript in chronological order notified by Barbara Schmitz is that of Shams-i Anjuman of

¹⁶ The contribution of these areas are discussed in chapter, 7, "Manuscripts from Lahore; A selection", see manuscripts of Karīma-i Sa'di and Būstān (Figures 7.45 to 7.50).

¹⁷ Discussed in detail in chapter, 7. "Manuscripts from Lahore; A selection". Akbarnāmāh, (see Figures, 7.79 to 7.82).

Bulāq Baig Naqshbandi , copied September- October 1819 in Lahore (Schmitz and Desai, 2006, p. 135). The paintings of both of these manuscripts show definitive evidences of Lahore iconography of 19th century. Besides, it is also investigated by Goswamy (1999) himself that, Pāhārī painters (specially the Pandit Su family members that he examines in detail), took Lahore as their temporary abode and kept on returning to the hills (Goswamy, B.N., 1999, p. 13). Investigations on part of some art historians have revealed that there were countless Muslim families living in Lahore from early times whose members were recorded to be working for the Mughal rulers producing excellent works of calligraphy, illumination and miniatures long before 19th century in Lahore (Chughta'i, 1979, pp, 35, 36; Srivastava, 1983, pp. 46-52; Bhutta, 2007, pp. 164-169,).

Most of the work identified by Archer, Comaraswamy and B. N. Goswamy as produced by Pāhārī artists in Lahore, revolves around “ Sikh portraiture”, to which their contribution cannot be denied. Producing feudal portraits as a preferred genre and standard types was a fashion already in vogue in the Punjab Hills in the 18th century. Sets of portraits of local princes and rulers were being produced at Basholi, Mankot, Mandi and Bilaspur (Khandalwala, 1958, pp. 142-157). These portraits had standard settings with the objects as *huqqa*, carpets ,chair designs, swords. The accessories remained constant and the faces changed per portrait. The same tendency was taken over by the artists of Hills when they were employed by Lahore court circle.

The members of Pandit Su family including its members Nikka, Chhajju, Gokal, Harku and Fauju received grants of land from the Sikh chieftains. From Mahārāja Ranjīt Singh himself, then Shair Singh and also from the notorious Sandhanwālias (Goswamy, B. N.,1999, pp. 7-10). Notable among these works is a set of informal portrait sketches and drawings featuring likeness of courtiers and functionaries of Lahore court made by Chhajju (Goswamy, B.N., 1999, p. 8).

Though no manuscripts illustration done by any member of Hills artist's family have come to light up till now, but there are certain stylistic features in Lahore book paintings, that we may notice as derived from Guler and then Kangra style indirectly. One is the triangular corners of a pool or a lake jutting into the land (see Figure, 2.1 and compare with 2.2).



Figure, 2.1 Gīta Govinda series, book Xii, Kangra, ca. 1875- 80.
Retrieved from: <http://nickyskye.blogspot.com/2012/07/>



Figure, 2.2 Gulistān-i Sa‘di, Lahore, 19th century. Ac. No. 10510. Painting. 4. 130 x 90 mm, Ganj Bakhsh Library. Photo by author

Another is the resemblance of some of the designs on architectural additions in the background of paintings of Lahore Book. These adornments include blind niche designs and running band of herringbone design below the parapets of these edifices. These features may be noticed in Gīta Govinda series of Guler under Govardhan Chand 1745-73 C.E. attributed to the painter Manak, and also in Gīta Govinda under Sansūr Chand (1775-1823 C.E) series of Kangra (Khandalwala, 1987, pp. 149-50). However, these features were not new to the vocabulary of Indian book illustration. Blind niches on architectural structures or herringbone patterns all had been in use since centuries right from the Mughals-derived from Persian sources.

Parkhu of Kangra also made a tangible appearance in Lahore around Sikh court as mentioned by Faqīr Wahīduddīn and by Baden Powell too (Waheeduddin, 1965, p. 121) He

came to Punjab around 1820-30 C.E. He was working in Lahore at the time of Kihar Singh and Muḥammad Bakhsh (Aryan, 1975, p. 20; Hasan, 1998, p. 135). A Māhābhartā series from Kangra by Parkhu, as being one of the chronicler painters of the court, has been notified by Khandalawala made under Sansār Chand of Kangra dated 1803 (Khandalawala, 1987). The earlier sets of Kangra Style are mistakenly designated by Archer as being painted by Parkhu, besides according to Kandalawala, "... a more careful view of historical background would have avoided an obvious error in elevating Purku to a position he never occupied" (Khandalawala, 1987, p. 156). Parkhu belonged to Samluṭi family and had two brothers named Buddhu and Rattu (Goswamy, 1999), working in Lahore off and on, having their permanent residence in Kangra.

A good example of the work of these Kangra artists (though assumed by solely stylistic basis), may be judged in the sets of portraits of Sikh Gurus in Shishmahal Art Gallery, Patiala, Chandigarh Museum and in Lahore Museum as well (Randhava, 2000, pl. 27-37). These portraits are in Kangra and Guler styles of late 18th century. Palm trees, golden skies merging into blues, white tracery low boundary walls and triangular corners of grey lakes in the background are some Pāhāri features inculcated in these portrait sets. Some of them including the low tracery wall and water treatment was taken over by all the Lahore artists alike with certain modifications.

Starkly different in approach, Hill painter's idealized beauty, lyricism and dream-like ambiance of its mythological themes seems far away from the classic yet realistic stance of Lahore school. However, it is the genre of portraits from Hill states that, to an extent, seem to exert their influence on portraiture of Lahore during 19th century and indirectly, in those book illustrations, where Lahore artist inculcated real characters from Sikh court in illustrations of books such as Ā'in-i Akbari or Shair Singhnāmāh.

European Influences

Mughal Art can well be defined as a creative blend of Persian, Indian and European styles. European elements of arial and linear perspective, and naturalism in drawing portraits and everyday life of the court and around were blended into the idealistic Persian world in the Mughal art. Bold coloration and sensuous forms of Indian Art was assimilated and toned down in Mughal miniatures. European techniques of drawing and painting were picked up on their own choice to suit their own taste and style starting from Akbar. These European elements may also be observed in sub-imperial manuscripts but not as tangibly as in royal Mughal illustrations.

A feature that remained a hallmark of book art of Lahore School till the end of 19th century is that it retained its individualized oriental character while assimilating European trends into it. On the contrary, other regional centers of book production like Bengal (Patna and Murshadabad), Awadh (Faizabad and Lucknow) and Delhi got too close to European techniques that they lost their individuality long before 20th century. In these regional centers, in addition to other methods to create illusion of depth, arial perspective, specifically in landscape, was inculcated into the minitures- but, it remained almost absent from Lahore book illustrations. One of the major reasons behind this was the political resistance to colonial rule till almost half of the 19th century by Lahore court.

Another reason behind this phenomenon (like in the case of sub-imperial Mughal), was that most of the people who were responsible for this book production were the people outside the court, less exposed to European works and more to Persian book art available to them in the form of imported copies mostly from Shiraz and elsewhere.

The rare specimens of books that were transcribed and illustrated in Lahore before 19th century, seems almost totally devoid of any European influence. In these illustrations figures are

arranged into very shallow spatial depth. The outlines are intense and colors are flatly applied. Figures are minimized to essentials and there is a lesser variety of gestures. During the first two decades of 19th century, book illustrations start to exhibit arrangements with widened space and figures are shown diminished in size corresponding to the recession in space¹⁸. One point perspective and ariel perspective however is totally absent.

Further change can be observed in the paintings of Lahore Book after 1820's. Stylistically though it still remained more loyal to Indian and Persian predecessors, yet, certain European elements made their presence indirectly. Closer to themes and treatments of sub-imperial Mughal generally, we observe the 19th century book images of Lahore gradually getting closer to European paintings of that time on some grounds. These include:

- Personalized characterization and portraiture in some of the books. Examples of *Ā'īn-i Akbari* can be quoted as the best example (in chapter 7, see figures, 7.66, 7.67, 7.70, 7.105 to 7.108).
- Observational studies and consequential appearance of Sikh court regalia in the paintings even in the themes as classical as centuries old Persian literature (in chapter, 4. see Figures, 4.52 to 4.57 and 4.84 to 4.91).
- Experimentation in linear perspective, expanded space (in chapter, 4, see Figure 4.42).
- Use of shading specially while drawing and painting faces.
- Transparency in the application of color in some specimens while painting ground in the landscape (in chapter, 4, see Figures 4.25 and 4.26)

¹⁸ A manuscript of *Akbarnāmah* Ad. 26203 in British Library and some illustrations of aforementioned *Shams-i Anjuman* display elements of linear perspective as early as 1817 C.E. *Akbarnāmah* manuscript is analyzed and discussed in detail in chapter, “ Manuscripts from Lahore; A selection”, see Figures, 7.78 to 7.82.

Since its connection with the Royal Mughal broke more than a century ago, these elements was the result of either renewed exposure to European devices or their interaction with the European trends effecting other regions of the sub-continent specially Delhi.

From 1822 C.E Ranjīt Singh started enrolling French and Italian officials from Napoleon's army. Three French Generals, Allard, Ventura and Court took special interest in the culture of Punjab collecting paintings, manuscripts and coins. Allard and Ventura built their residence in Anarkali which Victor Jacquemont, a French naturalist describes in 1830 as half-Persian and half- European (Jacquemont, 1830/1933 as cited by Lafont, 2002, p. 76). Many other officials visiting Lahore during Sikh rule describe elaborate frescoes done on the walls of Allard's residence. The details give us clear view of how local artists were painting these frescoes in their own style assimilating European imagery with their own way of execution. On the entrance hall was the composition showing Allard and Ventura being received by Ranjīt Singh consisting of several thousand figures (Von Hugel, 1845/1976, pp. 283-4). In the dining room was a portrait of Allard showing him a firm but benevolent man in the uniform of horse artillery, decorated with two orders. A painting was also there made from the initial design by a French artist (drawn and taken unfinished) to be enlarged by the local artist here in his residence (reproduced in Figure 4.42, chapter,4). It was a group portrait of French General Allard with his Indian wife and children. There was a "painted chamber" in the house too adorned with paintings of those battles in which the French Generals were engaged. William Barr, a young English artillery officer travelling from Ludhiana to Peshawar in 1839 C.E giving the details of this painted chamber has given the most interesting account of the perspective used in these paintings "the perspective of these scenes is most ridiculous; and at the siege of Multan the cannons are turned up on the end to able the gunner to load them, the figures overtop the fortifications, the cavalry seems to be

maneuvering in the air; absurdities of similar nature are perpetuated throughout them all, and no doubt afforded much amusement to their gallant owners, whose policy has led them this far to assimilate their dwellings with those of the native populations; for it can hardly be supposed is their taste so far vitiated as to regard these embellishments as ornamental” (Barr, 1844/1970, pp. 42-44).

Another small building decorated with paintings was Allard’s small *bārādari* (12 arched pavilion), in the vast garden built by himself. It contained French flags and figures of the soldiers who served under him, dragoons, lancers and foot soldiers nearly half as large as life (Schmitz & La Font, 2002, p. 78).

These officials specially Allard and Court also employed local artists to illustrate some of the books. Allard, being an art lover and patron himself, was given an interesting task of getting some of the fables illustrated by Lahore’s artist on his return from Paris in 1836 C.E after vacations by one of his friends in Paris. After Allard’s death in 1839 C.E. some illustrations were still left to be filled in. The remaining work was completed by Ventura. On the title page of first fascicule appears the name of artist as “Imām Bakhsh, the painter of Lāhaur, 1838”. In addition to other paintings there is a scene of Lahore *darbār* with identifiable personalities on the frontis piece of Fable illustrated book.

General Court served in Lahore from 1827 to 1843 C.E. Last two volumes of Court’s memoirs gives account of his stay in Punjab. These volumes contain paintings, mostly portraits of Sikh nobility and army men. One of them is an equestrian portrait of Ranjit Singh signed by Imām Bakhsh Lāhauri in 1298/1841 C.E.

The frescoes have no pictorial records yet, through the description of them and also by seeing the manuscripts commissioned by the European officers we may notice some important points about the assimilation of European trends with that of Indigenous style.

- Local artists were employed by the Europeans who were constantly being exposed to European trends.
- They were adopting some of the European manner of painting to suite their style, specially the naturalistic portraiture.
- Certain elements were not inculcated in their paintings by their choice. This included most prominently the use of one point perspective in their paintings. In some of them (specially by Imām Bakhsh, some of the miniatures in Court's memoir and the group portrait of Allard), linear perspective was very convincingly drawn thus shows that it was purely a matter of choice rather than inability.

Another important source of exposure to the European style of painting was the continuous interaction of people of the court, artists and public with the European artists working in the environs of Lahore from the third decade of 19th century. Lord Auckland nephew and A.D.C William Osborne visited Punjab in 1836 C.E. Like many other British men and women in India, while travelling kept on taking sketches by observation on their sketch pads. His diaries and sketches are published titled, "Court and Camp of Ranjeet Sing" In 1840. It contained sixteen lithographs made from his drawings. In 1837 C.E Vigne, visited Ranjit Singh and published a lithograph of Mahārāja later in the same year (Aijazuddin, 1979, p. 24). Emily Eden was one of the most skilled. She accompanied her brother Lord Auckland and sketched people and places with relentless energy. Her drawings were later published in 1844 C.E. under the title "Portraits of the Princes and People of India". Eden had frequent encounters with the local artists as in her

memoirs she notes one such interaction in 1838 C.E. “.... I got a quiet corner from which I could sketch Runjeet. I was on his blind side but they said he found it out and begged I might not be interrupted. One of his native painters were sketching G., and if my drawing looked as odd to him as his did to me, he must have formed a main idea of arts in England.” (Eden, 1844 as cited in Archer, 1966, p. 86).

In addition to the aforementioned, a professional artist August Schoefft, a Hungarian, lured by the romance of East came to Lahore in 1841 C.E. He was accepted as a guest by Martin Hornigberger, who attended the then Mahārājāh, Shairsingh, and painted portraits of Shairsingh and his principal courtiers (Aijazuddin, 1979). Schoefft as an artist was much skilled in painting portraits, landscapes and historical subjects in the medium of oils on large canvases.

Charles Hardinge came in Lahore in 1846 as Aide-De-Camp (A.D.C), to his father Lord Henry Hardinge, Governor General of India (1844-1848 C.E.). He augmented his portraits with various historical buildings of Lahore, and published his “Recollections of India” in 1847 C.E.

Above mentioned are just some of the prominent European artists working in 19th century Lahore. Mussarat Hasan lists a total of seventy five European artists and writers who were painting in 19th century in the environs of Lahore (Hasan, 1998, p. 85).

The natural consequence of this exposure was that from the second half of the century we encounter book illustrations that express a change in drawing and painting approach that may be attributed to their encounter of European works and artists. There appears a tendency towards painting the face with more light and shade is evident in their works, enhancing the three dimensionality. The transparency of color increases. Some of the faces assume a Victorian look. The folds and creases of the garments are drawn and painted showing greater illusion of form unlike the earlier works. In attempting to convey roundness of form hatchings are added over the

color. In books like ‘Ajā’ib al-Makhlūqāt (Lahore Museum, Ms. 671), (see Figures, 7.91, 7.92 in Chater, 7) or (Nuzhat al-Qulūb, Ganj Bakhsh Library. 9447), (see Figures, 7.101-4 in chapter 7) many naturalistic drawings of varieties of plants are added. There seems greater concern for human anatomy too. Ā’in-i Akbari got illustrated many times. Although a Mughal manual yet, in the hands of Lahore artists it received new way of execution. It was added with a group court scene of Ranjīt Singh with identifiable naturalistic portraiture of people of the court (National Museum New Delhi, Inv. No. 59.587; Govt. Archives Patiala, Ms. 658; Lahore Fort Museum, un numbered; G.B.L. 4078) (see Figures, 7.70-71 in chapter, 7). It also contains paintings of the contemporary jewellery and weapons (see Figure. 7.63 in chapter, 7).

Another indirect source of European style exposed to the artists of Lahore was through Delhi artists. Company rule since 1757 C.E. in Delhi produced many British patrons of art. Their style was now “staidly Mughal egged on by the British patrons” in the words of Archer. These artists had already assimilated shading with naturalism in their works. A few of them came to Lahore as the part of a Britisher’s suite and some arrived here due to the politically stable circumstances. Emily Eden, has mentioned two of them in her book in the year 1839, “.... I have two Delhi miniature painters here translating two of my sketches into ivory, and I never saw anything as perfect as their copy of Runjeet Singh” (Eden, 1866/ 1937, p. 263). The attraction of Delhi artists to the Sikh court of Lahore was also due to the enhanced patronage under Shair Singh after 1841 C.E. Four portraits of Sikh court nobles are recorded made by Ḥasan al-Dīn revealing the Anglo- Mughal style he was trained in (Archer, 1966, p. 6, figure. 61, 62, 63).

Last quarter of 19th century in Lahore was the period of enhanced interchange of styles owing to the photographic and printing revolution. Styles of illustration in lithographed books were introduced in Lahore by young entrepreneurs of that time from Lucknow, Cawnpur and

Delhi and consequently, Lahore's art started taking its first steps towards globalization of painting trends.

3. Illumination: An unbroken tradition of Lahore's Book Art

Ornamental Art is a functional art applied to a variety of creations. It has its own aesthetic signature expressed in many forms as: architecture, artifacts and books. In books, it takes the form of illumination or *tadhīb*-a term used for book illumination in Persian.

Illumination refers to the art of applying graphic ornamentation to books. Some of the authors prefer to restrict the usage of this word and relate it to the decoration applied to the medieval manuscripts parchments by means of gold or silver, justifying the word-“illumine”. In broader terms however, illumination refers to any kind of ornamentation applied to written word.

The manuscripts produced in the sub-continent fall into various categories; religious books, (The Holy Qur'ān, commentaries of the Holy book and Hadīth, books on Islamic theology and jurisprudence, philosophy and mysticism, in addition to Muslim themes it includes Hindu and Sikh scriptures and mythology), non-religious books, (classical literature, prose/poetry, books of sciences, arts and humanities). All these categories received their share of ornamentation in the form of illumination in one form or the other. Whatever the subject matter, the basic vocabulary of illumination designs kept revolving around three major classes;

1. Straight-line geometric patterns or polygonal ornamentation¹⁹
2. Curvilinear biomorphic patterns²⁰
3. Figurative or quasi-figurative patterns

When produced by Muslims, illumination on religious books remained mostly confined to geometric and biomorphic patterns. The same classes dominate the non-religious book illumination too, but, figurative patterns can also be observed in some instances.

¹⁹ This type is specifically characterized by a skilled and critical use of geometry (Humbert, 1980, p. 17).

²⁰ Biomorph patterns are divided into three categories by Marina Alin which are: Tree of life, islami and flower rosettes (Alin, 2013). They may also be governed by principles of geometry or other times may not.

Stating the functions of manuscript illumination, Muhammad Isa Waley, in his article “Illumination and its functions in the Islamic manuscripts”, makes a portentous statement; “...to glorify, to dignify, to amplify and to clarify” (Waley, 1997, p. 89). The function of glorification, aptly suggested by M. I. Waley, can well be observed as aptly applied to, the sacred text and religious books. In Royal manuscripts, state documents and *farmāns* (orders) illumination attempts to dignify and in classical poetry and prose, it highlights or amplify the imaginative world. In many areas of the texts, religious or non-religious, illumination aims at clarification. The ensuing forms are as many, as the functions. It may appear in the forms of Shamsās also called Sūriya motifs or sunbursts designs added on the opening and the ending pages of manuscripts. The frontispieces also are usually adorned with illumination. It may also be applied to the title page, borders, chapter headings, colophons, interlinear embellishments and so forth.

In Indian sub-continent, the tradition of manuscript illumination and illustration was already in existence before the arrival of Muslims. Buddhist texts from eastern parts of India and Jain manuscripts from the western parts were being illustrated as well as illuminated. If analyzed on stylistic grounds, they show marked differences from their Muslim counterparts in other regions of the world. Pāla Dynasty from 10th to 12th century C.E. produced the earliest manuscripts (Losty, 1982, pp. 5-10; Doshi, 1987, pp. 58, 59). They were palm leaf manuscripts, horizontally formatted, thus leaving very little space on the margins for illuminations. In bright red and yellow some geometrical and arabesque designs are found in them. In rare examples (for example, Prājanaparāmīta, M.S, Or. 12461, British Library, in Losty, 1982, p. 33) ornamentation is applied in the form of little vignettes, animals or flowers, or simple roundels to mark chapter endings. From western India numerous manuscripts under Jain order from 10th to 17th centuries were produced first on palm leaf and then later, on paper. A monotonous repetition of motifs in

illumination and in illustration in the earlier examples is reported by many historians. However, from about 1425 C.E. a change in the illumination is noticeable. Many hues are narrowed down to the prominence of red and gold. A kind of opulence is achieved by the use of gold or silver ink over deep blue, red or black (Doshi, 1987, p. 59). They display a variety of complicated geometrical and floral designs along the borders. Surya Doshi (1987), and Losty (1982) envisions these developments as either the result of local traditions of paintings patronized by Muslim Sultans or as an influence from Islamic lands –most probably in imitation of Persian book art.

The traditions of Illumination in Indian sub-continent, be it during the Dehli Sultanate (1200 C.E to 1526 C.E) or under the Mughals- remained a blend of Indo-Persian styles just like illustrations. Manuscripts from various centers of Indian sub-continent have been recorded before and during the Delhi Sultanate. Lahore, being one of the important cities must have given its share but unfortunately no manuscript from those days exist.

Illuminated manuscripts produced in Lahore before 19th century

The first illuminated manuscript that has been recorded to have produced in Lahore during the Mughals is a **Holy Qur'ān. (British Library Add. 18497)**. Though unascrbed, a note on folio 246 b states, that the work was copied by Ḥibāt Allāh al-Ḥusayni for the use of Sulṭān in Lahore, in 981/1573 C.E. (Losty, 1982, p. 85). Losty assigns this manuscript to the royal studio and suggests that “the Sulṭān of Lahore”, as written in the manuscript, refers to Akbar. Now Akbar made Lahore his official capital in 1585 C.E. so, the date of this manuscript poses another possibility. The viceroy of Punjab in 1573 C.E, was Ḥusayn Quli Khān, with his headquarters in Lahore (Latif, 1892, p. 28). This manuscript might have been made for him. The manuscript's

illumination is not as elaborate as those in Royal copies so, there is a possibility that this manuscript was made locally for the vicegerent and not for the emperor himself.

On terms of vocabulary of design and format the illumination of this manuscript seems very close to the Iranian counterparts from Qazvin, Shiraz and Herat. The general lay out of the design follows the same principal of arrangement of the text in the centre with ornamental vertical bands on right and left. On the upper and lower boundaries of the text are the verses in different font and bigger font size. An ornamental cartouche²¹ is also fitted under the inner margin that states the name of the starting *Sūrah* or chapter. The text on three opening sides is framed by pointed, triangular lobed arch in reciprocal design (see Figure, 3.1).



Figure 3.1 Holy Qur'ān, start of *Sūrah-i Maryam*, 1573 C.E. Lahore, British Museum 1871, No. 808. Retrieved from: <http://blonline.ac.uk>

²¹ An ornament in the form of scroll, band or shield usually placed at the beginning of the text that contains a heading or supplication at the beginning of text (British Library catalogue of illuminated manuscripts, bl.uk/illuminated/manuscripts/terminology). (Terms of illuminated designs utilized in this study are defined/explained by utilizing British Library repository of illumination terminology)

By the examination of illumination, and its comparison with its counterparts made at Qazvin, Herat and Shiraz some analogies can be drawn. Firstly, the illumination seems closer to Shiraz in general outlook and execution of details. Peony arabesques²² are common to both. This phenomenon is further reiterated by the evidence of the presence of many illuminated Shiraz manuscripts in India, within the reach of the artists working for Mughals. A manuscript of Khamsa-i Nizāmi, present in Sam Fogg's repository, in addition to Shiraz miniatures, contain two by the Mughal artists and a binding from mid 17th century Mughal India (Saidi & Black, 2000, Ms. 41). Though a later example, it contains the seals of one of the noblemen of Shāhjahān, and another of Sulymān Jāh, and yet another one of Nawāb of Awadh. This example shows that it was common practice to get ownership of illustrated and illuminated manuscripts imported from Iran and specially Shiraz.

Besides following the precedents of Persian illumination there are certain qualities of this Lahore produced manuscript that are peculiar to the region. Most prominent of these is the use of crimson, oranges, pinks and yellows in the small flowers used in the peony arabesques. This variation of color palette has also been noticed by Losty (1982, p. 85) in his "The Art of the book in India". The floral arabesque found in Lahore illumination is simpler and not as dense as that of Persian illumination. There is lesser use of pointed and convoluted vine leaves in Lahore illumination. The lobes of the arched design in Lahore illumination are less pronounced than the ones used in Persian illumination (see Figure, 3.2). The most obvious change that one observe in Lahore illumination is, the use of deep blue instead of lapis lazuli of Iranian examples. Consequently the stems of flowers are not as prominently standing out as in that of its Iranian counterparts. This manuscript of Holy Qur'ān is especially important in the context of Lahore School of 19th century as it's illumination is representative of the local workmanship. Lahore

²² Intertwined curvilinear patterns with peony flowers.

studio took a royal position as soon as Akbar shifted his capital to Lahore. Afterwards, amalgamation of styles from the artists of different regions of India fused together with the preferences of royal patrons to form Mughal Style of Illumination.



Figure 3.2, Detail of Holy Qur'ān (full image in Figure. 3.1), British Museum 1871, No. 808. Retrieved from: <http://blonline.ac.uk>

Another manuscript produced in Lahore under the orders of Jahāṅgīr, is recorded by Muḥammad Baṣhīr Ḥusayn and Manzavi²³, to be present in Shūrāni Collection of Punjab University Lahore is unfortunately missing now. It was the illuminated and illustrated manuscript of Yūsuf-wa Zulaikha by Jāmi written in 1590 C.E in Lahore.

During the next century under Jahāṅgīr, Shāhjahān and Aurangzaib, although the royal atelier kept on shifting to different centers, Lahore remained an important centre of book production. From 17th century we start to notice a distinct character of Lahore illumination in more pronounced ways. A manuscript- **Sayyār al-‘Ārifīn, IO Islamic 1313, in the British Library**, is an important example. The colophon states that it is finished in, “Dār al- Sulṭanat Lāhaur” (The Capital city Lahore in 1043 A.H/1634 C.E. (see Figure, 3.3, 3.4).

²³ MS. NO. 4609/1559 SPi/VI 38 C is reported to be present in Shūrāni Collection of The University of Punjab (Husayn, 1968; Manzavi, 2005).



Figure 3.3. Sayyūr al-‘Ārifūn, IO Islamic 1313, Folio. 1 90 mm X 53 mm, British Library. Photo by author



Figure, 3.4. Detail of Figure, 3.3.

Biographies of 14 shaiḫs of Chistīya order (Ethé, 1903, p. 264) Sayyūr al- ‘Ārifūn is representative of many other books transcribed on the orders of sub-imperial circle or educated nobility of Lahore. This idea is strengthened by its Khatt-i Shikasta and less detailed illumination. Taking the basic vocabulary and colors from previous illuminations, the peony arabesque takes the form of loosened rinceaux²⁴ patterns with simple florets and winding stems in gold over deep blue. This, along with the central lobed arch and diamond shape in the rectangular panel would remain the essential components of illumination designs till the end of 19th century.

Tārīḫ-i ‘Ālamāra-i ‘Abbāsi, IO Islamic 126, in the British Library is one beautiful example of Lahore’s book illumination in 17th century. This book is a complete copy of Iskandar Munṣhī’s history of Shāh Abbās and his predecessors of Safawid line (Ethé, 1903, p. 214). As the colophon states, it was transcribed by Dā’ūd Kātīb at Lāhaur, in 1050 A.H/ 1640 C.E.

²⁴Foliated ornamental design either vines or scrolls with small emanating stems and florets.

Written in fine, clear Nasta‘īq, it contains three illuminations at the start of all three chapters. From some historical facts and by the text of the book we may safely assume that it is not a royal copy. Firstly, it is unlikely that a book about any of the Safawids be transcribed under the orders of Shāhjahān owing to the strained relationship followed by the siege and defeat of Mughal army at Qandhār against Shāh Abbās’s forces (Matthee & Mashita, 2010, pp. 478-484). Secondly, the colophon does not mention the patron. A custom that was usually followed in the manuscripts commissioned by any of the royal Mughal was, the record of the patron in a systematic way, full of eulogy at somewhere in the text or at the end. Mostly, a royal copy also contain the ruler’s seal which is nowhere to be seen here. In spite of this fact, the quality of illumination and calligraphy is of high order. Lahore’s vocabulary of illumination utilized by the artist of 19th century, is present here in its best manifestation of 17th century specimens from Lahore (see Figures 3.5, 3.6). The colors used here are different from that of Persian specimens of the same century. They are also not as low-toned as that of Delhi. The typical orange, reds, yellows are used that remained favored colors of the Lahore artists till the end of 19th century. The palmetto shaped multi petal flower with a round centre and drooping sepals at lower ends, (see Figure, 3.7, 3.8); a quatrefoil and/or five petal open flower whose petals are divided by means of colored strokes (see Figures, 3.8, 3.9); a heart shaped small dab of color as buds of flowers (see Figure 3.8) ; the elongated rhombus at the lower edge of Figure, 3.10, all are vital components of Lahore’s illuminator of 19th century. This manuscript’s illumination marks a definitive character in the development of Lahore School of illumination. In addition to visual vocabulary it also reinforces the notion that Lahore was an important regional school even when it was not enjoying the status of the capital city under the Mughals. It continued to provide productive environment outside the court to nurture the Art of the Book.



Figure, 3.5, Tārīkh-i 'Ālamāra-i 'Abbāsi, IO Islamic 126, 1640 C.E Lahore, illuminated chapter heading, The British Library, Photo by author



Figure, 3.6, Tārīkh-i 'Ālamāra-i 'Abbāsi, IO Islamic 126, 1640 C.E Lahore, illuminated chapter heading, The British Library, Photo by author



Figure 3.7 Detail of figure, 3.6



Figure 3.8, Detail of Figure, 3.6



Figure 3.9 Detail of Figure, 3.5



Figure 3.10, Detail of Figure, 3.5

An **Akbarnāmāh** manuscript, transcribed in 1655 C.E., by Shōh Muḥammad bin Faṭḥ Lāhauri is also in the British Library. A sub-imperial manuscript, the two volumes of the book are by two different hands. One the scribe/illuminator is the aforementioned Lāhauri and the other is Muḥammad Qūraish Qūraishi. Interesting to note is the fact that as early as this date, one may easily distinguish the two distinct regional schools with their respective repertoire of motifs and layout. The Lahore's school representative have utilized the tri arched arrangement and the scrolls of small floral stems within the illumination which will to become essential features of Lahore illumination in 19th century (See Figure. 3.11). The other hand is in in typical Delhi style with a broad rectangular band as the headpiece and more intricacy in detail.



Figure, 3.11, Akbarnāmāh, 1655 C.E. Lahore, IO Islamic 4, headpiece, folio, 1b, 135 mm x 64 mm, The British Library. Photo by author.

From the last part of 17th century, a medicinal book transcribed and illuminated in Lahore, is in the **British Library- Ma'dan al-Shifa IO Islamic 871**. An inscription on the last page gives us the year “1090 A.H/ 1679 C.E. in the reign of ‘Ālamgūr Shōh”. The illumination is representative of all modestly illuminated works of 18th as well as 19th century. The tri-arched composition, the cartouche placement, the motifs of small florets in circular shapes all are typical Lahore features of illumination of small sized books that were less elaborately prepared under common people of Lahore with fewer monetary means of commissioning books (see Figure, 3.12).



Figure, 3.12, Ma'dan al-Shifa IO Islamic 871, Illuminated folio, 1, 100 mm x 657 mm, 1679, C.E Lahore, The British Library, Photo by author

From 18th century, a large number of manuscripts in the archives prove the fact that there was no break in the production of books in Lahore²⁵. Data collected by the author shows that books produced during the last quarter of 17th and almost whole of 18th century were mainly religious or reformative in nature. Illustrations are rarely recorded by scholars. They just appear in a couple of books that belong to the first half of 18th century. The reason for this is not very hard to explain. The weakened central government, the insurgencies of the Sikh forces and the chaotic conditions of this region which was laying on the routes of constantly invading armies from Persia and Afghanistan (Latif, 1892, pp 70-80), could not possibly allow the people to spare themselves for artistic work of illustration. The subjects of the books selected to be transcribed, as recorded by the author from various archives, have also proved to be in accordance with the situation of Lahore at that time. Literate circles producing books were trying to uplift the morale of their people by religious and reformative books.

A noticeable example from the books produced during last quarter of 18th century is **an illuminated Qur'ān present in National Museum of Pakistan Karachi (N.M. 1958-316)**. On the last folio appears the name of the scribe, after supplications, as Shaikh Mūr Lāhauri, and the year 1184 A.H/ 1770 C.E. Written in beautiful Naskh script, the writing is enclosed with in interlinear cloud formations. The verses are in black with rubrications²⁶ in red. The folio measures 300 mm x 190 mm. On the first page there is an illuminated headpiece and patterned borders covering the page till the edges. It is by means of golden color on bare paper (see Figure,

²⁵ 28 manuscripts from Punjab University Library Lahore, bearing the colophon in which “transcribed in Lahore”, have been recorded from 1600 C.E to 1799 C.E..

17 manuscripts from National Museum of Pakistan, Karachi, transcribed in Lahore, belonging to 17th and 18th century have been recorded.

Similarly 10 from National Archives of Pakistan Islamabad, transcribed in Lahore that belong to 17th and 18th centuries have been recorded.

²⁶ Emphasized areas of the text that may or may not be the part of the main body of text usually colored red thus from Latin *Rubrica* meaning red.

3.13). This feature remained a characteristic of 19th century illuminations of Lahore school. The border design consists of two kind of flowers arranged alternately one after the other, one is rosette and the other palmetto. The arrangement of the pattern on the border is not under any strict geometrical formation though on the whole it gives an impression of a regular design. The border design in similar arrangements are found at the start of other chapters of the Holy Qur'ān. On the last two folios it is again repeated but this time the illuminator has used only the rosette in a less dense arrangement (see Figure, 3.15). This style of border decoration has repeated itself again and again in the 19th century which will be discussed later in the chapter.



Figure, 3.13, Detail of Holy Qur'ān (Full image figure. 3.14) ,N.M.1958-316, Folio. 2, 1184 A.H./1770 C,E, Lahore, National Museum of Pakistan, Karachi, Photo by author.



Figure, 3.14 Holy Qur'ān ,N.M.1958-316, Folio. 2 300 x 190 mm, 1184 A.H./1770 C,E, Lahore, National Museum of Pakistan, Karachi. Photo by author

The head piece on the first and the second folio (see Figure, 3.14), is on the top of the start of two *Sūrah*s. It is less ornate as compared to the one that is on the last folio. It contains all the decorative devices that will be inculcated by the illuminators of Lahore during the following century. The elongated hexagon cartouche as in Figure,3.14, is without inscription here. On its

two sides is arabesque design by white on deep blue. Framing this cartouche is the border over which a running pattern of small flowers connected with a kind of a chain are drawn. The head pieces on the last two folios are in the most typical Lahore tradition (see Figure, 3.15, 3.16). It has a central three-lobed pointed arch. Two small attached arches are on its both sides. Inside the arch, the shape is repeated and is filled with a design in white on deep blue. The motif used in the center of this inner arch is curved rhombus from which delicate stems emanate on all sides. This curvilinear rhombus in the center remains a favored motif for 19th century book illuminator. The area in between the outer and inner arch is filled with golden paint over which small flowers are painted within a chain like formation of stems (see Figure, 3.16). This again is an important part of vocabulary of 19th century illuminator of Lahore. Bordering the headpiece from three sides is a double line border with a vine leaf regular pattern within.



Figure. 3.15. Headpiece, Holy Qur'ān , last Folio, , 300 mm x 190 mm N.M.1958-316, 1184 A.H./1770 C.E, in Lahore, National Museum of Pakistan. Photo by author



Figure, 3.16, Holy Qur'ān , 2nd last Folio, 300 mm x 190 mm, N.M.1958-316, 1184 A.H./1770 C.E, in Lahore, National Museum of Pakistan, Photo by author

An illuminated manuscript of **Kifāya-i Mujāhhidiya** by Mansūr bin Muḥammad bin Yūsuf, is in National Archives of Pakistan, Islamabad, M. S. 249. It is transcribed a little earlier than the above mentioned Qur'ān. The colophon states that it is transcribed in 1179 A.H/1765 C.E. Written in Khatt-i Shikasta, it is a modest copy perhaps intended for private use. The folios measure, 260 mm x 145 mm.

The subject of the book is medicine. It was originally written under the rule of Sulṭān Zain-al 'Ābidīn, in Kashmir (Hussain & Saha, 2015). The illumination of this manuscript relates it stylistically to Lahore. Executed in the simplest possible way it has a headpiece at the start on the first folio (see Figures, 3.17, 3.18).

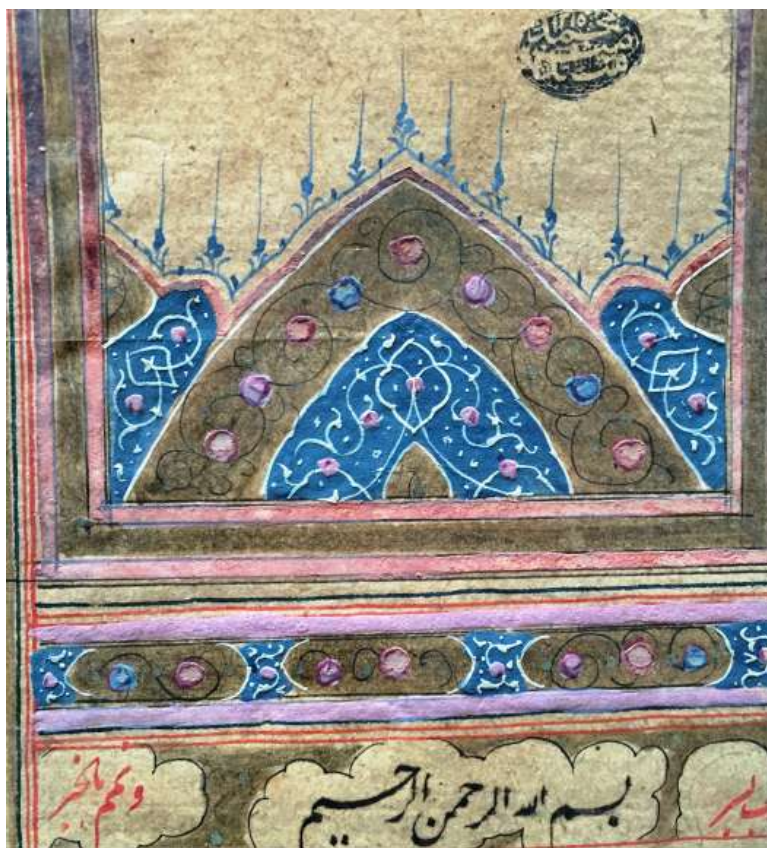


Figure 3.17. Kifāya-i Mujāhhidiya. 1765, C.E. Lahore Detail of Headpiece (Full image in Figure, 3.18) M.S. 249. National Archives of Pakistan, Photo by author



Figure 3.18. Kifāya-i Mujāhhidiya .Folio.1 26 x 145 mm, M.S. 249. National Archives of Pakistan. Photo by author

The border on two sides of the text on first folio is decorated with vine leaves and three-petal flower in an irregular arrangement. There is a horizontal band immediately under the headpiece. It has three stadium shaped²⁷ formations with small flowers in them. Under this band is a panel containing cartouche having an Arabic inscription enclosed in golden cloud (see Figure, 3.18). The main part of this headpiece have the same arrangement of a big central arch, flanked by two smaller half arches on both sides. The central arch again has an inner arch with blue background and white pattern on it. The curved rhombus once again appears on all three arches, with white stems springing out of it. The space in between the two central arches is filled with same golden color over which small flowers are made with chain-like stems around them (see Figures, 3.17, 3.18). The overall format of design and details connects it very closely to the aforementioned Qur'ān, illuminated in Lahore. Just that, this manuscript is less refined as compared to Qur'ān.

Written and Illuminated in 1765 C.E. this manuscript is an important proof of the existence of a well developed repertoire of Lahore School of illumination around half a century before 1800 C.E.

A manuscript from **National Museum of Pakistan Karachi, N.M.528/12 (a), Akbarnāmāh**, has the colophon bearing the scribe's name as Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Lāhauri. It's colophon also states the date of writing, which is Sha'bān, 1213 A.H/1798 C.E. The illumination of this manuscript is noteworthy as it presents the second type of schematic arrangement used in the illuminations of 19th century Lahore books. It thus, reinforces the argument that there was an existence of a definitive style of book art prior to 19th century in Lahore region that further developed under stable social and economic conditions of Lahore in 19th century specially in its first half.

²⁷ Stadium shape is an elongated rectangle with curved ends or chiseled corners.

The headpiece on the first folio is the only illumination that this small sized book contain. The folios measure 304 mm x 150 mm. The text boxes are 225 mm x 93 mm. Divided into two parts this book has in all 992 pages. The schema utilized for this manuscript illumination is that of a quatrefoil reciprocal arrangement of motifs on the headpiece (see Figure, 3.19).



Figure. 3.19. Headpiece, Folio 1 , Akbarnāmāh, N.M. 528/12. 1798 C. E. Lahore, National Museum Karachi. Photo by author.

Several details of this illuminated headpiece are worth noticing. The central quatrefoil flower with white colored shading around the centre repeats itself in many ways in the later

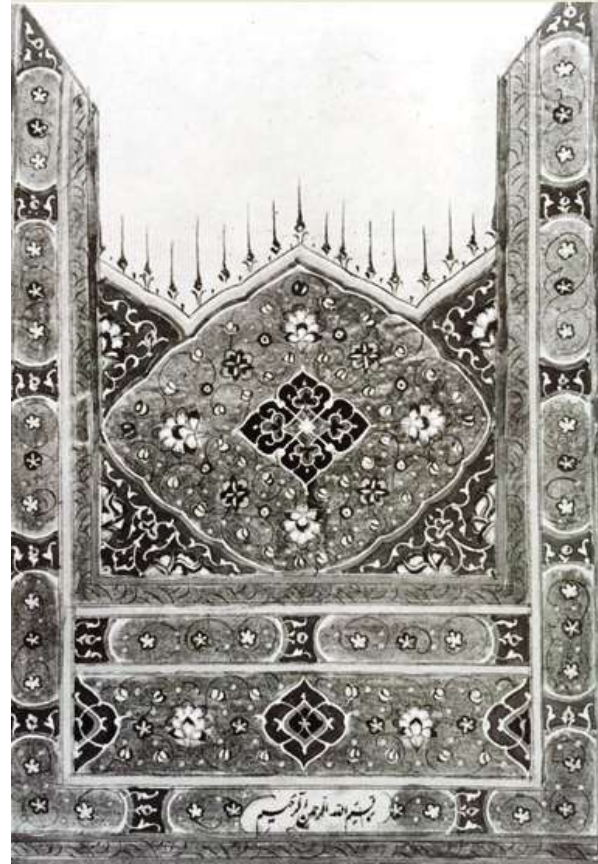
illuminations. There is a three tiered cartouche, with the central one having inscription. The running borders at three sides of central panel have two designs, the thinner one with herringbone pattern²⁸ of pink over white and the broader one with straight lined connected diamond- shapes. Both of these details occur with small variations in later illuminations. The colors of this illumination though apparently dulled by time, specially maroon, is the color peculiar to Lahore School illuminations of 19th century. The main design is formatted in the form of rhombus which is again an oft repeated shape within small units as well. If we take half of the full design, sliced horizontally, it constitutes the same three arched design, a central larger one and two half arches flanking it on both sides. The best example of the continuation and enrichment of this design and format can be seen in British Library's 'Ajā'ib-al Makh̄lūqāt. The general lay-out of the central diamond shaped arrangement, the individual motifs of conch shells, tri foiled flower, the central form of elongated star shaped panel at the nucleus of the arrangement- all are so similar to each other as if done by a single person (see Figure, 3.20). This obviously may not be true as the two books are about a century apart from each other in time. The only explanation thus is the continuation of the design in the same region adopted by a generation after generation.

The illumination lay-out and design of this 1798 C.E. manuscript may also be noticed in other headpieces of 19th century illustrated books. Another illumination that may also be compared with this example is a Shāhnāmāh in, Pierpont Morgan Library M.540 (Schmitz, 1996, Fig. 250) produced in Lahore, in 1838 C.E. after the lapse of about four decades. Yet another Shāhnāmāh, in New York Public Library , Indo- pers Ms. 16 (Schmitz, 1992, p. 181) follows the same format (see Figure, 3.21) as that of the above mentioned Akbarnāmāh in Figure, 3.19.

²⁸ Continual arrow shapes in alternating lines



Figure, 3.20, Ajā'ib al-Makhlūqāt, Io Islamic, 3243. Folio, 3b, 343 mm x 187 mm, the British Library, Photo by author.



Figure, 3.21, Headpiece folio.1, Shāhnāmāh, in New York Public Library, Indo-pers Ms.16 (Schmitz, 1992, p. 181)

Illumination during 19th century Lahore

One of the earliest Urdu manuscripts of 19th century Lahore with an illumination is **Mathnawi-i Saḥr al-Bayān, MS. 4288**, present in **Punjab University Library**. The colophon in the end states that this copy of Mathnawi by Mīr Ḥasan is transcribed by Ghulām Ghauth Kākayzai, in the year 1224 A.H/ 1809 C.E. There are in all 87 folios measuring 245 mm x 145 mm. The text box measure 90 mm x 155 mm. The first two opening folios are illuminated in Lahore style of 19th century. Though the scribe is from an old tribe of Kākayzai that belongs to Khyber Pakhtunkha province of Pakistan but from the family records of Punjab, we know that this tribe had moved eastwards in Punjab and acquired agricultural lands in the areas of Sialkot,

Faisalabad, Wazirabad and Lahore before the British rule era (Suhadrawi, 1933, p. 179). The illumination vocabulary reinforces the hypothesis that this manuscript was transcribed in Lahore. The illumination of this manuscript contains two columns on each page and the first two also have border design. This design is repeated in many of the Lahore originated illuminations an example of which is already noticed in *Kifāya-i Mujāhiddiya* of 1765 C.E. having tri-foiled flowers and vine leaves painted irregularly on borders (see Figures, 3.23 and also for comparison Figure, 3.18). Though quite simplistic, the illumination of this manuscript contain the developed forms of illumination of 19th century Lahore. The central arch is now three-lobed with an inner one in identical in shape in much smaller size. The space in between the two arches is filled with gold on which typical Lahore illumination flowers are painted. These flowers are distinct in the use of white pigment for shading within the petals. All these flowers and florets are connected with each other by thin spiral lines (see Figure, 3.22) .



Figure, 3.22, Headpiece, Folio. 1 *Mathnawi* by Mīr Ḥasan, 1809 C.E. Lahore. Punjab University Library MS. 4288, Fol. 1. (Photo by university, permitted to the author)



Figure, 3.23 *Mathnawi* by Mīr Ḥasan, Ms.4288, Fol. 2. 245 mm x 145 mm, 1809 C.E. Lahore. Punjab University Library (Photo by University, permitted to author)

From the second decade of 19th century till almost the last decade of it we observe a bloom in manuscript illumination and illustration as well. The illuminations range from highly

ornate copies to simplistic and rather crude forms in varying degrees. The foremost thing to notice about this phenomenon is that the pre existing traditions of illumination showing themselves in modest ranges, now developed fully under the patronage of nobles and even common people of Lahore. This owes to the political stability and peace provided during the first half by Ranjīt Singh and to an extent by the British government, in the second half of the century.

Having examined the rarer examples of the precursors of 19th century styles, we will now analyze the Illumination of 19th century collectively. Since there is a considerable amount of data, we are fully in the position to determine the stylistic parameters that were followed by the 19th century illuminators of Lahore.

The Layout

The layout refers to the designer's choice of arrangement of graphic elements of design and negative space on a page. It is how the illuminator chooses to distribute script and design on the page and how the surface area is divided (Novin, 2012, p. 4).

Layouts, in early manuscripts of India was determined by the horizontal formats of the books on palm leaves or birch bark thus allowing little or no space on the sides for any innovations in general layout of the books. This practice was continued even after the introduction of paper. Under Delhi Sultanate the layout took a new form by vertical formatting of books. This allowed more space on all four sides. What emerged was straight line geometric formation, or bands on all four sides of the text, filled with patterns²⁹. This practice became more elaborate and ornate under the Mughals as can be seen in the afore mentioned manuscript of Qur'ān scribed in 1575 in Lahore (see Figure, 3.1).

