# Portraits of Lahore - Through The Centuries

Kanwal Khalid, Ph.D

All the important centres of art and culture in the world have a distinct characteristic of their own; Lahore is also one of these. The study of its art reveals a very interesting feature. The artists of Lahore tend to lay great emphasis on the portraiture of people both in sculpture and in painting. We come across many examples, both from the distant past and in the recent past, where the Lahori artist shows he is a great believer of the true representation of the people around him.

The Walled City of Lahore is a highly valuable place commercially and many buildings and markets are under construction in the area. Demolition and reconstruction is an on-going activity. Traditionally, Purani Kotwali (the old Police Station) is known to be one of the oldest Muslim inhabited areas of Lahore. In June 2007 at Purani Kotwali, laborers were working at a plaza site. The owner required a basement, so the digging was carried out deeper than usual. During the digging, at the depth of almost 30 feet, they began to discover broken pottery, animal figurines, lamp holders and some building materials like latticework and bricks. The material used was terracotta.

During the digging it was observed that the clay underneath had twelve very clear layers that differed from one another in colour. The deepest and last layer was dark colored and it had no sign of any human activity. It was virgin soil. Every layer was two or two and a half feet in height. It was important to determine the time period of the findings and thus different sources were employed, and the findings co-related, in order to arrive at a definite answer.

The most important factor in determining the time period was the material. It has been documented that



F. 1

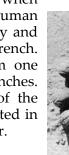
Pottery dug up at Purani Kotwali

terracotta and wood were the main materials for the art and craft of Lahore in the pre-Muslim and early Muslim days because stone or marble were not available in the alluvial plains of the Punjab.<sup>1</sup> The objects were found at a depth of thirty feet and this showed human activity of the distant past. A comparison was made with the digging at the Lahore Fort by the Archaeology Department of Pakistan in 1952. By comparing the findings of both diggings, the objects found in Purani Kotwali were given a tentative time frame, that is, the early Muslim era. A decisive factor was the discovery of some clay plates that had archaic Suls and Kufic inscriptions of the early Muslim period in India. All this indicated that the findings of this locality belonged to the early centuries of Muslim rule in Lahore, which was the Ghaznavide Saljugian Period.

Further research revealed that there were two main centres of pottery-makers in Lahore, one was near Bhati Gate behind the tomb of the famous saint Data Ganj Bakhsh and the other was at Purani Kotwali. Many potters had their wheels and kilns in these localities. The People of Lahore used to buy the terracotta objects, especially pottery, from these centres as late as the 1960s. Even today we can buy bowls, vases and cooking utensils from Delhi Darwaaza, that is, near Purani Kotwali. Sayyad Muhammad Latif in his book, Tareekh-i-Lahore, discusses the art and craft of Lahore. About the utensils of the city, he writes, "Lahore is not famous for its Zaroof Sazi (vessel making) except for the clay pots that are of a very high quality and people use them in abundance."<sup>2</sup> Terracotta objects have been a speciality of Lahore since centuries.

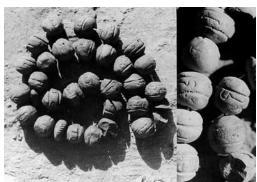
Specimens of latticework, animal figurines, pottery of many styles, small lamps and lamp holders, decorative objects, ink pots, whistles of different sizes and shapes, and even little stringed terracotta beads, were discovered at Purani Kotwali. However, the most amazing

discovery came to light when some small terracotta human heads of brilliant quality and style were found in the trench. Their sizes varied from one inch to four to five inches. These were the faces of the people of Lahore, depicted in a highly realistic manner.









#### The Kullals (clay artists) of Lahore

When the Muslims arrived in Lahore, a popular medium of artwork of the city was baked clay and many people were associated with this profession. They were called *Kullals*. It is a Persian word used for the potter. Later on a side business was added and that was the making and selling of wine. To differentiate between these two branches; another word was employed and that was *Kallal*. The difference is very subtle but the *Kallals* were those who were potters and wine sellers while the word *Kullal* was reserved for the potter/clay artists alone.<sup>3</sup> The study of the archaeological remains of Lahore reveals that *Kullals* were not only involved in the making of clay pots; one of their specialties was the small sculptures that depicted the personalities who caught their attention. There are many verbal references made by the old men of Lahore to Kumhars (which is probably a mispronunciation of Kullal), who used to make many Mitti Dian Murtian (terracotta figurines).<sup>4</sup>

Apart from this there are late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century photographs of the important professions of Lahore in which potters with their wheels have been photographed with the caption 'Kukkeyzye or Muhammadan Kallal Lahore', 'Hindoo Kullal Lahore' that is Hindu and Muslim potters of Lahore.

When the British came to India they recorded the landscapes, arts, crafts and professions of this region. For this purpose most of the British officers were given a formal training in drawing and drafting. In the second half of the 19th century photography was introduced in the Punjab. This made life easier for British officers and henceforth this medium was used to preserve and document the life and professions of India. Photographic albums were prepared and they were kept for future reference. One such album is at the Lahore Archives. In this photographic album, the different professions of Lahore have been recorded. Most of these photographs have been shot in a studio. The famous 19th century photographer Hooper, who covered Indian life and culture through photography, also shot some of the photographs.

An important photograph is preserved in this album. The main purpose of this particular photo was to show the potters with their wheel but an interesting feature to notice is some figurines that are in front of the potters. They seem to have been made recently by these potters. There are three animals and two human figures. The three animals are