²⁹ As an example a Sultanate Indian manuscript, with Bihāri Script may be seen in catalogue of Islamic manuscript, Sam Fogg repository catalogue 22 by Crofton Black and Nabil Saidi. pp. 36-39.

This layout was practiced by the 19th century illuminators of Lahore in varied ways. One fine example can be observed in a relatively small sized book of *Būstān* and *Gulistān*, MS. 1958.576 (See Figures, 3.24, 3.25). This is a specimen of rectangular layout is a simpler form which became elaborate in many other large sized books discussed later in the chapter. Outside the illuminated frame-ruling, *Būstān* is written in slanted lines. it start on the very first folio along with *Gulistān*. Perhaps this was one of the reasons to favor rectangular layout scheme for this particular book.



Figure, 3.24, *Gulistān i Sa'di*, MS. 1958. 567, Fol. 1 287 mm x 162 mm, National Museum of Pakistan, Karachi. Photo by author



Figure, 3.25, *Gulistān i Sa'di*, MS. 1958. 567, Fol. 2. 287 mm x 162 mm, National Museum of Pakistan, Karachi. Photo by author.

An example of this layout is a manuscript with rather distinct look, quite unlike the rest of Lahore Manuscript illumination is the one in Lahore Museum Vitrine. 79. This manuscript- a gift from Faqīr family to the museum. According to the family it was given to Faqīr ‘Azīz al- Dīn, the advisor of Ranjūt Singh, by the ruler himself (it bears the seal of Faqīr ‘Azīz al-Dīn). The design vocabulary is, though, unlike the character of Lahore School (see Figure 3.26).

Another manuscript illumination following the same layout is ‘Ajā’ib al-Makhlūqāt, MS. 671 (See Figure, 3.27) present in Lahore Museum. This manuscript is as lavishly illuminated as it is illustrated. It presents almost all varieties of layout schemes that Lahore school’s illuminator follow. The rectangular layout in illumination is also utilized in another manuscript of the same text- ‘Ajā’ib al-Makhlūqāt, IO Islamic. 3242 in the British Library, in undoubtedly its best manifestation (see Figure, 3.28).



Figure, 3.26, Qur’ān, Vitrine. 79 PVR 649 Folio. 1 & 2, 700 mm x 450 mm Reproduced by permission of Museum



Figure, 3.27, ‘Ajā’ib al-Makhlūqāt, Ms. 671, unpaginated, Folio, 534 mm x 298 mm. Lahore Museum, Photo by author



Figure, 3.28, ‘Ajā’ib al-Makhlūqāt, Io Islamic, 3243, 1856 C.E. Lahore, Folio. 3b, 343 mm x 187 mm, 1854 C.E. Lahore, The British Library. Photo by author.

An author’s autograph (Mufti ‘Ali al-Dīn), manuscript- the ‘Ibratnāmāh is an important example of this format. The British Library manuscript is dated 1854 C.E. The author of this work was in service of Charles Raikes, Commissioner of Lahore, and a note by Raikes in the beginning of the book, also mentions that it was sent to the “Imperial Exhibition of art and Industry in Paris” (Ethé, 1903, p. 199), (see Figure, 3.29 and 3.30) .

It is noteworthy that the rectangular layout was most frequently adopted for big sized copies. The size afforded larger spaces for this kind of an arrangement. Whenever applied to the

smaller books, as for example the above mentioned *Gulistān* and *Būstān* copy, it had to be reduced to one running ornamental band on four sides of the central box of text. Another exquisite example of this kind of layout of illumination is in *Tārīkh-i Dilkusha-i Shamsīrkhāni* in Alwar Museum India (shahnama.caret.cam.ac.uk). Stylistically, it is closest to ‘Ajā’ib al-*Makhluqāt* of Lahore Museum. Simpler like that of *Gulistān* (Figure, 3.24), or elaborate as in ‘Ajā’ib manuscript (Figure, 3.28), the individual motifs, color preferences and generally a simplistic approach unify these manuscripts together.



Figure, 3.29, ‘Ibratnāmūh, IO Islamic 3241, Folio, 1a, 1025 x 805 mm, 1854 C.E. Lahore, The British Library. Photo by author



Figure, 3.30, ‘Ibratnāmūh, IO Islamic 3241, Folio, 1b, 1025 x 805 mm, 1854 C.E. Lahore, The British Library. Photo by author

The rectangular layout of illumination was a format favored by the Mughals as well as contemporary manuscripts from Shiraz and Qazvin. Quite obviously this layout could accommodate maximum amount of ornamentation. Mughals took a lot of inspiration from Iranian examples, yet Mughal- Lahore example had some distinct qualities as discussed above . In its general look it remained close and faithful to the Persian models. On the contrary, Lahore manuscripts of 19th century wherever followed the rectangular layout, seems to be completely individualistic. They assumed their own regional flavor with their own vocabulary of designs and shapes.

The next layout which is the choicest of Lahore’s illuminator during 19th century is the “**Architectural Layout**” –a term coined by Rafiya Tahir in her doctoral thesis (Tahir, 2012. p. 87). This layout is so called as it appears to be an entrance to a building. This layout incorporates a central arch flanked by two small half arches of smaller dimensions on both sides. It always appears as a headpiece on the opening folio or at the start of the chapters of a book. This layout with the arched head piece is the most typical layout of Lahore illumination of 19th century. We may notice its emergence way back in the earlier manuscripts of 17th and 18th centuries (for reference see Figures, 3.11, 3.12, 3.15, 3.17). In 19th century it got fully matured.

As early as 1807 C.E., the so called “ architectural format” makes its appearance in a fully formed Lahore illuminative headpiece at the beginning of the text. This is in the manuscript of Akbarnāmāh. The formation is that of a central bigger foliated arch with two adjoining half-arches of small sizes at both sides (see Figure, 3.31). This kind of a lay out also appears in a slightly different variation where all three arches are equal in size and joined with each other for example in ‘Ajā’ib al-Makhlūqat of 1854, C.E. Lahore, in the British Library (see Figure, 3.32). In the same book there is another headpiece which displays same kind of lay out with yet another

slight variation. In this, the central arch takes up most of the space in the width of the headpiece and the two very small areas of flanking arches is visible demarcated by a boundary of different color thus separating three from each other (see Figure, 3.33). Almost the same variety is also manifest in Shāhnāmāh of 1824 C.E. present in Ganj Bakhsh Library (see Figure, 3.34).



Figure, 3.31, Akbarnāmāh, IO Islamic 4, Folio, 5b, 135 mm x 64 mm, 1807 C.E. Lahore, The British Library. Photo by author.



Figure, 3.32, 'Ajā'ib al-Makhlūqāt, IOIslamic, 3243. Folio, 3b, 155 mm x 92 mm, 1854 C.E. Lahore, The British Library. Photo by author

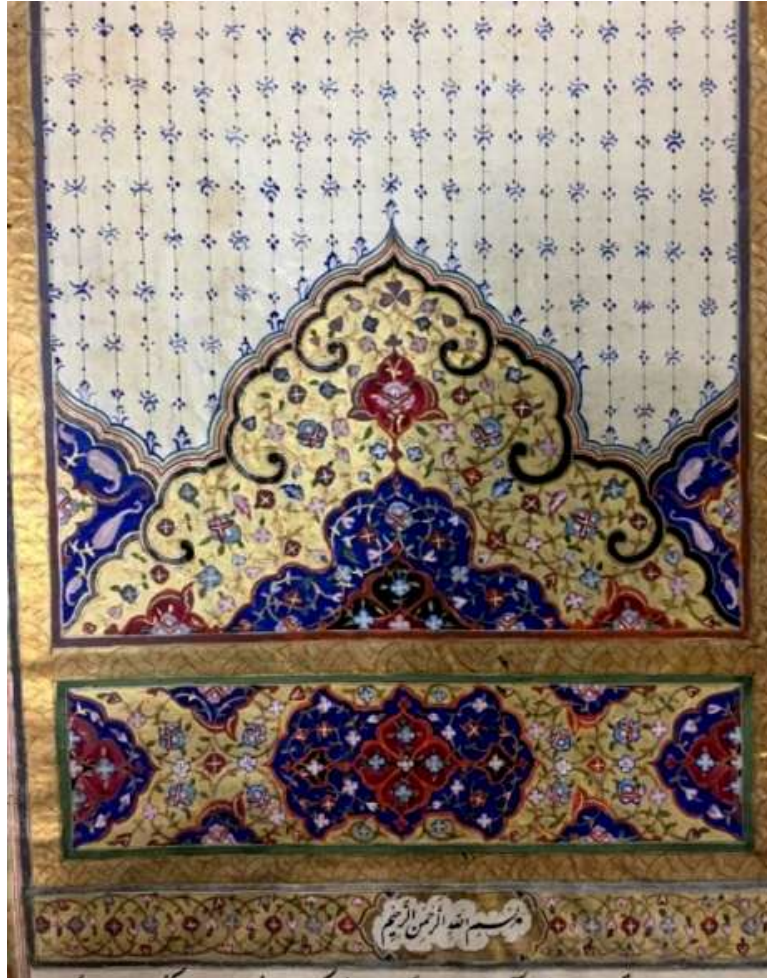


Figure, 3.33, 'Ajā'ib al-Makhlūqāt, IOIslamic, 3243. Folio, 30b, 155 mm x 92 mm, 1854 C.E. Lahore, The British Library. Photo by author



Figure, 3.34, Shāhnāmāh, Ms. 10828, Fol.1 Headpiece, 1824 C.E? Lahore Ganj Bakhsh Library. Photo by author.

One of the best examples of this kind of layout is the illumination of *Āʿīn-i Akbari*, present in Punjab University Library, Pe II 8B, 4788 (see Figure, 3.35).



3.35 Detail of Headpiece, *Āʿīn-i Akbari*, Fol. 1 450 mm x 270 mm, 1848 C.E Lahore, Punjab University Library.

(Photo by author)

Along with its utilization in the lavishly illustrated manuscripts, there are many examples of the use of this lay out in simply executed works. Two such illuminations presenting a slight variation of the same lay out are: *Gulistān* and *Būstān-i Saʿdi* MS. 11562, and *Bahār-i Dānish* MS. 315 in Ganj Bakhsh Library (see Figures, 3.36, 3.37).



Fig 3.36. Gulistān and Būstān-i Sa'di Ms. 11562 Fol. 1 260 mm x 120 mm, Ganj Bakhsh Library Islamabad, (Photo by author)

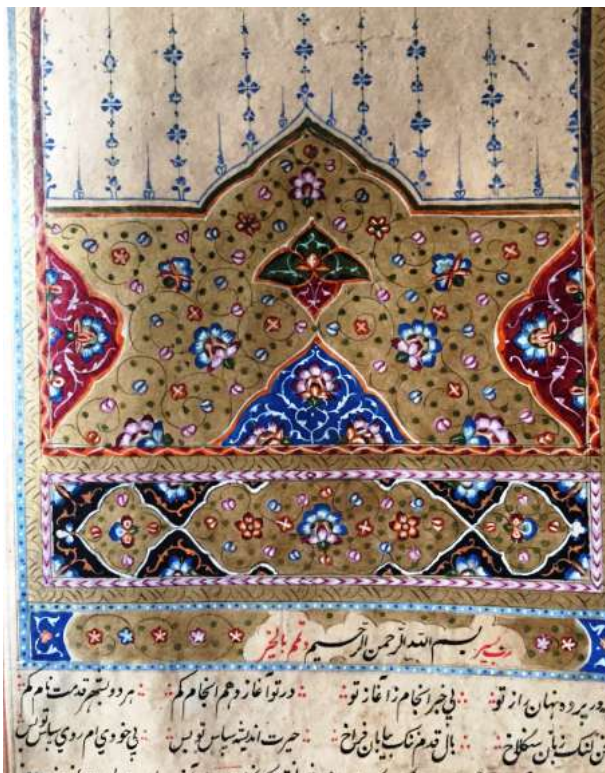


Fig. 3.37. Bahūr-i Dūnish MS. 315, Fol. 1. 265 mm x 162 mm Ganj Bakhsh Library Islamabad, (Photo by author)

In this variation of arched layout, the base of the upper arch is extended sideways in a straight line, giving it a star-like appearance from the top. The two illuminations are so close to each other in format as well as in details that, they appear to be made by the same hand. This variation of arched layout is not confined to the simpler illuminations discussed above. An elaborately illuminated and illustrated manuscript of Ā'īn-i Akbari in Lahore Fort museum have the same kind of layout with detailed ornamentation to it (see Figure, 3.38). Another example is that of a heavily illuminated manuscript of 'Ajā'ib al-Makhḷūqāt present in Lahore Museum. It is painted at the start of one of its chapter's (see Figure, 3.39).

The **third kind of layout** is not as frequently used as others discussed above but, it is also utilized in a headpiece and in some cases or at the beginning of a new section of the text. It takes

the shape of a simple rectangle, fitted to the width of the folio. In this box, the rhombus is set in the centre as the nucleus of the whole unit (see Figure, 3.40, 3.41).



Figure, 3.38 'Ā'in-i Akbari, Ms. S.M 7, Headpiece Folio. 1, 704 mm x 282 mm. Lahore Fort Museum. , Photo by author



Figure, 3.39 'Ajā'ib al-Makhḷūqāt, Ms. 671, un paginated, Folio, 534 mm x 298 mm. Lahore Museum. Photo by author.



Figure, 3.40, 'Ajā'ib al-Makhḷūqāt, IOIslamic, 3243. Folio, 27a, 155 mm x 92 mm, 1854 C.E. Lahore, The British Library. Photo by author



Figure, 3.41 'Ajā'ib al-Makhḷūqāt, Ms. 671, un paginated, Folio, 534 mm x 298 mm. Lahore Museum. Photo by author.

The areas of ornamental application

Shamsa/ Sūriya

There appear many different areas where illumination is applied to books produced during 19th century Lahore. Other than the aforementioned opening folios and chapter headings, illumination was also applied to frontispieces, rear ends, borders and emphasized text or headings. On frontispieces and rear ends, though not a frequent practice, illumination is applied as “*Shamsa* (in Persian)/*Sūriya* (in Sanskrit)” or sunburst designs. These *shamsās* also display a distinct Lahore style as the headpieces do. One of its fine examples is that of ‘Ajā’ib al-Makhlūqāt in Lahore Museum (see Figure, 3.42).



Figure, 3.42 ‘Ajā’ib al-Makhlūqāt, Ms. 671, Frontispiece 534 mm x 298 mm. Lahore Museum . Photo by author.

Though a rare example of Shamsa from Lahore School's illuminated books, it contains all the regional, typical vocabulary. Painted with the preferred choice of colors; crimson, lilac, gold and turquoise, this specimen is also adorned with emblematic shapes of Lahore School of illumination: the multi-foiled arches, rhombuses, and florets. The same character of Shamsa may also be seen in another manuscript of the same text present in the British Library. Although less ornate than the Lahore Museum's example, this one is also representative of Lahore's illuminative repertoire (see Figures, 3.43, 3.44).



3.43 , 'Ajā'ib al-Makhlūqāt, IOIslamic, 3243. Flyleaf, 155 mm x 92 mm, 1854 C.E. Lahore, The British Library. Photo by author



3.44 , 'Ajā'ib al-Makhlūqāt, IOIslamic, 3243. Last Flyleaf at the end, mm x 92 mm, 1854 C.E. Lahore, The British Library. Photo by author

If compared with the Shamsūs of other regions, specially Kashmir and Delhi manuscripts (see the Figures, 3.45, 3.46) examples from Lahore can be noted for their simpler execution of design without additional embellishments of borders and complex patterns in surrounding areas of the roundels.



Figure 3.45, Qur'ān, Ms. 1646, Last Folio, 208 mm x 125 mm, Kashmir, 1781 C.E. Ganj Bakhsh Library. Photo by author



Figure 3.46, Shāhnāmāh, Delhi, 295 mm x 175 mm, early 19th century, Sotheby's. Oct. 2013, Lot. 85. retrieved from shahnam.caret.cam.ac.uk

Borders

Another area of ornamentation in the manuscripts are the borders around the text box. This form of illumination occur usually on the first two folios, or the last two, but in some rare cases borders also appears on the sides of all folios. As other elements of illumination, the borders of illuminated books from Lahore present an individual character of their own. There is a continuation of style in borders from 18th century onwards till the end of 19th century in Lahore produced books.

Wherever border designs are applied by the illuminator, the pattern remains in gold with none or minimal use of colors. The repeat patterns applied are always floral rinceaux without strict adherence to the similarity of pattern in each unit. Though the patterns have varied forms of flora, yet the use of tri-foiled flower and acanthus leaves is a regularly appearing feature. Starting from 1765 C.E.'s *Kifāya-i Mujāhiddiya* (see Figure, 3.47) the continuity of patterns and approach may be seen in almost all examples of 19th century books where border decorations are applied (see Figures, 3.48- 3.51).



Fig. 3.47. *Kifāya-i Mujāhiddiya*. M.S. 249. 1765 C.E, Lahore, Detail of fol. 1 National Archives of Pakistan (Full image in Figure, 3.17),



Fig. 3.48. Holy Qur'ān ,N.M.1958-316, 1184, Detail of fol. 1,1770 C.E, in Lahore. National Museum of Pakistan. (Full image in Figure, 3.15)



Fig. 3.49. *Mathnawi* by Mīr Ḥasan, MS. 4288, Detail of Fol. 2. 1809 C.E. Punjab University Library.(Full image in Figure, 3.22).



Fig. 3.50. 'Ajā'ib al-Makhlūqāt, MS. 671, Detail of fol. 1 . Lahore Museum (Full image in Figure, 3.27)



Figure. 3.51 Nuzhat al-Qulub, Ms. 9447. Detail of folio. 1 Border. Ganj Bakhsh Library. Photo by author

Double bands of border designs around the text have rarely been used. One of them can be seen in *Ḥisāb-i Fauji* of Ranjīt Singh, drawn and painted by probably one of the official illuminators in the third decade of 19th century (see Figure, 3.52). Multi parallel borders may also be seen in the most lavish of the border designs of Lahore in ‘*Ajā’ib al-Makhḷūqāt*’ manuscript present in the British Library (see Figure, 3.53) which stands as an exception.

Linear extending fleurons³⁰ that do usually occur at the upper edge of head pieces also sometimes drawn at the sides of outer borders. The ones on outer borders are found very rarely in Lahore manuscripts (see Figure, 3.53).

A simplistic approach in the execution of design as well as painting can be noticed in the border illuminations of Lahore school. If compared with Delhi and Kashmir examples of the same century, one can feel that Lahore illuminator choose not to use much linear intricacies in patterns as Delhi’s illuminator (see Figure, 3.54) and use sparing range of colors as compared to Kashmir motley palette used in borders (see Figure, 3.55). The only exception to this simplistic approach while making borders are the two illuminated folios of ‘*Ajā’ib al-Makhḷūqāt*’. On close observation however, the smaller units within the apparent intricacy are quite simply executed.

³⁰ Fleurons are extended bands or linear patterns resembling small flowers usually in monochrome (mostly blue), drawn from the end of colored portion towards the edge of the folio.



Figure. 3.52. *Hisāb-i Fauji* of Ranjīt Singh, Folio. 14. Khuda Bakhsh Library Patna, Digitized collection.



Figure, 3.53. Detail from *Ajō'ib al-Makhlūqāt*, IOIslamic, 3243. 1854 C.E. Lahore, The British Library. Full image in Figure, 3.28



Figure. 3.54. *Shāhnāmāh*, Delhi, 295 mm x 175mm, early 19th century, Sotheby's, Oct. 2013, Lot. 85. retrieved from shahnama.caret.cam.ac.uk



Figure. 3.55 *Ḥamla-i Ḥaydari*, Ms.1959.408. Fol.1 292 mm x 183 mm, Kashmir, 1858 C.E. National Museum of Pakistan. Photo by author.

Inter-linear cloud patterns

Interlinear embellishments appear in between the text lines from earlier times of Muslim calligraphy. In their earliest specimens from 9th century³¹, they are applied in between the lines and also within the spaces in words in broken forms. This practice was common in calligraphic illumination in east Asian lands (Tahir, 2012, p. 158). This device of ornamentation was taken up by the Persians, Indians and Turks in variety of manifestations. Interlinear cloud bands sometimes took up regular shapes around the text other times it was filled with hatchings or floral motifs and garlands. In the Mughal example from Lahore, British Library Add. 18497 (see Figure, 3.56), the interlinear clouds are made around the text as a background with small flowers over it.



Figure. 3.56, Detail of Add. 18497, Qur'ān, British Library, 1572, transcribed by Ḥibūt Allāh Ḥusayni in Lahore. Retrieved from: bl.onlineimages

The tradition continued in 18th century in various forms. In some, the device appears as reduced to small horizontal waves around the text as in *Kifāya-i Mujahiddiya* of 1765 C.E (see Figure, 3.57). In others as for example in *Quran* of 1770 C.E. it takes the form of bulbous shapes around the text (see Figure, 3.58).

³¹ For its example a Qur'ānic fragment may be seen in the repository of Library of Congress, African and Middle Eastern Division, Washington D.C. May be accessed at: <http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.amed/ascs.190>

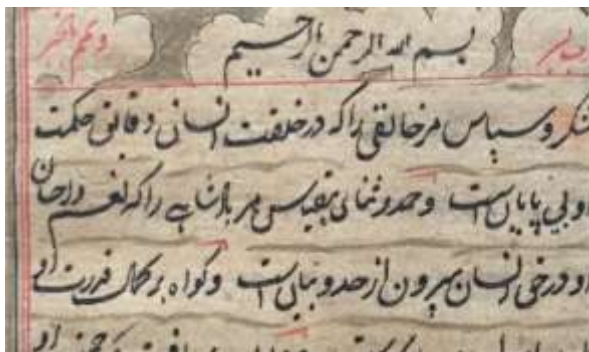


Fig. 3.57. Detail of folio 1, Kifāya-i Mujāhiddiya. Ms. 249 . 1765 C.E. National Archives of Pakistan Islamabad. (Full image in 3.17)



Fig. 3.58 Detail of Qur'ān, Ms. 1958-316, 1770 C.E National Museum of Pakistan, Karachi. (Full image in Figure, 3.15)

Interlinear cloud formations in 19th century books of Lahore appear to be simplistic as compared to the more ornate Mughal style and Kashmir's early and contemporary style. No additional ornamentation in the form of florets or other designs is applied over the golden formations around the text. There are only two varieties that occur in the books of Lahore of 19th century: interlinear clouds within the straight lines as in Figure, 3.59, and irregular Interlinear clouds around the text as in Figures, 3.60, 3.61, 3.62.

Although not restricted to any specific subject category, they are noted to have been applied to almost all Qur'ān specimens of Lahore School during 19th century. Sizes of different books too appear not to be the determining factor. Sometimes they are made on moderate sized books as Gulistān (Figure, 3.61) or Dānīshnāmāh-i Jahān (Figure, 3.65) other times these interlinear clouds are incorporated into the text of larger books as 'Ajā'ib al-Makhlūqāt (Figure, 3.61) in large volume of Shāhnāmāh in Govt. Museum, Alwar, India, and also in Tārīkh-i Dilkusha-i Shamshairkhāni, in the Lilly Library of rare books, Indiana University, U.S.A³². Wherever placed, their character remain simple- without any elaborated patterns over it.

³² Both these manuscripts may be accessed at: shahnama.caret.cam.ac.uk

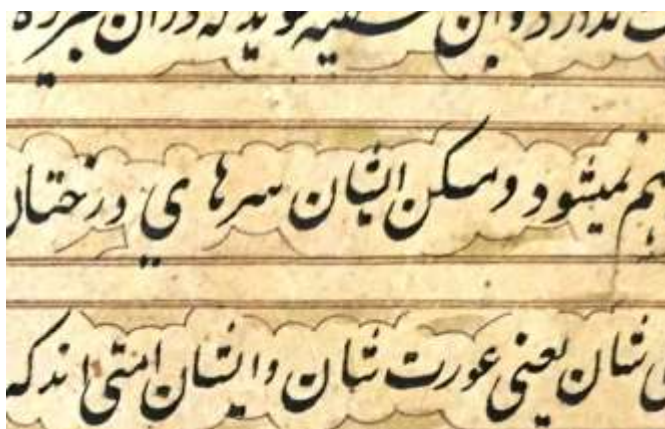


Figure. 3.59, Detail of folio 'Ajā'ib al-Makhlūqāt, Ms. 671, Lahore Museum (Full image in Figure, 3.41)



Figure. 3.60 Detail of last folio, Gulistān Būstān, MS.1958.567, National Museum Karachi. (Full image in Figure, 3.24)



Figure. 3.61. Detail of folio.1, *Ikhtishār-i Shāhjahānūmāh* Ms. 1962.184, 1874 C.E. National Museum of Pakistan Karachi. (Full image in Figure, 3.301)



Figure. 3.62. Detail of *Dānišnūmāh-i Jahān*, Ms.1970-1. 1883 C.E. National Museum of Pakistan Karachi. (Image of headpiece in Figure, 3.104)

The Color palette

By the time Muslim ornamentation of books came into the hands of illuminators of the 19th century, it had merged into it all, Persian as well as indigenous Indian flavors. This development owes to superb patronage of Mughal rulers and ensuing workmanship of Indian artists to a great deal. In Mughal Lahore books, a heavier use of reds, oranges and other strong colors have already been noticed. They exhibit fondness for floral arabesques in more daring shapes. Though the Mughal palette was changed to cooler and transparent hues of blues and

greens and washes of browns and golds in the later years (Losty, 1980, p. 82), Lahore artist kept the pure and vibrant palette till the end of manuscript illumination in the end of 19th century. This difference is also prominently noticeable if we compare the illuminations of Lahore with that of Delhi in 19th century³³. The choice of colors in Lahore illumination seems a bit closer to Kashmir illumination of early 19th century. Later in the century, Kashmir illumination kept a uniform blue and gold in illuminated frontispieces. Lahore illumination of 19th century on the other hand, surpass all in vibrancy and purity of colors. Deep blue, orange, scarlet, maroon, purple and gold are preferred colors. Pinks and Lilacs also make their appearance in many cases. Some colors like vibrant yellow and bright crimson, though dazzlingly present in illustrations are not to be found in illuminations. But overall there is a message of love for color in the illuminations of 19th century books of Lahore. The most profuse use is that of gold. Quite understandable is this phenomenon when one search through the accounts of travelers visiting Lahore time after time. British visitor W.G. Osbourne, describes the opulent setting of Ranjit's court "...the floor was covered with rich shawl carpets, and a gorgeous shawl canopy, embroidered with gold and precious stones, supported on golden pillars, covered three parts of hall" (Osbourne, 1840, p .73). The same was felt with reference to the clothes and uniforms worn by the courtiers and guards (Eden, 1978, p. 227; Osbourne, 1840, p. 71 as cited in Crill, 1999, pp. 115-117). The illuminators, the torchbearers of the traditions of Mughal Lahore, got renewed reinforcement by the colors of regalia and paraphernalia of Sikh court.

Where vibrant hues were the predilection for Lahore illuminators, they also remained conscious of never overdoing it. They provide ample negative areas with cooler tones along with the brightly colored designs (see Figure, 3.63). Complementary colors as blue and orange if

³³ For an example of this phenomenon a Delhi illumination figure, 3.54, may be noted for its use of cool lighter palette.

placed side by side are always reserved for the smaller areas within the overall design. Furthermore, when applied side by side one color is kept restricted to outline its complementary area (see Figure, 3.64). The balance of color as well as design is provided by yet another device. The ornate and colorful headpieces are complimented by simple linear fleurons extending from the top edge of the design to the upper edge of the illuminated folio. They are of single color almost always painted in single blue shade thus providing a well balanced background for the colors and patterns of the main unit of illumination (see Figures, 3.65, 3.66).



Figure. 3.63, Detail of headpiece of folio 1 'Ā'in-i Akbari, Ms. S.M. 7, Lahore Fort Museum. Full image in Figure, 3.38



Figure. 3.64, Detail of Head piece folio 1, Shāhnāmāh, Ms, Pe II 8B 4877, Punjab University Library, Full image in Figure, 3.35



Figure. 3.65, Headpiece *Shāhnāmāh*, fol.1 Ms. 10828, Ganj Bakhsh Library Islamabad. Photo by author



Figure. 3.66, Headpiece, *Ā'in-i Akbari*, Ms. Pe II 8B, 4877. fol.1, Punjab University Library, Lahore. Photo by author

The Designs and shapes.

As already mentioned earlier in the chapter, in the realm of Muslim ornamentation, design vocabulary may be classified into three categories: Polygonal geometric designs, curvilinear patterns and biomorphic patterns. Persian ornament is a mixed style combining conventional Arabian with an attempt at the natural (Jones, 1856, p. 76; Humbert, 1980). Indian ornamentation after the Mughals always expressed this mixed Persian influence in its design vocabulary owing to its direct contact with the Persians. At the same time it fused into it, local preferences for a vibrant palette and indigenous motifs.

The vocabulary of motifs and designs of Lahore school in general, seems to have a preference for biomorphic patterns. Yet, geometry plays its part as skeleton of these designs. It is also used as individual polygonal patterns surrounding the main unit of illumination design.

As the basis of design, the favorite of all shapes appear to be the rhombus or diamond shape. This shape is not only providing the skeleton for the overall lay outs but also for the development of individual motifs. When sliced into a half the same rhombus turn into a triangular setting used in the lobed arches of headpieces (see Figures, 3.67- 3.72).



Figure. 3.67 Headpiece, Folio 1, Akbarnāmāh, N.M. 528/12. National Museum Karachi. Original image in Figure, 3.19.

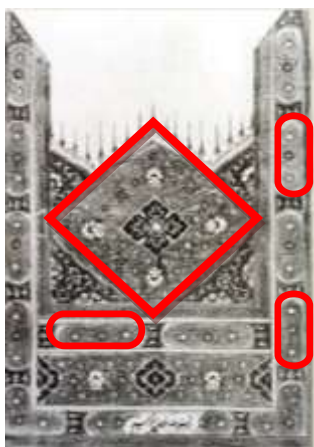


Figure. 3.68 Headpiece folio.1, *Shāhnāmāh*, in New York Public Library, Indo-pers MS.16 Original image in Figure, 3.21



Figure. 3.69 ‘Ajā’ib al-Makhlūqāt, Ms. 671, un paginated, Folio, 534 mm x 298 mm. Lahore Museum. Original image in Figure, 3.41.

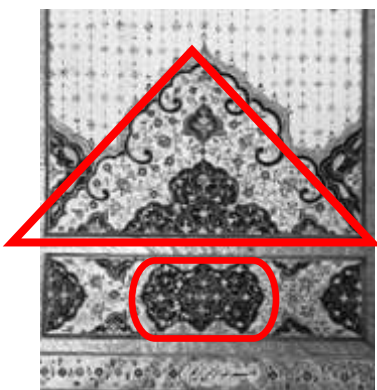


Figure. 3.70 Headpiece, Ā’in-i Akbari, Ms. Pe II 8B, 4877. fol.1, Punjab University Library, Lahore. Original image in Figure, 3.35.

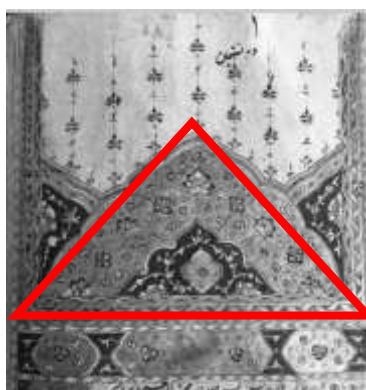


Figure. 3.71 Headpiece *Shāhnāmāh*, fol.1 Ms. 10828, Ganj Bakhsh Library Islamabad. Original image in Figure, 3.34.



Figure. 3.72 Ā’in-i Akbari, Ms. S.M 7, Headpiece Folio. 1, 704 mm x 282 mm. Lahore Fort Museum. Original image in Figure, 3.38.

Other than rhombus and triangle, another frequently occurring shape is the ovoid rectangle or also known as stadium shape. This shape is used for cartouches and also occur repeatedly in the running borders of either the whole page or around the head pieces. Most

commonly this shape is filled with golden color and spirals of small flowers (see Figures, 3.67-3.70). Both these shapes had already been standardized as can be seen in the examples discussed earlier in chapter.

In the development of individual motifs, straight lined **geometrical formations** are applied sparingly and are restricted to the running bands around headpieces. Although, straight lines are less frequently used within the main design unit, yet, they are always used to demarcate the floral areas of main units. In this way they effectively provide contrasts of designs and thus complementing the floral compositions. Wherever they are not implied, they are substituted by means of thick strips of single color. In Kashmir's example on the other hand, instead of using geometrical bands, the outer bands are also adorned with running patterns of flowers or leaves in as varied colors as used in the main area of illumination (see Figure, 3.73). In Delhi miniatures of 18th and 19th century, the separating bands between inner illuminated area and outer border, are either plain colored or floral (see Figure, 3.74). Geometric patterns are rarely used there too. Same is true to Allahabad and Avadh illumination examples of 18th century (Losty, 2002, p. 43, 46).

The geometric patterns used in Lahore illumination examples are various. One of them quite frequently used is the arrow head, or herring bone pattern mostly in the shades of pink and white. This pattern also occur on the parapets of roof of buildings in illustrations. This geometrical pattern occur in continuation right from earlier examples of 18th century as seen in Figure, 3.19 and continued to be used till later examples of 19th century (see Figure, 3.75). Other geometrical designs used are: dotted line, fish scale pattern, wavy line and knotted motifs with interwoven arrangement of triangles or rhombus (see Figures, 3.75-3.79).



Figure. 3.73, *Ḥamla-i Ḥydari*, Ms. 1959.408, Recto folio, 1,292 mm x 183 mm. National Museum of Pakistan, 1848 C.E. Kashmir. (photo by author)



Figure. 3.74, *Shāhnāmāh*, Ms. 2013, Oct. 9 Lot, 85. Sotheby's London, Early 19th century, Delhi (shahnama.caret.ac.uk)



Figure. 3.75 Detail of headpiece of folio 1 *Ā'in-i Akbari*, Ms. S.M. 7, Lahore Fort Museum (Full image in Figure, 3.38)



Figure. 3.76 .Detail of Headpiece *Shāhnāmāh*, fol.1 Ms. 10828, Ganj Bakhsh Library Islamabad. (Full image in Figure, 3.34)

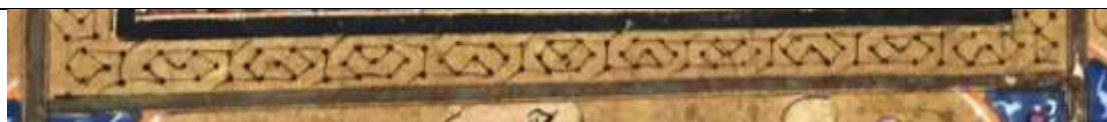


Figure. 3.77. Detail of headpiece illumination, Fol. 1, '*Ajāib al-Makhlūqāt*, Lahore Museum. Full image in Figure. 3.27



Fig. 3.78, Detail of headpiece, *Ikhtasār-i Shāhjahānnāmāh*, Ms. 1962. National Museum of Pakistan, Karachi. 184, 1874 C.E Full image in Figure, 3.103



Fig. 3.79, Detail of *Dānīshnāmāh-i Jahān*, National Museum of Pakistan, Karachi. 1883 C.E Full image in Figure. 3.304.

The other much larger set of patterns and motifs used in illumination of Lahore School of 19th century is from **biomorphic category**. This category includes both continuous designs and closed motifs. Closed motifs are used within the interlaced or scrolling patterns or they make small individual units themselves.

The Motifs

The most prominent of all motifs used by the illuminator of 19th century Lahore book is the diamond shape or rhombus motif. This motif besides being utilized frequently in the general layout of illuminated unit is also used as a smaller and closed form within the whole scheme. It usually takes up a prime position in the whole scheme of illumination and is also used cut in a half at the sides. In simpler instances it appears as two pointed arches, one at the upper and other at the lower side and two round arches on sides meeting the former ones at their cusps thus forming an unpronounced Tetra meron flowers (see Figures, 3.80-3.82). In some elaborate illuminations it takes the form of a quatrefoil flower with all equal sides (see Figures, 3.83-3.85).



Figure. 3.80 Detail from. folio 1, Kifāya-i Mujahiddīya. Ms. 249 . 1765 C.E. National Archives of Pakistan Islamabad.(Full image in Figure. 3.18)



Figure. 3.81 Detail of Headpiece Shāhnāmāh, fol.1 Ms. 10828, Ganj Bakhsh Library Islamabad. (Full image in Figure. 3.34)



Figure, 3.82 Detail of headpiece of folio 1 Ā'in-i Akbari, Ms. S.M. 7, Lahore Fort Museum (Full image in Figure, 3.38)



Figure, 3.83, Detail of headpiece illumination, Fol. 1, 'Ajā'ib al-Makh'lūqāt, Lahore Museum. (Full image in Figure. 3.28)



Figure, 3.84 Detail of Headpiece, 'Ā'in-i Akbari, Ms. Pe II 8B, 4877. fol.1, Punjab University Library, Lahore. (Full image in Figure. 3.35)



Figure, 3.85, Detail of headpiece of folio 1 'Ā'in-i Akbari, Ms. S.M. 7, Lahore Fort Museum (Full image in Figure. 3.38)

The use of this motif can be traced back to Persian illuminations in 16th and 17th centuries. Owen Jones (1856), in his “Grammar of ornamentation” sees this motif derived from purer Arabian arabesques (Jones, 1856, p. 76, pl. XLVI). To those, Persians added their floral preferences. From Persian illumination it travelled to the Mughals. In Lahore’s Mughal illumination we may observe its use along with peony arabesque (see Figure, 3.2). In 18th and 19th century Lahore illumination it assumes a pivotal position. It is mostly painted in contrasting colors from the background and is surrounded by open work of floral scrolls. In this way it takes the centre that attracts the eye in first glance.

The purely **floral motifs** used in Lahore school are of many types. The recurrent use of three of their types can be observed: a palmetto shaped five petal flower with a round centre and drooping sepals at lower ends, sometimes referred to as peony flower (see Figure, 3.86); a quatrefoil and/or five petal open flower whose petals are divided by means of colored strokes (see Figures, 3.88, 3.89); small round circles with a central round dab painted as miniature flowers (see Figure, 3.90); a heart shaped small dab of color as buds of flowers (see Figure, 3.91)



Figure, 3.86, Detail of Headpiece *Shāhnāmāh*, fol.1 Ms. 10828, Ganj Bakhsh Library Islamabad. (Full image in Figure. 3.34)



Figure, 3.87, Detail from headpiece of folio 1 *Ā'in-i Akbari*, Ms. S.M. 7, Lahore Fort Museum (Full image in 3.38)



Figure, 3.88, *Nuzhat al-Qulūb*, Ms. 9447. Detail of fol.1 Border. Ganj Bakhsh Library. (Full image in Figure, 3.51)



Figure, 3.89, Detail of Headpiece, *Ā'in-i Akbari*, Ms. Pe II 8B, 4877. fol.1, Punjab University Library, Lahore. (Full image in Figure, 3.35)



Figure, 3.90, Detail from headpiece of *Bahār-i Dāniṣh* MS. 315, Fol. 1 Ganj Bakhsh Library Islamabad, (Full image in Figure, 3.37)



Figure, 3.91, Detail from headpiece of *Akbarnāmāh*, Ad. 26203, Headpiece folio, 1 The British Library, (Full image in Figure, 3.31)

Among floral motifs used in illumination of Lahore's book art, the last three categories mentioned above may also be noticed in 18th century examples as well (see Figures, 3.15, 3.16, 3.17), the peony flower form though does not occur in 18th century specimens but can be seen developed in its full form and color in 1809 C.E. manuscript of *Mathnawi-i Mīr Ḥasan* (see Figure, 3.22).

The use of all these flowers is not new to Lahore illumination of 18th and 19th century. It can be seen used in numerous examples of Persian, Ottoman and earlier Indian illumination. The

distinctiveness of Lahore illumination does not lie in their form rather, in their persistently occurring combinations, the coloring and their peculiar way of shading. Whenever used, the petals of flowers are shaded in a darker tone at the edges and lighter, or white starting from the nucleus of the flower.

The rich vocabulary of vegetal motifs of Lahore school also include some kinds of **leaves**. The most commonly used among them is the non-serrated acanthus. This can be found in borders (see Figure, 3.92), around the small spaces left outside the cartouches (see Figure, 3.93) and it also forms the whole unit of illumination by means of repeated interlacings (see Figure, 3.94) The first two areas of application can commonly be found in almost all kinds of manuscripts, equally applied to 18th as well as 19th century illumination units. However, the later is confined to one individualized category discussed later in the chapter preferred by a duo of eminent calligraphers of 19th century Lahore.



Figure, 3.92, Detail of border illumination, unpaginated, 'Ajā'ib al-Makhlūqāt, Lahore Museum. (Full image in Figure, 3.27)



3.93, Detail from headpiece of folio 1 Ā'īn-i Akbari, Ms. S.M. 7, Lahore Fort Museum (Full image in 3.38)



3.94, Detail of headpiece, *Ikhṭaṣūr-i Shāhjahānnāmāh*, Ms. 1962. National Museum of Pakistan, Karachi. 184, 1874 C.E (Full image in Figure, 3.103)

The continuous designs

Besides the geometrical bands discussed earlier, many continuous patterns occur within the main areas of illumination. The most common among them that can also be traced clearly in 18th century examples is the **spirals** interspersed with small flowers. These spirals are like signature emblems of Lahore illumination. They occur indiscriminately in all lavishly and modestly adorned manuscripts (see Figures, 3.24-3.41), and Figures, 3.95-3.97.



Figure, 3.95, Headpiece illumination, unpaginated, ‘Ajā’ib al-Makhlūqāt, Lahore Museum. Photo by author



Figure, 3.96 Detail from adjacent Figure, 3.95



Figure, 3.97, Detail from adjacent Figure, 3.95

There is another type of open convoluted **network of rinceaux with foliates** and flowers painted in some manuscripts. They are denser branches of interlaced foliage. One of the best examples of this type of floral arrangement is in an illumination of a manuscript of Būstān-i Sa‘di, Ms. 7282 (see Figures, 3.98, 3.100). Similar formations occur in Ā’īn-i Akbari, Pe II8b, 4788 of Punjab University Library manuscript (see Figure, 3.99).



Figure, 3.98, Būstān-i Sa'di, Ms. 7282, Headpiece folio. 1. 205 mm x 130 mm. Punjab University Library 1835 C.E. Lahore. Photo by author



Figure, 3.99, Ā'in-i Akbari, Pe II8b, 4788 Detail of headpiece fol. 1. of Punjab University Library



Figure, 3.100, Būstān-i Sa'di, Ms. 7282, Detail of Headpiece folio. 1.(adjacent image) Punjab University Library

Third type of biomorphic open pattern was perhaps originated and used by two of the renowned artists/ calligraphers/ illuminators of 19th century Lahore. These two artists, father and son, Rām Kaul Ṭṭa and Daya Rām Kaul Ṭṭa, were from a Hindu Brahman family from Kashmir and migrated to Lahore (Srivastava, 1983, p. 55; Hasan, 1998, p. 144; Bhutta, 2007, p. 267) in the third decade of 19th century. During the age of lithographic printing Dya Rām joined Kuhinūr Press and worked as a calligraphist there. Rām Kaul Ṭṭa and his son illustrated and illuminated many manuscripts present in the archives of India and Pakistan. Among his calligraphed and illuminated books some famous one are: Gulghaṣṭa-i Punjāb (1849 C.E.) in

Māhārāja Ranjūt Singh Museum Amritsar Acc. No. 7, Zafarnāmāh Gūru Gubind Singh (1872 C.E) in Patiala Archives Ms. Acc. no. M/824, Gulzār-i Kashmīr 1856 C.E. in Lahore.

Though we have instances of many other Kashmir artists illuminating the manuscripts in Lahore in their own Kashmiri idiom, yet these two artists devised their own style different from the typical Kashmir style and also different from the main stream Lahore illumination. Their signature style of illumination is composed of an arabesque arrangement of interlaced acanthus leaves and stems in the headpiece illumination on first folio. Where this individualistic style shows affiliations with Lahore school in its broader treatment of design and use of small flowers, it also connects itself to Kashmir in its preference for blue and gold and lesser insertion of other colors.

An illuminated manuscript of Ikhtaṣār-i Shāhjāhānnāmāh, according to the colophon, is transcribed by Rām Kaul Ṭuṭa, in Lahore, in 1194 A.H (in every probability it is 1294 A.H, as it appears to be forged too. We have dated works by Rām Kaul Ṭuṭa from as late as 1872 C.E. so the date that appears to be forged, 1194 A.H/ 1780 C.E cannot possibly be the date of transcribing. It can however be 1294 A.H/ 1877 C.E., which seems logical if compared with other manuscripts scribed by Rām Kaul Ṭuṭa. Though perhaps damaged by water, the physical quality of paints and paper of this manuscript suggest that it belongs to later date. The manuscript is in National Museum of Pakistan Karachi, Ms. 1962-184. Total no. of folios is 416, measuring 263 mm x 155 mm. There is one illuminated page, at the beginning of the book. The head piece is illuminated with the typical style of Rām Kaul. There is a quatrefoil flower in the centre which is surrounded by interlacing scrolls of delicate acanthus leaves. The cartouche under the design contains stadium shaped panel with the verse on it. The sides of it has same miniature acanthus inter-lacings. Rām Kaul illumination is mostly restricted to three colors: blue,

gold and red (see Figures, 3.101). The convoluted acanthus leaf arrangement of Rām Kaul Ṭṭa have some features in common with another illumination. A manuscript of ‘Ajā’ib al-Makḥlūqāt illuminated and illustrated by Faḍl al-Dīn Ṣaḥḥāf in 1854 C.E. have resemblance with Ṭṭa’s illumination (see Figure, 3.102) but with a different composition. It suggests that perhaps many of the artists were working in close connection with each other thus sharing some of their stylistic characteristics.



Figure, 3.101 Ikhtisār-i Shāhjahānnāmāh, Ms. 1962-184, Folio 1. 263 mm x 155 mm. National Museum of Pakistan. 1877 C.E Lahore. Photo by author



Figure, 3.102, Detail of Ajā’ib al-Makḥlūqāt, Io Islamic, 3243. Folio, 3b, 343 mm x 187 mm, the British Library, Full image in Figure, 3.20

Another manuscript, **Dānishnāmāh-i Jahān**- a medical manual, is in National Museum of Pakistan (Ms. 1970-1). According to the colophon it was scribed in 1883 C.E in Lahore. Though it does not contain information about the scribe it has strong stylistic affinities with not only, **Ikhtisār-i Shāhjahānnāmāh**, mentioned above, but also with **Gulgashta-i Punjāb** calligraphed, illustrated and illuminated by Rām Kaul. Two of its opening pages are illuminated

in the selected colors and design of Rām Kaul where the convolutions of stylized acanthus forms a continuing design units (see Figures, 3.103, 3.104).



Figure, 3.103, Headpiece Gulghashta-i Punjāb, 1849
Lahore, Acc. No. 7, Mahārāja Ranjīt Singh Museum, Amritsar
(Daljeet, 2004, p. 122, 123)



Figure, 3.104, , Headpiece, Verso, Folio. 1
Dānīshnāmāh-i Jahān, N.M. 1970-1, National Museum of
Pakistan, Karachi. Photo by author

An extremely rare kind of illumination, with the format of design quite like Rām Kaul style, is that of Bāhār-i Dānīsh, in Ganj Bakhsh Library Islamabad, Acc. No. 1056. Ingeniously incorporating human and animals, it is arranged in an interlaced, convoluted formations of acanthus leaves and broad stems made out of animal forms. The scribe according to the colophon is Mīr Mahbūb Shāh. We cannot be sure about the illustrator, but the overall composition is close to the above mentioned style with a distinct individual touch. The central upright acanthus shape around which the other branches and foliated leaves are interlaced (as in Figures, 3.103 and 3.104), here takes the form of a human body or an angel around which stylized animal figures are ingeniously interconnected (see Figure, 3.105). This one of its kind headpiece is the only one that incorporates biological with biomorphic.



Figure. 3.105. *Bāhār-i Dānīsh*, Headpiece folio. 1, 275 mm x 145 mm Ganj Bakhsh Library Islamabad, Acc. No. 1056
Photo by author

As we have examined, Kashmir's illustrators and illuminators were travelling to Lahore continuously, some coming on temporary and others living on permanent basis. There are some manuscripts, that interestingly include paintings in Lahore iconography while the illumination is in purely Kashmir's idiom. In illustrations, the two styles intermingle but in illumination, the differences are obvious. A manuscript of *Bāhār-i Dānīsh* in National Museum of Pakistan Karachi is an interesting example in this regard. It's illumination is in completely Kashmir's manner (see Figure, 3.106), but the illustrations cover many styles of Lahore existing in 19th century. Additionally, we have records of many calligraphers and illuminators who kept on travelling between Kashmir and Lahore or other areas of Punjab. One of the very prominent ones

among them is Imām Wairdi. He is considered as the father of Lahore calligraphic school. He came from Afghanistan in first half of 19th century to Lahore. While in Lahore he stayed with Governor of Kashmir, Nawāb Shaikh Imām al-Dīn. During this stay with him he kept on going to Kashmir for long visits. He died in Lahore in 1880 C.E. (Ali, 1962; Rahi, 1986 ; Bhutta, 2007). There are many specimens of calligraphy made by Imām Wairdi in the archives of Pakistan and abroad. Most of them beautifully illuminated too. All of them however are in Kashmir style of illumination. A beautiful specimen of his illuminated small book is in Lahore Fort Museum, Naqsh-i Nizām-al Mulk Yūsufi, Ms. N.M.1958. 436 (see Figure, 3.107). The colophon states his name and year of writing as 12 67 A.H/ 1850 C.E.

All these examples show that in Lahore, Kashmir style of illumination was co-existing with Lahore illumination style, in some of the examples, like Rām Ṭṭa’s illuminations we do notice an overlapping of styles while in other manuscripts, they remain within their own ambits.



Figure. 3.106, Bāhār-i Dānish, Lahore, 19th century, Folio. 1 headpiece, 288 mm x 168 mm Ms. N.M. 168.569, National Museum of Pakistan, Karachi. Photo by author



Figure. 3.107, Naqsh-i Nizām-al Mulk Yūsufi, Lahore, 1856 C.E. Folio 1. 266 mm x 165 mm. Ms. N.M.1958. 436 Lahore Fort Museum, Lahore. Photo by author.

During the second half of 19th century, when Lithography began to take the place of written book in Lahore (Golding, 1924; Bhutta, 2007), the tradition of illumination was kept alive by the illuminators in hand written books and in lithographed books as well. The illuminators in the lithographed version had to compromise to leave their motley palette, yet the motifs remained intact for a long period³⁴. The resulting transmission was thus smooth.

Chapter conclusion

As early as 17th century, manuscript illumination in Lahore, while keeping the basic color and design vocabulary of Mughal Lahore, assumed a regional character of its own. After the Mughals till around mid of 18th century books on subjects pertaining to religion, theology, medicine, ethics and jurisprudence were produced in Lahore in abundance. A large amount of manuscripts by their colophons show that Lahore remained an important center of book production throughout 17th and 18th century. There are some rare specimens from Lahore in which illustrations and illuminations were inculcated from the early 18th century. Regular appearance of illuminated books however may be observed after the first half of the 18th century. Though 18th century illuminations show that the vocabulary of design and color was already standardized in them, yet, it reached to its refinement in 19th century.

The patronage at the sub-imperial level remained a permanent feature of Lahore's illumination from the beginning of Mughal era to 19th century. This resulted in the fluctuation of quality of design, detailing and choices of color. If one manuscript is executed with utmost care in detail the other is done in sketchy manner, all depending on choice and available resources of the patron. In spite of this variation the style remains unified by shared character of design and color vocabulary.

³⁴ illuminated specimens in lithography are discussed separately in chapter, 5, "Lithography in Lahore: A continued love for hand written book".

The approach towards design elements in Lahore's illumination is simplistic on choice. The designs are not as dense and intricate as that of its contemporary schools. The designs whether on borders, shamsās, headpieces or interlinear, give an impression of geometric regularity but, on close observation reveal that they are not governed by strict arrangements and regulations of its components. The colors applied are bright and varied but have a balanced arrangement in their placements. Bright applications of color are always complemented by neutral tones. Same is the illuminator's attitude towards design. A complex motif or arrangement is always surrounded by simpler forms- plain strips of color or pure geometrical demarcations.

Illuminations from Lahore provide us an excellent source of visual vocabulary of designs by which many of the manuscripts without colophons can be assigned to the group of Lahore school of book art. In addition they are of pivotal importance in proving the existence of Lahore book art in 17th and 18th centuries during which we have extremely rare examples of illustrations. 19th century illuminations from Lahore are the testimonials of a long existing tradition in the region.

4. Illustrations of Lahore's book art of 19th century: The stylistic characteristics

Analyzed on the basis of subject matter, Lahore's illustrated book of 19th century encompasses the following categories:

1. Classical literature in Persian
2. Contemporary prose and poetry from local or foreign writers in Persian
3. Historical accounts in Persian
4. Astrological, medicinal, ethical literature in Persian
5. Fiction in Urdu and Punjabi
6. Sacred text of Hindus and Sikhs, some in Persian translations others in Gurūmukhi script.

Lahore School of illustration include manuscripts from all the above categories. A large variety of texts for illustrations is one of the unusual characteristics of this school. On comparison, contemporary schools of book art have produced lesser variety of works, a fact also noted by Schmitz, (1996, p. 185) thus providing a huge corpus of visual repertoire. These manuscripts show their affiliation with Lahore in varied ways. Some by intrinsic evidence provided by the books themselves, in the form of their colophons, categorically stating, that, the book have been transcribed in Lahore. In others without such information the connection to Lahore is attempted by drawing stylistic analogies from dated manuscripts. Occasionally we do find manuscripts that are transcribed in regions near Lahore and not "in Lahore" but on stylistic basis they are affiliated with Lahore school.

This investigation on part of the author does not implies that Lahore illustration style of 19th century is a monolithic, strictly typified painting style and have a stock image vocabulary, rather it shows, that Lahore's illustrations of books share a distinctive feel about them. This

distinctiveness- and unity amidst diversity in almost all of 19th century illustrated books, necessitated to classify it by the label ‘school’.

Diversity when applied to Lahore style is manifested in many ways. The treatment of the same subject is different in terms of drawing, painting and also in the selection of episodes to be illustrated. If one cycle of illustration in *Bahār-i Dānīsh* for example, is as short as five paintings the other has as many as a hundred paintings. If one episode is selected to be illustrated in one, the other opts to ignore it all together. Same is true to the composition. A scene of *Shāhnāmāh* in one copy is constituted by a large number of figures arranged in layers of picture plain asymmetrically, in the other copy the same scene appears to be constituted of minimal number of figures arranged symmetrically. This characteristic of style is quite different from the contemporary and physically proximate Kashmir school of illustration where one can almost predict the elements of picture from one copy to another. Amidst this diversity of style there are certain unifying signature characteristics of style that connects them under the larger umbrella of Lahore school of illustration of 19th century

Style I

When we attempt to analyze diversity of style, many varied forms manifests themselves on close observation. One among them and chronologically perhaps the earliest among them is a style that is less detailed. This style seems to have developed from the illustrations of 18th century Lahore³⁵ Some of the shared characteristics of illustrations of 18th century Lahore and early 19th century are: closed spatial depth (a device frequently used in murals), division of composition by means of straight partitions provided by walls or straight edges of other objects as bed; faces without any shading around the eyes or around jaw-lines; smaller bodies with

³⁵ A manuscript of Hātifi’s *Laila wa Majnūn* is recorded by Barbara Schmitz from *Bibliothèque Nationale de France Suppl. Persi. 1922* whose colophon records the name of the patron as Nawāb *Shāh Nawāz Khān*, the Mughal governor of Lahore, produced in Lahore (Schmitz, 2002, pp. 14-15).

comparatively larger heads. One of the documented evidence of this style from the first two decades of 19th century comes in the forms of descriptions of murals by foreign travelers in Lahore. Charles Mason travelled in Punjab from 1826-1836 C.E. describes Avitabile's house in Lahore with murals (Masson, 1842, Vol. I, p. 414), Vigne, a British geographer, in his travelogue records the paintings in General Ventura's house in Anārkali in 1835-36 C.E.(Vigne, 1840, p. 257). L. William Barr explains at length the wall paintings in Royal Palace Lahore and General Allard's house beyond Anārkali (Barr, 1844, pp. 69-71; pp. 77-80; pp. 99-102). Summarizing their descriptions one can deduce certain characteristics of this local style during the first two decades of 19th century, in murals. They include:

- Multiple perspective within one picture.
- Short stout figures with larger heads as compared to the body
- Use of limited palette of bright colors
- Close spaced compositions

In addition to the aforementioned accounts we do have certain examples of manuscript illustration that manifest the same qualities. The Raza Library Rampur, India have a manuscript of Shams- i Anjuman Acc. No. P.3067. The subject of this manuscript is a story written in 1727 C.E. during the reign of Muḥammad Shāh by Bulaq Baig Naqshbandi (Hadi, 1995, p. 382). The colophon as recorded in the catalogue of Raza Library Rampur states that the manuscript was copied in 1234 A.H./1819 C.E. in Lahore. Some of the miniatures in the manuscript are linked stylistically with the little known 18th century style of Lahore and seems also to be connected with the accounts of the travelers in early 19th century discussed earlier (see Figure, 4.1). This early rather archaic style is characterized by short figures with larger heads in proportion to the body, bright colors and absence of any attempt at bringing out plasticity in the human body and

lack of space. The horizons are painted very high showing usually a wavy fringe of clouds on the top edge of the painting. Stylistically similar illustrations can be seen in some manuscripts that hails from Sialkot, a city towards north-west of Lahore. A manuscript of *Shāhnāmāh* in Milli Library Tehran, Acc. no. 17787-5, scribed by Sattār Muḥammad Ghulām ‘Ali, in its colophon gives the date of completion 1236 A.H/ 1820 C.E in Sialkot. The illumination of this manuscript is in earlier Lahore style of 19th century (see Figure, 4.2).

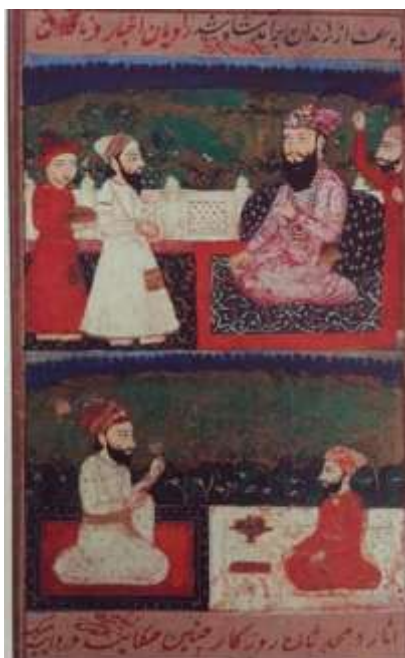


Figure 4.1, *Shams-i Anjuman*, Lahore, 1819 C.E. ,Ac. No. P.3076, The Raza Library Rampur (Schmitz & Desai, 2006, p. 136 pl. 213)



Figure.4.2, *Shāhnāmāh*, Sialkot, 1820, Tehran Milli Library, Acc. no. 17787-5 folio. 011r (retrieved from: shahnama.caret.cam.ac.uk)

There is another one from Sialkot scribed 20 years earlier from this manuscript in Cambridge University Library U.K, Acc. no. Or. 1354 (15). The scribe of this manuscript is Raḥīm Bakhsh son of Muḥammad Bakhsh son of Pīr Muḥammad and according to the colophon the date of completion of this manuscript is July 17th, 1800 C.E. The illustrations of this manuscript are in Lahore idiom of 1830’s to 1850’s. They are obviously inserted later as some of the gaps left for painting insertions are still there. Yet another manuscript of *Shāhnāmāh*, Ms.

885, in Lahore Museum hails from Sialkot, from 1822 C.E. scribed by Qādir Bakhsh bin Ghulām Muḥammad. This manuscript has spaces left in between the text for additions of illustrations. There are certain points regarding these Sialkot manuscripts to be noted here. Firstly, Sialkot was a connecting city in between the trade and tourism route to Jammu and Kashmir. It had flourishing centers for paper making, metal crafts, high quality embroidered cloth during Mughals (Abu-al Faḍl, 1596/1974, pp. 15, 298, 302) till Sikh rule (Powell, 1872, p. 78). The general conditions of the city were not as chaotic as that of Lahore in the last decades of 18th century so, it is possible that many of the families living there, later on migrated to Lahore when social and financial conditions got stabilized in Lahore. The names of the scribes of all manuscripts are very familiar to Lahore book circle. Specially Muḥammad Bakhsh, the father of the scribe of manuscript of 1800 C.E., is a name mentioned by many including ‘Abd al- Raḥmān Chughtā’i (Chughtā’i, 1979, p. 34) and also by Mussarat Hasan (Hasan, 1998, p. 140) while tracing calligraphers and painters of Lahore who worked in Ranjīt Singh’s court³⁶. In addition there are many references found in the histories mentioning different persons of the same name. Manuscripts with Lahore style paintings added later, or having the miniatures with earlier style of Lahore in Sialkot suggests a constant interchange of arts and crafts as well as literary personages between the two cities thus closely linked with each other.

Lahore style of 19th century book, with its aforementioned character starts to inculcate some features that are later to be intermixed with fully developed illustration style in the second decade of the century. An undated manuscript of Bāhār-i Dānish from National Museum of Pakistan is an interesting example in this regard. It inculcates many different styles of Lahore book within it’s large cycle of illustrations. The first few among them are in the early style of

³⁶ Hasan gives information about many persons named Muḥammad Bakhsh and in case of one of them also mentions the name of his father Pīr Muḥammad as written in the manuscript of Shāhnāmāh, 1800 C.E. from Sialkot, active in Lahore in 1845 C.E (Hasan, 1998, p. 140).

Lahore (see Figures, 4.2, 4.3). Some differences from the earliest style starts to show themselves up. The space behind the figures is widened up to a certain extent. Furthermore, the attire and facial features starts to be linked with later Lahore school's figures. The illustrations retain the insertion of low tracery wall demarcating the background as well as foreground. The court scenes continue to be arranged in the courtyard outside the building usually in the form of white arcaded room or pavilion as in the illustrations of earlier decades. In some paintings the fringed cloud line on the sky is still visible.

This early style of 19th century book of Lahore bloom into a developed refined style of second and third quarter of 19th century but in some instances the earlier style seems to co-exist with the later developed one as for example a manuscript of *Tawārīkh-i Sulaymāni*, in Raza Library Rampur dated 1260 A.H/ 1844 C.E, contains illustration in the same style.



Figure. 4.3 *Bāhār-i Dāniṣh*, Ms. N.M. 168.569, Folio 15, 150 mm x 115 mm. National Museum of Pakistan, Karachi.
Photo by author.



Figure. 4.4 *Bāhār-i Dāniṣh*, Ms. N.M. 168.569, Folio 18, 150 mm x 115 mm. National Museum of Pakistan, Karachi.
Photo by author.

From around the last years of second decade, till the start of last quarter of 19th century, Lahore book illustration manifests many different styles of miniature painting in its huge corpus of books produced. They range from meticulously illustrated big sized books commissioned by wealthier nobles from court circle to, not so fastidiously illustrated books, scribed and painted by common people producing books in their homes or in institutions attached to worship places. There is a plethora of books exhibiting varied styles bound together by stylistic commonness. They are not thus separated from each other by any hard and fast rules rather, their stylistic characteristics constantly overlap.

Style II

One of the styles frequently making its appearance in relatively small sized books, is evident for example, from an Urdu classic, scribed by Mūr Akram Baig Lāhauri in 1847 C.E. Since we know from certain sources that Akram Baig was also an artist (Chughtā'i 1979, pp. 36, 37), and belonged to the family of artists and calligraphers who were attached with Mughal court, we may deduce with surety that he is also the illustrator. Additionally, the sizes and style of execution of this book and many other books with similar characteristics suggest that, it is unlikely that separate artists were hired for the illustrations of this perfunctorily executed book art. Though it also exhibits many elements taken from the standard vocabulary of Lahore school, discussed later in the chapter, this style in general, show lack of details in modeling of facial forms of figures, floor and other architectural patterns. The forms are separated from each other by dark black harsher outline. The shading on the faces sometimes take the form of a pink tinge around jaw line and neck and other times a small black thin stroke of brush (see Figure, 4.5). The figures and specially the dignitaries of the court are shown wearing a small waist length jacket usually golden in color, studded on the edges by white pearls drawn as continuing white dots

(see Figure, 4.6), a feature also common in Kashmiri contemporary illustrations. The poses in this style are not as agile as in some other examples, and are relatively stiff. There seems a preference for crimson and yellow (see Figure, 4.7). The miniatures are mostly of small sizes inserted in larger proportion of text on the page. In some cases they are as small as 50 mm x 80 mm (Karīma-i Sa‘di, Ms. O-419/7646, Fol. 5, 7, Punjab University Library), (see Figure, 4.8). This style of Lahore Book cannot be separated chronologically from other ones discussed later in the chapter. The dates in the colophons show that it was co-existing with other styles of illustration. A manuscript of *Shāhnāmāh* in Raza Library Rampur, P.3917, scribed by Nūr Aḥmad for Muḥammad Bakhsh in Lahore in 1840 C.E to 1850 C.E. , has illustrations in three styles incorporating this style too (Schmitz, 2006, p. 142). Another one in State Library of Victoria, Australia, *Gulistān-i Sā‘di*, transcribed in 1842 C.E. is also in the same style.



Figure 4.5, Detail of , Fol. 58, *Saḥr al-Bayān*, Ms. 13842, 1847 C.E Lahore, Ganj Bakhsh Library, Islamabad. (note the shading on faces and outlines of figures) Photo by author

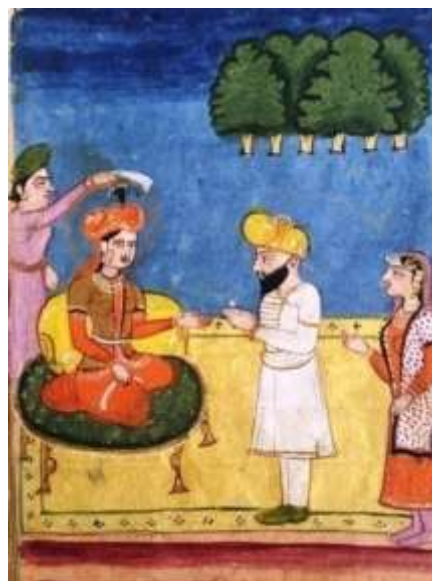


Figure 4.6, *Bahār- i Danīsh*, Ms. Acc. No. 315. Folio.318, 142x 110 mm. Ganj Bakhsh Library, Islamabad. (note the dresses) Photo by author



Figure, 4.7, Gulistān-i Sa'di, Ms. Acc. No. 11562, Folio. 51. 135 x 100 mm. Ganj Bakhsh Library, Photo by author



Figure, 4.8, Karīma-i Sa'di, Ms. Acc. no.O-419/7646, Gujrat, 1844 C.E. Folio. 5, 55 mm x 80 mm. Punjab University Library, Photo by author.

Style III- Lahore-Kashmir Style

A stronger affiliation with Kashmir illustrations can be felt in some of the features of this style of Lahore book illustration. This is especially true to to the figures, their body proportions, dresses and the choice of colors (for comparison with Kashmiri examples, see Figures, 4.9, 4.10). It is perhaps the result of close connection with books and their illustrators of Kashmir in or outside Lahore. In illustrations, there is a blend of their style with that of Lahore. Khulāsa-i Shāhnāmāh in Raza Library Rampur (Schmitz & Desai, 2006, Ms. III. 38, pl. 218, 219), belongs to this category. Some of the manuscript illustrations pertaining to this style seems to be done by Kashmiri artists themselves, working and established in Lahore and those who have trained themselves in Lahore style of work. One of our manuscripts with colophons, that have miniatures in this style give us factual evidence of this phenomenon too. Gulistān Ms. 936, from Lahore

Museum gives us detailed information about the Kashmiri artists who worked on it and temporarily settled in Lahore (see Figures, 4.11), transcribed in 1838 C.E Lahore. A manuscript of Akbarnāmāh, in British Library of quite an early date, 1817 C.E. is also done in this style (see Figure, 4.12). Another in State Library of Victoria, Australia, Gulistān, prepared in 1842 C.E. betrays same stylistic character (see Figure, 4.13). It shows that this style too, cannot be assigned to a specific time period during 19th century. It was constantly exhibiting itself in various manuscripts starting from the second decade till around the last quarter of the century. In addition to the aforementioned examples, quite well known manuscripts of Zafarnāmāh, Gulgashta-i Punjōb, and Military Manual of Ranjīt Singh and their Kashmīri artists, Rām Kaul Tūṭa and his son, are familiar names in the book circle of Lahore. The miniatures inculcated in their works are typically of this style, but with the difference. Since they are recordings of their time, they contain real observations of buildings and attempts at portraiture of important people related to court. Due to the attachment with court circle, they were more exposed to European works, so an effort to achieve volume in figures and draperies is attempted by them (see Figure, 4.14). By observing their works however, one clearly realizes that these artists have blended the Kashmiri style with that of Lahore's and has adopted all the characteristic elements of their illustrations. The lesser agile, limited variety of poses, the gold jackets of dignitaries, preference for brighter palette, court scenes with small number of figures, of Kashmir illustrations are retained and are blended with architectural and landscape features of Lahore School. The colored planes demarcated by clear bands or sections of colors in Kashmir illustrations are not used here. The figures are not as stout as that of Kashmir, besides, the facial features also betray their link with Lahore. Therefore, though different yet, they are inseparable versions of Lahore illustrations



Figure 4.9. *Shāhnāmāh*, Ms. 314, Kashmir, 19th century, miniature, 2, 310 mm x 213 mm, Ganj Bakhsh Library, Photo by author.



Figure 4.10. *Guldasta-i Ma'ni-wa Nukūt*, Kashmir, 1808 C.E. Folio. 383, 121 mm x 74 mm. Ganj Bakhsh Library, Photo by author.

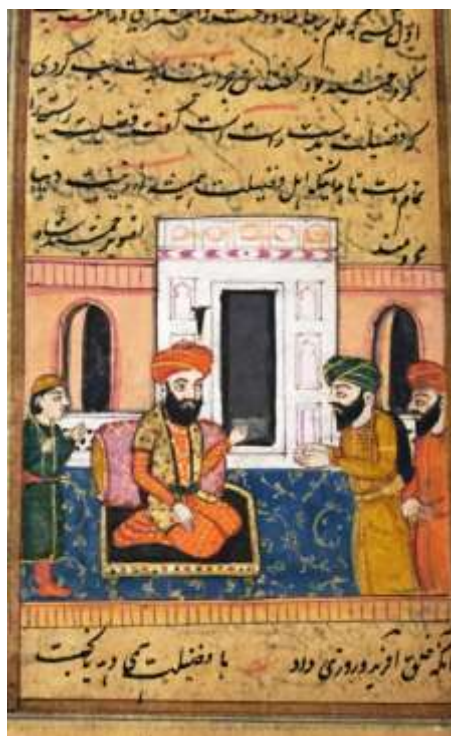
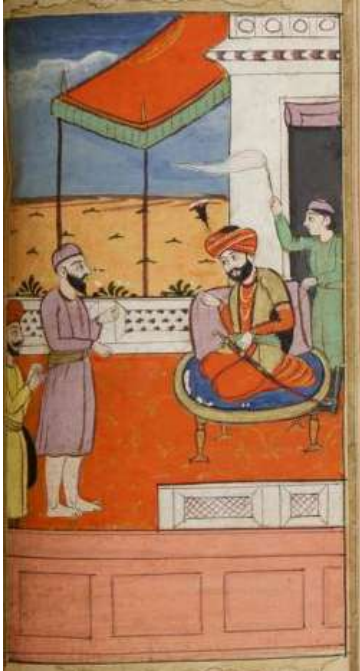


Figure 4.11. *Gulistān-i Sa'adi*, Ms. 936, 1838 C.E. Lahore, Folio, 70 mm x 85 mm, Lahore Museum . Photo by author



Figure 4.12. *Akbarnāmāh*, Ad. 26203, 1817 C.E. Lahore, folio. 499 a, 175 mm x 145 mm.. The British Library, Photo by author



Figure, 4.13, Gulistān-i Sa'di Ms. 1842-43 C.E., Folio. 21r, State Library of Victoria, Retrieved from blogs.slv.vic.gov/arts/Persian



Figure, 4.14, Gulgashta-i Punjāb, 1849 C.E. Lahore, Collection of Mahārāja Ranjīt Singh Museum. (Daljeet, 2005, p. 125)

Style IV

The maximum number of illustrations pertaining to this style makes it the most representative of Lahore school of book during 19th century. Following are the major characteristics of this style:

- Agile figures with more fluid movements
- Longer bodies and relatively smaller heads as compared to style II and III
- Toned down colors
- Softer and fluid outlines

Though the above mentioned features appear in the whole category of Style IV yet, many of the times the previous style and this style merge into each other in many, amongst the huge corpus of illustrations that come under this category. At one end we have small books with

compositions arranged in a small space within the picture plane with hastily drawn figures and comparatively harsher outlines (see Figure, 4.15). At the other end of the spectrum of this large body of works, we witness meticulously painted illustrations with softer fluid lines and shaded facial features (see Figures, 4.16- 4.18). In this category, a transparency in the application of paints may be observed. By using this watercolor effect an effort has been made to produce more dimensions to ground and sometimes in treating the draperies. More roundness of facial form with enhanced shading around the eyes, jaw line and finer treatment of beards are also attempted in this style.



Figure. 4.15 Tārīkh-i Dilkusha-i Shāmshairkhāni, Ms.9515 ,Folio. 75 mm x 83 mm. Ganj Bakhsh Library. Photo by author



Figure. 4.16, Shairsinghnāmāh, IO Islamic, 3231. 1854 C.E. Lahore, Folio, 35 b, 85 mm x 85 mm. The British Library. Photo by author



Figure 4.17. ‘Ajā’ib al-Makhḷūqāt, IO Islamic, 3243, Frontispiece, 343 mm x 187 mm, The British Library, Photo by author.



Figure 4.18. Gulistān, Ms. 10510, , 1840 C.E. 112 mm x 95 mm. Ganj Bakhsh Library. Photo by author

Style V

The fifth style of Lahore School of illustration may be called as the style of Imām Bakhsh Lāhauri. Barbara Schmitz, envisions his style as the sole fashion of Lahore’s Book illustration and also proposes that it was originated and developed by Imām Bakhsh. (Schmitz, 1997, p. 185; 2002, pp. 75-99; 2006, pp. 136-137; 2012, p. 82). Though Schmitz stretches the umbrella of this style to almost all the existent styles examined in this study. However, on close observation, we come to know that Imām Bakhsh signed works are just three. Additionally, a large number of manuscripts in varied styles, different hands and place of separate origins within the region of Lahore, prove that Lahore’s illustration style was a shared style having diversity

within unity. In spite of this, on stylistic grounds there are many works found in the archives around the world that may be linked with this Imām Bakhsh's category of refined Lahore Book Art.

Imām Bakhsh the painter of *La Fontaine Fables*, commissioned by Allard, (French General working under Ranjīt Singh) was one of the many gifted artists of Lahore school. Partly, owing to the comparatively wealthier patrons and partly, due to his own artistic ability, Imām Bakhsh produced works of superb quality. During the time when Delhi and Lucknow miniatures had already assumed a foreign character, Imām Bakhsh is credited with representing a creative art form, while remaining within the traditional boundaries set by his native predecessors. His works and/or other's working in his style, are marked by more roundness of form, detailed execution of figures, architecture, and additional movement on the picture plane while retaining the character of Lahore school of illustration (see Figures, 4.20- 4.4.24).



Figure. 4.19, *La Fontaine Fables* by Imām Bakhsh Lāhauri, 1837 -1839 C.E. Musee Jean de la Fontaine, Chateau Thierry France. Retrieved from; <http://www.la-fontaine-ch-thierry.net/buldeux.htm>



Figure. 4.20, *La Fontaine Fables* by Imām Bakhsh Lāhauri, 1837 -1839 C.E. Musee Jean de la Fontaine, Chateau Thierry France. Retrieved from: <http://apnaorg.com/prose-content/english-articles/page-150/article-5/index.html>

On comparison with other works of illustration, we find certain peculiarities of Imām Bakhsh works. The foremost among them is subtle tonal gradation due to light and shade in some of the landscape elements specially tree trunks, hills and architectural pavilions. In Imām Bakhsh's style shading is attempted but without a single and uniformly determined source of light and it is also without shadows. A more detailed facial treatment of figures can also be noticed. Furthermore, there is greater transparency in the application of paints whenever applied to landscape, the ground and rocks. Animal figures in Imām Bakhsh's paintings show more plasticity and movement. In addition to the aforementioned characteristics, Imām Bakhsh's attempts at real life portraiture can well be judged in Fable's frontispiece, (see Figure, 4.20), and from a painting reproduced by Srivastava, of Prince in the palace signed by Imām Bakhsh currently in Chughtā'i Museum Trust Lahore (Srivastava, 1983, pl. X).



Figure. 4.21. La Fontaine Fables by Imām Bakhsh Lāhauri, 1837 -1839 C.E. Musee Jean de la Fontaine, Chateau Theirry France. <http://www.musee-jean-de-la-fontaine.fr/jean-de-la-fontaine-page-fr-1-0-4.html>



Figure. 4.22 , La Fontaine Fables by Imām Bakhsh Lāhauri, 1837 -1839 C.E. Musee Jean de la Fontaine, Chateau Theirry France. <http://www.musee-jean-de-la-fontaine.fr/jean-de-la-fontaine-page-fr-1-0-4.html>

The commissioned works by Ranjūt Singh himself are extremely rare but there are copies of certain works of prose, that appear to be commissioned by some of the dignitaries of court. They include manuscripts of Ā'īn-i Akbari, Shāhnāmāhs and Khulāṣa-i Shāhnāmāh. One of the

shared characteristic of these books is their larger sizes and also the use of thick, cream colored Sialkoti paper. Their illuminations are quite elaborate too. These manuscripts contain illustrations close to the style of Imām Bakhsh. Though Barbara Schmitz assigns many of them to Imām Bakhsh, but we cannot be sure of this as they do not bear a factual evidence in colophons. For an instance, a manuscript of *Tārikh-i Dilkusha-i Shamshairkhāni*, in Lilly Library Bloomington, perhaps commissioned by Ranjūt Singh³⁷, has style closer to Imām Bakhsh yet, in many ways it is linked with Style IV, discussed earlier, thus standing midway between La Fontaine Illustrations and Style IV works. Same is true to a *Shāhnāmāh* manuscript illustrations in Free Library of Philadelphia (see Figures, 4.23, 4.24).



Figure 4.23 *Tārikh-i Dilkusha-i-Shamshairkhāni*, Folio. 117 r, Bloomington, The Lilly Library of Rare Books and Manuscripts. Retrieved from shahnam.caret.cam.ac.uk



Figure 4.24 *Shāhnāmāh*, Folio. O 58 v, Lewis. 56, Free Library of Philadelphia. Retrieved from: shahnama.caret.cam.ac.uk

³⁷ This manuscript's colophon states that it was given to Lt. Genl. Rumigny from General Allard (Payeur, chapter, 7 p. 225). Allard is known to have commissioned a family portrait by Imām Bakhsh, and it may also be a gift from Ranjūt Singh.

In both of the above examples, we do find some pointers that they were painted by Imām Bakhsh specially the treatment of human figures and animals but landscape is not executed as in Fables. The application of color in the landscape is much flatter and opaque as compared to the paintings of Fables. It is possible however, that for the Persian works of local taste, Imām Bakhsh chose to keep them more conventional than that of the Fable's illustrations.

There are many more manuscripts in this developed style that can be found in the archives around the world, some with more inclinations towards Imām Bakhsh's style others with all the ingredients of a well developed Lahore's illustration codicology, but clearly not from Imām Bakhsh's hand. One of the examples of this is in a manuscript of Bahār-i Dānish, in National Museum of Pakistan Karachi. One of the style out of three, in its large illustration cycle, towards the end of the manuscript, is representative of this phenomenon. The landscape have transparency of color and tonal gradation as in Imām Bakhsh's works but the figures are clearly not by his hand (see Figure, 4.25). A fine manuscript of Ā'in-i Akbari, in Punjab University Library display both the figures and landscape close to Imām Bakhsh's style (see Figure, 4.26). It might have been painted by him but still we do not have a written record. What we do know from the colophon is that it was commissioned by one of the dignitaries of the Sikh court, who might have employed Imām Bakhsh for the task.

What clearly comes out of the whole scenario is the fact that many individual artists with their slight differences of style and their individual preferences of handling in execution of illustrations, were working in Lahore during 19th century.



Figure 4.25. Bahār-i Dānish, N.M. 168.569, Foli. 384, 153 mm x 115 mm, National Museum Karachi. Photo by Author



Figure 4.26. Ā'ūn-i Akbari, Pe II 8B/447. folio. 60 v, 234 mm x 166 mm, Punjab University Library. Reproduced by permission of Library

After the detailed examination of the illustrations another observation affirms the view that the illustrations of these books was not the work of any one studio as assumed by Barbara Schmitz. As mentioned earlier, she builds a hypothesis that Muḥammad Bakhsh Ṣaḥḥōf, was the head of an atelier and was preparing books on orders. His studio was being operated on much the same lines as Akbar's where a group of artists were working together to finish one painting. The head painter assumed by Schmitz was, Imām Bakhsh. He was responsible for making faces and the rest was handled by others (Schmitz, 2012, pp. 100, 101). If so, the compositions and the number of paintings in same manuscript over and over ought to be roughly similar which is not the case with Lahore book illustrations. In essentials the compositions of Lahore illustrations can best be approximated to sub-imperial Mughal manuscripts produced in Lahore as private

commissions by the nobles of court. The sub-imperial category can well be defined as the blend of Royal Mughal and Shiraz manuscript style. However, in spite of the aforementioned essentials and their affinity with Shiraz illustrations, diversity in the arrangement of compositional elements is always felt in Lahore illustrations. They are not as monotonous and predictable as Shiraz compositions of 17th and 18th centuries or Kashmir's contemporary illustrations. Let us take an example of an oft painted scene as, "Rustam killing Shaghād before dying". Eight different manuscripts all hailing from Lahore painted in 19th century conceive the episode differently³⁸. Therefore, in the art scene of Lahore during 19th century, there appear a multitude of artists as well as dealers, though in close connection with each other but, still separately operating.

Style VI

Another facet of Lahore illustrations that emerge during last quarter of 19th century, may be discerned by the difference of style. It may also be chronologically separated from others. This style is characterized by an inclination towards Company Art. Though illustrated books are rare specially in the last decades of 19th century and those with colophons are even rarer, we still have a few examples. This shows that besides printed books that had come in common use by that time, hand written manuscripts and the tradition to illustrate them were continuing.

Four illustrated books in Rampur Raza Library belong to this period. One of them, a *Diwān* of poetry in Urdu, is for Nawāb of Rampur written in 1865 C.E. It contains the portrait of the author- Nawāb Yūsuf 'Ali Khān of Rampur, himself. In addition there are three other books

³⁸ The manuscripts are: U.K. Cambridge University Library. Or. 1354 Folio. 353 v.; Government Museum Alwar. India, Acc. No. 114, Folio. 090 r; Khuda Bakhsh Library Patna Cat. 1797. H.L. 1819 (1830 C.E) folio. 148 v; Khuda Bakhsh Library Patna Cat H.L.3566 A-B, Folio. 350 r; Switzerland, Bern Bernisches Historisches Museum M.B.19 (1835C.E. Lahore) Folio. 341r; Bloomington, U.S.A. The Lilly Library of rare manuscripts, (1835 C.E Lahore) folio, 350 r; Philadelphia Free Library, Lewis. O.56, folio 047 r; The Walters Art Museum Ms. W. 597 folio. 157 r. All of these miniatures may be accessed at the joint repository of Cambridge University by the name Shahnama Project (shahnama.caret.cam.ac.uk)

scribed by Daya Rām Kaul Ṭuṭa, from 1869 C.E. to 1873 (Schmitz & Desai, 2006, pp. 144-147), (see Figure, 4.27). The illustrations are characterized by a difference in facial treatment, which assumes a Victorian, white-pink complexion and a roundness quite unlike the faces of previous decades. It seems closer to the faces painted in the miniatures of Delhi and Lucknow. Some other manuscripts without the colophons, may also be noted that are stylistically affiliated with this category. A manuscript of ‘Ajāi’b al-Makhlūqāt from Lahore Museum can be linked with this style. Another of Nuzhat-al Qalūb from Ganj Bakhsh Library Islamabad, may also come under this heading. Both of them do not have colophons and both include mostly individual paintings of objects and figures, but, in the former, two figure compositions and in the later the illumination give testimony of them belonging to Lahore school. The one from Lahore museum, show loosening up of Lahore idiom in facial treatment and folds of garments treated differently and naturalistically after European Company paintings. These company paintings were being done by a lot of foreign travelers to Lahore, and by that time, they were also much exposed to the local artists, (see Figures, 4.28, 4.29). In Ganj Bakhsh Library manuscript there is a drastic change in style. Hatchings are used to depict volume, the colors exhibit greater degree of transparency and there is much increased effort to draw anatomy with perfection. It is quite probable that it was made from one of the copies of drawings of constellations from a European source (see Figure, 4.30).

During the last decades of 19th century, individual paintings of everyday life in Lahore, the buildings, landscape and people may be found in various archives. They are indicative of the elements of European art adopted by the local painters, at the behest of the European travellers. These “Company paintings” served the purpose of photographs and eminent Englishmen usually had an artists or two at hand for this purpose. This kind of work and its patronage by the British

started way back in India specially in Delhi and Lucknow, before it reached Punjab. This is one of the major reasons that book illustration, stayed intact in its traditional form for a much longer time in Lahore as compared to other regions of India.



Figure, 4.27 Dīwān of Nawāb Yūsuf 'Ali Khān, 1862 C.E Lahore, MS. III/46, Raza Library Rampur. (Schmitz & Desai, 2006, pl.224)



Figure, 4.28 'Ajā'ib al-Makhlūqāt wa Gharā'ib al-Maujūdāt., Ms. 671 Lahore Museum. Photo by author



Figure 4.29 Folio. 31 V , 34 mm x 80 mm 'Ajā'ib al-Makhlūqāt wa Gharā'ib al-Maujūdāt., Ms.671 Lahore Museum. Photo by author



Figure 4.30 Nuzhat al-Qulūb, M.S. 9447, Unpaginated, Constellation, Cassiopia. Ganj Bakhsh Library, Photo by author

Shared Characteristics of varied styles

Up till this point the diversities in the style of book illustrations were under discussion. For a style to be called “A school of Painting” it has to possess certain common grounds within a specific time and space. These similarities where bind extant works of art together, also provide us keys to determine the provenance of those manuscripts that otherwise do not provide factual evidence of their place of origin.

The color palette

Whenever an attempt is made by the art historians to distinguish the style of Royal Mughal Lahore (1584- 1598 C.E), from later Mughal works in other cities, the most prominent feature usually noticed is the use of brighter palette, prominently the daring use of reds, oranges and yellows (Losty. 1982, p. 83). This choice of colors remains a permanent feature of Lahore’s book illustration till its existence. The use of bright yellows and reds in 19th century illustrations do not come as a surprise when one reads the accounts of travelers in Sikh court dazzled by the profusion of brightly colored textiles specially red, yellow and gold (Eden, 1978, p. 227; Osbourne, 1840, p. 71 as cited in Crill, 1999, pp. 115-117). Though the choice of brighter colors was not a new phenomenon, yet their selection was definitely reinforced by the preference of court’s regalia of Ranjīt Singh.

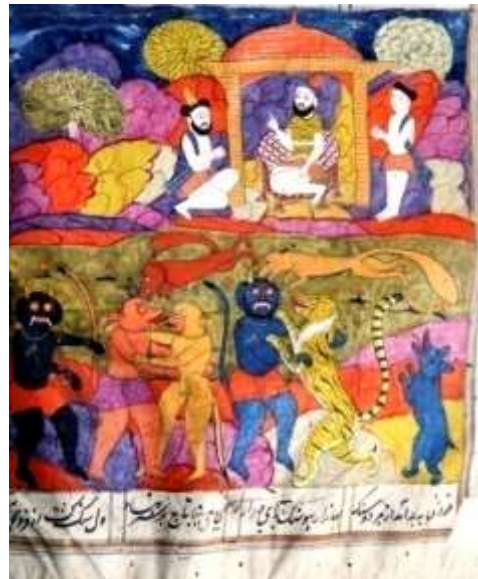
Badin Powell was a civil servant deputed in Punjab under the colonial rule and the curator in charge of Lahore Museum. Powell published official reports on art and industries of Punjab in 1872. In his report of 1872 he comments, “...the other branch of art is coloring. Natives seem to have quite an instinct for color, without the faintest idea of the theory of light and its composition, or the rules about complementary colors; they have seized the results empirically,

and in nearly all their works exhibit a perfect knowledge of contrast and combination” (Powell, 1872, p. 345).

Powell’s makes an important judgment regarding color: the instinctive sense of contrasts and combinations in application of color by Lahore’s artist. This very point defines the color choice of illustrator as well as illuminator. Bright and lively, the colors are applied with a natural sense of balance. If bright oranges and yellows are applied to the dresses of the figures the adjacent colors are always muted and toned down. On the contrary if the artist chooses to apply brighter hues in the background, the figures are painted with lighter or neutral shades. Even if two brighter tones are juxtaposed the surrounding color environment provide a balance (see Figure, 4.31). Affiliated in many ways with contemporary Kashmir book illustrations, the color arrangement of Lahore school takes a step ahead of Kashmir’s works in this quality. The palette is generally the same in both the schools, but Kashmir school tends to juxtapose equally vibrant colors on whole of the picture plane (see Figure, 4.32).

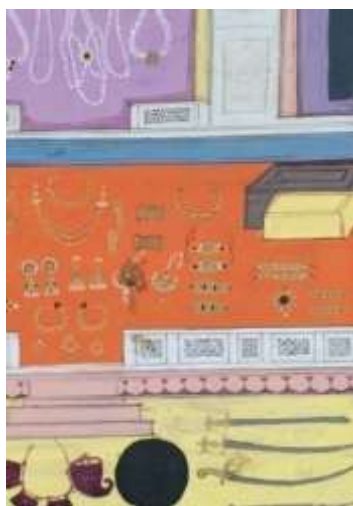


Figure, 4.31 *Shāhnāmāh*, 1824 Lahore, C. E. Ms. 10828, Folio. 52, 167 mm x 125 mm. Ganj Bakhsh Library. Photo by author



Figure, 4.32 *Shāhnāmāh*, 1824 C. E. Kashmir, Ms. 10828, Folio. 52, 167 mm x 125 mm. Ganj Bakhsh Library. Photo by author

The application of color is flat and the hues does not change according to the principles of chiaroscuro. On some areas like the folds of garments, flaps of tents, or the layers of rocks, edges of background hills, the darker shades of the same color is applied to suggest them. Same is applied to most of the outlines making them less stark. A few manuscripts from later part of 19th century, displays greater efforts in depiction of folds of garments by application of darker shades of the same color (see Figures, 4.29, 4.31). Opacity in paint application varies. At some places they are applied with a thick body paint usually mixed with white, much like gouache, (see Figure, 4.33), other times they are purposefully applied with greater transparency as in water colors (see Figure, 4.34). This transparency is more obvious in the works of the later half of 19th century. One of the reasons of this transparency might partly be the exposure to European water color technique that was being used by increasing number of enthusiastic travelers. It may also be due to the introduction of European water colors in the market which came in common usage after around 1870 s. These pigments were tried to be adjusted to the application of opaque body colors that the local artists were used to (Powell, 1872, p. 345).



Figure, 4.33 Ā'in-i Akbari, Ms. 4078 Detail of painting folio. 370. (Full image in last chapter) Photo by author



Figure, 4.34 Bāhār-i Dānīsh, . Detail of Folio. 384 , National Museum of Pakistan, Karachi. Full image in Figure, 8.22.

The color palette remains the same in all styles of Lahore illustrations during 19th century. In general however, the aforementioned styles I, II and III have more inclination towards brighter colors and style IV and V show preference towards toning down the hues except for, the constant likening for red and yellow. Some of the colors make their appearance not as consistently as others, among them are: a pure bright Peori yellow³⁹, a thick bodied orange and a light turquoise. Green sometimes have resulted paper damage thus shows the use of verdigris green (may be observed in Figure, 4.31).

Quoting Bhāi Giān Singh Naqqāsh from late 19th century, Kanwarjīt Singh Kang conveys that only six colors were used to be utilized in painting: red, green, yellow, blue, black and white. Different tones of all colors except green were obtained by mixing white color. Green was treated with yellow clay. All colors except for Vermillion- *Sandhūri* (Chemical, made from red lead) and Deep Yellow *Peori* (Chemical obtained from cow's urine), all others were obtained from mineral sources (Kang, 1985, pp. 98, 99).

Perspective

An aspect of book paintings much criticized by the European travelers and artists visiting Lahore during 19th century is "Perspective". Judging the art of Lahore's muralists and book illustrators according to their academic discipline of creating illusion of depth, Europeans viewed the art of Lahore artist with scorn and disdain many of the times (Barr, 1844, pp. 42-44; Powell, 1872, pp. 343-344). Nothing can demonstrate this attitude better than an instance recalled by Baden Powell in his "Hand-book of the manufacturers and Arts of Punjab", "...No native artist has any idea of using his eyes..... I cannot help writing down an instance that occurred to me a short time ago. A youth who already had made fair progress in copying of flowers and other

³⁹ Percy Brown and many others already have examined the origin of Indian Yellow or Peori Yellow in paintings (Brown, 1981, pp. 189-190).

objects, asked for some lessons in drawing and perspective. Anxious to see what he could do, I took a rose half-opened, with one bud and just two leaves, and laid it on a thick book, so as to raise it to a convenient height for seeing it. The rose and the bud were fairly drawn, and one leaf hanging over the edge of the book, but the other leaf lying over the book was partly hidden by the flower which was in front of it. The draftsman immediately drew the whole leaf, but standing straight up behind the rose. I pointed out that it was not sticking up like that. The leaf was rubbed out and drawn, but this time below the surface of the book, as if the latter was a hollow glass box full of water. I drew the leaf for him, and he immediately objected to the result, ‘because the whole of it was not shown’. (Powell, 1872, p. 344).

“To show the whole of it” was necessarily the concern of the artist of Lahore book during 19th century, just like his predecessors. In being “super realist”, he goes a step forward than the Royal Mughal artist and get a bit closer to the sub- imperial Mughal and Persian ancestors. The torsos or faces of warriors peeking out from behind the hills, depiction of floor, carpets, thrones as stretched upright or as if viewed from a bird’s eye-view, forts as in Figure 4.36, or the whole structure of Bait al-Muqqaddas as in Figure, 4.35, well demonstrate the fact.



Figure, 4.35, *Shamshairkhāni*, Ms.9515 ,painting 12,70 mm x 100 mm. Ganj Bakhsh Library. Photo by author



Figure 4.36, Bāhār-i Dāniṣh, N.M. 168.569. Folio. 164 b, 139 mm x 115 mm, National Museum Karachi. Photo by Author



Figure 4.37 Shāhnāmāh, 1824 C. E. Ms. 10828, Folio. 120, 180 mm x 130 mm. Ganj Bakhsh Library. Photo by author

The same urge to “show the maximum” is applied to the presentation of yet another situation almost uniformly, whenever depicted. The wells, on the ground level are shown with a frontal view as an elliptical shape, and to depict their underground level, a dark circular shape is drawn under the elliptical shape, as if the viewer is peeking from the top to have a look of what is going on inside. Same method of depiction is applied to the caves or pits dug in the ground as can be seen in *Shamshairkhōni* manuscript, Folio. 239 v and 240 r, in the Lilly Library Bloomington, U. S.A (shahnama.caret.cam.ac.uk), (see Figures, 4.38, 4.39).

On principle, Lahore book illustrator applies multiple perspective into his picture plain as the Royal Mughal artist, but where Royal Mughal artist, applies it at a large number of levels in a picture, the levels are not as varied in Lahore illustration examples (see Figures, 4.40, 4.41).



Figure 4.38, Saḥr-al Bayān, Ms. 13842, 1847 C.E
Lahore, Fol. 98, 115 mm x 90 mm, Ganj Bakhsh Library,
Islamabad. Photo by author



Figure 4.39 Rām Gūti Katha, Ms Acc. 16.19/1 Folio. 240
mm x 160 mm. 1847 C.E, National Museum New Delhi.
(Goswamy, K. 1998, p. 79 M.10)



Figure 4.40 Court of Young Akbar, Akbar-nāmah,
Mughal. By Basāwan, late 16th century, retrieved from
Wikipedia.org/Basawan. (Note the multi levelled composition)



Figure 4.41 Ā'in-i Akbari, S.M. 7 Akbar's court,
Frontispiece, 390 mm x 170 mm. Lahore Fort Museum. Photo
by author

Though not a major concern for the book illustrator of Lahore, he chooses to use linear perspective in certain areas. Whenever he intends to show distant town in the scene he includes a group of small white structures in distance. Another device that exhibits the use of selective perspective is to show the arches with half of their intrados, exposed as if seen from a side. Experimentation in perspective can also be observed in the drawings of open window panes, steps at the entrances or the roofs (see Figure, 4.41). This might be the result of ever increasing exposure to European drawings and water color paintings. Wherever applied it is always in combinations of multi- leveled view points.

Imām Bakhsh's paintings of fables and Allard's family portrait (see Figure, 4.42), however, stand as an exception⁴⁰. Ariel as well as linear perspective is inculcated by him in drawing landscapes or buildings, yet these rules are not applied to figures and their dresses, again, proving that it was all a matter of choice rather than expertise (for reference see Figures, 4.20, 4.21). It proves that Lahore artist as that of his Mughal predecessor could make use of perspective in any chosen manner proved by many illustrations of Fontaine Fables by Imām Bakhsh. Since the Fable's illustrations were intended for a foreign spectator, he molded his choice according to their view point, on the other hand, all others including Imām Bakhsh, whenever worked for the local spectator, they did not feel any urge to show linear and ariel perspective according to the European system.

⁴⁰ This portrait was painted by one of the painters of Lahore for General Allard. It was painted after a copy of a French artist's sketch of the same, but the background was added showing Lahore's Anārkalī's vicinity of General's residence. It is proposed by Barbara Schmitz that it was painted by Imām Bakhsh as he was already hired by Allard to paint Fontaine Fables (Schmitz, 2002, pp. 82-85)



Figure 4.42 Portrait of General Allard Family (The Sunday Tribune India, 25th May, 2014) Retrieved from: www.tribuneindia.com

Figures

The placement of figures within the compositions follows a standardized formula: to designate a separate space for individuals or if there is a small group of individuals present in the scene. The areas are clearly demarcated by means of low tracery walls, higher walled pavilions, tents, rocks, hills or simply higher and lower level of floor or building. This device adds up to the simplicity, clarity and lack of clutter- the foremost concern of Lahore's book illustrator.

However, this does not imply that there are unrelated figures without overlapping. Wherever the scene demands as the battle field or a large group visiting the ruler, the figures or animals are overlapped. In these cases of comparatively crowded compositions, the groups still have their allotted spaces, without merging into each other (see Figures, 4.43, 4.44). As for the depiction of fluidity and possibilities of anatomical movements of figures, there appears a huge variety. In spite of this variety, some postures are preferred and drawn uniformly in all styles of Lahore school.

They include: standing figures with their hands raised and clasped and bodies slightly bent forward as paying respect in front of a dignitary; one hand raised whenever in conversation; both or one hand out-stretched while fighting; both legs folded backwards hidden under the folds of

robes and hands folded in the lap one over the other, whenever seated in the company of a noble; the dignitaries however, are drawn usually seated in squatting position, sometimes with one raised leg- a position commonly drawn when Ranjūt Singh is shown seated on his throne. This posture is also repeated often in out of court scenes, with ladies and common people too while sitting on the ground, with or without both legs raised to chest (see Figures, 4.45- 4.51).



Figure 4.43 *Shamsairkhāni*, Ms.9515 ,painting 59, 159 mm x 100 mm. Ganj Bakhsh Library. Photo by author



Figure 4.44 *Shāhnāmāh*, 1824 C.E, Ms. 10828, Folio. 3, 187 mm x 125 mm. Ganj Bakhsh Library. Photo by author



Figure 4.45 *Shāhnāmāh*, 1824 C.E, Ms. 10828, Detail of Folio. 132 . Ganj Bakhsh Library.



Figure 4.46 *Gulistān-i Sa'di*, Ms. Acc. No. 11562, Detail of Folio. 5. Ganj Bakhsh Library, Full image in Figure, 8.31.

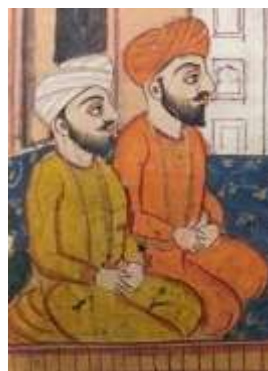


Figure 4.47 *Gulistān-i Sa'di*, Ms. 936, 1838 C.E. Lahore, Detail of illustration. 5, unpaginated, Lahore Museum . Full image in Figure, 8.37



Figure 4.48 *Shamsairkhāni*, Ms.9515 , Detail of illustration 50. Ganj Bakhsh Library.

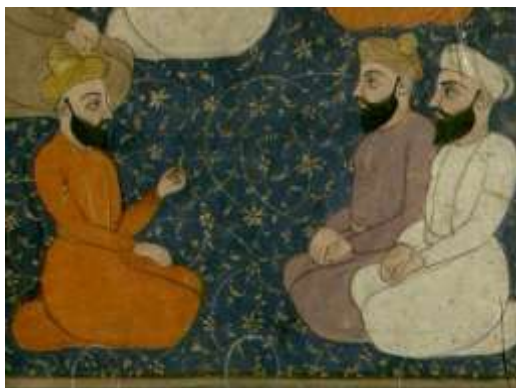


Figure 4.49 Būstān-i Sa'di, 1825 C.E. Ms. O-57/7282 Detail of frontispiece. Punjab University Library. Full image in Figure, 8.46



Figure 4.50 Gulistān, 1840 C.E. Ms. 10510, Detail of illustration, 11. Ganj Bakhsh Library. Full image in Figure, 8.38



Figure 4.51 Gulistān, 1840 C.E. Ms. 10510, Detail of illustration, 8. Ganj Bakhsh Library. Full image in 8.37

While the preference for these postures remains consistent in all styles but in style IV and V there appears greater fluidity in anatomical movements and those of style I, II and III are rather stiff.

One signature element of Lahore illustrations is the facial treatment. Though it differs in roundness of form from style to style yet, the formation of features show uniformity. Large saucer eyes, arched eyebrows, thin noses and thick pointed close cut beards are present everywhere. Most faces are painted with peach-pink light skin tone, but in some cases a darker tone is also given usually to the fly-whisk bearer or people of lower ranks, and rarely showing people from Africa. Attempts at portraiture have also been made in paintings of Ā'in-i Akbari⁴¹, where Ranjīt Singh is shown in company. Ranjīt Singh himself and his court members, as Hira Singh, Dhiyān Singh, Dugra brothers and Faqīr Nūr al-Dīn can easily be recognized. Manuscripts recording contemporary history as, *Shairsinghnāmāh*⁴², also inculcate real portraiture of prominent figures of Sikh court. Observation of this phenomenon reinforces the

⁴¹ The manuscript of Ā'in-i Akbari is discussed in detail in chapter, 7. See Figures 7.105-7.108

⁴² For the detailed analysis of this manuscript see Chapter 7, Manuscripts from Lahore: A selection. Figures 7.70, 7.71.

views of ‘Abd al- Raḥmān Chughtā’i, who is of the view that the people working on these manuscripts in Lahore were also engaged with court and were being hired by court to make their portraits (Chughtā’i, 1979, pp. 30,31). The faces, whether portraits or imaginative, rarely reflect any involvement in the character rather, every emotion is conveyed through gestures and stances.

Attire

Another emblem of Lahore illustrations of 19th century is the unvarying depiction of attire of specified characters in illustrations. The most prominent among them is that of warriors wearing the regalia of Sikh army. It includes butted mail armor with separate plate cuirass or breast plates, metal helmet with camail of chain mail and high plume holders, a large concave dark colored shield with four buttons in the centre, very long lances, pointed and curved long swords and breeches with long boots or gaiters. No matter which kind of situation is depicted, war or peace, the soldiers are dressed like this. So persistent is the presence of this attire that warriors even if inside the court are depicted wearing this armor (see Figure, 4.52). Even Rūstam with his lion fur coat is shown wearing the breast plates over it (see Figure, 4.54).



Figure 4.52 Shāhnāmāh, 1824 C. E. Ms. 10828, Detail of Folio. 52, Ganj Bakhsh Library. Full image in figure. 4.31



Figure 4.53 Bāhār-i Dānīsh, N.M. 168.569, Detail of Folio. 384, National Museum Karachi. Full image in figure. 4.25.



Figure 4.54 Shāhnāmāh, Ms, Lewis. 56, Detail of folio. 33 r. Free Library of Philadelphia.

Long robes are usually shown worn by the nobles, there is a golden colored jacket worn over this robe in case of ruler or person of high rank, a prophet or saint. Low ranked attendants are shown wearing relatively shorter shirts and tights. Occasionally, the shirts are shown tucked up from the centre. The head dresses display a huge variety. Broadly classifying them there are two major divisions: turbans and helmets, caps are almost non-existent except for a round and rather long variety, worn by some attendants of lower ranks. Turbans can be seen in their every possible variety that the culturally homogeneous Lahore contained in 19th century. Sometimes it is all-bound with prominent bulge at front and rear end (after Sikh way), other times it appears with equal thickness from all sides with the loosened end at the back (after Muslim fashion). There also appears a variety with a conical or round protruding central apex, found with both Muslims and Sikh varieties (Kashmir's illustrations of 18th and 19th centuries have this variety most frequently). Whether turban or helmet, the most outstanding feature of them all is the inclusion of high plumes. This fashion seems to have developed from the variations of Mughal headdresses, that were developed by the rulers of Lahore during 17th and 18th centuries. The existing head gears from Punjab in Sikh Museum⁴³ contain armor helmets having porte-aigrette plume holders. The Mughals usually used feathers in addition to plumes in their helmets and turbans. Their helmets used to have a spike in the centre. The plumes fashion got reinforced by the Sikh rule in Lahore. As many as three frontal and a fourth central plume were added to the head gear. "Herron feather" plumes were specially preferred by the Sikhs. Wilbraham Egerton, in an illustrated book of Indian arms writes, " Heron Plumes, Kalghi- the helmets of Sikhs are ornamented with one or three plumes of black Heron's feathers which are prized, one feather only being found in each wing. Their stems are bound with gold and silver wires" (Egerton,

⁴³ An online repository of Sikh heritage with virtual displays and detailed information about the artifacts can be found at: sikhmuseum.com

1880, p. 69). Though the fashion had its basis in 17th and 18th century Punjab, it might be of certain religious significance for Sikhs as the their tenth guru, Guru Gubind Singh (1666- 1708 C.E), is often referred to as ‘Kalghiyaṅ wāla’. Plumes were added over turbans, crowns or helmets, all (see Figures, 4.55, 4.56, 4.57).

A half-sleeved gold jacket over the long robe of a dignitary, men or women was another favorite with Lahore painters. It is shown usually bound with a band of cloth down the waist (see Figures, 4.56-4.58). This piece of garment is never present whenever Ranjīt Singh is depicted, thus proving, but the rest of the court nobles are always shown wearing this garment (see Figures, 4.58, 4.59).

There are some peculiarities in treating the folds of garments that Lahore illustrator choose to depict unvaryingly. One of them is the outward sway of the edge of garment from hind corner, often in the robes of standing figures and always with the equestrian figures (see Figures, 4.17, 4.18, 4.21, 4.23, 4.25, 4.31, 4.37, 4.44, 4.45, 4.53 and 4.57).



Figure 4.55
Shāhnāmāh, 1824 C. E.
Ms. 10828, Detail of Folio.
52, Ganj Bakhsh Library.
Full image in last chapter



Figure 4.56 ‘Ajā’ib al-Makhlūqāt wa Gharā’ib-al
Maujūdāt., Ms. 671 Detail of Folio, unpaginated,
Lahore Museum. Full image in last chapter



Figure 4.57 Shamshairkhāni,
Ms.9515, Detail of painting 12, Ganj
Bakhsh Library. Full image in figure.



Figure 4.58 *Yūsuf wa Zulaikha*, 1730 C.E., Kashmir, Ms. 1129, Folio. 129, 82 mm x 130 mm. Ganj Bakhsh Library. Photo by author.



Figure 4.59 *Khusrau wa Shīrīn*, N.M. 1970-A, painting. 2 100 x 66 mm, Kashmir, 1827 C.E. National Museum of Pakistan, Karachi. Photo by author

An outward fold at the front edge of the gown is another feature added to the dresses of some figures. The first example of this feature is the lithographic drawing of ‘Muslim *Sipāhi*’, by Imām Bakhsh Lahore made for Hornigberger’s memoirs (Schmitz, 2002, p. 81), (see Figure, 4.61), or in an illustration of Fontaine’s Fables by Imām Bakhsh in Figure, 4.22. The second example can be noticed in the figures of Rājā Dhiyān Singh and the flywhisk bearer, in a painting of Ranjīt Singh *Samādhi* of 1839-40 (Naeem, 2012, p. 76, 77), (see Figure, 4.60), and the third example is from Ganj Bakhsh Library Manuscript of *Gulistān* and *Būstān-i Sa‘di* painting no. 7; Moses and the ascetic (see Figure, 4.62). Nadra Naeem is of the view that *Samādhi*’s drawing owes to European models and it is a copy of Imām Bakhsh Lāhauri’s drawing (Naeem, 2012, p. 77). Since the date of Imām Bakhsh’s lithograph and Fable’s illustration, is earlier than the other two, it may be believed upon, but, the fact that European exposure was confined only to Imām Bakhsh is a matter of speculation. Besides, this fashion of outwardly turned corner of a robe might be a traditional borrowing as it is not new to the

original vocabulary of Persian illustrations. It may be observed in many illustrations of Persian books made centuries before under Taimūrids and Safāwids.



Figure 4.60. Detail of painting level 1, Ranjīt Singh Samādhī. (Naeem, 2010, p. 76, figure, 3).



Figure 4.61. Drawing from Horniberger's book, 1830 C.E. Lahore, (Lafont & Schmitz, 2010, p. 81).



Figure 4.62. Gulistān-i Sa'di, MS. 10510, painting, 112 mm x 19 mm. Ganj Bakhsh Library, Photo by author.

Female figure and attire

In the treatment of female body, the Lahore's painter does not seem to take delight in bringing out the contours or highlighting femininity, as Pāhārī painter does. Compared with the Persian or Kashmirian predecessors and counterparts, there seems a difference of approach too. Where all three suppress and prefer to keep ambiguity in the depiction of female body curves, Lahore painter does not repress them. Rather, he draws female body in quite matter of fact way. Women are shown in many roles, as princesses and queens, as common ladies working in or around the house or even an ascetic. Sometime she is depicted as an unfaithful wife killing her husband other times she appears as an obedient daughter taking advice from her father (see Figures, 4.66- 4.72). As for clothing of females, Lahore painter again emerges as a realist in many ways. Taking his vocabulary from everyday life of his surroundings he depicts women mostly wearing common dresses of Punjab's women of 19th century. They are mostly shown

wearing full length long shirts with tights; short shirts with tights. A *dūpaīā* or a long wide scarf is shown over the head and thrown back from side- a typical way of Punjab's women, still prevalent in the society. The head scarf is many times gossamer- other times opaque. Transparent over shirts and *pishwāz* or long frocks of Mughal times are long gone. The attire is also different from those of heavily bejeweled, and much ornately dressed women of Lucknow, Delhi and Bijapur regional schools of illustration. The jewelry worn by Punjab women in paintings usually consists of strings of pearls around jackets, hanging around the neck. An ornament in gold and pearl is also seen occasionally attached to hair on one side of head usually circular in shape. Simple glass bangles are also shown many times worn by women- again a well known variety of Punjab. The common fashion of tying hair in a small bunch at the back is also drawn many times.

All the above observations of women portrayal should be seen in context of a changed pattern of patronage of illustrated book in 19th century scenario. Royal Mughals commissioned books from obviously royal spectacle. Women shown in them were either ladies from the court or their attendants. The lady of Mughal's illustration of *Gulistān-i Sa'di* for example, giving water to the needy, is dressed in courtly pomp and show. In Lahore manuscripts she is a common place girl in the most casual dressing and gestures (see Figures, 4.63, 4.64). Many of the times a participation in every day worldly affairs is felt in Lahore illustrations that corresponds exactly with the increasingly extrovert character of a woman in Punjab's society of 19th century (Zahid, 1998, pp. 57-59; Ansari, 2008, pp. 1-3). In the manuscript illustrations where portraiture from real life is inculcated in the paintings, we do observe occasional representation of important ladies from Sikh court. One example is Chānd Kaur (wife of Khaṛrak Singh, daughter-in law of Ranjīt Singh), in the manuscript of Shairsinghnāmāh (see Figure, 4.65).



Figure 4.63, Gulistān-i Sa'di, Mughal, 1628=9 C.E. Chester Beatty Dublin. Retrieved from commons.wikipedia.org



Figure 4.64 Gulistān-i Sa'di, Ms. Acc. No. 11562, Folio. 109. 140 mm x 100 mm. Ganj Bakhsh Library, Photo by author



Figure 4.65, Shairsinghnāmāh IO Islamic, 3231, , Folio, 11 b, 82 mm x 83 mm. The British Library, Photo by author.



Figure 4.66, Bahūr-i Danish, Ms. Acc. No. 315, Folio.39, 170 mm x 110 mm. Ganj Bakhsh Library, Photo by author



Figure 4.67 Shamsḥairkhāni, Ms.9519 ,painting 3, 65 mm x 100 mm. Ganj Bakhsh Library. Photo by author



Figure 4.68 Sahr al-Bayān, Ms. 13842, 1847 C.E Lahore, Detail of Folio. 130. Ganj Bakhsh Library, Islamabad. Full image in last chapter.



Figure 4.69 Gulistān, 1840 C.E. Ms. 10510, Detail of illustration, 11. Ganj Bakhsh Library. Full image in last chapter



Figure 4.70 Gulistān, Ms. Acc. No. 11562, Detail of Folio. 109. Ganj Bakhsh Library. Full image in Figure 49.



Figure 4.71 Sahr al-Bayān, Ms. 13842, 1847 C.E Lahore, Fol. 58, 112 mm x 90 mm, Ganj Bakhsh Library, Islamabad. Photo by author



Figure 4.72 Karīma-i Sa'di, Ms. Acc. no.O-419/7646, Gujrat, 1844 C.E. Folio. 7, 50 mm x 80 mm. Punjab University Library, Photo by author

An obvious predilection of Lahore illustrator is the depiction of people's encounters with each other, arranged in a space outside an architectural structure, court or house. Scenes of these meetings are larger in number than battle scenes or that of any other situation. This phenomenon again points towards the affiliation of the artists with court and court nobles who were making group portraits of court nobles much in vogue those days. The artists of 19th century Lahore were so pre-occupied with group portraits that they could not help inculcating those into the books

too. Where for example in illustrating Shāhnāmāh scenes, others would prefer to draw the combats, lovers in garden, murders, elopements, Lahore painter would prefer to select meetings with convoys, meetings with courtiers, general encounters within the inner quarters with ladies.

Architecture

Analyzing the architectural features of Lahore book illustrations, one notices many signature elements. The low white tracery wall at the back of figural arrangement or in front demarcating the foreground with middle ground is an ever present feature. White ribbed domes, fringed parapets and square turrets are frequently painted along with white pavilions. Many of the times domes or roofs of the turrets are painted golden yellow- thus a recurring combination of white and yellow is visible. In the middle of frontal wall of arches, rectangular entrance are also inserted in many illustrations (see Figures, 4.74 - 4.76). All of these features are aligned with the 19th century architectural trends of Lahore. Ranjūt Singh utilized many of the Mughal structures for his use but at the same time new structures were erected. Following the structural vocabulary of the Mughals and later Mughals in Punjab⁴⁴ Sikhs added some features of their own. Instead of marble- lime plaster, gypsum lime and concrete were the favored materials. The domes were also painted white, or occasionally gilded. Brick tiles of moderate sizes were used to reinforce lime concrete walls. The building system applied was a combination of two: trabeated (based on lintel and post), and arcaded (made up of arches and vaults), (Bhatti, 1999).

⁴⁴ Example of Sunahri Masjid build in 1757 C.E is an example of post- royal Mughal architecture in Lahore. Many of its features as golden ribbed domes, white plastered walls over bricks and small white washed series of turrets over parapet wall are sometimes referred to as the corruption of Mughal style with the amalgamation of Sikh religious architectural features of nearby Amritsar.

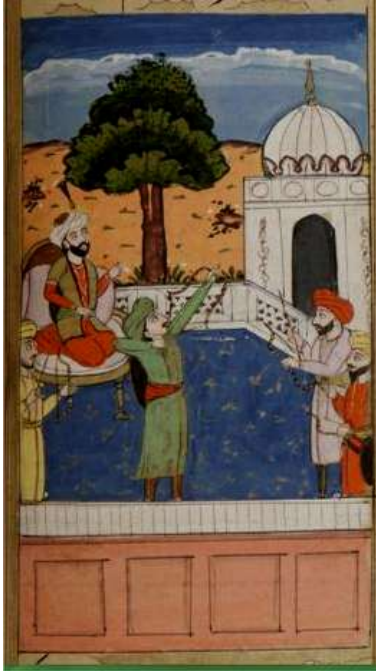


Figure 4.73 Gulistān-i Sa'di, Ms. 1842-43 C.E., Folio. 84 v, State Library of Victoria, Retrieved from blogs.slv.vic.gov/arts/Persian



Figure 4.74 Ā'in-i Akbari, Ms. 4078, Folio. 370, 232 mm x 180 mm, Ganj Bakhsh Library Islamabad. Photo by author



Figure 4.75 Shamsairkhāni, Ms. 9519, painting 18, 120 mm x 100 mm. Ganj Bakhsh Library. Photo by author



Figure 4.76, 'Ajā'ib al-Makhlūqāt, IO Islamic, 3243, Frontispiece, b, 343 mm x 187 mm, The British Library, Photo by author.

Protruding balconies from the elevations was another feature much inculcated in the architecture of Punjab during 19th century also apparent occasionally in the illustrations (see Figure, 4.75). An enclosing red brick or tile wall is one of the vitally present architectural feature of illustrations. It is always painted in light/darker terracotta or peach. An arched entrance enclosure is usually added to the front. This wall also plays an important role in demarcating the main activity area within the picture plane and it also allots separate space for the figures of guards or other staff of court outside the building. The decoration on the walls is kept minimal except for a few floral motifs here and there. The lotus petals at the base of the dome or on the parapet are shaded with pink colored strokes. The architectural repertoire is all aligned with the architectural trends of 19th century Punjab, thus the artist once again emerges as a realist. All the elements of architecture drawn in the illustrations may easily be compared with contemporary architecture produced during 18th and 19th century in Lahore (see Figures, 4.77-4.80).



Figure 4.77 Ranjīt Singh Samādhi, Lahore, building commenced, 1839 C.E. Retrieved from: etefindpk.com



Figure 4.78 Hawaili Naunihāl Singh, Lahore, 19th century Retrieved from: wikipedia.org

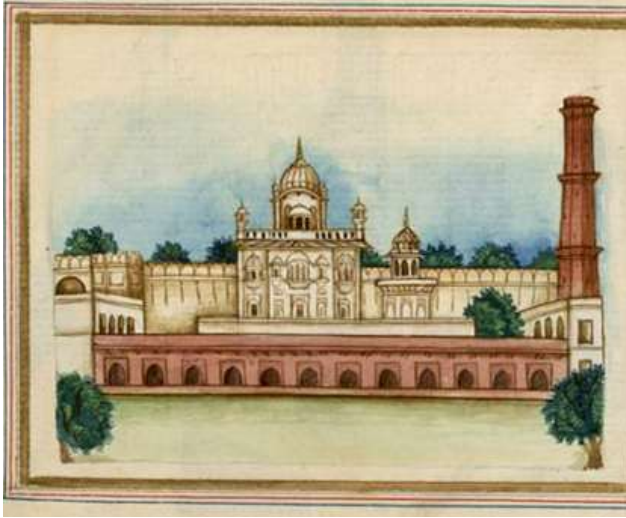


Figure 4.79 Ranjūt Singh *Samādhī*, 19th century watercolor drawings of Lahore in British Library. lahore.city-history.com (compare with Figures, 7.73-6).

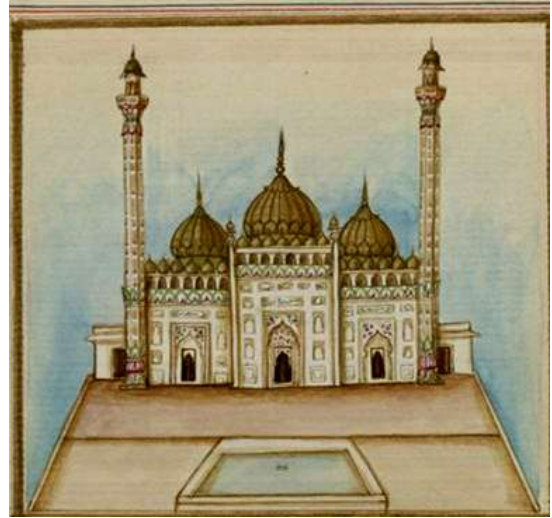


Figure 4.80 Sunahri Masjid, 19th century watercolor drawings of Lahore in British Library. lahore.city-history.com (compare with Figures, 7.73-6)

The travel accounts of foreign visitors in Lahore during 19th century include vivid details about the bright colored, shimmering **textiles** used in the court of Ranjūt Singh. Among them the tents and canopies are also mentioned frequently. These colorful canopies and tents make appearance in the illustrations too. Whenever the court is shown being conducted outside the palace, the panels of thick fabric play the same role as the brick wall enclosure does. A commonly occurring feature is an outwardly turned panel as in Figure, 4.81, meant for entry or exit. The roofs of cloth are mostly pyramidal but in many illustrations there appears a peculiar structure with a rectangular shape and upturned cloth covering the entrance way (see Figures, 4.82, 4.83).

The most popular **floor pattern** with Lahore illustrator is a golden, foliated scroll pattern over deep blue ground, however on the same blue, checkered designs, dotted pattern at regular interval and honeycombed patterns have also been used (see Figures, 4.67, 4.74, 4.75, 4.76 and

4.82). Other colors applied to the floor are: lilac, yellows, reds and oranges but the patterns over them are all from aforementioned types.



Figure 4.81 Ā'in-i Akbari, Ms. S.M. 07, Detail of Frontispiece, 385 mm x 170 mm, Lahore Fort Museum Full image in last chapter



Figure 4.82 Shāhnāmāh, Ms. Or. 1354 (15), Folio. 110 r, 351 x 205 mm. Cambridge University Library. Retrieved from; shahnama.caret.cam.ac.uk



Figure, 4.83, 'Ajāib al-Makhlūqāt, IO Islamic, 3243, Frontispiece, b, 343 mm x 187 mm, The British Library, Photo by author.

Court Accessories

Since the illustrator of Lahore's book have added many details from his everyday surroundings, he also have incorporated distinctive paraphernalia of Sikh court in illustrations. The most prominent of these is the specially designed chairs with curved hand rests (see Figures, 4.84-4.88). Whether a court setting or a household, these are always present. In addition, the hexagonal, circular or square thrones of low height are also drawn frequently. The straw made low stool as a foot rest for Ranjīt Singh is also drawn as a necessary accompaniment (see Figure, 4.84 and compare with illustration detail of Ā'in-i Akbari in Figure, 4.88). Big bolsters at the back of a seated figures may also be noted regularly. Compared with life drawings of 19th century characters by the European artist, we can be sure of their day to day usage (see Figures, 4.89-4.91).



Figure 4.84 Emily Eden, Chromolithograph, 1844.
Retrieved from; sikhfoundation.org



Figure 4.85 Rāja Dhiyān Singh, 1838 C.E, Victoria and Albert Museum



Figure 4.86 Sahr al- Bayān, Ms. 13842,
Detail of Fol. 58, Ganj Bakhsh Library,
Islamabad. Full image in Figure, 7.2



Figure 4.87 Shāhnāmāh, 1824 C. E.
Ms. 10828, Detail of Folio. 141, Ganj
Bakhsh Library.



Figure 4.88 Ā'in-i
Akbari, Ms. S.M. 07, Detail of
Frontispiece, Lahore Fort
Museum Full image in Figure,
4.81



Figure 4.89 Shāhnāmāh,
1824 C. E. Ms. 10828, Detail
of Folio. 191, Ganj Bakhsh
Library.



Figure 4.90 Rāni Jindan seated on a cushion,
August Schoefft, Lahore, 1841, Princess Bamba
Collection Lahore Fort.



Figure 4.91, Shairsinghnāmāh, IO
Islamic 3231, Detail of folio, 66 b, The
British Library, Full image in Figure, 4.
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Barbara Schmitz identifies a yellow straw roofed hut with plumes on the roof as a distinctive feature of Imām Bakhsh Lāhauri’s illustrations and uses it as an analogous feature to identify manuscript illustrated by Imām Bakhsh (Schmitz, 2002, p. 90). However on close observation one finds this kind of hut with its peculiar roof in all styles of illustrations from 19th century Lahore. It is usually depicted whenever a scene is conceived outside the city amidst landscape, but sometimes one can also notice its presence within the city’s structures. The origin of this kind of a hut is not known with surety but it might have been taken from simple straw huts made in the villages. The pre occupation with plumes is a known fact associated with Lahore illustrator discussed earlier (see Figures, 4.92, 4.93, 4.94).



Figure 4.92 Gulistān, Ms. 10510, Detail of painting. 8, Ganj Bakhsh Library. Full image in Figure, 7.27



Figure 4.93 Ā'in-i Akbari, Ms. S.M. 07, Detail of Frontispiece, 385 mm x 170 mm, Lahore Fort Museum Full image in Figure, 7.71



Figure 4.94 Shamsairkhāni, Ms. 9519, Detail of painting 9, Ganj Bakhsh Library. Full image in Figure, 7.58.

Landscape in Lahore illustration follows a distinctive scheme and as other stylistic characteristics bind the works together, so does its landscape features. In outdoor scenes the picture plane is divided into separate areas of color. The goal is to clearly designate areas to different groups of people in the scene. In this, Lahore seems close to Kashmirian illustrations but the difference is that of color selection, its application on the allotted ground and its demarcating lines. In Lahore the division is quite irregular whereas in Kashmiri works it is quite

regular and straightened up. In Kashmir illustrations the color is intense and its application flat, whereas in Lahore specimens, a gradation of shades is attempted (see Figure 4.96 in comparison with 4.95).

Following the Persian models, especially that of Shiraz, and also as the sub-imperial Mughals, behind the upper most hill, men are frequently shown half-hidden, opposing groups disposed on either sides. Interestingly, the pennants held in Kashmīri examples also oppose each other in directions regardless of the direction of wind. But in Lahore examples the flags face the same direction. In some instances of Lahore paintings, the visible torso behind the hill is reduced to just the part of caps (see Figures, 4.95, 4.97).

A signature feature of Lahore illustration landscape is its treatment of rocks distributed over the ground. They are always painted in the same color as the ground with a darker shade of the same color as their outlines (see Figures, 4.95, 4.97).

As a rule water is treated as a mass of silver grey with its triangular corners jutting into the ground (see Figure, 4.98). These triangular edged corners, may have been derived indirectly from the works of Punjab Hill States artists, as this feature may be noticed in *Gīta Govinda* series of Guler under Govardhan Chānd 1745-73 C.E. attributed to the painter Manak, and also in *Gīta Govinda* series of Kangra under Sansār Chānd (1775-1823 C.E), (Khandalwala, 1987, pp. 140-50). This feature unvaryingly appears after the second decade of the century which shows that Hill state artists who might have migrated to Lahore by that time proved instrumental in the introduction of this kind of water treatment.

The distribution of small tufts of grass is schematic and regular on the ground. This feature shows itself constantly throughout the 19th century works. Again the derivation can be attributed to sub-imperial Mughal examples and in turn Shiraz manuscript illustrations.



Figure 4.95 *Shamsairkhāni*, Ms.9515 ,painting 38, 128 mm x 100 mm. Ganj Bakhsh Library. Photo by author



Figure 4.96 *Shāhnāmāh*, Ms. 1648, Kashmir, Folio. Ganj Bakhsh Library. Photo by author.

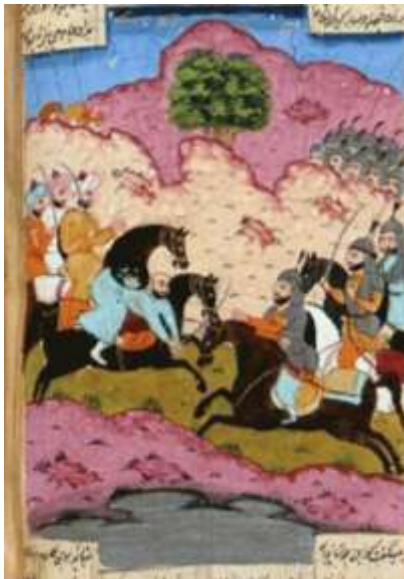


Figure 4.97 *Barzūnāmāh*, Or. 1354. Folio. 233 v, 212 x 151 mm. University of Cambridge Library.



Figure 4.98 *Gulistān*, Ms. 10510, painting. 8, 135 mm x 95 mm. Ganj Bakhsh Library. Photo by author

The foliage as treated by Imām Bakhsh Lāhauri in his known illustrations, is rarely treated so, elsewhere. Volume is created by him in the shafts of trees and thick foliage by means of gradation of colors however, the shading is without any determined source of light.

Collectively analyzed, foliage treatment of Lahore's artist stands midway between the contemporary Delhi, Avadh Company style. It is a middle path in between the tendency to depict naturalistic foliage and, the completely stylized, patterned and schematic trees and foliage of Kashmir school. The trees appear to be of many types: round or pointed leaves on the tree arranged in masses of concentric circles, thick unidentified masses of lighter green over dark, high thin cypresses in between thicker round masses of bushes. The shafts of the trees usually branch out into multiple stems from the top. Whatever the type, the foliage of the tree always is bent over the head of the main figure in composition. This tendency perhaps have its basis in earlier mural paintings of 18th century in Punjab depicting Guru Nānak with his companion always under the shade of a tree (Kang, 1985, p .4, p. 24). From whichever source it came it became one of the recurrent phenomenon in Lahore book illustrations (see Figures, 4.99- 4.105). Frequently we may notice trees diminished in size as they move further into space but it is never in combination with ariel perspective.



Figure 4.99 Gulistān-i Sa'di, Ms. 1842-43 C.E., Folio. 28 v, State Library of Victoria, Retrieved from blogs.slv.vic.gov/arts/Persian



Figure 4.100 Bahār-i Dānish, Ms. 1056, Folio. 537, 110 mm x 85 mm. Ganj Bakhsh Library. Photo by author



Figure 4.101 Saḥr al Bayān, Ms. 13842, 1847 C.E Lahore, Fol. 130, 114 mm x 90 mm, Ganj Bakhsh Library, Islamabad. Photo by author



Figure 4.102 Saḥr al Bayān, Ms. 13842, 1847 C.E Lahore, Fol. 41, 111 mm x 90 mm, Ganj Bakhsh Library, Islamabad. Photo by author



Figure 4.103 Gulistān, Ms. 10510, painting. 6, 113 mm x 90 mm. Ganj Bakhsh Library. Photo by author



Figure 4.104 Bāhār-i Dānish, N.M. 168.569. Folio. 104, 151 mm x 115 mm, National Museum Karachi. Photo by author

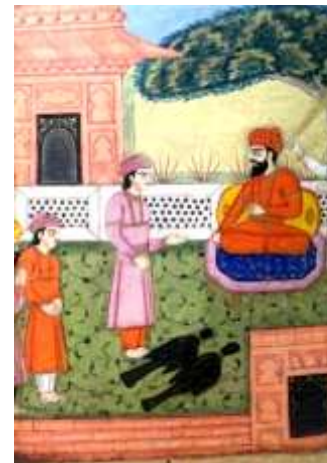


Figure 4.105 'Ajā'ib al-Makhḷūqāt wa Gharāib al-Maujūdāt., Ms. 671, unpaginated folio. Lahore Museum. Photo by author

Type of paper used in manuscripts

Baden Powell in 1872 C.E, identifies three major types of paper used in Punjab. Two of its types are locally made paper (Powell, 1872, pp. 77-84). The paper used in most of the manuscripts generally appear to be of these two categories. Paper made in Sialkot villages of Rangpura, Rājpurā and Haripura, and paper made in jails of Gujrat and Rawalpindi was utilized for them. The raw material for these papers was *īā' pā'ī* or gunny cloth, chopped straws or *Bhūsa* and flax. For some manuscripts, usually the ones with larger sizes and more elaborately illustrated are made of thicker paper, also from Sialkot but different and finer from others. This is called Jahāṅgīri paper. Most of the Ā'īn-i Akbari manuscripts examined by the researcher, are transcribed and illustrated on this paper. It is noted for its greater thickness and larger sheets. Another type of paper finer, thinner and lighter in color is used in some manuscripts. *Shāhnāmāh* from Ganj Bakhsh Library and Ā'īn-i Akbari in Punjab University Library is on this paper. This is Kashmiri paper. It is distinguished by others for its lighter color and a kind of

glossy polish. According to Powell, it is the best kind of native paper and is reserved for the manuscripts of valued authors (Powell, 1872, pp 77-84).

Chapter conclusion

Intrinsic evidence from the manuscripts themselves and stylistic affinities with dated manuscripts reveal that during 19th century, Lahore produced illustrated manuscripts, can be divided into six major styles. The first is also the earliest chronologically, and appears in rare manuscripts from the first two decades. This style though archaic yet, contain many features that developed fully in later styles. Second, third, fourth and fifth styles appear simultaneously from 1830 C.E to 1860 C.E. these three styles are representatives of Lahore School in its true sense. The sixth one is divided chronologically as well as stylistically. It shows itself in the illustrated manuscripts produced during the last quarter of 19th century. The illustrations of this style exhibit loosening up of Lahore idiom and certain tendencies towards Company painting. These last specimens of the hand written book are also comparatively rarer as by that time, printed book had taken over the major portion of book production. The existence of these varied styles within a century in hundreds of known illustrated manuscripts proves that quite a large number of people worked on it. It is contrary to the assumption held by some scholars that Lahore school of book illustration was mainly originated and developed by a single artist (Schmitz, 1997, p. 185; 2002, pp. 75-99; 2006, pp. 136-137; 2012, p. 82).

Stylistically, if compared with contemporary schools, Lahore book illustrations of 19th century are closer to Kashmir school of illustration. It owes to physical proximity of the two regions and constant interflow of books and people between them. Though close, yet, Kashmir inclined works exhibits a blend with Lahore's distinctive characteristics. This ensued from the adaptability of Kashmir's artists (permanent and temporary residents both) to the local style. It

also owes to the interaction of countless Kashmīri artists with Lahore native artists. This is the reason that Lahore works many a times face mistaken identities assigned to them by some scholars⁴⁵.

Amidst this diversity of style there is a unity that can be felt in all the styles. This unity is obvious from many elements including compositional strategy, preferred choice of colors, facial features, attire and adornments, architectural and landscape treatment. These similarities of varied styles bind extant works of illustrations under the nomenclature of “Lahore School”.

The idealism of the illustrations of Persia had long been blended into the realism of Mughal illustrated book in treatment and subject matter. Illustrations of Lahore, further moved it from the reality of Royal Mughals and their courts, to common literate people of the society. This was done while keeping the traditions intact. The girl giving a cup of water to an old man is no more a fully dressed debonair princess rather a common unpretentious city girl. The fighters in “prince watching a fight of two men”, appear to be well fed wrestlers of Punjab. The invincible Rustam of *Shāhnāmāh* is now guarded by the “breast plates of Sikh Army”. The rulers of Persia are shown seated on the arm chairs of contemporary Lahore.

Lahore illustrations if stylistically compared with other schools of illustrations in India-past or present- differentiate itself by clarity, simplicity and guileless execution of realities of its time by using classical as well as modern literature as its tools.

⁴⁵ Karuna Goswamy (1999), identifies some illustrations under the name of “Afghan- Kashmir” style. They show clear pointers to Lahore vocabulary of illustrations. Besides we do not have any evidence of Afghans working on manuscripts in either Kashmir or Lahore.

Quite recently Dawn newspaper article published a painting of *Bāhār-i Dāniṣh*, present in National Museum Karachi (discussed in this chapter under style I, II and III) in an article “Fruits of Paradise” and designate it to Kashmir school (Dawn, March, 20, 2017).

Cambridge University Shahnamh Project in its descriptions of provenance of certain manuscripts designate them to Kashmir although they are clearly of Lahore origin

Gulistān-i Sa‘di in State Library of Victoria, 1258 C.E., is given Kashmir provenance, although it displays clear Lahore iconography.

5. Lithography in Lahore: A continued love for the hand written book

Lithography is one of the earliest mechanical printing methods introduced in the world. It involves drawing /inscribing the text or design on specially prepared limestone. On this surface special inks are applied which adheres to the writing or design leaving the negative areas. The whole process of lithographic printing is based on the principle of the incompatibility of oil/grease and water, as it is a technique of planography. Prints can be taken several times by means of simple press. The method was invented in 1798 in Germany and then it spread in whole of Europe. It was introduced in India in 1822 by a Nathaniel Rind in Calcutta as investigated by Graham Shaw from the India Office Records⁴⁶. Then it was taken over for all official printing in Bombay in 1824 C.E.(Shaw, 1994/95, p. 3) using the technical experience of Rind in the special context of India. This new technique of book printing soon went into the mainstream in Lucknow and Lahore as well.

Importance of lithography in Indian sub-continent

Within few decades, lithography in South Asia, assumed a position that it never held in its birth place or elsewhere. In Europe, it remained a less popular book production method and as a substitute means to typography. In south Asia on the whole and northern India specifically, it assumed paramount importance and remained so for almost a whole century as the major printing method. The reasons for its preference in this region over typography were many:

- Lithography primarily was opted as method that insured mass production of a work while remaining within the domain of culturally favorable and familiar hand written book.

calligraphy that had a glorious history specially under Muslims of the sub-continent kept

⁴⁶This view was revised by Shaw himself and he mentioned this in his lecture in Indra Gāndhi Centre of the Arts in Sep. 1994, in which quoting The Calcutta Gazette of 1822, he reports of two French artists residing in Calcutta had produced specimens of Lithographic drawings even before Rind .

its position in this method. The aesthetics of the book that were so close to the hearts of Indian people and specially Indian Muslims, thus, remained less compromised in the form of lithography for quite some time.

- Lithography could accommodate the large number of languages spoken in India, which typography could not.
- The availability of a large number of scribes specially within the Muslim families who had been practicing calligraphy, illuminations and illustrations generations after generations.
- Presence of a large number of manuscripts that could be used as models for lithographic versions to be copied from, thus making the whole process speedier than typography. Furthermore, we must not forget that manuscript production continued to overlap printing through out the 19th century.
- Though typographs were introduced way back in India in 1560 C.E by various Jesuit missions (Siddiqui, 1953; Khursheed, 1963; Shaw, 1994/95; Sheikh, 2013), it had various limitation in terms of legibility in case of Indian scripts specially when they followed the standardized orthography imposed by the foreign missionaries. This made the type-forms less appealing to the eye and less recognizable to mind.
- Lithography could never gain the wide acclaim it did if the soft lime stone be locally unavailable. The right type of porous lime stone from Kurnool in Barelley district of Madras Presidency was exported to other parts of the country in large number. Not only much cheaper but these stones were considered as superior in density and had finer grains as compared to the expensive ones initially imported from Europe (Shaw, 1994, p. 1). If searched with special reference to its usage in Lahore printing we have evidences of the

use and availability of limestone slabs in various areas near Lahore. These include Potohār region, Salt range and specially Wah and Taxila as early as the establishment of Gandhara cities in second to sixth century C.E. where stupas and monasteries are made of a type of limestone (Awan, 2003, pp. 8-18). Even before that period, the artifacts, pottery and drainage system at Mohenjodaro had made use of limestone in pure slab form or as a mixture (Kenoyer & Dales, p. 63). These early evidences of availability of limestone in the regions nearer to Lahore than Madras makes it probable that limestone from these regions was being transported to Lahore.

Brief history of lithographic printing in India

The history of lithographed books in India covers the period of third decade of 19th through the whole century till many decades of 20th century. The examination of catalogues of earliest lithographed material from the archives reveal that, highest number of lithographed books were produced in Lucknow then in Bombay, Cawnpur, Lahore and Delhi respectively (Edwards, 1922; Naushahi, 1983). The earliest among them is dated 1824 C.E from Benaras (Edward, 1922, p. 281), 1826 C.E from Agra (Edwards, 1922, p. 107). From 1840's, lithographed books follow a regular and constant course in cities of Lucknow and Cawnpur. From Lahore they started being printed regularly from late 1840's. Same is the case with Agra and Delhi (Shcheglova, 2009, p. 15; Shaw, 2015, pp. 3-21). Lucknow and Cawnpur were leading cities in lithographic book production in 1830's and the pioneering publishers were Hāji Muḥammad Ḥusayn who established Muḥammadi printing press and Muṣṭafa Khān who established Muṣṭafāi printing press there (Gharwi, 1971, pp. 26-36). In 1858 C.E. the largest publishing house was established in Lucknow by Nawal Kishūr. It was called Awadh Akhbār. Making use of the earlier experiences of his fellow publishers, Nawal Kishūr soon left all others behind in the

field of lithographic production in quality and quantity. Branches of his publishing houses were established in Cawnpur, Bombay, Delhi and Lahore.

The history of printed book in Lahore can be traced back to Mughal times when it was introduced to Akbar through Jesuit missions. The subject of these texts were necessarily Christian. The texts were typographed and had printed illustrated engravings. Though Akbar and Jahāṅgīr both employed their artists to make copies of the illustrations yet they did not show any interest in the typographed script so any record of their emulation of type form is not recorded (Khurshīd, 1963; Shaikh, 1964). This kind of printing with movable metal type was intermittently used by Portuguese missionaries till late 17th century. The printed material was meant for either devotional or administrative functions and had little or no impact on the local public (Shaw & Randall, 2015, p. iii). It was in the next century that print made its public contact⁴⁷. For the first time English text was translated into vernacular languages. Press in 18th century India, generated records of the rule of East India Company and other scientific research reports. It served the twin function of control and education. English and Bengali was typographed mostly. However, side by side lithography emerged and was used by the Britishers. It was most readily adopted by public for producing books commercially.

Lithography in the context of Lahore:19th century

Mahārāja Ranjīt Singh took over Lahore in 1799 C.E. It took him twenty years to consolidate his empire and a peace ensuring atmosphere in his domain by the treaty with the British. The first printing press in Punjab was established in Ludhiana in 1836 C.E by American Presbyterian Mission (Sheikh, 2013). Siddiqui, from National Archives of India reports that the “Ludhīyāna Akhbār’s” issues from 1836 to 1840 C.E are present. It was printed in type form in

⁴⁷ It was The Lutheran Mission Press, 1712 near Madras.

its early years but later it shifted to lithography. The issue of May, 1840 is lithographed (Siddiqui, 1957. p. 253.). Though this facility was not operated from Lahore, yet we know from records that “*Punjābi Qā’ida*” was published by Ludhiana Press to be given to every women at the time of her marriage (Leitner, 1884; Sheikh, 2013). After Ranjūt Singh’s death in 1839 C.E. East India Company established British Residency in Lahore and in 1842 C.E. under this residency the first printing press was established (Shaikh, 2013). Goulding (1924), has given the years of its existence in late forties of the century. It operated from the mosque enclosure of Dā’i Anga where its editor Henry Cope was also living (Goulding, 1924, p. 16). In this printing press and by the initiation of British Presidency, Lahore first newspaper was printed. It was “The Lahore Chronicle” in English with a section in Persian. We know that lithography was put in use for this paper and Emile Billon was the superintendent in charge of lithographic section as mentioned in one of the entries of the Gazette of United Kingdom in 1853 C.E. mentioning his name as the “Former In charge” of Lithographic Press of the Lahore Chronicle. Lahore came under British rule in 1849 C.E.

The formal start of lithography in Lahore in local language can be traced to January 14th, 1850. “Kuhinūr” was an Urdu daily and was lithographed. It employed eminent artists and calligraphists as Daya Rām Kaul Ṭuṭa, Maulawi Faḍal Dīn Ṣahḥāf and Pandīt Mukand Rām (Bhutta, 2007, p. 267).

From 1950’s Lahore’s local publishers started producing lithographic books in a variety of languages. Persian, Urdu, Punjabi in Nasta‘īq and in Gurūmukhi script as well. Arabic books were also published regularly in Naskh script. An interesting fact recorded by Graham Shaw is the publication of a lithographed primer in Bengali from Lahore, exclusively, for which typograph was being used in other parts of Indian sub-continent (Shaw, 1995. p. 4). We also

encounter some bilingual versions, an explanation of Punjabi for example in Persian, or translation of Arabic in Urdu or Persian⁴⁸. Government owned presses mostly produced Urdu books, but, on account of greater public enthusiasm to learn Persian in Punjab, where it had been taught for centuries, the Britishers revised their earlier policy and had to teach it in Government schools (Sultan, 2011, p. 16). Consequently, from British owned presses we find some Persian lithographed works too⁴⁹. The most famous dealers of book in Lahore were based in Kashmīri Bāzār were Hāji Charāgh al- Dīn and Hāji Sirāj al-Dīn. In one of the advertisements that appeared in one of their later book gives us the information about the start of their book dealing business. It says that their book shop/ *Kutub khāna* was established in 1856 C.E.⁵⁰ This marks a major shift from individual manuscripts commissions to a dealership business of printed book. On Lahore Book scene, in connection with manuscripts and their selling, the dealers already had appeared. Among the earliest dealers of hand-written books in Lahore, we have some prominent and recorded names of earlier decades as for example that of, Muhammad Bakhsh Ṣaḥḥāf (Srivastava, 1983, p. 46.; Schmitz, 2010, p. 90). This kind of dealership was on much smaller scale operating in 1830's and 40's of the century.

Lahore also appears to be an important exporter of lithographed book commissions from outside the region. Books used to be exported to Central Asian States and Afghanistan too written by Afghan authors (Shcheglova, 2009). Shaikh Illāhi Bakhsh Muḥammad Jalāl al-Dīn was an important dealer of books with his establishment in Kashmīri Bāzār. People going to Ḥajj from

⁴⁸ National Archives of Pakistan, lithographed book Acc. No. 12531, *Namāz Bām'āni*, Arabic with Punjabi translation, 1882 C.E/ 1299 C.E, Published by Miān Charāgh Dīn in Gulshan-i Raṣhīdi Press.

National Archives of Pakistan lithographed book Acc. No. 12425, *Bārān Anwa'*, Punjābi with Persian explanation, 1875 C.E. Published by Maulawi Karīm Bakhsh in Victoria Press.

⁴⁹ Ganj Bakhsh Library. *Muntakhībāt-i Fārsi*, Acc. No. 890/7304 Fig.14, *Mathnawi* Bu 'Ali Qalandar, N.A.P. Acc. No.1253.

⁵⁰ This statement appears at the back of the last folio of *Srimad Bhāgawad Gīta* in Urdu (www.searchkashmir.org) Accessed on 1/10/2016.

Balkh, Bukhara and Azerbaijan used to place orders for Persian Books on their way, to be collected and paid for, on their return from Makkah after Haj (Adeeb, 1967, p. 17) . In addition to these, commissions from other provincial towns were placed in Lahore as we find their names on the title pages of many lithographed books⁵¹. Other prominent dealers based in Lahore were: Charāgh Dīn, Sirāj Dīn with their library and book store in Kashmīri Bāzār. His name appears on the title of most of the lithographed books during last quarter of 19th century present in Archives of Pakistan. Another prominent name in this connection is that of Malik Muḥammad Hīra who also published ‘Garanth Šāhab’ on a large scale (Adeeb, 1967, p. 17).

An important point to be noted in connection with Lahore printed book is the copyright act of 1857 C.E.(Goulding, 1924, p. 16) Many of the books include clear information at the end of the book mentioning this act and its implication.

While discussing the lithographed book art of late 19th century, scribe/illustrator/illuminator cannot be ignored. We do find some humble traces at the corners or edges of the pages of these books. Sometimes they appear at the end of the book in a very small font, preferring to remain almost in anonymity (see Figures, 5.1-3).

The Artists of lithographed books

The artists of the lithographed books were naturally the same people or their descendents who had been reverently taking the trainings from their masters in these fields for ages. When searched in the histories we may locate and correlate some of the names that appears in the books and in the manuscripts as well but, most of them and their life cannot be traced from recorded histories.

⁵¹ Ganj Bakhsh Library. lithographed book Acc. No. 890/17011, Pandnāmāh-i ‘Aṭṭār, transcribed in 1873, have the name of the dealer written as “Aḥmad Dīn Dealer of Books in Rawalpindi “in addition to “Charāgh Dīn the dealer of Lahore”.

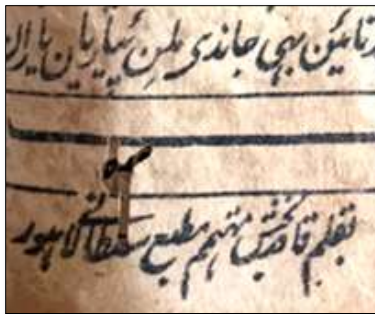


Figure. 5.1, Last folio with Signature, *Qissa Bahrām Gūr*, 1875, National Archives of Pakistan. 12357. Photo by author



Figure. 5.2 Last Folio with Signature, *Muntakhibāt-i Fārsi*, 1872, Ganj Bakhsh Library, 1289



Figure. 5.3 Corner of folio showing name of scribe, *Sharh-i Būstān*, 1878, Ganj Bakhsh Library 19915. Photo by author

Faḍal Dīn and Pīr Bakhsh, two names that appear at the end of *Muntakhibāt-i Fārsi*, Ganj Bakhsh Library, Acc. No. 890/7304, are quite well known artists of 19th Century. Faḍal Dīn is the son of famed Muḥammad Bakhsh Ṣaḥḥāf mentioned by Kanhayya Lāl and Nūr al Dīn Chishti as well (Lāl, 1884, p. 51; Chishti, 1858, p. 672). He used to occupy a quarter, *hujra* in Wazīr Khān mosque. Pīr Bakhsh has been noted by Srivastava as the artist of repute in late 19th century (Srivastava, 1983, pp. 26-27). *Muntakhibāt-i Fārsi*, was commissioned by the Government of India Press and as the artists were prominent in book art circle, they were employed by the Government for transcription. Another name that may be correlated with the signature found on the books and the recorded histories is that of Dīn Muḥammad (calligraphist of Ṭūṭīnāmāh, Ganj Bakhsh. Acc. No. 1729). His name appears with special reference to the posters made for 1926 C.E. elections for ‘Allāma Muḥammad Iqbāl. He also have written various inscriptions on the mosques of Lahore (Bhutta, 2007, pp. 243-44). Ghulām Ḥusayn is yet another name working as an artist in late 19th and early 20th century. Mathnawi Bu‘Ali Qalandar (Ganj Bakhsh Library Acc. No. 19997) has been transcribed by him with his signatures in 1898 C.E. He worked in Mayo School and Aitheson college Lahore (Chughtā’i, 1979, p. 39;

Srivastava, 1983, p. 49; Hasan, 1998, p. 146). In addition to the aforementioned we have names as Qādir Bakhsh, Imām Dīn, Ghulām Rasūl, Ghulām Ḥusayn, Muḥammad Ḥayāt, Muḥammad ‘Ali who have written their names on the corners of one of the pages of these lithograph books. Some of them as for example Qādir Bakhsh and Imām Dīn’s names appear more than once written on the books as their artists but their lives are unknown to us. By the data that we gather about these artists we are sure of one phenomenon and that is: there were countless artists working as calligraphers and painters in the private and governmental publishing houses and printing presses affiliated with newspapers during the second half of 19th century in Lahore. These were the same lot of talented people who had been transcribing/ illustrating and illuminating manuscripts for generations. They were the bearers of the tradition of arts of the book that was running in families or in the lineage of the descendents/students of the masters of book art in Lahore.

Formatting and scripts of lithographed Books

As far as the script is concerned, manuscript traditions were followed by the scribes in style and arrangement as well. Nastā‘līq was used for Urdu and Persian scripts and Naskh was reserved for Arabic. Sometimes Shikasta style of writing may also be noted in numerous books from Lahore during earlier decades of printing. In formatting the script within the folio, we notice echoes of the manuscript traditions. In case of poetry works, tables or *jadwals* are drawn in between the lines (see Figure, 5.4). At the end of the book, the colophons are separated from the text by means of separately demarcated rows, as in the manuscripts (see Figure, 5.5). The start up of the text follow the same hierarchy of praise and supplications. Starting with name of Allāh, it follows praises of the Prophet ﷺ, and then the introduction of the author, sometimes followed by dedications.

The script is always enclosed in the margined box. The explanations and sometimes additions into the text are arranged in slanted lines on the sides of the folios, a regular practice we found in the manuscripts (see Figure, 5.6). This similarity extend to the last folio as well. The text or the colophons at the end (the tailpieces), are arranged in triangular arrangement of text. In some cases even if the script is not arranged in triangular manner a simple triangle is drawn at the end. (see Figure, 5.7).



Figure.5.4 Folio 1 Tuhfat al-Ihrār, 1863. Ganj Bakhsh Library Acc. No. 19642. Photo by author



Fig. 5.5 Last Folio. Mathnawi Bu 'Ali Qalandar. 1898. Last Folio. Ganj Bakhsh Library. Acc. No. 19997. Photo by author



Figure. 5.6 Last Folio with explanations on margins. Kafāya-i Manṣūriya ,Ganj Bakhsh Library Acc. No. 610/21029. Photo by author



Fig. 5.7 Last Folio. Tail piece, Ṭibb-i Yūsufi. 1879. Ganj Bakhsh Library. Acc. No. 18785. Photo by author

Though lithographic printing was a continuation of manuscript tradition, modernization had its influences too. A change that can be noticed from that of its manuscript predecessor is the insertion of page numbers. In some of the earliest lithographed books we do find catch words at the ending edge of paper but pagination soon became a permanent feature.

The Illuminations

The beautiful illuminations at the start of Lahore Manuscripts painted in bright tones had to be compromised with the black and white of the lithographed versions. But the scribes and artists were not ready to leave it altogether. Consequently, one third of the first page at the start of the text, have either the illumination design or is just left blank (see Figures. 5.8, 5.9).



Figure. 5.8 Bandagīnāmāh, 1878. Illustration. National Archive of Pakistan Acc. No. 12099. Photo by author



Figure. 5.9, 'Ajū'ib al-Qaṣṣas , 1864, 1/3rd of the folio left blank Ganj Bakhsh Library Acc. No. 3854/5616. . Photo by author

In the first two decades of lithographic book of Lahore, we may clearly observe close affinity of the illumination designs with the earlier manuscripts of Lahore (see Figure, 5.10 Ganj Bakhsh Library. 890/5623). However, as the time progressed the typical Lahore character of illumination and the motifs was changed. *Anhār al-Isrār*, (Ganj Bakhsh Library Acc. No. 890/5623), dated 1864 C.E, clearly and most elegantly uses the central tri-foil motif and interlaced scrolls of acanthus leaves arranged in a tri-arched design typical of Lahore illuminations. We may also observe in 1864 C.E *Anhār-al Isrār*, that the illuminator has not yet fathomed, the tonal gradations that can be utilized in monochromatic effects of lithographs but later in a 1875 C.E book it is utilized (as may be seen in Figure 5.8, National Archive of Pakistan. Acc. No. 12099, *Bandagīnāmāh*). In the 20th century lithographed books, we observe a decisive change in illuminations and other characteristics as well that will be discussed later in the chapter.



Figure. 5.10 *Anhār al- Isrār*, 1864, Illumination drawing, folio 1. Ganj Bakhsh Library No. 890/5623. Photo by author

The Title Pages

Lithographic printing became a means of mass production of books in 1850's as noticed earlier. By that time the European book printing methods were quite standardized. They did not remain out of sight from the Indian public as well as the publishers thus, influenced many formatting devices. The insertion of title page to the books was one of them, which became an inseparable feature of the printed book. However, in lithographed books of Lahore and elsewhere however, there remained a difference in formatting from that of their European counterparts. The text in Lahore books starts on the reverse of the title page, whereas in European books the reverse of the title page was left blank and text used to begin from the next page. The formatting, design and script of the title page varied from one production city to another. Scheglova has identified two general formats of lithographed books of India in 19th century (Scheglova, 1999, p. 15):

The Bombay style that follows the Shamsās, or medallions of the manuscript tradition. In this style the design is vertically arranged on the title page. There appears one, two or three medallions in which the title of the book, its production date and place of production is inculcated. This style is not used in lithographed books of Lahore except for a couple of books in which it is utilized at the start of chapters (Ganj Bakhsh Library. Ac.no. 7276). Here too it is summarily drawn and does not follow the proper vertical format as in Bombay style.

The title pages in the printed books of Lahore, seems to have much influenced by the second style- the so-called **Nawal Kishūr style**-after the famed dealer. This formatting style has horizontal orientation. The border is provided on all four sides however, the band on the right hand side of the book- the side of book spine, is narrow as compared to the rest to leave space for binding (see Figure. 5.11, 5.12).

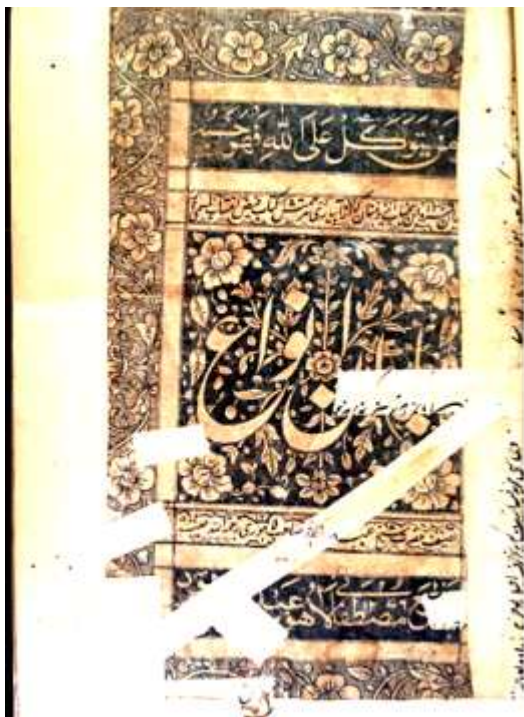


Figure. 5.11 Bārūn Anwā', 1859 C.E., title page, National Archive of Pakistan, Acc. No. 12425 Photo by author



Figure. 5.12 'Aǰā'ib al-Qaṣaṣ, 1868 C.E., title page, Ganj Bakhsh Library Acc. No. 890/19642. Photo by author

In some of the examples, the ornamental band on the spine side is removed altogether and the thinner inner band is continued (see Figure. 5.12). (Ganj Bakhsh Library, Ac.no. 890/1964). The border design is mostly a continual band of multifoiled rinceaux design often used by the illuminators of Lahore school in the manuscripts. In very rare examples we may also notice the addition of straight geometrical designs along with the curvilinear patterns. The artist has utilized the potential of monochromatic printing and have filled the negative areas with very dark tone achieved by dense hatchings. The style incorporates multiple borders around the central rectangular area. This central area is further divided horizontally into three rectangular panels. The central one takes up most of the total space. It contains the names of the book or in the case of an anthology, the titles of the collections. This text is adjusted in medallions circular, stadium shaped or in simple columns. The central panel may also contain the date of publication or the

name of author. The upper band contains an Arabic supplication mostly a verse from the Holy Qur'ān in bold Naskh script. An interesting feature of Lahore books is the repetition of the same font and style in the lower band that contains the name of publishing house and the dealer (see Figure. 5.13). The books commissioned by a British Government officially, also contain the title page but they are devoid of embellishments as we found in commercially produced books (see Figure. 5.14). Title pages of some of Lahore lithographed books have a peculiar feature. Sometimes, they incorporate illustrations in the central space of the title page. This is specially true to some of the story books. In two lithographed books of Punjabi Folk lore, the title takes the upper most band while in the centre human figure compositions are drawn by the hand of a seasoned Lahore artist of illustrations of the manuscripts (see Figure. 5.21, 5.22).



Figure. 5.13, Kifāya-i Maṣūri, 1867 C.E., Title page
Ganj Bakhsh Library Acc. No. 610/21029 Photo by author

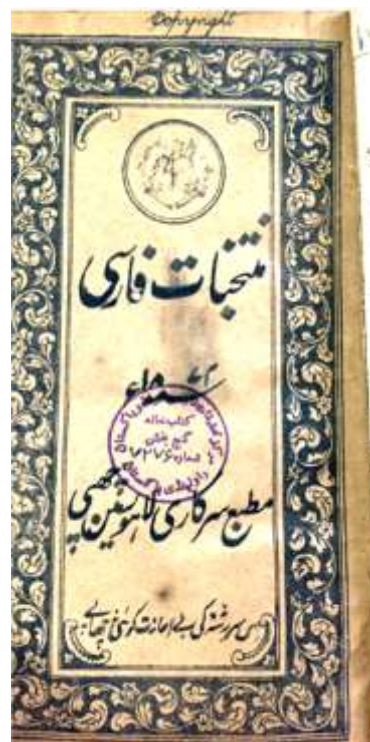


Figure. 5.14 Muntakhibāt-i Fārsi, 1874 C.E., Title page
Ganj Bakhsh Library. Acc. No. 890/7304, Photo by author

The Illustrations

The subjects of the books that carry illustrations, are as varied as their manuscripts versions. The largest number consists of stories, folk tales and Persian classics. Interestingly, Punjabi folk tales form a large part of illustrated books. Related to illustrations another phenomenon may be observed. The books containing pictures have the word ‘*Bātaṣwīr*’, with the title- thus adding value to the book. Though not included in the colophon or on the title page, the scribe/artist of the book sometimes add his name or signature at the end or at the corner of a page in between that is barely visible. Many of these names as for example Imām Dīn, Ghulām Rasūl. Qādir Bakhsh, Dīn Muḥammad had already appeared in the transcription and illustration of manuscripts. They all were illustrators as well as calligraphers. When hand-written books started to diminish, these people got engaged with private printing presses and newspapers,.

Qiṣṣa- i Bahrām Gūr, is a translation of the story of Bahrām Gūr from Shāhnāma-i Firdausi, written by Imām Bakhsh (1775- 1863) in Punjabi. This book have 11 illustrations, published in 1875 from Muṣṭafāi Publishers for the famous dealer Mian Charāgh Dīn of Kashmiri Bāzār. The illustrator and scribe of this book is Qādir Bakhsh. He was actively engaged in illustrating and calligraphing the books. Another lithographed book in Ganj Bakhsh Library Acc. No. 19592 Ṣarf Bāhāi in Persian has also been transcribed by him in 1875 C.E.

The illustrations of Qiṣṣa-i Bahrām Gūr form narrow bands in between the text. Smaller sizes of illustration panels within the text is another change that came with printing . In this copy, the dimensions are as small as 25 mm x 127 mm. One of the reasons obviously is the smaller sizes of the book itself dependent now, on a standardized smaller size of lithographic lime stone block. Most of the books appear to be of the same size with minor differences. Secondly, book printing and its commercialization definitely had its effects. The publisher and dealer wanting to

have more and more copies using lesser space and effort. This trend effected the illustrations at the most. The figures got squeezed in a limited space and the whole composition got messed up and became disproportionate. The idioms of Lahore school however remained intact in the first few decades.

In *Qiṣṣa-i Bahrām Gūr*, the human figure dominate as is the case with manuscript illustrations of Lahore School. In their depiction we find the whole lot of repertoire of already established Lahore school. The princes and prince, rulers, demons, angels and court attendants can be easily compared to the colored illustrations of manuscripts. Their attires, gestures, body shapes all testify their creation by the hand of a Lahore artist (see Figure. 5.15)



Figure 5.15. Page. 8 *Qiṣṣa-i Bahrām Gūr*, 35 mm x 126 mm National Archive of Pakistan. Acc. No.12357. Photo by author



Figure. 5.16 Page.29 *Qiṣṣa-i Bahrām Gūr*, 34 mm x 126 mm National Archive of Pakistan. Acc. No.12357 Photo by author



Figure. 5.17 Folio. 34 Qiṣṣa-i Bahrūm Gūr, 34mm x 126mm National Archive of Pakistan. Acc. No.12357 Photo by author

Although there is very small room left for the elements other than main figures in these illustrations, yet, they all provide clear cues of Lahore painter's vocabulary. The facial features, bodily gestures, landscape elements as the tall cypresses among the thick short bunches of foliage, the regular distribution of tufts of grass on the ground, hills with shaded edges all, come from a familiar repertoire.

Another lithographed illustrated book present in National Archives of Pakistan from the same year that is **Hūr Wārith Shāh**, transcribed and printed in 1875 C.E. as calculated from the verse in the end '*Qit'a-i tāriḫ* (the numbers deciphered from verse), by the publisher himself. This being a Punjab folk lore in a vernacular language has a more indigenous feel to it. The characters are in a rural setting. Here we find village women, men and animals of villages of Punjab as cows, goats that were absent in the fantasy world of Persian classics. Squeezed in a small space the compositions are spontaneously drawn and away from intricacy and detail. In all there are 18 illustrations done in narrow bands in between the text. A lot of features link these illustrations to the manuscript versions. These include the facial features of men and women, saucer eyes, thick beards of men, their head dresses and postures. The thick foliage of tree bent over the main figure is amongst the most prominent features of Lahore School of illustration.



Figure. 5.18. Hīr Wārith Shāh, 1875. National Archive of Pakistan, Acc. No. 12373, Folio. 3. Illustration 40 mm x 140 mm, Photo by author



Figure. 5.19 Hīr Wārith Shāh, 1875. National Archive of Pakistan Acc. No. 12373, Folio. 15. Illustration 33 mm x 140 mm, Photo by author



Figure. 5.20 Hīr Wārith Shāh 1875. . National Archive of Pakistan Acc. No. 12373, Folio. 39. Illustration 42 mm x 140 mm. Photo by author

Wherever the artist is allowed to use more space we observe that he reverts to a logical cohesive group of figure composition in his drawings as may be observed on the title pages of

Hūr Wārith Shāh and Subdināwān Maḥal published in 1885 C.E. in Gulzār-i Muḥammadi Publishing Press at the orders of Muḥammad ‘Abd Allāh Malik Hūra dealer of books in Lahore (see Figure. 5.21. 5.22). On the last page we do find signature of Muẓaffar Ḥusayn the scribe and artist of this book. With his name he adds ‘*Khāk pā’ay Ustādgān*’, the dust of the feet of teachers, showing that he belongs to one of the various schools of calligraphic styles practiced by the senior calligraphist for ages in Lahore.

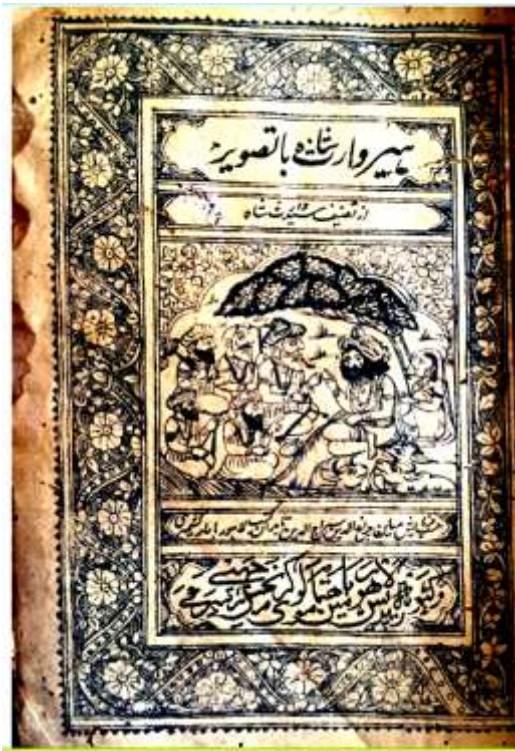


Figure. 5.21 Hūr Wārith Shāh, 1875. . National Archive of Pakistan Acc. No. 12373, Title page, 275 x 170 mm. Photo by author



Figure. 5.22 Subdināwān Maḥal, . National Archive of Pakistan Acc. No. 12436. Title page, 245 x 164 mm. Photo by author

As time passes, towards the end and turn of 19th century, the character of Lahore School starts to loosen its spirit and art begins to deteriorate in lithographic books. This change owes to a lot of prevailing conditions of the region at the given time. Commercialism was one of them that already proved detrimental to the art of illustrations. The exposure of a large variety of

books and their illustrations fine or crude, is another reason. Successful dealers from other cities started to establish their business country wide including Lahore. Various styles merge into one another loosening their regional character. Munshi Nawal Kishūr's press is one of the examples. Their Lahore branch started sometime in 1890's. These dealers started to exchange and import the books in Lahore. They also started to compete each other in the race of producing cheaper and cheaper books at the cost of their quality. Many of the advertisements at the end of the books reveal this situation. The illustrators trained or not, started copying the illustrations too. As the consequence in 20th century we find some Lahore produced lithographed books illustrated in very crude manner. The illumination designs also lost their Lahore disposition. They became more and more mechanical in 20th century (see Figure. 5.24, 5.25). In later lithographic versions we also find that the prices of the books started to appear on the last page. A separate colored sheet of cover usually light blue, green or pink is added as a cover. The reverse of the cover pages exhibits advertisements by the publisher mostly in Urdu, even if the book is in Persian (see Figure, 5.23, 5.24).



Figure, 5.23, advertisements and prices at the end of lithographed book, 1913 C.E. Alif Laila, Ac. No. 1593, Photo by author



Figure, 5.24, sheet of colored thin paper added in the lithographed book, 1913 C.E. Alif Laila, Ac. No. 1593, Photo by author



Figure 5.25. Tūtināmāh, 1912, Title page, Ganj Bakhsh Library Acc. No. 17690.



Figure 5.24. Alif Laila Fōrsi, 1913, illustration, folio. 79. Ganj Bakhsh Library Acc. No.890/1192.

Chapter conclusion

The public introduction of printed book in Lahore can be traced from 1850 C.E. Lithography was preferred over typographed book so much so that all the printing houses adopted this method. The reason being the love for hand written book in Lahore specially in the Muslim families or establishments and generally, in the multi lingual and multi religious population of whole of Punjab. As the consequence we observe a large number of lithographed books not only in Persian but in Urdu and Punjabi in a great number as well. From its early versions in 1850's till about three decades it kept the Manuscript traditions alive in calligraphy, illustrations and illumination to a large extent. However it went through a process of transformation gradually and by late 19th century Lahore School character loosen its grip on the Arts of the Book, owing to its commercialization and globalization.

6. The Artists and the Patrons

The Artists



Figure 6.1, Last folio of *Gulistān-i Sa'di*, Ac. No. 10510.
Photo by author

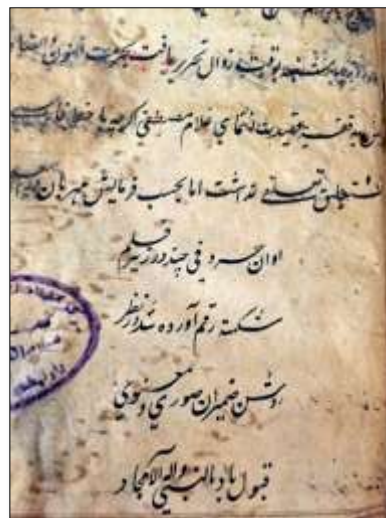


Figure 6.2, Colophon of *Gulistān-i Sa'di*, Ac. No. 10510.
Photo by author

Above are images of one of the colophons that mentions the scribe of the manuscript in the words:

“ ..This marks the end of *Gulistān*, authored by Muṣliḥ al-Dīn Sa'di Shīrāzi (may Allāh's blessings upon him) on the date-14th of Rabi' al-thāni, year, 1265 A.H, on Tuesday, at dusk. I am lowly, respectful and humble, Ghulām Muṣṭafa. Although I may not claim any expertise in Fārsi (Persian) Nasta'liq but, still have written a few broken words, to comply with the request made by a very kind and honorable person. I am submitting this (book) to the highly enlightened ones in form and spirit. May it be accepted by the Prophet and his respected Āal”.

This clearly demonstrates the humility and modesty which was held by the artists-scribes, illustrators and illuminators of book art in the east. This attitude of humbleness of the eastern artists of book may well be seen, justified also in the words of W.E. Gladstone Solomon

(1932) the Qaişar-i Hind Medal holder and the member of Royal British Colonial Society of Artists, specifically referring to Mughal book illustrations:

“ These joyous things were not painted to be exposed in frames or cases to a garish publicity; but rather to be reverently stored by cultured men, and refined and charming women, as gems worthy of rich portfolios which when opened, gave up the rare fragrance of their art with the incense of musk and attar of roses. It was not ‘publicity that a Mughal artist craved for his work-not a place “on the line” in crowded Art Exhibition. Where so often nowadays pictures painted up to ‘exhibition pitch’ seem to shoulder one another, and try which one can shout loudest for the suffrage of the public” (Solomon, 1932, p. 5).

The same is true to the rest of the history of book in Indian subcontinent, rather, it applies generally to all and specifically to the art of book outside the Mughal era. In Mughal book illustrations we do find some miniatures with the name of the artist owing perhaps to the systematic and highly structured process of book production in the Mughal atelier (Brown, 1981, p. 190) but in Lahore book art of 19th century we find equal to none.

Sources of information about artists

The most direct source of information about an artist - be it a miniature or easel painting is, the signature and the date, an artist put as a final mark on it. In the absence of such direct record, the bigger-easel paintings are easier to assign to a person as, it might have certain witnesses, but, the small narrative paintings hidden inside an illustrated books make matters of identification worse. This direct evidence is generally lacking in the case of book illustrations of Indian sub-continent save, some from the Mughal era. Lahore book art is almost completely devoid of any such personal autograph or inscription on painting. There appear a few names of

artists on portraits done for the nobles of Sikh court but just one on the margins of a book illustrations.

The second source to look for the identities of the artists in illustrated books are the colophons⁵². These colophons vary in information from one book to another. Some mention dates: year or year with day and month, others also contain the name of scribe. Some rare examples has the information about its provenance in the colophon. A few also record the patron's name. The name of the calligrapher if appear in the colophon, poses many challenges. The person who transcribes the book may not necessarily be an artist. There always existed a system of multi-skilled persons involved in a diverse facets of book art, but it is not applied to all of the books. The colophon mostly just mentions the name after the word "*Badast*" or "by the hand of" such and such person. On analysis of colophons of a large number of extant books of Lahore school of 19th century, only four examples categorically states that illustration was done by a separate artist. In them too, one is faced with some obscurities. One is *Zafarnāmāh* Ranjīt Singh. At the end of its colophon the name of calligraphist, the patron and book binder is given but the artist is mentioned with reference to the wages given to him and not by name (Srivastava, 1983, p. 55). This mention at least make it certain that, for this particular book a separate artist was employed for illustration. The second one is *Diwān* of Nawāb Yūsuf Mirza of Rāmpur. Its colophon mentions name of the scribe and also of the '*Muraṣṣa 'kāṛ*' or the decorator (Schmitz & Desai, 2006, p. 144). Now here too, we cannot be sure whether the decorator was just the illuminator or the painter as well. The most direct information about the artist appear in two of the books- commissioned by the foreigners in Lahore. One is in the form of signature of the artist, Imām Bakhsh on the margin of a portrait of Ranjīt Singh on one of the

⁵² The word "Colophon" stands for an inscription usually placed at the end of manuscripts, giving information about the scribe, author, date of finishing the book and sometimes its provenance.

folios of General Court Memoirs. The other is in the colophon at the start of second fascicule of La Fontaine Fables, an illustrated book of fables commissioned by General Allard. On one of miniatures of the same book on page 249, the artist-Imām Bakhsh, has written his name too, in the form of his signature (Schmitz, 2002, p. 77, p. 86). These are the only examples of any direct hints about the artists.

After this dearth of information, one is left with only two ways to find some clues about the artists of illustrated books:

- To correlate the names found on the colophons with those given in the histories of 19th century Lahore or with those found rarely on the portrait paintings done by the artists.
- To find some intrinsic evidence of style within the illumination and illustration patterns and to compare it with other known works of the same illustrator or/and illuminator.

The researcher of 19th century book art in Indian sub-continent is fortunate to have many primary sources in the form of historical accounts of many of the authors of 19th century. Some of the names of scribes of these manuscript are mentioned in the historical records which give accounts of them as illustrators, illuminators or the combination of all. The sources of the period mention the names of artists, recorded either by direct contact with the artists themselves or, by calligraphic and illuminated specimens with their names in collections. Some of the names of artists are also investigated on the basis of their portrait paintings chiefly of royal personages present in private collections or museums. Other sources consulted for the sake of this study records these names as the result of personal interactions with the descendents of these families.

An Urdu manuscript of Mathnawi-i Saḥr al-Bayān, Ganj Bakhsh Library Acc. No. 13482, in its detailed colophon, provides the name of scribe. This scribe's name "Mirza Akram Baig"

when correlated with one of the source of authentic information about the artist, Yakdil's Bayāz, an unpublished diary of son of Nūr Muḥammad Chishti, we find that he has mentioned him as a calligrapher, illuminator and illustrator having a family background of artists from Mughal times.

Similarly, the names of Pīr Bakhsh, Raḥīm Bakhsh and Muḥammad Bakhsh, are all mentioned in a the colophons of manuscripts illustrated in typical Lahore style (Shāhnāmāh, Cambridge University Library U.K, Acc. no. Or. 1354 (15). Qādir Bakhsh- a name of the scribe is mentioned in another manuscript of Shāhnāmāh Acc. No. 885 in Lahore Museum. All these names too, may be found in many primary sources of the period (recorded family genealogical trees by 'Abd al- Raḥmān Chughtāi from direct interaction with descendents (Chughtāi, 1979, pp. 36-40). The identification of these names is sometimes tricky as there were many individuals with similar names, for example if we take only Muḥammad Bakhsh there appears at least five, all working in Lahore as calligraphers or artists during 19th century Lahore.

There are many other names that are mentioned in colophons of illustrated books that cannot be found in recorded histories. At the other end, there are a lot more who are mentioned in histories but nowhere to be found in colophons of the manuscripts. The most famous name- Imām Bakhsh Lāhauri, of whom we are sure that he was an artist of high caliber is mentioned only in two of the aforementioned manuscripts though, there are many that may be attributed to him on stylistic basis.

All the above mentioned complexities in identifications of artists of Lahore book, thus, must be resolved by taking a holistic view of the whole situation.

Artists working in frame work of families

The information from the colophons and historical records first of all reveals that there existed small establishments within the city of Lahore- *Muḥallās* in which families were working learning and following the same art from father to son, from one generation to next. The scribe-cum artist whenever mentions his name occasionally write it along with his father's and grandfather's. While tracing them in the histories, we find that at least six small units in Lahore city or the *Muḥallās* in Lahore were famous for artist establishments in 19th century. These are:

- Kharādi Muḥalla near Muḥalla Raḥmat Allāh
- Chauhaṭṭa Mufti Bāqir
- Masjid Wazīr Khān
- Gumṭi Bāzār
- Kūcha Naqqāshān
- Muḥalla Chābuk Sawārān (Chughtā'i, 1979, p. 34, 35 ;Srivastava, 1983, p. 47)

Historians have traced at least three families living in Lahore that were established here since Mughal times. They were: 'Abd al-Raḥīm son of Miān Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh's family, Muḥammad Bakhsh son of Pīr Muḥammad's family and Mirza Aslam Baig's family all were attached with Mughal court too and their generations continued their traditions of painting and calligraphy till 20th century (Chughtā'i, 1979, pp. 35, 36). Srivastava (1988) provides us with the genealogical tables of four families. The most famous and active in arts is the family of Chughtā'i family or the family of Ustād Aḥmad Ma'mār (d. 1649). For generations this family contributed to the art of Mughals in Lahore and outside Lahore as well. The second family is that of Muḥammad Ḥayāt Chughtā'i Bābri family (Srivastava, 1983, p. 47, 48).

Two of the other three families well known in Lahore circle of 19th century is a Sikh artist family of Bhāi Amūr Singh Naqqāsh and Bhāi Ambar Singh family. The artists of this family were: Kishan Singh, Kihar Singh, Kaur Singh and Bishan Singh. The details about this interconnected family has been given orally by one of the member of its third generation. Srivastava quoting him records that these artists got wide recognition in Lahore as well as in other sis-Sutlej states (Srivastava, 1983, p. 50, 51). These artists received court patronage and they painted portraits of court nobility but the title “*Naqqāsh*”, suggests that they must have been transcribing and illustrating books as well.

While discussing the family contributions, Rām Kaul Ṭṭa and his son Daya Rām Kaul Ṭṭa cannot be forgotten. These Kashmīri Brahmans who migrated to Lahore during second quarter of 19th century, are credited with transcription, illumination and perhaps illustration too, of many books. Every major archive in India and Pakistan hold books with their names in colophons. In fact, both of them are credited with fusing Kashmir style of illumination with that of Lahore style and giving it a new form⁵³.

Another name of a calligrapher/illuminator/illustrator and his father, may be found in the colophons of at least four books in the archives of India and Pakistan⁵⁴. This is Iyzad Bakhsh son of Imām Bakhsh. It is surprising that we do not find the name of Iyzad Bakhsh anywhere in the recorded names of artists of 19th century Lahore by any of the historians. His father, Imām Bakhsh is the name one frequently come across. This Imām Bakhsh though is not the one who illustrated Allard’s commissioned La Fontaine Fables.

⁵³ For details of their style see chapter, 3 “Illumination- Lahore School 19th century”, under the heading, Style III, Lahore-Kashmir style, Figures, 4.11 to 4.14

⁵⁴ For the details of the books transcribed by Iyzad Bakhsh see chapter. 7, “Selected Manuscript” under the heading: Gulistān and Būstān, Figures.7.33 to 7.36.

To this list of family lineage of artists, Muḥammad Bakhsh Ṣaḥḥāf and his son Faḍl al-Dīn may also be added. Muḥammad Bakhsh Ṣaḥḥāf was not only the dealer of illustrated books (as verified by colophons of some books), but also an artist (Srivastava, 1983, p. 46) Faḍl al-Dīn Ṣaḥḥāf was also an artist reported by many to have worked as an artist in Kuhinūr newspaper in late 19th century (Bhutta, 2007, p. 267) but was also illustrating books as authenticated by the colophon of ‘Ajā’ib al-Maḥlūqāt manuscript in the British Library. The manuscript of ‘Ajā’ib al-Maḥlūqāt, Ac. No. 3243, in the British Library, was commissioned by Charles Raikes, Commissioner of Lahore in 1856. According to the notes of Raikes written on the manuscript by himself, it was prepared under the supervision of Mufti ‘Ali al-Dīn of Lahore by Faḍl al-Dīn Ṣaḥḥāf.

Artists working in the educational institutions attached to mosques

G. W. Leitner well known educationist and linguist, the founder of Government College Lahore in 1864 C.E. and the registrar of The University of Punjab in 1872 C.E. threw light on the indigenous educational establishments of Punjab through statistical data analysis of Punjab. He noted that in Punjab prior to annexation in 1849 C.E, for every 1965 individuals there was an educational institution. They were attached with religious establishments and were also working separately dotted in the landscape in village squares, shops and open air spaces (Leitner, 1882 as cited in Sultan, 2007, p. 11). As far as the open air schools or schools attached with shops are concerned, we obviously do not have documented proofs, but, a considerable number of manuscripts were being transcribed in the educational institutions attached to the mosques in Lahore. Some of these manuscripts are illustrated others illuminated and some are without both, but they prove the fact that books were abundantly being produced in these institutions.

Following are some of the examples of these manuscripts:

- National Archives Acc. No. 235, *shumāra*: Islam. Manāzil al- Sābirīn. Scribe: Nūr Allāh on request of Chaudri Karam Bakhsh Tārar in **Masjid Nūli Tōraʿ**, in Lahore, 1209 A.H./1794 C.E.
- National Archives Acc. No, 152, *shumārah*: Adab. Mathnawi-i Māʿnawi. Scribe: Faiḍ Allāh *wald* Miān Aḥmad in possession of Tāj Maḥmūd Mufti in **Wazīr Khān Mosque**. Lahore, 1168 A.H./1754 C.E.
- Ganj Bakhsh Library. Acc.No.13428,. Mathnawi Saḥr-al Bayān written in 1847 C.E in Lahore by Mirza Akram Baig Lāhauri, who is attached with **Jāmʿiah Masjid Lahore** and his maternal uncle is the Mufti of that mosque.
- Punjab University Library Acc. No. Pc III1/2782. Persian Translation of Bhagāwad Gīta, 1272 A.H/ C.E by Mirza Amūr Baig living in **Masjid Wazīr Khān**.
- National Archives Acc.No.129, *shumāra*; *Islam*. **Taḥqīq-i Yāmīn Masjid** by writer and scribe Ḥājī Sāʿd Allāh Wāʿiz in Lahore in 1181 A.H./1767 C.E.

The colophons of these books are examples from the data collected from just three archives in Pakistan. There must be many more in others around the world. The subjects of these books also give an insight into another important phenomenon: books were being produced in these mosques were not only of religious nature rather, romantic classical Persian prose, contemporary fictional subject matter as well as books pertaining to classical Hindu mythology were also being calligraphed, illuminated or illustrated in the mosques/madāris.

Artists working in the frame work of art ateliers

Barbara Schimitz (2012) has proposed that the artists working in 19th century Lahore were also affiliated with at least one atelier under Muḥammad Bakhsh Ṣaḥḥāf. This workshop

according to her was working much like Akbar's atelier in 16th century. Schmitz establishes her hypothesis on historical records of the time that mention Muḥammad Bakhsh's name as an artist and book dealer as well. Besides, she presents four illustrated manuscripts with his name in the colophons, and two more scribed or illustrated by two of his sons. She proposes that Muḥammad Bakhsh was taking commissions from diversified clients from within and outside the country as well and he himself was an artist too ((Schmitz, 2012, p. 86-113).

On scrutinizing the available primary and secondary sources of information about the artists working in 19th century Lahore, when we attempt to ascertain Schmitz's proposition, we come across at least six artists named Muḥammad Bakhsh. There appear names as Miān Muḥammad Bakhsh, Muhammad Bakhsh Naqqāsh, Muḥammad Bakhsh Ṣaḥḥāf, Muḥammad Bakhsh Chaghata, and two mentioned as just Muḥammad Bakhsh. The titled name, Muḥammad Bakhsh "Ṣaḥḥāf", is referred to by Schmitz, in just two manuscripts prepared by him. The rest have other names- Miān Muḥammad Bakhsh or just Muḥammad Bakhsh written in colophons. At one place she mentions the name of Faḍl al-Dīn Ṣāḥḥāf as the son of Muḥammad Bakhsh at other she gives the name of Karīm Bakhsh as the son of Muḥammad Bakhsh (Schmitz, 2012, p. 86-113). It may be possible that a the artist had two sons. But when we search into the historical records we come to know that Muḥammad Bakhsh and his son Karīm used to live in a house adjacent to Kharādi Muḥalla (Sūri, 1886, p. 55 as cited in Chughtā'i, p. 33 & Hassan, p. 135) and Muḥammad Bakhsh and his son Faḍl-al Dīn were the residents of Chauhaṭṭa Mufti Bāqar (Lāl, 1882, p. 42; Chughtāi, 1979 p. 34) Schmitz seems to have intermixed the manuscripts of presumably different personalities with similar names which led her to present the case of Muḥammad Bakhsh Ṣaḥḥāf in much higher proportions than it actually was. The existence of many people named Muḥammad Bakhsh, besides been proven by other sources can be

ascertained from another authentic contemporary source. Suhan Lāl Sūri⁵⁵ has given an account of an episode in which Dalīp Singh gave presents to Muḥammad Bakhsh Ṣaḥḥāf and Muḥammad Bakhsh Naqqāsh when they completed and presented a manuscript of Karīma of Sā‘di to him (Sūri, 1886, p. 5 Vol. IV as cited in Chaghatai, 1961).

Schmitz has proposed the system of division of labor in the art workshop of Muḥammad Bakhsh on much the same lines as used to prevail in Mughal workshop of Akbar. To reinforce the theory she has put forward an example of an unfinished miniature of Dārābnāmāh manuscript from Raza Library Rampur, written 1835 C.E. in Lahore, in which the artist have left faces, hands and feet un finished and the rest of the scene is complete with drawing and color (Schmitz, 2012, p. 110, figure. 12). Assigning this manuscript on pure stylistic basis, to Muḥammad Bakhsh Ṣaḥḥāf’s atelier, Schmitz, envisions this work being done by the assisting artist and the faces left for the head artist to finish. However, on analysis of the features of landscape around the figures, we come to know that they all pertain to the general prevalent style of Lahore school of illustration and we cannot assign the characteristics mentioned by Schmitz to just this proposed atelier. Besides, to propose an atelier as big and as organized as that of Akbar, we must have a consistency in either the names in the colophons as direct evidence or otherwise in the execution and organization of the illustrations in a manuscript. For example, about the extant manuscripts of ‘Āīn-i Akbari Schmitz proposes, that addition of miniatures in these manuscripts was initiated by the workshop of Muḥammad Bakhsh Ṣaḥḥāf. Now an atelier if working on the same manuscript one after the other should have a certain consistency in their selection of subject and execution details. The differences in them however, are quite apparent not only in selection of episodes but also in execution of details, color

⁵⁵ Suhan Lāl Sūri, Attorney and historian at Ranjīt Singh’s court is famous for his monumental work in Persian “‘Umdat-al Tawārīkh”. It is a historical account of Sikh times from 1469 to 1849 C.E. in its five volumes.

selection, and also in type of paper used. If one has the episodes of hunt by Akbar, illustrated⁵⁶ the other presents court scenes of Akbar and Ranjīt⁵⁷, the third have an altogether different approach presenting a scene of Abu al-Faḍl with other noblemen⁵⁸. The fourth contain equestrian portraits and entourage of Ranjīt Singh⁵⁹.

All the above mentioned findings leads us to the conclusion that it is possible as Kanhayya Lāl⁶⁰ mentions that there existed a group of artists working under the orders of Muḥammad Bakhsh Ṣaḥḥāf to prepare books for commissions secured by him (Lāl, 1882, pp. 45, 46), but it was as big and organized as that of Akbar is not a possibility and we have lack of ample evidence to suggest that. We cannot overlook the fact that Wazīr Khān mosque was one of the many similar centers where artists were working. There exist historical records of at least three persons named Muḥammad Bakhsh within the premises of the same mosque in 19th century period (Chughtā'i, 1979, pp. 34, 37, 92), and three or four more with the same name elsewhere in Lahore.

There also exists record of some other people taking orders from people and getting the books ready with illuminations and illustrations. One such example is that of Mufti 'Ali-al Dīn, who was in service of East India Company and later got attached to the Commissioner of Lahore, Charles Raikes. He was a man of letters and also got orders from Raikes. We have an example of a manuscript of 'Ajāib-al Makhluqāt, in the British Library presently, that was commissioned by Charles Raikes. Mufti 'Ali-al Dīn got it completed with illustrations and illuminations by Faḍl Dīn, son of Muḥammad Bakhsh Ṣaḥḥāf (Ethe, 1903, p. 369-74).

⁵⁶ Ms. Pe II 8B University of the Punjab, Lahore, Chapter, 7, Figure, 7.72.

⁵⁷ Ms. S.M. 07 Lahore Fort Museum, Chapter, 7, Figure, 7.70.

⁵⁸ Ms. 4078 Ganj Bakhsh Library Islamabad, Chapter, 7, Figure, 7.62

⁵⁹ Ā'in-i Akbari Ms. Royal Ontario Museum Canada (<http://commons.wikimedia.org>), Chapter, 7, Figure, 7.64.

⁶⁰ Kanhayya Lāl, a man of letters and civil servant under the British in later part of 19th and early 20th century is the author of "Tūrikh-i Lāhaur". He has given information about Muḥammad Bakhsh Ṣaḥḥāf under the heading "An account of book-business". (Lāl, 1882, p. 45, 46).

Kashmiri artists working on free lance basis

Another important category of artists working in the environment of 19th century Lahore were artists from Kashmir having permanent or temporary residence in Lahore. We already have discussed the permanently residing eminent artists from the same family- Rājā Rām Kaul Ṭṭa and his son Daya Rām Kaul Ṭṭa. The second evidence comes from the detailed colophon of a manuscript of *Gulistān Sā‘di* Ac. No: 936 in Lahore Museum. According to the information it provides, this copy was completed on Wednesday 15th, Jamādi al-thāni 1254/1838 C.E. before midnight by Khwājā Asad Allōh, a resident of Kashmir living in Lahore, written at the house of Ghulām Muḥa‘i al-Dīn.

The third important group of Kashmīri artists working in the environment of 19th century Lahore were artist groups travelling from Kashmir to Lahore and may be to other areas of Punjab plains in winter months much like nomads seeking temporary work here. The presence of these itinerant group of artists is recorded by Karuna Goswamy (1991) in her “Kashmir Painting”, from the recollections of Pandit Sthanu Dutt, a retired librarian of the manuscript section of Kurushetra University Library. In various interviews taken over a period of many years Dutt recalled that in his childhood (at the turn of 19th century), practically every year, groups of three or four artists all Kashmiri used to roam about announcing their arrival by words “*kātib, kātib*” (scribe) and sometimes “*kātib ma‘ muṣṣawwir*” (scribe and painter). These professionals were offering their talents for the copying of any manuscripts. Pandit Sthanu Dutt further recalls that whenever a client wished for a manuscript to be copied it was either copied from the existing one or was borrowed from the local pandit or from some neighbor who had it already. The manuscript was taken to the *sarā‘ay*-the rest house, at the edge of village to be copied and was handed over to the client once completed. The fees for their labors used to be very small

(Goswamy, 1999, p. 54, 55). Now this valuable information explains the existence of a large number of manuscripts specially that of Guru Granth Śāhib or Janam Sakhīs found in the archives made in purely Kashmiri idiom. There also exists many manuscripts that have illuminations in pure Kashmir's style while illustrations are in Lahore Style. These manuscripts might also have been made by these artists who illuminated according to their training and copied illustrations from the already existing sample given to them.

The Patrons

As much as the Lahore artist try to belittle his existence he eulogizes his patron in the colophons of the manuscripts. This is the reason that we have a clearer picture of patrons than the artist of Lahore's book art of 19th century. Since the patrons are more frequently mentioned in the colophons of the books we may recollect many facts with certainty about them. The first and foremost fact that can be gathered by the information is that patronage exists at multi levels of the society. The quality of paper, pigment and execution of illustrative and illuminative details were thus dependent upon the hierarchal category in which each manuscript fall. Following are the manifestations of this hierarchal division of patronage:

Patronage by Ranjīt Singh

Ranjīt Singh's predilection to associate himself with the Mughal emperor Akbar is evident in many of the measures taken by him during his governance, but as far as establishing an organized painting studio is concerned none is recorded by any of the historians. Though we do not find any manuscript with the colophons mentioning Ranjīt as its patron but, there are some that do show some connection with him. Three of the Adi Granath manuscripts are recorded to have commissioned by him. Jeevan Singh Deol (2003) investigates that one of them was given to Bāba Sāhab Singh Baidi of Uni, who was also receiving land grants from the court

in 1820. C.E. It had two paintings in it, one of Nānak, Bāla and Mardana, and the other of rāgnīs. Another of such manuscript was presented to Haẓūr Ṣāhab Shrine of Nandīd. The third is said to have placed in main Gurdwāra Ɖaira Bāba Nānak and remained there till 1979 (Deol, 2003, pp. 37-45).

An illuminated Qur’ān, Vitrine 79, in Lahore Museum is a present given to the Museum by Faqīr family. According to the family, it was given to Faqīr ‘Aziz al-Dīn, royal advisor of Ranjīt Singh by the emperor himself.

Administrative manual of emperor Akbar, Ā’īn-i Akbari, the third volume of Akbarnāmāh, was one of the frequently illustrated book in 19th century Lahore. It was perhaps an initiative taken by Ranjīt Singh. A manuscript of Ā’īn-i Akbari, in National Museum New Delhi, Inv. No. 59.987, bears seal of Ranjīt Singh though there is no colophon. It is only logical to find Ā’īn-i Akbari and other books of similar nature like the Military Manual written on orders of Ranjīt after seeing administrative and military acumen of Ranjīt Singh. In 1925 C.E. General Allard and Ventura made a Persian translation of French manual for infantry training. The copy in Ranjīt Singh museum Amritsar, Acc. No. 10353, is dated 1830 C.E. It is illustrated and has painting of Ranjīt Singh with French generals along with others (Diljeet, 2005, p. 120, 121).

There are many other copies of the manual and we are not sure which one was commissioned by Ranjīt, but we are sure of the fact that it was an initiation of Ranjīt Singh himself. Similarly, Ẓafarnāmāh, written by Sīta Rām Kūhli in 1833-36 C.E was the history of the conquests during Ranjīt Singh period was commissioned by the ruler himself (Srivastava, 1983, p. 55; Chirvani, 1999, p. 67), though the known copy was transcribed by Rām Kaul Ṭṭa in 1856 C.E.

A manuscript of Khulāṣa-i Shāhnāmāh, dated 1835 C.E. present in Lilly Library of Rare manuscripts, Bloomington, U.S.A. was also presumably commissioned by Ranjīt Singh to be

given as a diplomatic gift to Lieutenant General Comte de Rumigny (the aide-de camp of King Louis Philipee of France) delivered by Ventura during his visit to France in 1838-40 C.E (Payeur, 2010, pp. 221-247). There are 70 illustrations incorporated into the text with two illuminations.

Patronage of books by the courtiers and dignitaries

The city of Lahore already had witnessed connoisseurship at the sub-imperial levels under the Mughals but 19th century book art demonstrated that aesthetic expression in the society at large. The workshops are not limited to the few nobles with greater means but it has now surpassed these boundaries.

Books usually produced at the level of **people related to Sikh court**, are found to be those preferred by the ruler himself. *Ā'īn-i Akbari* copies were commissioned on large numbers perhaps mostly by the courtiers. At least one of them prove that. *Khushhāl* Singh who ordered the copy of *Ā'īn-i Akbari*, now in Punjab University Library was the chamberlain of Ranjīt Singh. The colophon also states that it was made after the copy of *Dīna Nāth*- the finance minister of Ranjīt Singh.

The Military Manual of Ranjit Singh was prepared under the orders of Ranjīt Singh. Many of its illuminated and illustrated copies are known. Though without colophons, yet one can be sure that they cannot have been produced by the people unrelated to the court. Similarly, *Ẓafarnāmāh* of Ranjīt Singh, though written under the orders of Ranjīt Singh in 1832 -1836 C.E (Srivastava, 1983, p. 55), but was transcribed in 1856 C.E. years after Ranjīt Singh's death, in all probability under the orders of one of the Sikh *sardārs*. One with a colophon, stating the provenance to Lahore is *Tārīkh-i Nādir Shāhi*, written in 18th century by Muḥammad Mahdī Astarābādi, is illustrated by three artists, would also have been highly relevant to the court circle

for its account of invasion of India by Nādir Shāh against Muslim principalities and the capture of Treasury of Mughals out of which many jewels were in possession of Ranjīt Singh. This manuscript is in private collection, reproduced by Chervani. (Chervani, 1999, pp. 66, 67).

Another category of Sikh court officials may be seen patronizing illustrated books. This category is that of **foreigners** working for Ranjīt Singh. Three manuscripts of different subjects were commissioned to be illustrated by probably one eminent and very talented artist of Lahore-Imām Bakhsh Lāhauri. One of them is the Memoirs of General Court who served Ranjīt Singh from 1827-43 C.E. In one of the cartouches adjacent to the paintings, Imām Bakhsh has written his name. Then we have Lithographs made from original drawings incorporated in Hornigberger's Memoirs "Thirty-Five Years in the East" Hornigberger was the Hungarian Physician of Ranjīt Singh. Jean Lafont (2008) assign these drawings to Imām Bakhsh on stylistic basis. The third manuscript is that of French Fable book "La Fontaine's Fables" commissioned by French General of Sikh Army, General Allard to be illustrated by Imām Bakhsh Lāhauri. At the end of second fascicule the colophon mentions the name of Imām Bakhsh as the artist (Lafont & Schmitz, 2002, pp. 78-86). The commissions seems to continue after the annexation of Punjab, in 1849 C.E. the commissioner of Lahore Charles Raikes, commissioned many manuscripts and is also reported to have sent some to "The Exhibition of Art and Industry in Paris" in 1855 C.E. At least three illuminated or Illustrated books in British Library contain personal notes of Raikes mentioning this (Ethe, 1903, pp. 199, 200, 369).

Some of the colophons of manuscripts produced in Lahore also give us the name of patrons from the **prominent families** living in Lahore. One of the illustrated manuscript of Mathnawi by Bahā'i in New York Public Library, Acc. no. Indo-Pers, ms. 16, was commissioned by 'Abd al-Mājid Khān Sāduza'i of Multan as the colophon says. The patron is

the grandson of Muẓaffar Khān Sāduza'i, the Afghan ruler of Multan who went into battle with Ranjīt Singh in 1819 C.E. In this battle he, along with his many sons were killed. His grandson who was two years old at that time shifted to Lahore and lived a distinguished life in Lahore as a civic leader and man of learning (Schmitz, 1993, p. 181; 2012, p. 99).

Another manuscript of Diwān of Nawāb Yūsuf 'Ali Khān of Rampur was transcribed and illustrated in Lahore under his own orders. This manuscript is presently at Raza Library Rampur. (Schmitz and Desai, 2006, p. 145). An illuminated manuscript of the same Diwān Ms. 235 is in Lahore Museum too commissioned by the poet himself in 1861 C.E. A commission like this is the testimony of the fact that people from other cities too placed their orders for book transcription, illumination and illustration in Lahore till late 19th century.

At the sub-royal level, some **high dignitaries from Kashmiri families** may also be traced commissioning manuscripts in Lahore. One of them was Dīwān Ayudhiya Prasād⁶¹, seems to have maintained a library of some proportions. An illustrated manuscript of Qiṣṣa-i Chāhār Darwaish, Punjab University Library Chandigarh, Acc. no. 564 have his name as the patron of this manuscript. Karuna Goswamy reports of many such manuscripts donated to the library from his collection of commissioned works (Goswamy, 1999, p. 105, M.25)

Patronage of the works done in Lahore style of illustration and illumination may also occasionally be found in the works done in Kashmir. One of its example is the manuscript of Rām Gīti Katha in National Museum New Delhi Acc. no. 56.19/1. According to its informative colophon the patron's name is Ganda Mal Ji in Kashmir in the domain of Gulāb Singh and the scribe is Pandīt Ṭuṭa Rām (Goswamy, 1999, p. 79).

⁶¹ Diwān Ajudhiya Prasād was the Supreme commander of Fauj-i Khās of Ranjīt Singh's Army (<http://ckatal.wordpress.com>)

Patronage at the level of common man

Up till now, the discussion identified patrons that were either courtiers or dignitaries within the society. The next level takes us to the patronage of common men of Lahore. A considerable amount of illustrated works were made by people with no or little affiliations with court. Obviously, the selection of paper, size of the book and quality of execution of both illumination and illustrations were compromised to varying degrees, yet, these books stand as land mark in the history of Lahore book, as being the testimonies of literary consciousness and aesthetic awareness in general. Most of these books found in the archives are without colophons but an insight into some illustrated and many un-illustrated gives us a clear picture of the whole scenario.

The first category of books illuminated by almost all levels of **Muslims living in Lahore** is the Holy Qur'ān. It does not come as a surprise when we find a great number of Qur'āns without scribe's/illuminator's name or any dedication done in Lahore style in archives around the world. As a matter of pure love and dedication to Allāh, Lahore artists have produced countless copies of Holy Qur'ān⁶². Many others Persian or Urdu texts are transcribed by common people of Lahore, regardless of the religious demarcations. These texts not only pertain to the genre of literature but many cosmological, medicinal and ethical works are found. They are sometimes illustrated other times illustrated and/or illuminated. Yet many are without them. After examining the colophons, an important fact about the patronage of manuscripts come to light that the books were being transcribed for people without consideration of gaining any

⁶² Qur'ān manuscripts with colophons are discussed in chapter, 3, Illumination: An unbroken tradition of Lahore's book art. At least 12, Illuminated manuscripts without colophons, with Lahore vocabulary of illumination are discussed in an unpublished doctoral thesis by Rafya Tahir, titled, "An analysis of art of illumination in Qur'ān manuscripts" (Tahir, 2012, pp. 231, 260, 271, 274, 281, 308, 310, 312, 313, 315, 317, 342). There are many Qur'ān manuscripts in the custody of Pakistan Archaeology Department, recorded by the researcher of this study without colophons but showing clear Lahore idioms.

monetary benefits, for teachers, relatives, friends, benefactors or for the sole benefit of younger generations. Some examples taken from three archives in Pakistan are as follows;

- Ganj Bakhsh Library, Mathnawi Sahr al-Bayān, Acc. No. 13842, Scribe Mirza Akram Baig Lāhauri **on request of Miān Hāmid son of the teacher of Akram Baig, Hāfiz Ghulām Farīd** in 1847 C.E.
- Ganj Bakhsh Library, Gulistān-i Sa‘di, Acc. No. 10510, Scribe, Ghulām Muṣṭafa Qādri **for his benefactor and someone he cannot refuse.**
- N.M 1958-262/3. Qiran al-Sa‘dīn by Khusraw Dihlawi transcribed by Anbrat Rā‘ay Kapūr Pishāwari **on request of Akhwand Miān Barkhurdār** in 11A.H/ 18th century C.E in Lahore.
- N.M. 1957/890/2. Nuzhat al-Arwāḥ by Amīr Ḥusayni Harwi transcribed by Shaikh Sā‘d Allāh **for Nākōrānand Singh in Lahore** in 1234 A.H/ 1818 C.E.
- National Archives Acc.No. 66-74. Majmua-i Ṭib, Risāla-i Jadri, Scribe, Lūk Nath Brahamaṇ, in Lahore **for barkhurdār (son) Muḥammad Ṣalāih.**
- National Archives. Acc. No. 160 Shumāra Adab, Fawāid-i ‘Ali Shairi, Scribe, Muḥammad Sa‘īd adjacent Province of Lahore- *barā’ay ta’līm-i barkhurdāraṇ*----“**for the education of sons**”. In 1113 A.H/ 1701 C.E.
- National Archives. Pandnāmāh-i Atṭār, Acc. No. MC/MS/IS-91. Scribe. Muḥammad Dīn in 1273 A.H/1856 C.E. in Bhera adjacent Lahore **for barkhurdār Muḥammad Ḥayāt.**

A great diversity in the quality of book art produced during 19th century Lahore, is thus explained by varied levels of patronage and ensuing artists.

Chapter conclusion

Information from the colophons of the manuscripts and the historical records of 19th century presents a picture of a book loving society of Lahore where people from royalty to common man were producing and patronizing books. The hallmark of 19th century's book art of Lahore is the fact that connoisseurship was extended to the masses. It marks a clear shift from royal atelier to humble workshops working either in the framework of artist families or in educational institutions affiliated mostly with mosques. Patron-artist relationship that is considered vital at the core of every artistic enterprise is also present here in the form of commissions from high officials of court, noblemen of the society or simply small establishments of book traders but at times a different stimulus can also be noted at work here. It is –the production of book art without consideration of monetary gains. Books may be noticed written and decorated for pure personal satisfaction as countless copies of Qur'ān and some of Guru Garanth Śāhib, or others written as a gift for dear ones, for the teacher or a benefactor or may solely be for educating the younger generations. Therefore above all, this popular rather than courtly art demonstrated, that from now on, people at large would be the source of artistic expression.

7. Manuscripts from Lahore: A selection

Mathnawi-i Saḥr al-Bayān (Figures. 7.1- 7.4)

Manuscript ownership: Ganj Bakhsh Library Islamabad

Ac. No: 13842

Author: Mīr Ḥasan Dihlawi

Dedication by the Author to: Nawāb Āṣif al-Daulāh

Completion date: 1783 C.E. Lucknow

Binding: Not original

Illumination: None. It may have been damaged as the first few pages of the manuscript are missing

Paper: brown and brittle damaged by pests

Folio size: 210 mm x 132 mm

Text box: 170 mm x 90 mm (2 columns)

Total no. of paintings: 23

Colophon: The colophon of this manuscript is one of the rare examples of detailed and most informative account of the scribe and its provenance. According to the information provided in the last six pages of this copy the scribe's name is Mirza Akram Baig Lāhauri (folio, 182). His title is 'Aṭṭārād Qalam'. His master in calligraphy was Ḥāfiz Ghulām Farīd who is dead at the time of the completion of the manuscript. The manuscript has been prepared by the scribe in 1263 A.H/ 1847 C.E in response to the request made by the son and heir of his master, Miān Ḥāmid. The scribe belongs to a religious family and his maternal uncle is the Imām of Jām'iah Masjid Lahore.

In an unpublished diary record of Sikh times written by Maulawi Aḥmad Bakhsh Yakdil is recorded by 'Abd al-Rahmān Chughtā'i. Quoting from Diary no. 15 page 32 Yakdil states that Mirza Akram Baig son of Aẓīm Baig, belongs to a famous painter and calligrapher family of his time who lives inside Mūchi Gate. In the past, this family used to work for Mughal Court. The diary entry is in the year 1848 C.E. so, this date corresponds with the description of the scribe of this manuscript. Mirza Akram Baig's son and grandson kept working as calligraphers and

illuminators as well as illustrators in 20th century and his grandson Firūz al- Dīn used to make lithographic images for a newspaper in Lahore (Chughtā'i 1979, pp. 36, 37).

Saḥr al-Bayān is best known work of one of the most accomplished writer of 18th century in Urdu. The text recounts the love of Prince Baynaẓr and Princess Badr-i Munīr, the difficulties caused by the prince, his kidnapping by a fairy Māhrukh and the eventual union of the lovers. The author Mīr Ḥasan spent his life at the court of Awadh. This prose was completed in 1785 C.E and is dedicated to the local ruler Āṣif al-Daula (1775-1797 C.E.). The introduction praises the emperor Shāh 'Ālam too (Blumhardt, 1899, p. 37).

Saḥr al-Bayān is the most popular Urdu poetic story of 19th century. It is present in almost every archive containing illustrated manuscripts of Urdu classical prose and poetry. Most of the manuscripts of Saḥr al-Bayān hails from Lucknow but many were transcribed and illustrated in other regions too as, Delhi, Kashmir and from Lahore as well. In National Museum of Pakistan, Karachi there are four manuscripts of Saḥr al-Bayān as mentioned in the catalogue (Iqbal, 1991. pp. 339. 340. 342, 343). Unfortunately there is just one having its physical presence. Out of the four, two have strong chances of them being originated from Lahore. One scribed and illuminated by Miān Qādir Bakhsh (A familiar name of Lahore's book circle) and the other by Ghulām Ḥusayn Kātib containing 35 paintings reported to be stolen from the archive. The only one available does not have a colophon. On stylistic basis it exhibits affiliations with Lahore School of Book 19th century. This manuscript will be discussed later in the chapter in detail.

The manuscript under discussion, present in Ganj Bakhsh Library, contains more or less the same number of miniatures as in other published copies. However, the group portraits or court scenes of Āṣif al- Daula and Shāh 'Ālam are not included here. It starts with M'irāj scene

of Holy Prophet ﷺ. The twenty three paintings of the manuscript are done in opaque water colors with outlines in black or pink. The scenes depicted, mostly incorporate an open space setting with an arched architectural portion of the palace in the background (see Figures 7.1, 7.2). They exhibit an encounter between two, three or rarely four to five figures again typical feature of Lahore school. There are a few depictions of landscape settings. The trees shown are green thick masses with tall and thin cypresses in between, again a common feature of Lahore manuscripts of 19th century (see Figure 7.2). The dresses worn by women exhibit a trend of that time which is a short shirt along with tight trousers and a long scarf *dūpaṭṭā* on head hanging sideways (see Figure 7.2). Male figures are usually drawn with the shields at their backs regardless of the attire demand of the scene depicted. In one of the painting a soldier in court scene is shown wearing a breast plate, an exclusive feature of Lahore manuscripts of 19th century drawn after the body armor of Sikh army of Ranjīt Singh (Schmitz 2002, p. 70), (see Figure. 7.1). In comparison with other stylistic groups, this group of paintings is noted to have thicker and cruder outlines and preference for brighter colors, specially the use of crimson and yellow, showing a certain degree of association with Kashmir illustration style of 19th century. Another example of stylistically similar type of paintings is *Khulāṣa-i Shāhnāmāh* manuscript of 1838 C.E. present in the Raza Library Rampur (No. III.38, Schmitz & Desai, 2006, p. 138).

The illustrations of this manuscript, provide us with the proof that a distinct style of painting existed at the level of common people of the society of Lahore in 19th century. With lesser degree of finesse of details, the iconography of 19th century book illustration of Lahore can very effectively be deciphered from the paintings inculcated in this manuscript, reinforced by its detailed colophon. The paintings of this manuscript thus also present visual vocabulary for comparative analysis of undated manuscripts.



Figure 7.1. Mathnawi Sahr al-Bayān, Ac. No. 13842, 1847 C.E. Lahore, folio, 20. 115 x 90 mm. Ganj Bakhsh Library, Photo by author.



Figure 7.2. Mathnawi Sahr al-Bayān, Ac. No. 13842, A847 C.E. Lahore, folio, 73. 112 x 90 mm. Ganj Bakhsh Library, Photo by author

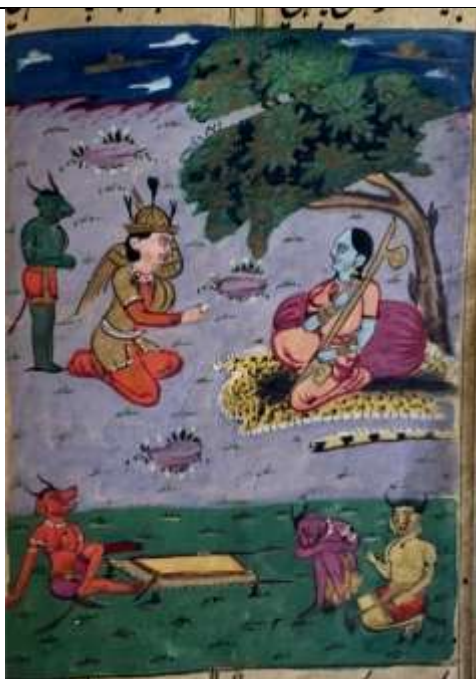


Figure 7.3. Mathnawi Sahr al-Bayān, Ac. No. 13842, 1847 C.E. Lahore, folio, 123. 110 x 90 mm. Ganj Bakhsh Library, Photo by author.



Figure 7.4. Mathnawi Sahr al-Bayān, Ac. No. 13842, 1847 C.E. Lahore, folio, 167. 115 x 90 mm, Ganj Bakhsh Library, Photo by author.

Bahār-i Dānīsh (Fig. 7.5- 7.8)

Manuscript ownership: Ganj Bakhsh Library Islamabad

Ac. No: 1056

Author: ‘Ināyat Allāh Kanbūh

Written in: 1061 A.H./ 1651 C.E.

Folio: 275 mm x 145 mm.

Text box: 115 mm x 220 mm.

Total paintings: 5 including an elaborate figurative illumination.

It is a complete copy of the original work starting from prefatory introduction by Muḥammad Ṣālih Kanbūh and ending at the concluding address of ‘Ināyat Allāh.

Colophon: According to the information given in the last five lines of manuscript the scribe of this copy is Mīr Maḥbūb Shāh son of Mīr Ḥusayn ‘Ali Shāhhīd son of Mīr N‘amat Khān. The very last page is missing as the last sentence is incomplete and a catch word is also written at the left corner of this last available page. The date of completion given in the colophon is 16 Rajab 1258 A.H./ 6 Hāf 1900 Bakramī / 23rd August, 1842 C.E.

Bāhār-i Dānīsh is one of the two famous books of ‘Ināyat Allāh, brother of Muḥammad Ṣālih Kanbūh, the writer of the official history of Shāhjahān named ‘Amal-i Ṣālih or Shāhjahānnāmāh. Bāhār-i Dānīsh was written in 1651 C.E. It is an anthology of Indian stories held together by a main framing story of the romance of Jahāndār Sulṭān and Bahrāwar Bānu.

The earliest known manuscripts of Bahār-i Dānīsh are from 1700 C.E (British library no. IO. Islamic 1408) but even before that we know that it was taken as a fine example of prose to be taught in Persian teaching schools as it is included in Khulāsāt-i Makātib written in 1693 C.E. (Hadi, 1995, p. 578). During 18th century it was transcribed and illustrated continuously in different regions where Persian was being taught and learned. From 1729 C.E we have an illustrated manuscript written in Bijapur, Daccan (The Raza Library Rampur No. P.3062). (Schmitz & Desai, 2006, p. 95). During the British rule in Indian sub-continent, it was included in Persian curriculum in schools.

Most of the manuscripts of *Bahār-i Dānīsh* have an elaborate cycle of illustration, on average having 50-60 paintings⁶³. This copy however have only four paintings and those too are in the third half of the book starting from folio. 331 to 568. Although there is no mention of the place of copying, the pictorial vocabulary gives clear signs of this manuscript belonging to Lahore. The illumination is very elaborate incorporating a central figure and interlacing animal and bird figures which is unconventional, individualized and distinct but the general lay out of the design and colors are typically from Lahore school⁶⁴. It may be compared specially with the illumination of the manuscript of *Gulgashata-i Punjāb* dated 1849 C.E. scribed by Rājā Rām Kaul Tūṭa in Mahārāja Ranjīt Singh Museum Amritsar (Diljeet 2004, p. 122) Other features that connects the illustrations of this manuscript to other paintings hailing from Lahore 19th century are: the indispensable shield of soldiers of typical Sikh army, present at the back of male figures, their slightly curved long sword, the dresses of male and females, their high plumed head dresses, the hexagonal ornate throne with low pedestals (see Figure, 7.6, 7.7, 7.8). However, there are certain individual characteristics that distinctively pertain to the paintings of this manuscript. One of them is the use of transparent drapery in the form of long shawls of women figures. It is a feature that has rare presence in Lahore paintings. In one of the paintings the woman is shown with a tight and very short blouse (see Figure. 7.5). This is the dress almost completely absent from Lahore paintings.

Architecture in the background and foreground have white pavilions with arches, blind niches and pink arrow-head pattern on parapet wall-all that forms the part of Lahore artist's stock of pictorial vocabulary (derived from the Mughal sources of existing architecture of Mughal

⁶³ A manuscript of *Bahār-i Dānīsh*, Acc. No. 1968-569 in National Museum of Pakistan, Karachi, have 146 paintings, the largest number in any known manuscript of this prose in the world, that is also from Lahore.

⁶⁴ The illumination of this manuscript is separately dealt with in the chapter, 3, "Illumination : an unbroken tradition of Lahore's Book Art ", see Figures, 3.103 to 3.105.

Lahore, and also from the miniatures). The design on the floor consists of honey combed patterns or golden delicate scrolls on blue- all applied with a delicacy and detail. The landscape features from Lahore school of 19th century include same colored rocks as that of the ground and treatment of trees in two paintings which may be compared with an illustration of Mahābhārta copied in 1835 C.E by Imām Bakhsh Lāhauri as attributed by Barbara Schmitz (Schmitz, 2010, p. 97) and countless other examples. The paintings in this manuscript are of finer quality with wider range of postures exhibited by human figures. Together with the paintings of Gulistān (Ac. no. 10510, Ganj Bakhsh Library, later discussed in the chapter), it forms a separate group of style in Lahore book illustrations of 19th century.



Figure 7.5. Bahūr-i Dānīsh, Ac. No. 1056. 1842 C.E, The unfaithful wife, folio. 331, 115 mm x 90 mm. Ganj Bakhsh Library. Photo by author



Figure 7.6. Bahūr-i Dānīsh, Acc. No. 1056. 1842 C.E, Jahāṇḍār Sultān entertained by villagers, folio. 537, 110 mm x 85 mm. . Ganj Bakhsh Library. Photo by author



Figure 7.7. Bahār-i Dānīsh, Ac. No .1056. 1842 C.E, Soul transfusion of Hurmuz. folio. 565., 92 mm x 90 mm. . Ganj Bakhsh Library. Photo by author



Figure 7.8. Bahār-i Dānīsh, Ac. No .1056. 1842 C.E, Jāhāndār Sultān united with Bahrāwar Bāno. folio. 568, 116 mm x 90 mm. . Ganj Bakhsh Library. Photo by author

Bahār-i Dānīsh (Figures 7.11- 7.14)

Manuscript ownership: Ganj Bakhsh Library Islamabad

Ac. No: 315

Author: ‘Ināyat Allāh Kanbūh

Written in: 1061 A.H./ 1651 C.E.

Folio: 275 mm x 145 mm.(663 in all).

Text box: 120 mm x 225 mm.

Total paintings: 21 including a damaged simple illumination.

Colophon: On the very first page before the beginning of the manuscript, there are several inscriptions concerning the ownership of the manuscript. They all show a succession of owners with dates up till 1904 C.E. On the last page at the end, there is an inscription in shikasta handwriting script giving the name of owner as Diwānal and to whom it is sold by Ikhtiyār

Khān, through or by, the hand of Munshi Ghulām Muḥammad. The information in general, points to the fact that people were selling/giving and buying/receiving books by personal interactions and also utilizing the dealers (the aforementioned man with the title Munshi), working on smaller basis in 19th century Lahore.

The illumination is without much intricacy. The format, colors and motifs of the design all correspond to the standardized formations, mostly applied in Lahore produced manuscripts⁶⁵. Although the illumination is typical of Lahore school, the illustrations of this manuscript in its general appearance seems closer to Kashmir style of late 18th and 19th century. The proportion of human head and the body is noticeable where, the body appears short in comparison with head. The stance and the head of an old man in miniature no. 9 on folio. 179 is the same drawn for Sikh noble men sometimes Guru Nānak in many manuscripts. Quoting one example here is the illustration of Janam Sakhi in National Museum New Delhi, Ac. No. 1293 (Diljeet, 2004: pg. 18), (see Figure 7.9 in comparison with 7.12). Other features that can be seen as close to Kashmir's illustrations is the use of bright red, violet and bright yellow in the dresses though they are not as juxtaposed as they are in Kashmiri paintings. The ornaments of women made by means of continuous application of white dots is also a common feature of both schools. The short gold jackets worn very frequently by noble men in Lahore manuscript paintings too, seems to be a shared tradition with that of Kashmir illustrations. Inclusion of a white pavilion in the background is common in both as well (see Figure 7.10 of a Kashmirian illustration in comparison with Figures 7.11-7.14). A lot of illustrated manuscripts pertaining to Sikh religious themes were produced in Punjab plains during 19th century by the itinerant group of Kashmīri

⁶⁵ A detailed examination of illumination may be seen in the chapter,3, "Illumination: An unbroken tradition of Lahore's Book Art", see Figure, 3.37.

artists. There is a proof of many shifted to Lahore permanently, and those who had blended their style with that of Lahore⁶⁶. This manuscript probably is the work of one of them.

Having noticed the above mentioned common features of Kashmir and a group of Lahore illustrations, we may also notice that there are many features that are peculiar to Lahore School in this manuscript: the facial features with large eyes and triangular pointed beards, head dresses of men bulging from front and rear, a low wall on the lower edge of the painting and terracotta colored wall with blind arches are some to mention here. Another common tendency to be noticed when drawing the curves of female figures is the unpronounced small semi circles in the place of breasts. While depicting landscape, a general tendency is the inclusion of cypress trees along with thick bunches of foliage of other short heighted trees. The water where ever depicted has pointed corners as it touches the ground (see Figures, 7.11-7.13). In general, what comes out of the characteristics of the illustrations of this manuscript is a blend of Kashmir and Lahore styles.



Figure 7.9. Janam Sakhi, Guru Nanak and Kabir, Kashmir, 19th century. National Museum New Dehli, No.1293 (Diljeet, 2004, p.18)

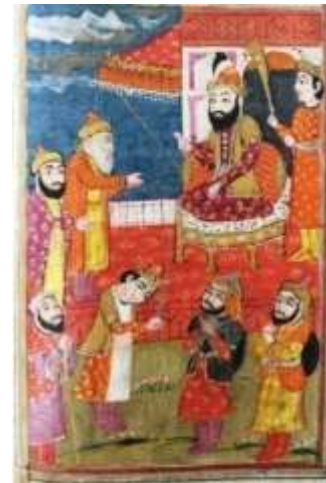


Figure 7.10. Khusraw wa Shurin, Kashmir, 19th century. Ac. No. 1970/A, Khusraw's court, 100 mm x 66 mm. National Museum of Pakistan. Karachi. Photo by author

⁶⁶ An account of the Kashmiri artists working in Lahore is given in chapter,6, "The Artists and the Patrons".



Figure 7.11 Bahār-i Dānīsh, Ac. No. 315. Folio. 99, 170 mm x 110 mm. Ganj Bakhsh Library. Photo by author



Figure 7.12 Bahār-i Dānīsh, Acc. No. 315. Folio. 179, 144 mm x 110 mm. Ganj Bakhsh Library. Photo by author



Figure 7.13. Bahār-i Dānīsh, Acc. No. 315. Folio. 331, 145 mm x 115 mm. Ganj Bakhsh Library. Photo by author



Figure 7.14. Bahār-i Dānīsh, Ac. No. 315. Folio. 316, 170 mm x 110 mm. Ganj Bakhsh Library. Photo by author

Bahār-i Dānīsh (Figures. 7.15- 7.24)

Manuscript ownership: National Museum of Pakistan Karachi.

Ac. No: 168.569

Author: ‘Ināyat Allāh Kanbūh

Written in: 1061 A.H./ 1651 C.E.

Folio: 288 mm x 168 mm.(663 in all).

Text box: 125 mm x 220 mm.

Total paintings: 146 + an illumination.

Colophon: None

This manuscript of National Museum of Pakistan Karachi is one of the most unusual of the Lahore manuscripts in many ways. The illumination of this manuscript on the first page is in pure Kashmir’s idiom but the paintings betray Lahore’s codicology. This suggests that a Kashmiri artist who might have migrated to Lahore, worked on the illumination or, the manuscript itself was started and/or scribed in Kashmir and find way to Lahore by a traveler and later illustrated here. This is not an unknown phenomenon in the books.

Furthermore, it has the largest illustrative cycle of any known copy of Bahār-i Dānīsh and additionally, it combines the three styles of Lahore school of painting: the early style of formative years of 19th century school of Book Art of Lahore, Kashmir- Lahore style and the fully matured Lahore style that may be observed from 1830’s onwards. On the basis of this phenomenon two hypothetical statements may be formulated: either three artists were employed one after the other at the same time or, the change of style in paintings represent the gradual maturity of a single style in Lahore. If taken so, the paintings were done in three sequences one following the other spanning a long time period perhaps three or more than three decades.

A similar kind of copy but with lesser variety of styles is in the Raza Library Rampur titled, Shām-i Anjuman by Bulaq Baig Naqshbandi, P.3076 ,M.K.563. Its colophon gives the date of 1819 A.H “in Lahore”, and the paintings are by two different hands. Barbara Schimitz

(2006), suggests that the first style is that of Lahore in first two decades of 19th century and the rest are completed somewhere in 1830's (Schmitz & Desai, 2016, pp.135-6). If taken so, the paintings in the first quarter of the manuscript of Karachi Museum, are similar to those of first two of Raza Rampur Library copy. The differences from the later illustrations they exhibit are:

- They are without the attire and regalia of Sikh court that developed in the images from second decade of 19th century onwards in Lahore.
- The figures are comparatively short, robust with larger heads and lesser movement, closer in proportions with Kashmirian figures.
- There is wavy fringe at the top marking the ending edge of the sky common to both of the manuscripts (see Figure 7.15,7.16).



Figure 7.15. Bahār-i Dānīsh, Ac. No. 168.569. Jahāṅdād's birth, Folio.14 a, 170 mmx 118 mm. National Museum of Pakistan, Karachi. Photo by author



Figure 7.16. Bahār-i Dānīsh, Ac. No. 168.569. Bahārwar Bāno in company, Folio. 24 a, 125 mm x 115 mm. . National Museum of Pakistan, Karachi. Photo by author

Having examined that, and noticing Kashmir's connections in style, one may also find many features that are unlike the Kashmīri manuscript paintings. The red brick walls or pavilions

are not found in Kashmir's illustrations. The color of clothes though in a bright red hue yet the over all color scheme is muted as compared to Kashmir paintings. In addition the delicate scrolled rinceaux designs on the floor is not a Kashmīri feature at all. Inclusion of a low wall at the fore edge of picture plane is again a Lahore characteristic seen in many dated manuscripts from Lahore.

The second hand in this Bahār-i Danish manuscript, represents a large group of illustrations of manuscripts from Lahore that cover the period from about 1820 C.E to around 1850 C.E. This group is characterized by the utilization of the Lahore idioms at their most, with a lesser tendency towards European art as compared to the paintings of last phase of Lahore Book illustration. Shading around jaw line of the faces of figures start to appear, the eyes become larger with more shading, beards get pointed and the faces leaner than before (see Figure, 7.17). The figures also start to show signs of Sikh period attire, weaponry and stances. In the landscape foliage clusters are painted with thin upstanding cypresses (see Figures, 7.18,7.19, 7.20).



Figure 7.17 Bahār-i Dānish, Ac. No. 168.569. Detail of Folio. 104 a., National Museum of Pakistan, Karachi. Photo by author



Figure 7.18 Bahār-i Dānish, Ac. No. 168.569. Folio. 108 , 155 mm x 115 mm. National Museum of Pakistan, Karachi. Photo by author

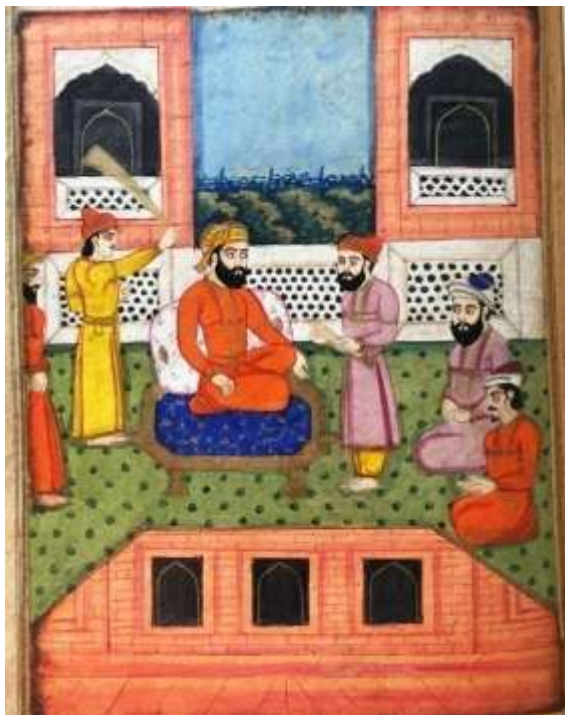


Figure 7.19 Bahār-i Dānīsh, .Ac. No. 168.569. Folio. 164 a, 139 mm x 115 mm. National Museum of Pakistan, Karachi. Photo by author



Figure 7.20 Bahār-i Dānīsh, N.M.P. K.Acc. No.168. 569. Folio .235, 147 mm x 115 mm . National Museum of Pakistan, Karachi. Photo by author

The third hand of this manuscript of Bahār-i Dānīsh represents the fully matured Lahore style of book illustration practiced approximately from the third decade till the seventh decade of 19th century. This style corresponds with most of the portraiture produced during Sikh rule in court paintings. It is also affiliated with what Barbra Schmitz designates as “Style of Imām Bakhsh Lāhaurī”, as may be seen in the famous La Fontaine Fables (Schmitz, 1997, p. 185; 2002, pp. 75-99; 2006, pp. 136-137; 2012, p. 82) . This style is characterized by the use of purer colors specially red and yellow, shading in the hues of green and violet on the ground with transparency, body armor typical of Sikh battalions complete with metallic head cover and breast plates. The drawing of horses is peculiar with smaller heads and large voluminous bodies, addition of colorful tents within the paintings. Halo around the head of any dignitary, takes the shape of a golden unfilled circle (in this case Prince Jahāṇḍād in Figure, 7.22). The foliage is

drawn with shaded tufts and bunches rather than schematic patterns. The continuation and further development of the previously present repertoire of different elements in the picture may also be observed (see Figures 7.21, 7.22, 7.23, 7.24). This style of paintings start with folio. 357, which means towards the end of the manuscript. Its positioning itself suggests that it is a later addition inserted within pre-assigned empty spaces. Another feature that reinforces this hypothesis is, the explanatory inscriptions at the side margins of paintings which suggest that the writer whenever transcribed the text wrote the information and left spaces for the paintings to be inserted in future. This manuscript thus, can be taken as the best example of varied styles of Lahore school of illustration inculcated in a single book.



Figure 7.21. Bahār-i Dānīsh, .Ac. No. 168.569. Folio. 363 a, 150 mm x 115 mm, National Museum of Pakistan, Karachi.
Photo by author



Figure 7.22. Bahār-i Dānīsh, Ac. No. 168.569. Folio. 384, 153 mm x 115 mm, National Museum of Pakistan, Karachi. Photo by author



Figure 7.23. Bahār-i Dāniṣh, Ac. No. 168.569. Folio. 388, 155 x 115 mm, National Museum of Pakistan, Karachi. Photo by author



Figure 7.24. Bahār-i Dāniṣh, Ac. No. 168.569. Folio. 393, 150 mm x 120 mm. National Museum of Pakistan, Karachi. Photo by author

Gulistān-i Sa‘di and Būstān on margins

(Figures 7.25 to 7.28)

Manuscript ownership: Ganj Bakhsh Library Islamabad

Ac. No: 10510

Author: Sa‘di Shīrāzi (d. 1291 C.E)

Written in: 655 A.H./ 1257-58 C.E (Losensky, 2012).

Folio: 350 mm x 190 mm.(663 in all).

Text box: 220 mm x 100 mm.

Total paintings: 14

Paper: The paper is brown, brittle damaged by pests and have burnt corners.

Colophon: According to the colophon this copy of Gulistān was completed on 11th Rabī‘ al-thāni, 1256 A.H./ Sunday 14th June 1840 by Ghulām Muṣṭafa Qādri who, though not quite used to Nasta‘līq script, has scribed this copy on the request of someone he could not refuse.

Muḥammad Iqbāl Bhutta (2007), in his treatise on Lahore calligraphy gives us the record of two

of the calligraphers with the surname Qādri. One of them is Muḥammad Afḍal Qādri who was a prominent calligrapher of Muḥammad Shāh's reign (1718 C.E- 1748 C.E.). The other is Ghulām Qādir Qādri who was an excellent calligrapher of Khatt-i Naskh and died in 1267 A.H./1850 C.E (Bhutta, 2007 p. 123, 223). The closer to our case seems Ghulām Qādir Qādri because of two reasons: the date coincides with our manuscript that may be written by his son or pupil besides he mentions not to be an expert of Nasta'liq and Ghulām Qādri also was known to be an expert of Naskh not that of Nasta'liq.

The illustrations belong to the group of paintings done in a well matured Lahore style. One of the pictorial features of the paintings is finer and delicate outlines. The colors are lighter bodied and have transparency. The full strength yellow and red used in many of the paintings done during the same period, is absent here. However we may notice an opaque pale yellow used many times in the paintings done in the later half of 19th century (see Figure, 7.26).

In case of scenes of the interior of a building there appears always a court yard in front of an architectural structure. In most cases the lower edge of the picture plane incorporates a brick colored wall with an entrance gateway. In other cases it is demarcated by a row of fabric tent sometimes with one of the flaps folded outward. In some of the miniatures of this manuscript, there also appears, at the same place, a low white wall with simple tracery patterns. The floor of the courtyard is painted deep blue most of the times with gold scroll or honey combed patterns. The low seat of the dignitary in the scene whether he is a prince or any noble is always golden, round or hexagonal with a huge boulder pillow at the back. Wherever there appears a chair it is the curved handled chair- the type after the contemporary fashion of Sikh court or other places in Punjab (see Figure, 7.26). An interesting feature of this manuscript is the inclusion of intrados of the central arch from one side as if seen from an angle. The exterior

scenes too, contain all the idioms of Lahore School of 19th century including the pointed, sharp edged grey painted corners of lakes or puddles, schematic regular foliage patterns all over the ground and same colored rocks as that of the ground. Another notable feature is a hut like yellow structure made up of straw decorated with upright plumes on the roof (see Figure, 7.27). This feature is notified as an evidence of Imām Bakhsh style in some manuscripts by Barbara Schmitz (Schmitz, 2002, p. 92), but its concurrence in other manuscripts such as, this one under discussion shows, that it was a common feature of Lahore school of illustration and was not limited to any one artist.

The cycle of illustration in this manuscript is not very extensive having 14 miniatures in all, but it is more or less uniformly distributed within the text. All the parts except for the last, the seventh one which is “The Benefits of Silence”, of the book of Sa‘di are illustrated. The illustrations provide us a huge range of characters including princes, saints, sages common people, warriors, wrestlers, children and even prophets. There appears a single representation of female figure with typical Punjābi attire: A *shalwār Qamīḍ* with a *dūpaṭṭā*. Interesting to note is a bun of her hair protruding from behind the head dress (see Figure 7.27). An insertion of the everyday details can also be witnessed in the painting of wrestlers where the two wrestlers appear to be from a common village scene of Punjab of that day and even today. It was a common sport of Punjab and was painted by many in single paintings later in the century (Srivastava, 2002, plate, IX), (see Figure, 7.26). As others of Lahore school, the illustrations of this manuscript is a fusion of conventional and contemporary. The persistent high horizon, the gold sky, flat and schematic treatment of water represents the conventional, whereas the contemporary is manifested in dresses, architectural arrangements and accessories.



Figure 7.25. Gulistān and Būstān-i Sa'di, Ac. No. 10510. Painting, 2 150 mm x 90 mm. Ganj Bakhsh Library. Photo by author



Figure 7.26. Gulistān and Būstān-i Sa'di, Ac. No. 10510. Painting, 4. 130 x 90 mm, Ganj Bakhsh Library. Photo by author

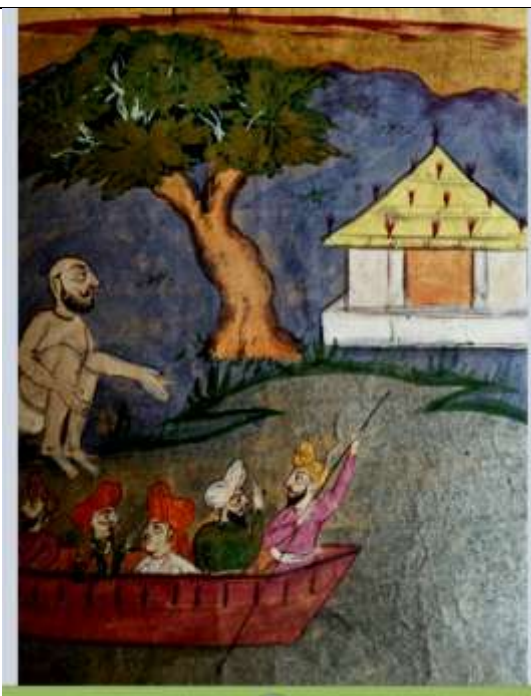


Figure 7.27. Gulistān and Būstān-i Sa'di, Ac. No. 10510. Painting, 8. 135 mm x 95 mm. Ganj Bakhsh Library. Photo by author



Figure 7.28. Gulistān and Būstān-i Sa'di, Ac. No. 10510. Painting, 11, 110 mm x 94 mm. Ganj Bakhsh Library. Photo by author

Gulistān-i Sa‘di (Figures. 7.29 to 7.32)

Manuscript ownership: Ganj Bakhsh Library Islamabad

Ac. No: 11562

Author: Sa‘di Shīrāzi(d. 1291 C.E)

Written in: 655 A.H./ 1257-58 C.E (Losensky, 2012).

Folio: 260 mm x 120 mm.(663 in all).

Text box: 200 mm x 100 mm.

Total paintings: 19

Paper: The paper is light brown, brittle and damaged by pests.

Colophon: None.

Illumination in complete Lahore’s codicology.

The iconographical details of Lahore school illustrations are apparent in all miniatures.

The attire of the court nobles, guards or soldiers show typical codes of Lahore school, with breast plates, curved swords and round, big convex shields (see Figure, 7.29). The ruler is shown with short golden jacket fastened at the waist. His head dress include tri-pointed golden crown with upright plumes. Other male figures are shown wearing long gowns and turbans typical of Lahore fashion of the period. There are just two female figures in an illustration cycle of 19 paintings.

There is a preference for court scenes and thus have a limited variety of characters. The artist of this book seems to have a likening for architectural drawings. He appears constantly experimenting with certain elements of European perspective and different arrangement of walls, niches and pavilions. Many a times the structure is shown from the top with walls in perspective and the lowest edge is drawn as a straight line. Half doors are drawn frequently behind the front arch. In one of the paintings an open window shutters are drawn with an effort to convey linear perspective (see Figure, 7.32). The floor wherever painted is with typical solid color coverage and scroll or honeycombed design (see Figure, 3.31). Though undated, yet due to the similarities in visual vocabulary of paintings we may safely assign it to the period in between 1835 to 1850 C.E.



Figure 7.29. Gulistān-i Sa'di, Ac. No. 11562, Folio. 35. 140 mm x 100 mm. Ganj Bakhsh Library. Photo by author



Figure 7.30. Gulistān-i Sa'di, Ac. No. 11562, Folio. 67. 140 mm x 100 mm. Ganj Bakhsh Library. Photo by author



Figure 7.31. Gulistān-i Sa'di, Ac. No. 11562, Folio. 74. 140 mm x 100 mm. Ganj Bakhsh Library. Photo by author



Figure 7.32. Gulistān-i Sa'di, Ac. No. 11562, Folio. 109. 140 x 100 mm. Ganj Bakhsh Library. Photo by author

Gulistān-i Sa‘di and Būstān on margins (Figures 7.33-7.36)

Manuscript ownership: National Museum of Pakistan, Karachi

Ac. No: 1958.576

Author: Sa‘di Shīrāzi (d. 1291 C.E)

Written in: 655 A.H./ 1257-58 C.E (Losensky, 2012).

Folio: 287 mm x 162 mm.(152 in all).

Text box: 200 mm x 110 mm.

Total paintings: 28

Illumination: On borders of first two folios.

Paper: The paper is brown, brittle with creases damaged by moisture and have blackened pigments at the sides .

Colophon: Completed by Iyzad Bakhsh son of Imām Bakhsh on Monday, 20th Ramḍān.

The years mentioned on both sides of the signature of Iyzad Bakhsh. These years cannot possibly be relied upon. One is 1045 A.H/1635 C.E., and the other seems to be 20th Ramḍān 1585 C.E.

On the margin where Būstān is ending the date written is 10th Ramḍān, 1045 A.H/1635 C.E. thus probably finished 10 days before the completion of Gulistān.

There are three other documented manuscripts, from other archives around the world, transcribed by Iyzad Bakhsh. They all are dated. According to the detailed catalogue of illustrated manuscripts in the Raza Library Rampur (Schmitz and Desai, 2006), one is Kulliyāt-i Sa‘di No. P.3226 in Raza Library Rampur, copied in 1268 A.H/ 1851 C.E. in Lahore. Second one is again in the same Library, No. P.3975, 1249 A.H/1833 C.E , the third one is in Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Public Library at Bankipur H.L. No. 280 dated 1244 A.H/1828 C.E. The last two aforementioned give an additional information. In those, Iyzad Bakhsh writes his name as Iyzad Bakhsh son of Imām Bakhsh *Marḥūm* (deceased). From this we may infer that this Imām Bakhsh cannot be the famed Imām Bakhsh who worked for French general in Lahore because he was working even after 1828 C.E. There appear the name of another Imām Bakhsh in the histories who was a Pūhāfi artist alive in 1924-25 C.E. This Imam Bakhsh too, cannot possibly

be the father of Iyzad Bakhsh. Iyzad Bakhsh was transcribing manuscripts from 1828 to 1850 C.E. The date forged is 1045 A.H. and in these figures digit zero seems rubbed and written over. The erased digit must have been “2”, the remaining three digits are untouched. So in all probability the year forged in our manuscript is actually 1245 A.H that equals to 1829 C.E.(corresponding perfectly with other dates documented manuscripts by Iyzad Bakhsh).

The two manuscripts of Gulistān, one from Raza Library and Ganj Bakhsh library share a lot of common features. The Raza Library copy is slightly larger but the text boxes are almost of the same size. In both, the illumination is on the borders of first two opening folios with almost same number of lines of text in and out of the borders. Raza Library copy has four more paintings than National Museum of Pakistan’s copy. The similarity is not just confined to the paintings and text but also surprisingly, to the mutilation of faces, feet and hands of all figures in paintings. So much so that in both copies they are over painted and made obscure by nosegay of same kind of flowers done by the same hand (Schmitz & Desai, 2006. p. 136, 137). Since both copies were transcribed, one after the other within two years, there is a probability that they were bought/ taken/ kept by the same person, later at some period they were over painted and damaged.

As far as the paintings are concerned, there is complete uniformity of style in both the above mentioned copies. The sky with two streaks of gold and blue one over the other, low white tracery walls on back and sometimes front of the main figures, the stances of the figures, their dresses, body armor in case of soldiers, the low seated golden throne all are shared characteristics (see Figures. 7.33, 7.34, 7.36). The golden scroll design over the blue base is applied on the floor in the paintings of both the manuscripts (see Figures 7.33, 7.35). All these characteristics suggest that they are done by the same person. Whether it was painted by Iyzad

Bakhsh himself, cannot be said with surety. Whoever the painter is, we are sure of one phenomenon that the manuscript paintings of Iskandarnāmāh of the Raza Library Rampur Acc. No. P.3975, scribed by Iyzad Bakhsh, are not by the same person, though the calligraphy is identical. The idioms of Lahore school images are shared by all four manuscripts transcribed by Iyzad Bakhsh, which started appearing from the end of second decade of 19th century, but Iskandarnāmāh manuscript paintings exhibit more fluidity and variety of action, it is clearly painted by a different person. There appears a larger range of colors with stronger hues and opacity in them too in this manuscript as compared to the manuscript under discussion. Written in 1833 C.E not long after the Gulistān manuscripts, it shows that both the styles were prevailing in Lahore at the same time.



Figure 7.33. Gulistān and Būstān, Ac. No. 1958. 576. 1829 C.E. Lahore. Folio.29, 122 mm x 113 mm. National Museum of Pakistan, Karachi. Photo by author



Figure 7.34. Gulistān and Būstān, Ac. No. 1958. 576. 1829 C.E. Lahore. Folio.33, 135 mm x 117 mm. National Museum of Pakistan, Karachi. Photo by author



Figure 7.35. Gulistān and Būstān, Ac. No. 1958. 576. 1829 C.E. Lahore. Folio.78, 117 mm x 115 mm. National Museum of Pakistan, Karachi. Photo by author



Figure 7.36. Gulistān and Būstān, Ac. No. 1958. 576. 1829 C.E. Lahore. Folio.150, 120 mm x 114 mm. National Museum of Pakistan, Karachi. Photo by author

Gulistān-i Sa‘di on margins and Būstān

(Figures, 7.37- 7.40)

Manuscript ownership: Lahore Museum, Pakistan.

Ac. No: 936

Author: Sa‘di Shīrāzi (d. 1291 C.E)

Written in: 655 A.H./ 1257-58 C.E (Losensky, 2012).

Folio: 250 mm x 150 mm.(139 in all),without pagination and acephalous.

Text box: 132 mm x 82 mm.

Total paintings: 11

Illumination: None

Paper: The paper is brown, brittle with creases damaged from the sides .

Colophon: The informative colophon is on the sixth folio from the end. It marks the end of Būstān. According to the information it provides, this copy was completed on Wednesday 15th, Jamādi al- thāni 1254 A.H/1838 C.E. before midnight by Khawāja Asad Allāh , a resident of

Kashmir living in Lahore, written at the house of Ghulām Muḥa’i al- Dīn. After the colophon there is a different text written on the remaining pages in the text box. They are other parts of Sā’di Kulliyāt (verified by unpublished notes of the museum’s manuscripts, and recorded in observations noted by Barbara Schmitz in the museum’s record).

The text is highly important because of its detailed colophon. It affirms the fact that many Kashmiri artists were residing in Lahore during 19th century either having permanent or temporary residences. The paintings are small in size and the cycle is not large, having 11 smaller sized miniatures. The paintings though inculcate many Lahore idioms of its time, but still are expressive of Kashmir affiliations. The elements close to Kashmīri illustrations include waist length golden jacket worn by dignitaries, the jewelry items worn by men and women that consists of strings of pearls arranged around neck or around head dress. In addition, the bright red flat application of color on the clothes of many figures is much like Kashmīri choice of color. The white structure at the back of main group of figures with its blind niches is also a feature akin to Kashmir imagery. These features though discernable as akin to Kashmir’s contemporary characteristics, yet, are well amalgamated well into Lahore style of painting.

The facial features are typical of Lahore school with saucer eyes, pointed beards and shading around the eyes and neck. The background architecture in addition to white pavilion also include red brick walls with arches showing a side of its intrados, a typical Lahore illustration feature never attempted in Kashmir Illustrations. In outdoor scenes the ground though painted in levels as in Kashmir paintings, but is less brighter colors. It contain rocks of the same color as the ground itself –again an emblematic Lahore feature. There is depiction of two scenes that contain naked figures. This is a phenomenon though rare in Lahore illustrations too, yet totally absent from Kashmiri illustrations (see Figures, 7.37-7.40).

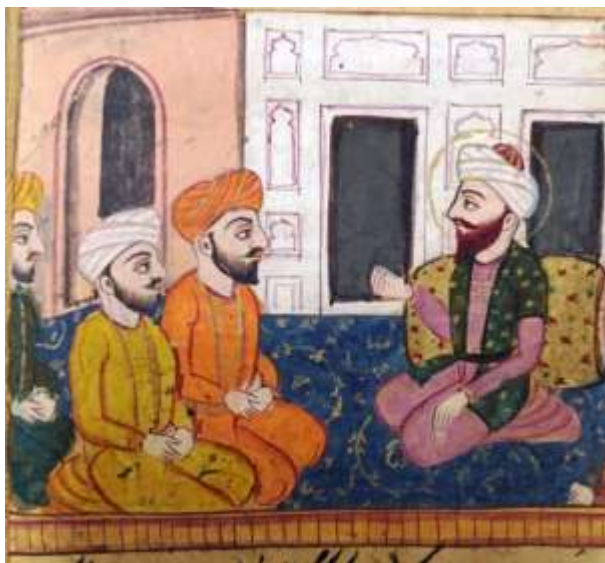


Figure 7.37. Gulistān and Būstān, Ac. No. 936. 1836 C.E. Lahore. 70 mm x 85 mm. Lahore Museum. Photo by author



Figure 7.38, Gulistān and Būstān, Ac. No. 936. 1836 C.E. Lahore. 75 mm x 83 mm. Lahore Museum. Photo by author



Figure 7.39. Gulistān and Būstān, Ac. No. 936. 1836 C.E. Lahore. 83 mm x 83 mm. Lahore Museum. Photo by author



Figure 7.40 . Gulistān and Būstān, Ac. No. 936. 1836 C.E. Lahore. 70 mm x 83 mm. Lahore Museum. Photo by author

Gulistān-i Sa‘di and Būstān on margins**(Figures 7.41- 7.44)**

Manuscript ownership: State Library of Victoria, Australia

Ac. No: 936

Author: Sa‘di Shīrāzi (d. 1291 C.E)

Written in: 655 A.H./ 1257-58 C.E (Losensky, 2012).

Folio: 288 mm x 170 mm.(143 in all)

Text box: 175 mm x 85 mm.

Total paintings: 18

Illumination: 1

Paper: The paper is cream, thin

Colophon: according to the inscription at the end of the text it was scribed in 1258 A.H/ 1842 C.E. This manuscript is out of copy right and may be accessed online at:

<http://handle.slv.vic.gov.au/10381/146792>

In the catalogue notes of this manuscript, the style of illustrations is designated as “Kashmir-Indian”. Since it has clear stylistic affiliations with the previously discussed Lahore Museum manuscript of Gulistān, it may safely be assumed that it is the work of either the same artist or another from Kashmir residing and trained in Lahore. The Lahore Museum copy is acephalous but this one opens with an illumination which exhibits obvious codicological details of Lahore School. The trilobed-arch format, central cruciform flower within a diamond shaped formation, the scrolls with florets and colors- all confirm that it was written and embellished in Lahore (see Figure, 7.41 and compare this with Figures, 3.31 to 3.33, .34 in chapter, 3). The visual vocabulary of illustrations too, strengthen this hypothesis.

The general lay-out and details of the illustrations are very close in style to the Lahore museum’s copy. The compositions with minimal and necessary figures, level-wise division of picture plane, the landscape and architectural features all are same in both (see Figures, 7.37- 7.40 and 7.42-7.44). So much so, that certain details as, the folds of robe covering the feet of seated figures (see Figures 7.37 and 7.43), the waist band broadened at the back (see Figures 7.40 and 44), the scroll design on the floor (see Figures, 7.39 and 7.42) all are identical to both

manuscripts. Except for a few features discussed in the analysis of previous manuscript, nothing relate them to contemporary Kashmir's illustrations. The resultant style is thus a complete fusion of Lahore and Kashmir in Lahore school of book illustration.



Figure 7.41, Gulistān-i Sa'di, Folio 1. V, 82 mm X 100 mm, illumination, State Library of Victoria, Australia.



Figure 7.42, Gulistān-i Sa'di, Folio 108. V, 80 mm x 128 mm, State Library of Victoria, Australia



Figure 7.43 Gulistān-i Sa'di, Folio 45 r, 70 mm x 150 mm, illumination, State Library of Victoria, Australia

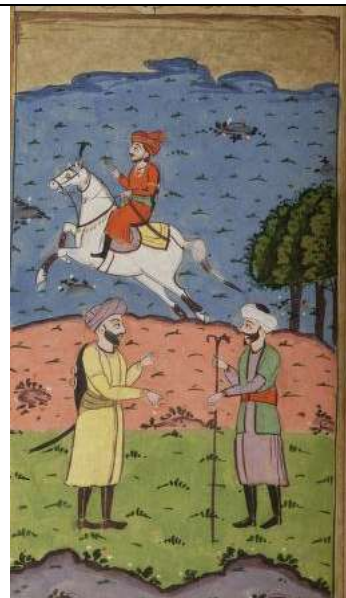


Figure 7.44 Gulistān-i Sa'di, Folio 68. V, 70 mm x 145 mm, illumination, State Library of Victoria, Australia

Būstān-i Sa‘di (Figures 7.45,7.46)

Manuscript ownership: Punjab University Library.

Ac. No: O-57/7282

Author: Sa‘di Shīrāzi

Written in: 12A.H./ 1651 C.E.

Folio: 205 mm x 130 mm.(202 in all),without original pagination.

Text box: 145 mm x 84 mm.

Total paintings: 4

Illumination: 1 illuminated headpiece and interlinear gilded clouds throughout the text, two columns with golden rulings.

Paper: The paper is brown, brittle with creases damaged from the sides and brown marks all over.

Colophon: The colophon is at the end of the text on the last page. An informative inscription also appears on one of the double paintings that are on the ending pages of the manuscript. It gives the name of the scribe which is Illāhi Bakhsh, the date- 1241 A.H/ 1825 C.E. and the place of writing- Jalāl pūr, Handāl.

On searching for the place mentioned in the colophon, we come to know about a town near Lahore contributing towards the book art of 19th century. It is Jalāl Pūr. Towards the north of Lahore, popularly known as Jalāl Pūr Jāttān, it is a town in Gujrat district only 20 km away from Kashmir and 136 km from Lahore. A historical city, it used to be an important station in way from Delhi to Kashmir and Lahore to Kashmir. Fort of Islām Gāh, was the mint of Ranjīt Singh in 1832 C.E. It is also called the gate of Kashmir and due to its proximity of Kashmir, it became permanent home of many of the Kashmiri families (Butt & Hassan, 2012).

We already have identified manuscripts from Sialkot written in Sialkot, and illustrated and illuminated in Lahore idiom (see chapter,4 heading, Style I).This manuscript’s illustrations and illumination give us clue to another northern centre of regional production related to both Kashmir and Lahore. Now the name Illāhi Bakhsh, is recognizable, well known and quite

common within the book's art circle of Lahore of 19th century. Two persons bearing this name are mentioned in the family trees of artists families by Srivastava, one in Karam-al Dīn Ma'mār family and other in Chughtā'i Bābri family (Srivastava, 1983, pp. 47, 48). The third artist named Illāhi Bakhsh, whose period of working as an artist seems closer to our manuscript is mentioned by 'Abd al- Raḥmān Chughtā'i quoting 9th *Bayāḍ* or Volume of Yakdil's⁶⁷ unpublished diary in the year 1845 C.E. He mentions Illāhi Bakhsh and his father Karīm Bakhsh living in the vicinity of Muḥi Darwāza as artists of high merit. It is possible that his family shifted to Lahore from Jalāl Pūr after the stable and prospective environment for the artists was ensured in Lahore.

The four paintings and an illumination of this manuscript exhibit many features that relates it to Lahore style. Haloed Sā'di appears in all four in the company of common people and royal dignitaries benefiting from his teachings. The ring halo, facial features with saucer eyes and close cut beards, the standard gestures of the people in front of a respectable man with folded hands strongly relate the paintings to Lahore school. In addition, the scrolling rinceaux pattern in gold on the floor, the low white wall and bushes in the background are all emblematic features of Lahore school. However some of the elements as the round thick beard of Sā'di, the hanging canopy at one side of the building are taken from the 19th century Kashmir's vocabulary of book illustrations (see Figures. 7.45, 7.46).

Important to note in this and the Sialkot hailing manuscripts is their making in the first two decades of the century. At this early date, we may already observe Lahore school's developed vocabulary though without Sikh regalia. Therefore it may be assumed that artists from regional centers specially in the north of Lahore were already working on manuscripts and later shifted to Lahore and proved instrumental in further development of this school.

⁶⁷ Aḥmad Bakhsh Yakdil was the father of Nūr Muḥammad Chishti, the author of famous history "Tahqīqāt-i Chishti". His unpublished diary entries is a valuable information about artists of first half of 19th century Lahore.



Figure 7.45, Būstān-i Sa'dī, Ac. No. O-57/7282. Frontispiece, r. 145 mm x 82. Frontispiece v. 150 mm x 85 mm. 1825 C.E, Jalālpur. Punjab University Library. Reproduced by permission of Library.



Figure 7.46 Būstān-i Sa'dī, Ac. No. O-57/7282. Rear piece r. 145 mm x 85 mm. Rear piece, v. 140 mm x 80 mm. 1825 C.E, Jalālpur. Punjab University Library. Reproduced by permission of Library.

Karīma of Sa‘di Shīrāzi**(Figures, 7.47-7.50)**

Manuscript ownership: Punjab University Library.

Ac. No: O-419/7646

Author: Sā‘di Shīrāzi

Written in: 13th century

Folio: 211 mm x 130 mm.(44 in all).

Text box: 175 mm x 91 mm.

Total paintings: 3

Illumination: 1 illuminated headpiece.

Paper: The paper is brown, damaged with missing pages in between.

Colophon: Written by ‘Ilm al-Dīn in Gujrāt, in the year 1260 A.H/ 1844 C.E.

Also called *Pandnāmāh*, this small poetry book was among the most popular in the Persophone population of the East. In beautiful diction and flow it is a collection of moral messages in verse. Although illuminated copies of this text are commonly found in the libraries, yet there are two in Punjab University collection that are illustrated. The one under discussion is highly important in providing yet another example from the region north of Lahore that was producing books illustrated in Lahore style. Gujrāt like Sialkot and Jalalpur, is one of the towns near Kashmir border and which remained a historically old and important city for centuries.

This modestly executed and small sized book have three paintings of small dimensions and a damaged illumination. All may be compared well with the other dated manuscripts of Lahore. The painting “M‘irāj-journey of Prophet ﷺ to heavens” can be matched with the painting of the same in *Mathnawi Saḥr-al Bayān* present in Ganj Bakhsh Library, written in 1848 C.E. Lahore (see Figure 7.48). The other two paintings: on folio 5 of the manuscript-the description of justice and on folio. 7 on explaining the drinking of wine of love, both exhibit features that relate the manuscript to Lahore school of illumination. The thick turbans, robes, shields at the back of figures, the gestures, the white building behind the figures and an ever present low white wall at the back are all here. Though painted with sketchy details and lack of fineness the

manuscript stand as the testimony of production of such manuscripts on large scale by common men in Lahore and its suburban towns (see Figures 7.49, 7.50).



Figure 7.47 Karīma-i Sa'di, Ac. No. 419/7646, Folio. 2 , 50 mm x 80 mm, Gujrat, 1844 C.E. Punjab University Library, Lahore, Photo by author



Figure 7.48, Mathnawi Sahr-al Bayān, Ac. No. 13842, 1847 C.E. Lahore. folio, 20. 115 x 90 mm. Ganj Bakhsh Library, Photo by author



Figure 7.49 Karīma-i S'adi, Ac. No. 419/7646, Folio. 5 , 55 mm x 80 mm, Gujrat, 1844 C.E. Punjab University Library, Lahore, Photo by author

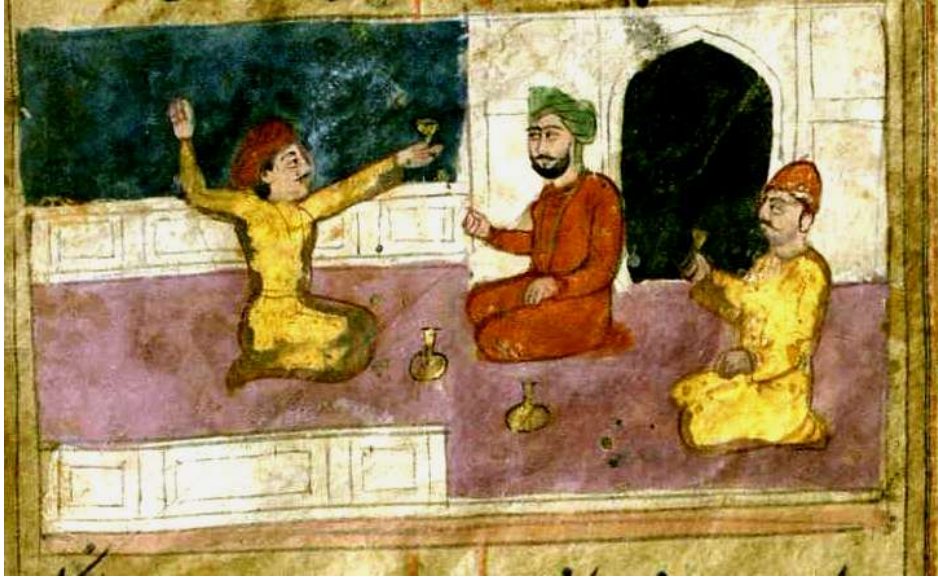


Figure 7.50 Karīma-i Sa‘di, Ac. No. 419/7646, Folio. 7 , 50 mm x 82 mm, Gujrat, 1844 C.E. Punjab University Library, Lahore, Photo by author

Karīma of Sa‘di Shīrāzi

(Figures, 7.51-7.53)

Manuscript ownership: Punjab University Library.

Ac. No: O-145/7370

Author: Sa‘di Shīrāzi

Written in: 13th century

Folio: 265 mm x 140 mm.(unpaginated).

Text box: 119 mm x 90 mm.

Total paintings: 3

Illumination: 1 illuminated headpiece.

Paper: The paper is brown, damaged with missing pages in between.

Colophon: The date of completion written at the end of text is 1273 A.H/1856 C.E.

Much the same in many ways to the previous copy, this manuscript is single columned. It has three paintings, out of which two depicts the same couplets as in the previous one. The illustrations although are approximately of the same size too yet, there is comparatively higher degree of attention to detail in this manuscript’s paintings. An oft repeated signature style in depicting angels in the paintings of Lahore school is, to show them with one wing in an upward position. This may be seen in the first painting (see Figure 7.51, may also be noted in previous

Figures, 7.47, 7.48). Other features from Lahore's iconography include; white architectural structure at the back, brick wall with arches, the head dresses, body armor, the big bolsters at the back of figures and the ever present low white tracery wall (see Figures 7.52, 7.53).



Figure 7.51 Karāma-i Sa'di, Ac. No. O-145/7370, Folio. 9, 90 mm x 85 mm, 1856 C.E. Punjab University Library, Lahore, Photo by author



Figure 7.52 Karāma-i Sa'di, Ac. No. O-145/7370, Folio. 12, 90 mm x 85 mm, 1856 C.E. Punjab University Library, Lahore, Photo by author



Figure 7.53 Karāma-i Sa'di, Ac. No. O-145/7370, Folio. 20, 90 mm x 80 mm, 1856 C.E. Punjab University Library, Lahore, Photo by author

Shāhnāmāh-i Firdausi (Figures, 7.54-7.57)

Manuscript ownership: Ganj Bakhsh Library Islamabad
(Fatahnāmāh, Asfandyūr wa Gustashp) Entered in the catalogue with this name however it is not the topic of this volume, but the name of first of its chapters.

Author: Abu al-Qāsim Firdausi Tūsī

Written in: 998 C.E – 1010 C.E (Motlagh, 1999, pp. 514-523)

Folio: 345 mm x 190 mm.(663 in all).

Text box: 255 mm x 140 mm.

Total paintings: 9

Paper: The paper is white thin, Kashmir type, damaged by green verdigris pigment at certain places.

Colophon: This is a part of Shāhnāmāh and it does not mark the end of the book. At the end of this part there is no mention of the scribe, however a date is given which is partially rubbed.

What remains can best be read as: Sha‘bān 1240 C.E/ April 1825 C.E.

According to the subject matter Shāhnāmāh is divided into three parts: myth, legend and history. The manuscript under discussion is a part of last one- the historical but, that too, is not complete. It starts with the reign of Bahmān till the reign of Bahrām Gūr. There are nine paintings included. The feature peculiar to them is the choice of subject depicted. These nine paintings pertain to the most common place events. The important ones, generally painted in other manuscripts of Shāhnāmāh, are completely overlooked. For example, from Sikandar’s period a lot of incidents selected to be illustrated in other manuscripts of Shāhnāmāh are; Sikandar and Dāra’s battle, Sikandar and the talking tree, Sikandar’s death and mourning by people. In this manuscript, the illustrator takes just one scene from Sikandar’s reign and that too, depicts a comparatively unimportant episode which is: Sikandar correspondence with Kayd the monarch of India. A preference for court scenes may be observed in the selection of scenes. By observing the drawing and painting quality, the reason for this selection seems, purely matter of choice rather than lack of expertise on part of the artist.

The illumination on the first page at the beginning, is as elaborate as the paintings of this sumptuous manuscript. It has a wide range of designs from the vocabulary of Lahore school of 19th century. The quality of this illumination may well be compared with the illuminated heading of *Ā'in-i Akbarī* in Punjab University Library no. Pe II 8B/ 447, called by Schmitz as the finest illumination of Lahore school (Schmitz, 2010. p. 91)⁶⁸.

Out of the total of nine illustrations, seven are court scenes. One of the two, other than court scene, has the depiction of combat between Bahmān and Firāmuz. The other has a rare depiction of boys playing (see Figures 7.54,7.55). At the sides of the paintings within the margins of folios one or two words mentioning the episode, depicted in the painting, are written. This points to the probability of the paintings having separately been done by the artist who might not be the scribe of the manuscript.

Stylistically the paintings belong to the group of illustrations produced during the second quarter of 19th century with fully matured Lahore iconography. There is no linkage with Kashmirian style. The figures are in full Sikh regalia with breast plates, plumed helmets and elaborate port aigrette plumed crowns. The style very close to this manuscript may be seen in a manuscript of *Tarīkh-i Dilkusha-i Shamshairkhāni* present in Khuda Bakhsh Library Patna⁶⁹(see Figure 7.57). Although the manuscript under discussion is finer in details of drawing and paintings yet, there are many features common to them. The treatment of landscape in the background of scenes, the headdresses, court paraphernalia and even the pigment damage of green verdigris is similar to both. The date given in the Khuda Bakhsh copy is 1830 C.E., so there is a strong possibility that illustrations of both of the manuscripts are done by the same person.

⁶⁸ The illumination of this manuscript is discussed in detail in the chapter, 3: Illumination: An unbroken tradition of Lahore's Book Art" see Figure, 3.34.

⁶⁹ The manuscript may be accessed on shahnama.caret.cam.ac.uk



Figure 7.54 *Shāhnāmāh*, Ac. No. 10828, Fol. 3, 187 mm x 125 mm, 1824 C.E. Ganj Bakhsh Library, Islamabad. Photo by author



Figure 7.55 *Shāhnāmāh*, Ac. No. 10828, Fol. 120, 180 mm x 130 mm, 1824 C.E. Ganj Bakhsh Library, Islamabad. Photo by author



Figure 7.56 *Shāhnāmāh*, Ac. No. 10828, Fol. 132, 180 mm x 130 mm, 1824 C.E. Ganj Bakhsh Library, Islamabad. Photo by author

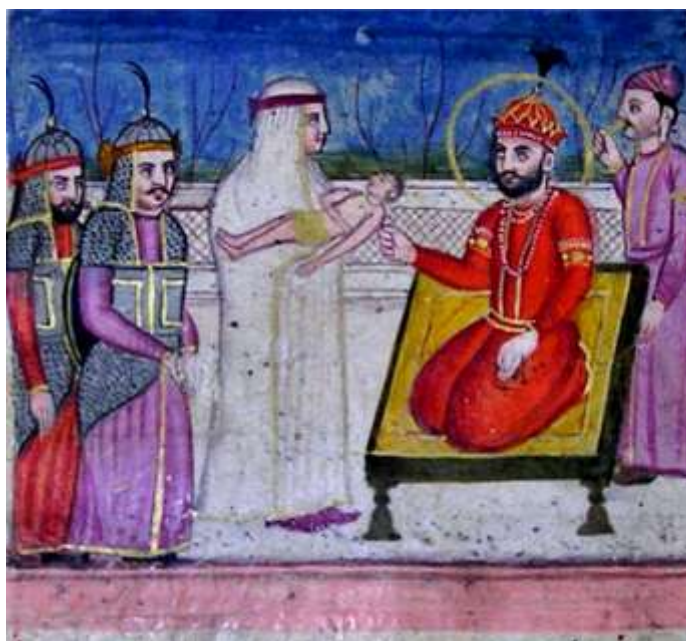


Figure 7.57 *Tarīkh-i Dilkushā-i Shamsīrkhāni*, folio 060, v. 1830 C.E. *Khuda Bakhsh Library Patna*, retrieved from: shahnama.caret.cam.ac.uk

Tārīkh-i Dilkusha-i Shamshair Khāni (Figures, 7.58-7.61)

Manuscript ownership: Ganj Bakhsh Library Islamabad

Ac. No: 9519

Author: Tawakkul Baig son of Taulak Baig al-Husayni

Written in: 1063A.H./ 1652 C.E (Payeur, 2010, p. 222).

Folio: 155 mm x 240 mm.(297 in all with the first page missing).

Text box: 110 mm x 190 mm.

Total paintings: 57

Paper: The paper is brown, brittle last few pages damaged by brown blots of some liquid

Colophon: None.

An abridged version of Shāhnāmāh-i Firdausi, Shamshair Khāni as popularly known, was written in 1652 C.E by Tawwakul ibn-i Taulak Baig on the orders of Governor of Ghazā' in (a city in Ghazni province), Shamshair Khān Tarīn⁷⁰.

There are many 17th century books written under later Mughals in Persian that were not transcribed again in 19th century Lahore but, Shamshair Khāni remained among the most favorite ones to be transcribed and illustrated. There are at least four 18th century versions in British archives acquired by the Britishers in late 18th century. It means that they were well in circulation in India at that time. Over a hundred manuscripts of Shamshair Khāni has been identified by Pasha Muhammad Khan in South Asia with sixty in India and Pakistan (Khan, 2012, p. 10). Manzavi's collective catalogue lists eleven manuscripts from 18th century and twenty six from Pakistan archives alone (Manzavi, 1986, vol. 10, pp. 148-151).

With 57 miniatures in all this manuscript provides a large vocabulary of iconographic details of 19th century Lahore Book Art. Out of the 57 paintings in the manuscript about fifty percent constitute court scenes. Battle scenes are also quite frequent. The cycle of illustrations is

⁷⁰ The original work does not record the name of the author, but since it is mentioned that he is working under the blessings of the prince, it may be assumed with certain surety that he was Tawakkul Baig, who was active in Shāh Jahān's court, and is known to have transcribed at least one copy of Shāhnāmāh (Payeur, 2010, p. 247, note. 5)

quite regularly spread over the length of the story till the first 200 folios of the manuscript the rest 97 are devoid of any illustration. It seems as if the artist ran out of time to incorporate more paintings into it. This phenomenon also points to the strong probability of the fact, that the scribe was also the artist who adorned this manuscript since there are no blank spaces left within the text of the last ninety pages.

Two prominent characteristics of the illustrations that makes it unique among others of Lahore school are: the size of some of the miniatures with as small as 65 mm in width, secondly the compositions are much crowded as compared to the illustrations of other manuscripts.

The court scenes (see Figures, 7.59, 7.61), inculcate variety of architectural structures including fluted white domes, doors within doors. The demarcation of the lower edge of the painting by means of walls, out-turned tents, half walls and arched enclosure seems almost essential as typical of Lahore School illustrations. The thrones are octagonal, oval or many sided low seat always painted gold. Sometimes a gold parasol can also be seen attached with the back. The floor is mostly deep blue. It always have golden design forming leafy scrolls, honey comb, checks or simply vertical lines. The architectural pavilions in the background or fore ground have pink rosettes designs. The parapets and the lower edge of dome drums are usually a series of leaf pattern painted pink. In one of the paintings we come across a royal tent in the background whose entrance flap is upturned in the typical peculiar fashion of Lahore's illustrations (see Figure, 7.61). This kind of tent intrigues Karuna Goswamy, who designates this feature and others to the so called "Afghan- Kashmiri" style after Hermann Goetz (Goetz, 1969, as cited in Goswamy, 1998, p. 164, pl. 49). It is not a novel feature in Lahore illustrations and can be seen in many Lahore School illustrations. One fine example other than the manuscript under discussion is the Alwar Museum's Shāhnāmāh folio 119 r (Government Museum Alwar.

Ac No. 114, may be accessed at: shahnama.caret.cam.ac.uk). Another in ‘Ajai’b al-Makhlūqāt manuscript in British Library later discussed in the chapter (see Figure, 7.87 for comparison).

While observing the landscape features, one notice rich vocabulary of iconographic details of foliage and tree types of Lahore School paintings. Quite frequently tall cypresses in between thick foliage of trees are drawn in the background. The trees have either schematically drawn leaves over masses of dark and light greens or, tones of greens are applied in serrated dabs looking like the foliage of trees. The thick mass of foliage is tilted at one side thus covering the main figure from above, an oft repeated device in Lahore school illustrations (see Figure, 7.58) . Under a very high horizon line are irregular areas of rocky background in muted colors with same colored rocks (see Figures, 7.58. 7.60). Water wherever shown is silver grey with pointed and serrated triangular corners (see Figures, 7.58).

The figures in the battle scenes and many of the times in court scenes too are shown with complete body armor of 19th century Punjab/ Sikh warriors. Interestingly though Rūstam is shown with his usual tiger skin coat still, the breast plates are mounted over it (see Figure, 7.60, 7.61). Head dresses are adorned with large upright plumes in males as well as in the case of females.

In finesse and drawing quality though Lilly Shamshair Khāni is the best example⁷¹ but this manuscript in Ganj Bakhsh Library, is a copy that incorporates large quantity of modestly painted illustrations thus providing a huge repertoire of Lahore school of book illustration not known to the scholars as yet.

⁷¹ The Lilly Library, Indiana University, U.S.A. has a manuscript of Shamshair Khāni that has probably been written and illustrated under the orders of Ranjūt Singh, it is discussed in chapter, 6: Artists and Patrons: Lahore book Art , 19th century.



Figure 7.58, *Tārīkh-i Dilkusha-i Shamshairkhāni*, Ac. No. 9515, un paginated, painting. 9, 122 mm x 100 mm. Ganj Bakhsh Library, Islamabad. Photo by author



Figure 7.59, *Tārīkh-i Dilkusha-i Shamshairkhāni*, Ac. No. 9515, un paginated, painting. 13, 95 mm x 100 mm. Ganj Bakhsh Library, Islamabad. Photo by author



Figure 7.60, *Tārīkh-i Dilkusha-i Shamshairkhāni*, Ac. No. 9515, un paginated, painting. 20, 107 mm x 100 mm. Ganj Bakhsh Library, Islamabad. Photo by author

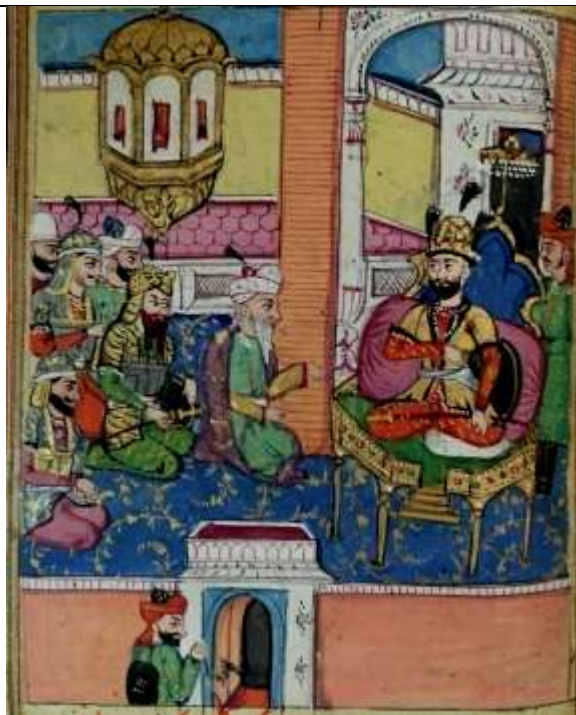


Figure 7.61 *Tārīkh-i Dilkusha-i Shamshairkhāni*, Ac. No. 9515, un paginated, painting. 23, 123 mm x 100 mm. Ganj Bakhsh Library, Islamabad. Photo by author

Ā'īn-i Akbari (Figures, 7.62-7.65)

Manuscript ownership: Ganj Bakhsh Library Islamabad
 Ac. No: 4078
 Author: Abu al- Faḍl 'Allāmi
 Written in: 1601-2 C.E.
 Folio: 545 mm x 295 mm.(297 in all with the first page missing).
 Text box: 412 mm x 190 mm.
 Total paintings: 2
 Paper: The paper is thick, Sialkoti type, last pages damaged and torn
 Colophon: None.

Abu al- Faḍl, the famous learned courtier of Akbar, is best known for his famous Akbarnāmāh, the officially commissioned history of Akbar's reign. It was ordered to be written, by Akbar himself in 1589 C.E. Akbarnāmāh consists of three volumes. The first two deal with Akbar's predecessors, the family lineage and connections and Akbar's birth and his reign up till 1602 C.E., his 48th regnal year. The third volume is one of its kind and contains geographical, historical and statistical details of the territory of Akbar's empire (Hadi, 1991, p. 271). In this way Ā'īn-i Akbari remains the most important source of reference of Akbar's rule to this day.

Among the most impressive and innovative of Lahore School manuscripts are several copies of Ā'īn-i Akbari found in the archives around the world. All of them are big-sized manuscripts measuring on average 500 mm x 250 mm, almost all are written on thick cream paper. All of them are beautifully illuminated in the form of sections markers or headings. In addition to this one under discussion, manuscripts of Ā'īn can also be found in National Museum New Delhi (Inv. No. 59.587), The Asiatic Society Calcutta (P.128), Lahore Fort Museum Lahore (Ms. 07), Patiala Govt. Archives (M.658 & M.285) in British Library Add. 26203 and in Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, Canada .

The illustration cycle is not large in any of the manuscripts. The most important innovation on part of Lahore artists in these manuscripts, is the inclusion of double frontispiece

or doublers at the ends showing Akbar in his court at one side and Ranjīt Singh and his courtiers on the other as if comparing the grandeur of both. Schmitz (2002), proposes that this kind of depiction might be an effort to assert the tolerant religious policies of both (Schmitz, 2002, p. 96). The National Museum New Delhi manuscript though have no colophon yet it bears the seal of Ranjīt Singh thus suggests that it was commissioned by Ranjīt Singh himself (Schmitz, 2002, p. 98).

Ganj Bakhsh Library Manuscript of Ā'īn, unfortunately have missing doublers and frontispieces that might have contained the paintings of Ranjit Singh's court. However it does have beautiful illuminations in between and at the ends of its parts and also contain two miniatures. The small bands of illuminated panels in between the text or tables contain small rosettes and scrolls in typical Lahore colors: oranges, pinks, purples. The first painting appears on folio 37 shows Abu al- Faḍl with scholars and secretaries preparing the text. Multiple perspective is applied. The frontal viewed white architectural structure is drawn with a three dimensional converged roof top and the rug on which the main group is seated, is drawn from a bird's eye view. The painting, from some areas looks unfinished as for example, the smaller roofs of the parapets are partially left unpainted. The colors applied are typical yellows, orange and lilacs of Lahore school. The facial features of the group also betrays Lahore school affiliation with saucer eyes and conical beards. The hand gestures can also be noted as similar to many of the paintings from other books from same time and space. The honey combed design on the floor and pink scallops at the uppermost edge of the parapet wall are also oft repeated features of Lahore school (see Figure. 7.62).

The second painting in the manuscript is that of a display of jeweled ornaments and weapons. In other manuscripts of Ā'īn-i Akbari this display is usually drawn on double page, at

one side weapons and at the other jeweled ornaments but here all the items are arranged in front of an architectural set up on a single page. We are not sure about the origin of adding the painting showing items of wealth in Ā'īn's manuscripts but in 1770 C.E an illustrated book from Faizabad contains similar display. Interestingly, the ornaments and weapons belong to the prevalent style of its time, when the manuscript was illustrated (Guy & Swallow, 1990, pp. 1,2). The illustration of the manuscript under discussion, appears similar in composition, colors, their opacity and the drawing of articles to an illustration of the same display in Royal Ontario Museum (see Figure, 7.65). This manuscript also have an elaborate frontispiece portrait painting of equestrian Ranjīt with his entourage (see Figure, 7.64).



Figure 7.62, Ā'īn-i Akbari, Ac. No. 4078, Folio, 370, 232 mm x 190 mm, Ganj Bakhsh Library Islamabad. Photo by author

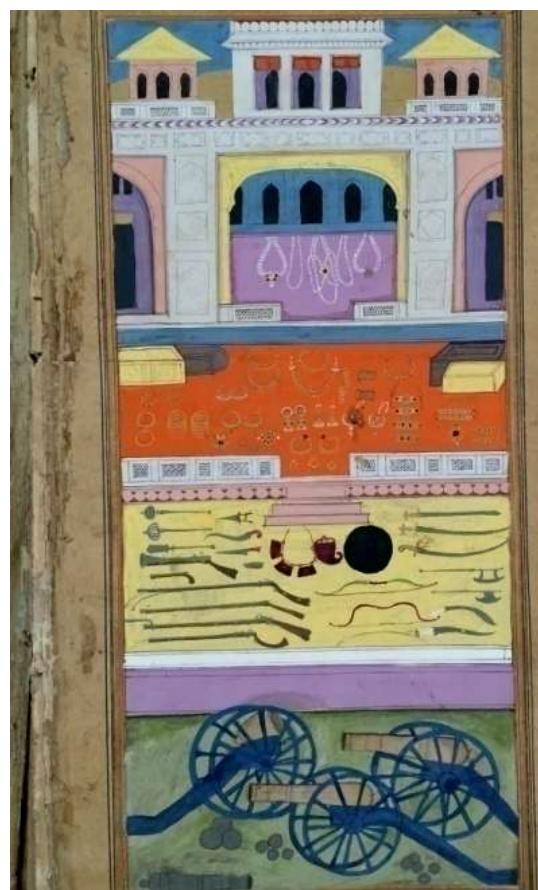


Figure 7.63 Ā'īn-i Akbari, Ac. No. 4078, Folio, 430, 415 mm x 190 mm, Ganj Bakhsh Library Islamabad. Photo by author



Figure 7.64 Ā'in-i Akbari, 1822 C.E. Lahore, Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, Canada Retrieved from: wikipediacommons DSC09640.JPG



Figure 7.65 Ā'in-i Akbari, Royal Ontario Museum Canada (Naeem, 2010, p. 286)

Ā'in-i Akbari (Figures, 7.66-7.71)

Manuscript ownership: Lahore Fort Museum

Ac. No: Ms. 07

Author: Abu al- Faḍl 'Allāmi

Written in: 1601-2 C.E.

Folio: 390 mm x 170 mm (329 in all).

Text box: 390 mm x 75 mm.

Total paintings: 2

Paper: The paper is thick, Sialkoti type

Colophon: None

Though without colophon this manuscript's illustrations and illuminations exhibit strong stylistic affiliations with Lahore School. The doubler, incorporates two paintings. One has the scene of Ranjīt Singh's court arranged in the tented courtyard overlooking colorful tents with slanting roofs in the background. The other is that of Akbar's court, again in open space but showing domed architectural structure in the background.

Both are multi leveled compositions. This feature probably owes to the unusual length of the folio in proportion to its width. A notable characteristic of Lahore Book illustrations is the

insertion of real portraiture wherever there is a depiction of members of the court. This feature can be noted in almost all of the illustrated manuscripts of *Akbarnāmāh*, and also in illustrations of contemporary histories as *Shairsinghnāmāh*, discussed later in the chapter. Since contemporary accounts were rare, Lahore's book artist who was so used to making real life portraits of *darbār*, spared no chance unavailed to paint portraits in *Akbarnāmāh* manuscript. Attempts at portraiture can be seen in the depiction of faces of Ranjīt Singh and at least three of his courtiers: Dhiyān Singh in pink dress, and two Dugra brothers in yellow and red, inferred from the identification of them in the same scene drawn by Imām Bakhsh Lāhauri, in *La Fontaine Fables* (Schmitz, 2012, pp. 86, 87), (see Figure, 7.66). Though with similarities in portraits yet, the painting of Ā'īn under discussion does not appear to be by the hands of Imām Bakhsh, exhibiting different facial formations and landscape elements from that of Imām Bakhsh's style (see Figure, 7.70). It is also different from the Ā'īn's copy in National Museum New Delhi, that has painting depicting Ranjīt Singh's court (Schmitz, 2002, p. 97), (see Figure, 7.67). It is much like the *Gulistan-i Sa'di* paintings which suggest that it may have been done by the same artist (see Figure. 7.68 and compare with *Gulistan's* detail in Figure, 7.69). All of this show the range of talented painters working in 19th century Lahore.

The second painting of frontispiece shows Akbar's court (see Figure, 7.71). This scene may be compared with the painting in the copy of Ā'īn in Patiala Archives where Akbar is seen surrounded by his courtiers all standing. In that foreground, are half figures of horse and elephant as if getting ready for an urgent assignment (Schmitz, 2002, p. 96). In Lahore Fort's painting the scene is conceived with Akbar and his courtiers carrying out routine work of the court at ease. Though both show Lahore idioms inculcated in them, yet exhibit differences of treatment.



Figure 7.66, Illustration from Fable's manuscript, by Imām Bakhsh Lāhauri, 1837 -1839 C.E. Jean de La Fontaine Museum, Château-Thierry, France, (<http://www.thetribuneonline.com/france-archiv01.htm>)



Figure 7.67, Ā'in-i Akbari, Patiala Archives (Schmitz, 2010, p. 87)



Figure 7.68 Detail from figure 7.71, Ā'in-i Akbari



Figure 7.69, Detail from an illustration of. Gulistān-i Sā'di, 10510, Ganj Bakhsh Library



Figure 7.70. Ā'in-i Akbari, Ac. No. 07, Frontispiece, verso, 385 mm x 170 mm, Lahore Fort Museum, Photo by author.



Figure 7.71. Ā'in-i Akbari, Ac. No. 07, Frontispiece, recto, 390 mm x 170 mm, Lahore Fort Museum. Photo by author

Ā'īn-i Akbari (Figures, 7.72-7.76)

Manuscript ownership: The University of the Punjab, Lahore

Ac. No: Ms. 94 Pe II 8 B.

Author: Abu-al Faḍl 'Allāmi

Written in: 1601-2 C.E.

Folio: 450 mm x 270 mm (329 in all).

Text box: 390 mm x 75 mm.

Total paintings: 4

Paper: The paper is thin, light colored Kashmiri type.

Colophon: The informative inscription in the end of the text mentions that this copy was commissioned by Khushāl Singh who was the chamberlain of Ranjīt Singh to be prepared under the arrangements of Muḥammad Bakhsh Ṣaḥḥāf. The colophon also states that it was made after the copy of Dīna Nāth- the finance minister of Ranjīt Singh and was prepared in 1832 C.E.

With an elaborate illumination, this manuscript has four paintings as doublers showing Akbar's hunt and Akbar playing polo. These paintings are innovative with regard to their subject as no other known manuscript of Ā'īn-i Akbari of 19th century, has this episode illustrated. The doubler on Folios 341, 342 shows weapons and jewelry items.

The painting of Akbar's hunt if compared with Mughal painting of late 16th century, exhibits much simplicity, directness and lack of commotion (see Figure, 7.73). The animals in the foreground and background appear undisturbed by the main happening in the central plain. Where a comparatively lesser degree of naturalism unites this painting with Persian examples, the extra long lances of Sikh army, their special shields with four gold buttons in the centre, and also the contemporary styled close-cut beards of some figures after the contemporary fashion, join it to the realistic Mughals (see Figure, 7.72). Schmitz connects this manuscript's paintings with Imām Bakhsh Lāhauri, of which we can never be sure but may assume so, due to it's

likeness with his style on certain grounds: the subtle shades of ground, the bushes with thin stems and shaded foliage and fine animal drawings.



Figure 7.72 , Ā'īn-i Akbarī, Ac. No. ,Pe II 8b, 94, Folio, 60 v, 229 mm x 158 mm, 1832 C.E. Lahore, University of Punjab, Photo by author.



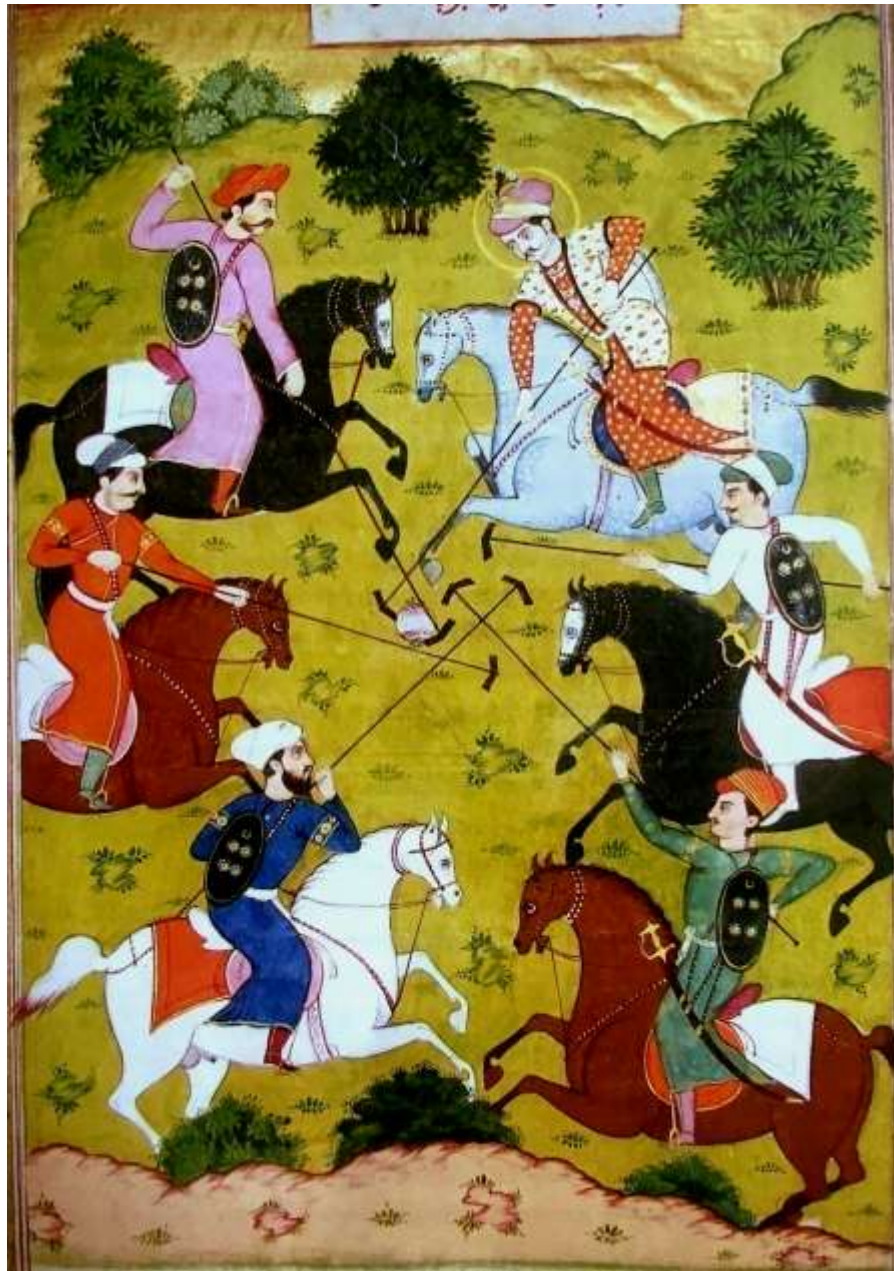
Figure 7.73 Akbarnāmāh, 1590-96 C.E, Akbar's hunt near Lahore, by Miskīn and Sarwan, Victoria and Albert Museum Collection. Retrieved from: collections.vam.ac.uk

The painting of Akbar playing polo or Chaugōn is again a simple, symmetrical, circular arrangement. The faces of the figures, their gestures, the halo around the head of Akbar, the bodies of horses, the landscape bushes and rocks all stand as emblematic features of Lahore school of illustration and because of the colophon, these features may serve as standard forms to be compared with others undated ones (see Figure, 7.74).

The two other folios containing paintings are that of display of the weapons on one, and, jewelry on the other. Unlike the two previously discussed Ā'īn-i Akbarī copies it is a simpler version without the items being arranged in front of an architectural set-up. They are simpler line

drawings with gold, blue and red used within the patterns over the items (see Figure, 7.75, 7.76).

This difference in execution of the same theme again suggest that, there were many artists working in Lahore sharing some common stylistic grounds but still exhibiting diversity.



Figure, 7.74, , Ā'in-i Akbari, Ac. No. ,Pe II 8b, 94, Folio, 64 v, 234 mm x 160 mm, 1832 C.E. Lahore, University of Punjab, Photo by author



Figure 7.75, Ā'in-i Akbari, Ac. No. ,Pe II 8b, 94, Folio, 64 v, 234 mm x 160 mm, 1832 C.E. Lahore, University of Punjab. Photo by author



Figure 7.76, Ā'in-i Akbari, Ac. No. ,Pe II 8b, 94, Folio, 64 v, 234 mm x 160 mm, 1832 C.E. Lahore, University of Punjab. Photo by author

Akbarnāmāh (Figures, 7.77-7.82)

Manuscript ownership: The British Library.

Ac. No: Add. 26,203

Author: Abu-al Faḍl' Allāmi

Written in: 1601-2 C.E.

Folio: 152 mm x 185 mm

Text box: 115 mm x 145 mm.

Total paintings: 76

Illustrations: 3, Style of illumination is very close to 1824 C.E Shāhnāmāh in Ganj Bakhsh Library.

Paper: The paper is thin Kashmiri type.

Colophon: An inscription within the text mentions the date of this manuscript which is; Sha‘bān, 1223 A.H/ 1817 C.E.

Abu al- Faḍl, the famous learned courtier of Akbar, wrote his famous Akbarnāmāh, ordered to be written, by Akbar himself in 1589 C.E. It consists of three volumes. The manuscript under discussion is combination of the first two volumes and, the third which had usually been the choicest with Lahore scribes and illustrators, is missing here. The unique feature of this manuscript is its extensive cycle of illustrations that display all developed features of Lahore’s iconography before time. These are the features that, did not come in common useage of the pictorial stock of Lahore school before, the end of second decade of the century. The year mentioned in this manuscript is 1817 C.E. which is the earliest for these kind of illustrations. The vocabulary specially, inculcate body armor of Ranjit Singh’s army and other features typical of Lahore school found in the later manuscripts. The situation poses two possibilities: either the iconography was developed within a small circle of artists working for some commissions by official dignitaries which, later on enriched and permeated into the mainstream, or, the miniatures were added later in the century. The first proposition is stronger on the grounds that, if we compare it with another rarer manuscript illustrations painted two years later in 1819 C.E (M.S. P.3076, Shams-i Anjuman, Raza Library Rampur), they exhibit many common features. Schmitz’s view point about the Raza library manuscript is different. She is of the view that paintings in this manuscript were inserted later in the century and belong to Imām Bakhsh Lāhauri’s style (Schmitz, 2006, p. 135, pl. 214). On observation, however, we come to notice that the style of these illustrations and that of Imām Bakhsh Lāhauri are quite different. Though both share iconography of Lahore, Imām Bakhsh’s paintings are with subtle gradation of tones on the ground and on the faces of the figures as well. Imām Bakhsh also exhibits flexibility of

human body in varied poses of his figures. Here, in the two manuscripts we are comparing, there is flatter application of color, simpler compositions with minimum figures exhibiting lesser flexibility of the poses (se Figures, 7.77. 7.78).



Figure 7.77 *Shams-i Anjuman*, Ac. No. P3067, Folio, 112, 192 mm x 125 mm, Lahore, 1819 C.E. Raza Library Rampur (Schmitz, 2010, p. 96)

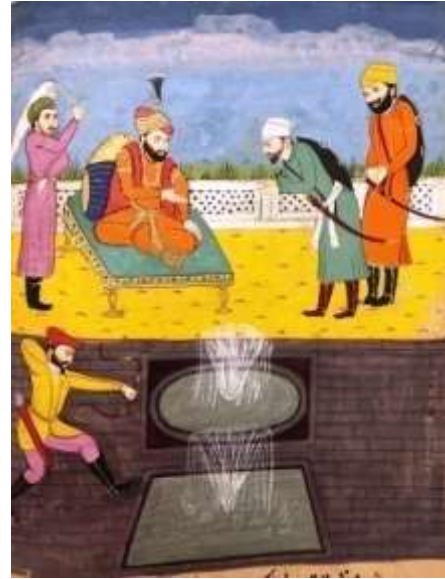


Figure 7.78, *Akbarnāmāh*. Add. 26203, Folio, 145 a, 152 mm x 150 mm, The British Library London. Photo by author

The style is one of the many styles of Lahore artists developed during 19th century. It appropriates most to the style developed by settled Kashmiri artists present in Lahore who intermixed their style with that of Lahore's distinct idioms of imagery.

The illustrations of *Akbarnāmāh*, reinforces the proposition that Lahore style of 19th century started to exhibit itself long before any Pāhārī artist arrived in Lahore. It already had displayed its visual vocabulary during the first two decades of the century which was later further developed by talented artists of Lahore as Imām Bakhsh Lāhauri and others. This visual vocabulary was partially introduced by the artists either natives of Lahore or the settled families from Kashmir living in Lahore or suburbs. They took commissions in the form of books like

Akbarnāmāh, usually ordered by the people related to court to get illustrated after stability in the region was ensured by Ranjīt Singh's rule.

The 76 miniatures of this manuscript have inculcated various typical features of Lahore school as low white tracery walls in front and at the back of court scenes, grounds with regularly patterned foliage (see Figure, 7.78, 7.79), Sikh army attire of the warriors, gestures of seated figures and those in action (see Figure, 7.80). The favorite colors of crimson and bright yellow are also used frequently. A notable peculiarity of the paintings is the expertise of the artist in drawing animals specially elephants shown in a variety of actions. Another notable feature is the feeling of recession by diminishing sizes of the participants of the scene whether animal or human figures (see Figures 7.81, 7.82).

One may question the body armor of warriors present in the paintings as introduced to Sikh army after French command of the Generals who joined Army under Singh after 1822 C.E. But the fact is, that many of the collections in Museums, display body armors used by the Mughal rulers of Punjab in 18th century also, consist of breast plates, helmets and chain mails. Helmets came in regular use by Sikhs during around 1830's but was commonly used by Muslim soldiers prior to the Sikh rule⁷². Later manuscripts from 1820's also depict similar body armor. It stayed as a regular feature till the end of illustrated book's history of Lahore.

⁷² A dated painting of 1780 C.E. of two Sikh *sardārs* in National Museum New Delhi shows the two wearing breast-plates though they are without helmets (www.sikhmuseum.com/helmets/sikhs/misls.html)

Article 38188 of the Royal Collection in Sikh Museum Gallery, displays porte aigrette helmet of Punjab warrior pre-dating the Sikh Empire and in use under Mughal rule of Punjab. According to the Museum description it was still in use during Sikh rule prior to Colonial rule.

<http://www.sikhmuseum.com/helmet/sikhhelmets/index.html#32>

A full body suit with breast plates, chain mail suit and helmet is attributed to Ranjīt Singh himself from early 19th century, is in Howard Rickett's collection

(<http://www.sikhmuseum.com/helmet/sikhhelmets/index.html#18>)

An illustration from Tawārīkh-i Jahāndār Shāh painted 1770-80 C.E. present in British Library picture records, shows both Sikhs and Muslim armies wearing chain mail body armor with breast plates and Muslims are shown wearing helmets as well <http://www.sikhmuseum.com/helmet/sikhs/index.html#1>



Figure 7.79, Akbarnāmāh. Add. 26203, Folio, 81 b, 150 mm x 150 mm, The British Library London. Photo by author



Figure 7.80 Akbarnāmāh. Add. 26203, Folio, 68 b, 117 mm x 150 mm, The British Library London. Photo by author



Figure 7.81, Akbarnāmāh. Add. 26203, Folio, 196 a, 160 mm x 145 mm, The British Library London. Photo by author



Figure 7.82, Akbarnāmāh. Add. 26203, Folio, 254 a, 180 mm x 145 mm, The British Library London. Photo by author

‘Ajā’ib al-Makhlūqāt wa Gharā’ib al-Maujūdāt (Figures, 7.83-7.90)

Manuscript ownership: The British Library.

Ac. No: IO Islamic 3243

Author: Qazvīni in Arabic.

Written in: 13th century originally but was translated in Persian with modifications and modernization under Ibrāhīm ‘Ādil Shāh of Deccan (1534-1558 C.E.), (Ethe, 1903, p. 69).

Folio: 588 in all.

Text box: 235 mm x 130 mm.

Total paintings: 4 full sized and numerous smaller ones within the text.

Illumination: Double Shamsa Fol. Ib and 2 a, and Folio. 587 b and 587 a . Illuminated headings on 3 b, 4 a and 30 b.

Paper: The paper is thin and Kashmiri type.

Colophon: Written at the request of Charles Raikes, Commissioner and Superintendent of Lahore, under the supervision of Mufti ‘Ala al- Dīn of Lahore by Faḍl al-Dīn son of Muḥammad Bakhsh Ṣāḥḥāf of Lahore and completed the 21st of September 1854 C.E. According to a note by Mr. Raikes, attached to the fly leaf it was sent to the “Imperial Exhibition of Paris”, for works of art and industry, by Punjab Committee at Lahore by the Punjab Committee at Lahore.

The informative colophon of this work besides giving other important details, also proves to be helpful in placing an undated copy of the same text in Lahore Museum. The later is so similar in its illustrations to the former that we may with confidence assign it to the same artist as well.

Faḍl al- Dīn Ṣāḥḥāf is a well known name in Lahore’s circle of artists during 19th century. Kanhayya Lāl (1882) in his history, mentions him as the renowned and talented student of Pūr Bakhsh, who, in his workshop, used to train people in calligraphy and illumination. Lāl also states that Faḍl al- Dīn Ṣāḥḥāf took service as calligrapher in Kūhinūr newspaper and later as a superintendent in State Publications under the British (Lāl, 1882, p. 51). Chughtā’i and Srivastava also mentions Faḍl al- Dīn Ṣāḥḥāf and specially his father Muḥammad Bakhsh

Şāḥḥāf who was the painter and book seller of Lahore (Chughtā'i, 1972, p. 34,; Srivastava, 1983, p. 46). Schmitz (2010, p. 90), holds that father of Faḍl al- Dīn Şāḥḥāf used to manage an atelier in which books used to be illustrated and his son took it over after him. From the data provided by the art historians we may assume that Faḍl al- Dīn Şāḥḥāf was the calligrapher/illuminator and illustrator of this manuscript. Along with the illustrative, the calligraphic and illuminative similarities of this manuscript, with that of the Lahore Museum's copy, further reinforces this assumption.

Zakriya bin Muḥammad bin Maḥmūd al-Qazwīni 1203-1283 C.E. wrote two compilatory works, a cosmology and a geography. Both attained classical status within Arabic culture and very frequently translated from Arabic in Persian and Turkish. Qazwīni, in his cosmological treatise, 'Ajā'ib al-Makhlūqāt wa Ḡharā'ib al-Maujūdāt, describes the whole of creation: first the superlunary sphere, the celestial bodies together with angels and method of reckoning time by heavenly cycles; then the sublunary sphere, the four elements: minerals, plants, beasts and humans.

The earliest known illustrated copy of 'Ajā'ib al-Makhlūqāt wa Ḡharā'ib al-Maujūdāt, in Persian is in Bibliothique Nationale (Suppl. Person.332) dated 791 A.H./1388 C.E.(Gray, 1961, p. 45). In India this book remained a favored one to get illustrated. Though there is no complete Royal copy that exists⁷³, but there are many sub-imperial Mughal copies in various archives. The earliest of the recorded ones that were written and illustrated in India are in Arabic and translated in Persian as well. The first one is from 1571 C.E and hails from Deccan probably Bijapur, and the second one in Popular Mughal style from 1591 C.E both in the Raza Library, Rampur (Cat.

⁷³ There are some illustrated folios in Bibliothique Nationale, Paris (Mss. Or Smithsonian Lesouef 249, No.6532) and six miniatures of the same work in Chester Beatty (Arnold and Wilkinson: *The Library of Chester Beatty; Catalogue of Indian Miniatures*, pp.26-7), that may belong to a Royal copy as suggested by Barbra Schmitz and Ziauddin Desai in Mughal and Persian miniatures in the Raza Library Rampur, pp. 83-84).

No. I,3 and II,1, (Schmitz and Desai, 2006, pp. 83, 91). From the very beginning ‘Ajā’ib al-Makhlūqāt wa Gharā’ib al-Maujūdāt contain large illustration cycles with as many as 480 miniatures. The miniatures in the Indian versions are heavily illustrated too. Till the end of Mughal reign, the illustrated copies of this book contain miniatures that are not framed separately. On the contrary, almost all the 19th century versions have figures/objects/creatures, that are painted within small boxes in between the text. The illustrations from Delhi produced manuscripts, in first half of 19th century, are influenced by Company art, exhibiting recession in space with naturalistic trees and puffy white clouds, typical of Delhi Style of that time (Schmitz and Desai, Ms. III,6, p. 113).

One dated, and two undated copies of ‘Ajā’ib al-Makhlūqāt wa Gharā’ib al-Maujūdāt, from Lahore are known to us. On stylistic basis all of them, may certainly be designated to Lahore School of 19th century. One is in the Raza Library Rampur, Misc. 49. D.156 which is probably the earlier one from that being discussed here. As compared to the miniatures of the same text from Delhi, as far as the backgrounds are concerned, Lahore miniatures exhibit flatter application of color. The colors have much brighter hues too, with prominent use of reds and oranges.

The four full page paintings and numerous smaller ones of ‘Ajā’ib al-Makhlūqāt present in British Library, are the best examples and representative of the work done in the second half of 19th century in Lahore. Notable differences in its paintings from the works of first half of the century include:

- Transparency in the application of color specially in full page compositions (the small paintings drawings of singular objects or figures within the text have a thick bodied blue background as per their requirement). The colors are toned down too.

- Increased use of shading while modeling the bodies and faces of the figures.
- Tonal variations of the same color to add dimensionality while painting domes, multi faced pavilions and folds of garments as well.
- The horizon line is placed some degrees below than the works of earlier decades.

The above mentioned differences in the works of second half of the century must have been the result of ever increasing exposure of the Lahore's artists to European water colors commonly used by the travelers/foreigners in Lahore to record their day to day experiences in the region. However, the point to be noted in this and other works that belong to second half of the century is that, despite of the changes, the character of Lahore Book Art is maintained by keeping intact some key features. Multiple perspective is still utilized. Standardized paraphernalia of the court and its participants in indoor and outdoor scenes is kept intact. The landscape is still divided into varied planes demarcated by rocks placed at different levels. Pool or lakes have same pointed corners jutting into the ground. Half bodies or just faces of the figures are similarly being shown peeking from behind the small hills or walls. The artist also remains faithful to the standardized visual vocabulary of the figures while drawing their features and gestures (see Figures 7.83-7.90).



Figure 7.83, ‘Ajā’ib al-Makhlūqāt wa Gharā’ib al-Maujūdāt. IO Islamic 3243, 1854 C,E Lahore, Folio, 42 b, 106 mm x 120 mm, The British Library, Photo by author



Figure 7.84, ‘Ajā’ib al-Makhlūqāt wa Gharā’ib al-Maujūdāt. IO Islamic 3243, 1854 C,E Lahore, Folio, 42 b, 90 mm x 125 mm. The British Library, Photo by author



Figure 7.85, ‘Ajā’ib al-Makhlūqāt wa Gharā’ib al-Maujūdāt. IO Islamic 3243, 1854 C,E Lahore, Folio, 2 b, 343 mm x 187 mm, The British Library, Photo by author



Figure 7.86, ‘Ajā’ib al-Makhlūqāt wa Gharā’ib al-Maujūdāt. IO Islamic 3243, 1854 C,E Lahore, Folio, 3 a, 343 mm x 187 mm, The British Library, Photo by author



Figure 7.87, ‘Ajā’ib al-Makhlūqāt wa Gharā’ib al-Maujūdāt. IO Islamic 3243, 1854 C,E Lahore, Folio, 170 a, 90 mm x 120 mm, The British Library, Photo by author



Figure 7.88, ‘Ajā’ib al-Makhlūqāt wa Gharā’ib al-Maujūdāt. IO Islamic 3243, 1854 C,E Lahore, Folio, 54 b, 106 mm x 120 mm, The British Library, Photo by author



Figure 7.89, ‘Ajā’ib al-Makhlūqāt wa Gharā’ib-al Maujūdāt. IO Islamic 3243, 1854 C,E Lahore, Folio, 586 b, 340 mm x 190 mm, The British Library, Photo by author



Figure 7.90, ‘Ajā’ib al-Makhlūqāt wa Gharā’ib-al Maujūdāt. IO Islamic 3243, 1854 C,E Lahore, Folio, 587 a, 106 mm x 120 mm, The British Library, Photo by author

‘Ajā’ib al-Makhlūqāt wa Gharā’ib al-Maujūdāt (Figures, 7.91-7.97)

Manuscript ownership: Lahore Museum.

Ac. No: 671

Author: Qazwīni, in a Persian translation by unknown author.

Written in: 13th century.

Folio: 534 mm x 298 mm.(278 in all).

Text box: 323 mm x 152 mm.

Total paintings: 30

Illumination: Double Shamsa Fol. 1 and verso, and Folio. 277 and verso. Illuminated headings on 1, 12, 14 and 64.

Paper: The paper is thick, Sialkoti type, last pages damaged and torn

Colophon: None.

The Lahore Museum copy have miniatures of two types: One that are figure compositions, and the other type of paintings are that of smaller miniatures of personified planets, signs of zodiac and plant types. It does not have frontispiece or rear piece paintings like the British Library copy. Though without colophon, owing to very close proximity of style in illumination, calligraphy and illustration it seems very probable that this manuscript was also prepared by Faḍl al- Dīn Ṣāḥḥāf. However, in Lahore Museum manuscript, there are some peculiarities that also incline us to assign it a date later than that of British Library's. One of its miniatures have a portrait of a woman who has prominently Victorian features (see Figure. 7.91). Though much the same in style, if we compare it with the similar image in previous manuscript (see Figure, 7.88), this one appears more Europeanized. The folds of the garments are much detailed and with more plasticity as compared to the previous one (see Figures, 7.83 and 7.92).



Figure 7.91 Fol.31 V ,33 mm x 80 mm, ‘Ajā’ib al-Makhlūqāt wa Gharā’ib al-Maujūdāt.Lahore Museum, Ms.671



Figure 7.92, Fol. 19v, ‘Ajā’ib al-Makhlūqāt wa Gharā’ib al-Maujūdāt, Lahore Museum,Ms. 671

In spite of the changes, Lahore's iconographical character is retained in many of the idioms that are still intact in the miniatures of this manuscript. This is especially true to the figure compositions as for example, in the illustration where Iskandar is being praised by the inhabitants of the island for ridding it from monsters. The rocks are of the same color as that of the ground⁷⁴, besides, the armor of the guard is typically from Lahore's vocabulary of images (see Figure, 7.93), same is true to the tree and caps of soldiers from behind the hill in the background. In individual paintings too, at some places we encounter elements of the prevailing fashion of time. For example, the chairs in two of the miniatures (see Figure, 7.94) are typical of Lahore 19th century miniatures. A feature that Schmitz relate to Imām Bakhsh Lāhauri is in the painting of lion where one of its fore paw is shown upturned or curled. She has drawn analogy from one of the paintings of La Fontaine Fables (Schmitz, , 2002. p. 95) One of the small painting of this manuscript exhibit the same trait, as in many other images of the same animal in other manuscripts showing that it was a general characteristic of Lahore school rather than one pertaining to a single artist (see Figure, 7.95).



Figure 7.93, ‘Ajā’ib al-Makhluqāt wa Gharā’ib al-Maujudāt. Fol.31 V,

Lahore Museum, Ms. 671, Photo by author.

⁷⁴ This characteristic is also observed by Schmitz in Raza Library manuscript.



Figure 7.94 Fol.31 V , 'Ajā'ib al-Makhlūqāt wa Gharā'ib al-Maujūdāt. Lahore Museum, Ms.671. Photo by author



Figure 7.95 'Ajā'ib al-Makhlūqāt wa Gharā'ib al-Maujūdāt. Lahore Museum, Ms.671, Photo by author



Figure 7.96 'Ajā'ib al-Makhlūqāt wa Gharā'ib al-Maujūdāt. Lahore Museum, Ms.671, Photo by author



Figure 7.97 'Ajā'ib al-Makhlūqāt wa Gharā'ib al-Maujūdāt. Lahore Museum, Ms.671. Photo by author

Nuzhat al-Qulūb (Figures, 7.98-7.104)

Manuscript ownership: Ganj Bakhsh Library Islamabad

Ac. No: 9447

Author: Ḥamd Allāh Muṣṭafawi.

Written in: 1333 C.E.

Folio: 400 mm x 190 mm.(630 in all).

Text box: 250 mm x 130 mm.

Total paintings: 48

Illumination: One at the beginning of the text which is much damaged and also on the first folio's margins.

Paper: The paper is yellow, brittle, damaged by pests and moisture.

Colophon: None.

Ḥamd Allāh Muṣṭafawi was an Iranian historian and geographer (1282- 1340 C.E). His forefathers were governors of Qazwin. Ḥamd Allāh is famous for his writings: *Zafarnāmāh* of Islam, Islamic history till Ilkhanids 1333 C.E. and in poetry for *Nuzhat al-Qulūb* (The phenomena of Universe). It is a geographical and cosmological treatise and the writer has included long references to the writings of 'Ājā'ib al-Makhlūqāt of Qazwīni and *Farsnāmāh* of Ibn-i Balkhi.

This copy of *Nuzhat al-Qulūb* is an elaborately illustrated book with 48 miniatures of constellations. One of the few, but strong affiliations with Lahore School of miniature painting evident in this manuscript is its much damaged illumination. At the start of the text, the top most part of the design of illumination is all gone, the lower part however, is remaining. It has typical golden stadium shapes over which floral rinceaux patterns are drawn (see Figure, 98). Besides this, a closer proximity can be seen in the marginal golden patterns with that of the borders of *Ḥisāb-i Fauji* (Military Accounts) of Mahārāja Ranjīt Singh (Ms. 622 of Khuda Bakhsh Library Patna). Pentamerous (five-petalled) golden flowers with same conically shaped leaves are in the margins of both of the books. (see Figures, 7.99, 7.100)



Figure 7.98, Nuzhat al-Qulūb, Ac. No. 9447, Folio.1 Box, 250 mm x 130 mm, Illumination, Photo by author



Figure 7.99, Hisāb-i Fauji of Mahārāja Ranjīt Singh, Ms.622 Illuminated margins, Retrieved from digitized manuscripts of [Khuda Bakhsh Library](#), Patna



Figure 7.100, Nuzhat al-Qulūb, G.B.L. 9447, Folio.2 border Illumination. Photo by author

The Military Manual is obviously from the first half of 19th century. Nuzhat al Qulūb's illumination since close to it, could have been assigned to the same part of the century but, the miniatures of this book are very distinct and peculiar in relation to other images of the illustrated book produced during same time and space. The typical bright and solid application of color by painters of Lahore school has given way here, to a preference for drawing and hatchings resulting in greater roundness of forms. The paintings in this manuscript are all individual studies showing various constellations and there is no figural composition. The background is usually covered with a deep blue solid color over which convoluted shapes of clouds are drawn in much the same way as in 'Ajā'ib al-Makhḷūqāt (see Figures, 7.103, 7.104) but the similarity ends here. The figures, their poses and dresses are made as if imitated from a Greek mythological book with

pictures. The constellation of Perseus for example is very Greek in its outlook of figure and its dress. In addition, the constellation of Cassiopeia has a much Greek feeling too with its long wrapped garment (see Figure, 7.102). Pegasus is painted in ‘Ajā’ib al-Makhlūqāt and Nuzhat al-Qulūb both (see Figures, 7.103, 7.104). The flying horse in ‘Ajā’ib al-Makhlūqāt is in typical Lahore fashion but that of Nuzhat al-Qulūb is much different in its execution with roundness of form emphasized by hatchings and true to life representation.

We may explain the paintings of Nuzhat al-Qulūb by forming some hypothesis. Since 19th century was the period when there were a lot of foreign artists present in Lahore, this book might have been illustrated by any of them as the images, are too alien to be produced by a local hand. It is also possible that an accomplished local artist copied the images from one of the Greek books available at that time, as the import of books from other centers of production is also a proven fact.



Figure 7.101 Nuzhat al-Qulūb, Ac. No, 9447, Constellation Perseus. Painting within text, folio, 400 mm x 190 mm, Ganj Bakhsh Library, Photo by author



Figure 7.102 Nuzhat al-Qulūb, Ac. No. 9447, Constellation Cassiopeia. Painting within text, folio, 400 mm x 190 mm Ganj Bakhsh Library, Photo by author



Figure 7.103 ‘Ajā’ib al-Makhlūqāt wa Gharāib al-Maujūdāt. Lahore Museum, Ms.671, Constellation Pegasus.



Figure 7.104 Nuzhat al-Qulūb, Ac. No. 9447, Constellation Pegasus. Painting within text, folio, 400 mm x 190 mm Ganj Bakhsh Library, Photo by author

The paintings on close observation reveal a preference for drawing and shading by means of hatchings – a device frequently used in lithographed books. Paint is applied merely to fill the spaces. It is also possible that the drawings are copied from one of the Lithographed books imported from somewhere and then copied and painted here in Lahore sometime during the second half of the century.

Shair Singhnāmāh (Figures, 7.105-7.108)

Manuscript ownership: The British Library

Ac. No: IO Islamic 3231

Author: Muḥammad Naqī Pishāwāri

Written in: 1843-44 C.E.

Folio: 255 mm x 150 mm.(70 in all).

Total paintings: 12

Illumination: One at the beginning of the text

Paper: The paper is cream colored, brittle, shiny and crisp in excellent condition.

This illustrated book narrates the history of Punjab and special events which took place in Lahore from 1255 A.H to 1259 A.H./1839 C.E. to 1843 C.E. by an eye-witness Muḥammad Naqī Pishāwāri son of Mulla Khawāja Bakhsh (Ethé, 1903, p. 4 b, 6 a). The person who

commissioned the book is one of note in the Lahore's administrative circle in 19th century. He is Bakhshi (paymaster) Bhagat Rām (1799-1866 C.E.), who joined the treasury office of Ranjīt Singh in 1819 C.E. Performing the duties of collections of revenues and its record keeping, he is noted by Sohan Lāl Sūri (1885-89), to have appointed as the paymaster of 50 battalions in Lahore in 1832 C.E. He served the Sikh Rulers and remained loyal to Ranjīt's sons till Dalīb Singh who, in 1845 C.E. granted him a *jāgīr* (land ownership) (Griffin, 1865, p. 258).

The title of this illustrated book is not mentioned in the text rather, it is given in a note by Charles Raikes the Commissioner of Lahore attached to the fly leaf. He also states that this book was sent to the Imperial Exhibition at Paris, by Punjab Committee at Lahore. There appear four illuminated or illustrated books from 19th century Lahore in the British Library repository, that were sent for the participation in the International Exhibition. As compared to the other three this one is smallest and less detailed but precise and aptly illustrated according to the demand of the subject. Arranged in closed space, the compositions include maximum of four figures and to the point depiction of scenes. There are no added details in foregrounds or backgrounds. In the landscape or architectural features too, there are minimal details to highlight the main figures effectively (see Figures, 7.105-8).

The single illumination is close to the style of the books produced in Lahore during the second half from about 1855 to 1890 C.E.⁷⁵. The illustrations though very summarily composed and executed yet, are notable for the portraits of real characters of Sikh rulers. A person familiar with the portraits of these royal members in the form of ivories or miniatures present in the museums, may at a glance recognize these characters. The artist has deftly exposed the main figure in the composition by keeping it most detailed and brighter in color. He seems one of those who already had been attached to the court as the portrait artist.

⁷⁵ This style is discussed in detail in chapter, 3, Illumination, see Figures 3.103, 3.104.

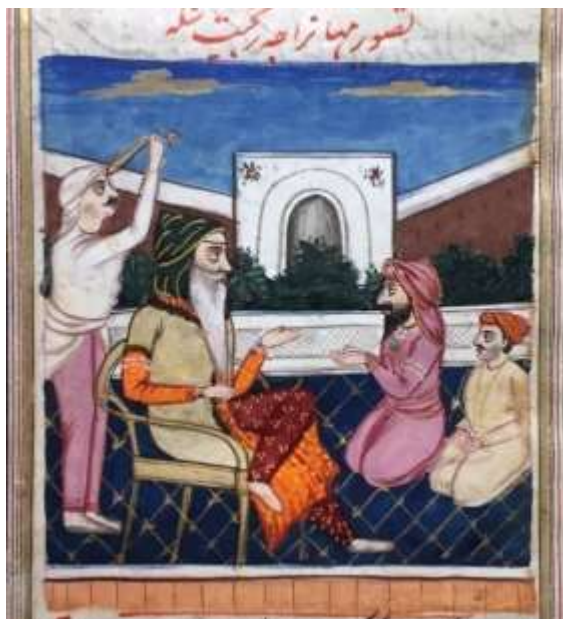


Figure 7.105, *Shairsinghnāmāh*, IOIslamic 3231, Folio 7 a, 88 mm x 83 mm, 1850 C.E. Lahore, The British Library, Photo by author



Figure 7.106, *Shairsinghnāmāh*, IOIslamic 3231, Folio 66 b, 120 mm x 83 mm, 1850 C.E. Lahore, The British Library, Photo by author

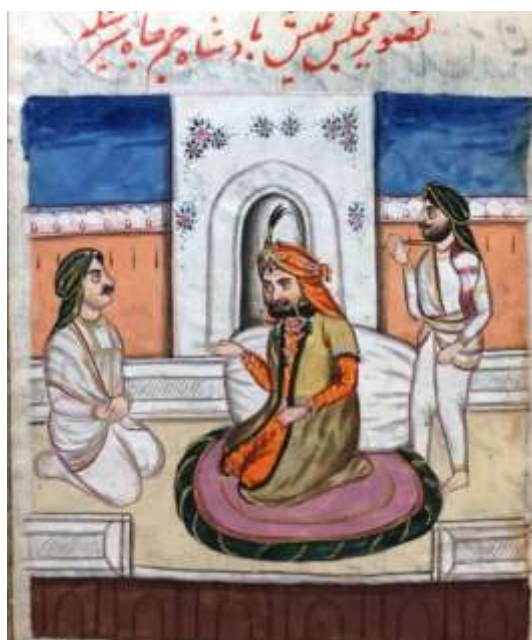


Figure 7.107, *Shairsinghnāmāh*, IOIslamic 3231, Folio 24 a, 85 mm x 82 mm, 1850 C.E. Lahore, The British Library, Photo by author

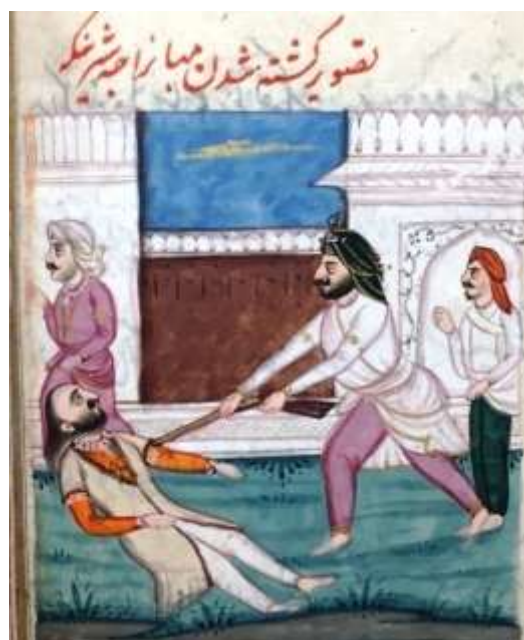


Figure 7.108, *Shairsinghnāmāh*, IOIslamic 3231, Folio 35 b, 85 mm x 85 mm, 1850 C.E. Lahore, The British Library, Photo by author

Conclusion

A distinct style of art of the book asserts itself by examination of a large number of illuminated and illustrated books in the archives around the world, produced during 19th century, in the region of Lahore. The undertaken study endeavors to identify and investigate the various facets of this book art and also analyzes the environment that proved instrumental in its production.

The journey of book production and its related arts in Lahore, actually started centuries before when it first became a cosmopolitan city during Ghaznawīds and started to absorb Central Asian and Persian trends in learning. It owed much to the learned immigrants from these places who wrote books and established learning centers in the city. Records of books written in Lahore have been given by the historians, but unfortunately no dated specimen of these times is present. Kūfic and Naskh scripts were prevalent as may be seen in the coins of that period. From the start of Mughal dynastic rule, Lahore became an important centre of state activities as well as a centre of book production, owing partly to the refined connoisseurship of the rulers, their presence in the city and also, due to saintly orders who got established here with time. With a renewed interest of the Mughal rulers it started to grow further in book art as well.

Lahore remained an important center of arts in one form or the other during all Mughal rulers but, in fact it was in fact Akbar who made Lahore a hub of book production during his long stay, here. Although illustrations from Mughal atelier mirrors the taste and preference of the ruling patron, yet there are many peculiarities that we may notice that are typical of Lahore offered by the local artists. These features are more pronounced in sub-imperial workshops that established in Lahore along with the royal atelier.

Right from Akbar we notice emergence of sub-imperial centers under the connoisseurship of nobles of court. These centers engaged local artists and created an environment nutritive to the development of arts. We are able to find out historical evidence of private production centers of books in Lahore as well as some manuscripts produced in them as for example from the atelier of Abu-al Faḍl and ‘Abd-al Rahīm Khān-i Khāṇān.

With Shāhjahān, there appears a decentralization of royal atelier and a minimization of the number of artists engaged with the royal commissions of illustrated and illuminated books. This further paved way for the artists to seek for commissions outside court. By that time, Lahore had become an important producer of books and resultant book art. This phenomenon has been testified by two sub-imperial illuminated manuscripts present in the British Library, recorded by the author. These manuscripts contain illuminative codicology of Lahore book that was taken up by the book artists of 19th century.

From the time of Aurangzaib, the manuscripts from Lahore, present in the archives, testify a decrease in their sumptuousness regarding quality of paper, calligraphy colors and intricacy of design. This primarily owes to the lower means of the patrons. It also suggests that the common people of Lahore, started to contribute to book art of the region. The book art produced in Lahore right from the time of Shāhjahān and Aurangzaib has assumed a distinctive character of its own.

18th century was a period of extreme chaos and instability in Lahore. Except for three rare manuscripts commissioned by the governors of Lahore there exist no illustrated ones outside court. Yet, the data collected by the author from the repositories prove that Lahore kept producing books pertaining to ethics, morals, religion and even medicine. The illuminative art

thus kept developing and illustrative art remained dormant till the stable and peaceful environment of 19th century Lahore.

Illuminated manuscripts recorded by the author from 18th century, show the emergence of regional repertoire of illumination further to be developed in 19th century. The schema, motifs and colors are all those taken up to be utilized by Lahore artists of 19th century. This phenomenon thus proves, that the book art of 19th century was not solely produced by any of the artists who migrated to Lahore, from outside of the region, in 19th century to seek fortune after the establishment of comparatively stabilized rule. The artists and their families were residing here for ages, since its development as a learning center and were constantly producing works of art in one form or the other. However, there is a definitive role of foreign elements in book art of 19th century, but it was that of assimilation rather than assertion of foreign trends of art.

Analyzed on the basis of art elements in illumination, examples from Lahore, present a simplistic, and balanced approach towards design and color. There is an overall message of love for brighter colors, yet, they are always applied juxtaposed with neutral hues. Same is the attitude towards design. Complicated designs are balanced by simple geometric patterns around them. Biomorph, floral patterns appears as predilection for the illuminators of Lahore, but they are complemented by the use of simple geometrical bands in thin margins.

A vast range of subjects of books catered by the Lahore artists speak of a literate environment in general. Were it the sole produce of the royal atelier, it would have been restricted to some preferred genres but here the expanse of the subjects of the books is the largest than any of the contemporary regional schools of book art.

Lahore's book illustration of 19th century presents to us a picture of diversity of styles amidst unity. After the examination of extant manuscripts, six styles are noted to be present.

Most of them overlap each other chronologically from the second to the sixth decade of the century. Two appear to be chronologically separated: one in the first and the other in last quarter of the century. These two also, do not appear as completely isolated from the other four, but are bound together on the basis of many shared traits. The identification of these styles denies the view held by Barbara Schmitz, that Lahore's book art and specially, its peculiar style of illustrations, was originated and developed by a single artist Imām Bakhsh Lāhauri in a workshop much like Akbar's. The study has proven that Imām Bakhsh was one of the many talented artists present in Lahore during the same period. The vocabulary of Lahore's illustrations that binds the works together under the label "school", are many. Selection of color palette is one of them. Generally, brighter colors are used with the preference for vermillion and chrome yellow, but wherever used they are not juxtaposed in a way that may be tiresome to the onlooker's eye. Much like the sub-imperial and in turn Imperial Mughal fashion the artists have applied multiple perspective, on choice, always with an intention to give maximum information to the viewer. Frontal and bird eye views are combined in one picture plain and further dimensions are them that, allow the onlooker to peek behind the curtains, mountains or even down the ground level. Conditional compositions are utilized, again, after the Mughals that designate separate plain to the group engaged in different activities on the same picture plain. These groups or individuals are demarcated from each other by means of tents, small wall enclosures or rocks that separates and at the same time join them in a cohesive whole. The facial features, figures and their gestures are standardized and typically representative of this school. Similarly, the dresses of figures, the accessories of court rooms and the architectural elements all are taken from contemporary fashion and prevalent styles of 19th century Punjab. On basis of all of these stylistic characteristics, Lahore book illustrator emerges as a super-realist thus a torch

bearer of his Mughal predecessors. He make no attempts to create any kind of illusionistic devices for his viewer like that of his European contemporaries.

The inculcation of a large number of court scenes and their preference over the more important ones to the narrative of the book, points to an important fact. Since portraits of court related people and nobles was much in vogue, the artists making the illustration must have been engaged in portrait assignments too. So, the natural outcome was the incorporation of a large number of court scenes in the illustrative cycles. Real portraits of court dignitaries within certain manuscripts also hints at the same phenomenon.

When the artists responsible for the book art were searched, direct evidence in the form of signature on paintings of the books was nowhere to be found—save two, that also, due to the fact that they were commissioned by the foreigners in Lahore. Many of the books that provide some information about them in their colophons, always leave a doubt as whether the scribe was the artist too? This ambiguity could only be resolved when the names found in the colophons were correlated with the information found in the contemporary historical records. These primary sources, in the form of diary entries, historical accounts, newspapers of that time as well as a few signed portraits, testify many names as being artists. They were mentioned as calligraphers, illuminators and illustrators either in a combination of two or all three skills. These artists were found working in the environment of 19th century Lahore within variety of establishments. Many artist families were noted residing in Lahore for centuries working on the same arts since Mughals. The educational institutions (*maktabs*, *madrassāhs*, *patshālas*, Gurūmukhi and Mahājani schools), were dotted across the landscape of Punjab. Many of the colophons reveal that books were being produced and adorned with illustrations and illuminations in these institutions. The teacher-student apprenticeship system (the teacher be the

father or someone else with more experience and age), remained the key mode of teaching and learning. Therefore, many of the colophons also reveal that books were written on orders of the teachers. In addition to the local residents, a lot of Kashmīri artists were noticed either permanently settled in Lahore producing book art or temporarily coming here to find commissions for book transcription and embellishment.

The patronage of illuminated and illustrated books existed at a hierarchal level in the society of Lahore. There are some rare copies that give hint at the patronage of Ranjūt Singh himself. Many more were commissioned selectively by the court nobles for example, abridgement of *Shāhnāmāh*, *Akbarnāmāh* and specially *Ā'in-i Akbari* illustrated manuscripts. The largest number of illustrated and illuminated books, however, were produced by common people of Lahore. Some maintained libraries, others simply requested for the books to be written and decorated, for the benefit of younger generations. Manuscripts were also transcribed to be given as gifts to teachers or benefactors as, mentioned in the colophons of many of them. In Lahore's environment of 19th century books are recorded to have produced for the love of books themselves. In fact this level of patronage is the hall mark of Lahore school, as it testifies that from this phase of book art onwards, the people at large, would be the source of producing and patronizing art. The huge variety in quality of paper as well as in execution of paintings and illuminations is thus explained.

In the final formation of Lahore school of book art, certain sources outside of Lahore are discernable. The persistently present influence remained that of Kashmir. The historical links with the region, its physical proximity and later accession with Lahore court allowed free movement and interchange of people and ideas from the two regions. Since the Kashmiri artists were already much familiar with book art traditions they assimilated their style with that of

Lahore idiom with ease. As far as the book art is concerned, much acclaimed Pāhāfi influence seems to be present at very small degrees if any. Not more than two features are found akin to their style and that too, may not be assured as derived from Hill art. Not a single colophon testify the name of any Pāhāfi artist working on any of the book. Akbarnāmāh prepared in 1817, in Lahore, present in British Library, reinforces this view. It inculcates a standardized vocabulary of Lahore before the annexation of Hill states to the Sikh empire. Since 19th century in Lahore was a period of multi-national activity here, renewed exposure to European works, influenced the local artists. The interaction with them resulted in transparency of paint application, certain elements of linear perspective, three dimensionality in the treatment of faces and specially portraiture from real life, are especially discernable during the last quarter of 19th century.

Manuscript writing and its connected arts did not die at once as the printing methods were introduced in Lahore. Its practice continued till the end of the century. However lithography provided a method of smooth transition and its presses engaged the artists and calligraphers already involved in manuscript production as testified by the names present on the books. Images incorporated in the text and illuminations were sketched for the less appealing black and white versions but the stock of vocabulary for the images and designs was necessarily provided by the manuscripts already existing and their original scribes and artists.

During the course of this study, some important regional centers north of Lahore also came to light. Illustrated manuscripts are recorded by the author hailing from Sialkot, Gujrat and Jalapur and quite a considerable number of lithographed books from Bhera-a suburban town of Lahore. This material is a valuable source that might be utilized in future investigations, which may further reveal important information about some other regional styles prevailing in 18th and 19th century.

The undertaken study also sought to rectify some mistakenly identified manuscripts present in the archives of Pakistan or elsewhere in the world. Quite a number of manuscripts in the catalogues of the repositories are recorded as belonging to “Northern India”, simply “India” and many more designated as “Kashmīri”. Karuna Goswamy (1999), designates some illustrations under the name of “Afghan- Kashmir” style. They show clear pointers to Lahore vocabulary of illustrations. Additionally, we do not have any evidence of Afghans working on manuscripts in either Kashmir or Lahore. Quite recently in Dawn newspaper published a painting of Bahūr-i Dānīsh, present in National Museum Karachi, clearly showing Lahore’s iconography (discussed in chapter, 7, Figures, 7.15-7.24) in an article “Fruits of Paradise” and designate it to Kashmir school (Dawn, March, 20, 2017). Cambridge University’s *Shāhnāmāh* Project in its descriptions of provenance of certain manuscripts designate them to Kashmir although they are clearly of Lahore origin. *Gulistān-i Sa’di* in State Library of Victoria, 1258 C.E., is given Kashmir provenance, although it displays clear Lahore iconography (discussed in chapter, 7, Figures, 7.41-7.44). Examined on standardized vocabulary of picture and design, in manuscripts with detailed colophons, analogies may easily be drawn to make a correction to this flaw in archival information.

The foremost implication of the present study, is a modest effort to save these fragile specimens of art by means of identification, documentation and detailed analysis of a neglected facet of our art history which is exposed to the vicissitudes of time and physical damage too. At least six extremely valuable illustrated and illuminated manuscripts were found to be lost (likely stolen), in the archives of this country. It includes a manuscript produced in Lahore under the orders of Jahāṅgīr, is recorded by Muḥammad Baṣhīr Ḥusayn (1968) and Manzavi (2005), to be present in *Shūrāni* Collection of Punjab University Lahore is unfortunately missing now. It was

the illuminated and illustrated manuscript of *Yūsuf-wa Zulaikha* by Jāmi written in 1590 C.E in Lahore during Akbar's rule. A reportedly sumptuous manuscript of *Shāhnāmāh* is missing from the repository of Lahore Museum, prepared during Ranjīt Singh's period in Lahore and presented to the museum by Faqīr Nūr-al Dīn's family (advisor of Ranjīt Singh). Three manuscripts of *Mathnawi-i Saḥr al-Bayān* are missing from National Museum Karachi, including an extremely important one prepared during the first decade of 19th century from which period we have very few examples.

Much is left to be further investigated. Combing through the repositories, private or state owned, is the only way to enhance our knowledge about the plethora of book art produced in Lahore. The illustrative evidence from 18th century and the first decade of 19th century is not enough and there is a need to have more clarity of vision, to reinforce the views. In the same way, Hindu mythological subjects like one documented by Karuna Goswamy, "Rām Gītī Katha", could not be found. They must have been produced in Lahore and perhaps migrated to the other side of the border along with the migrants at the time of partition in 1947 C.E. Similarly, Gūru Garanth manuscripts or Janam Sakhi manuscripts investigated by the author are all in Kashmiri idiom. Considering a large number of Hindu and Sikh patrons in Lahore during 19th century, there might be some done in Lahore's style, yet to be explored.

Despite of the limitations, the plethora of material investigated, is extensive enough to present a compact picture of a phase of book art, and the issues it raises. The information offered by the period treated in this study is ample to highlight a distinctive style of book art that the people of Indian sub-continent in general, and people of Pakistan specifically, may own as their heritage to be proud of. The links that the neo-miniaturists of our times are seeking in the traditions outside this region may now find right here, in the soil of their own land.

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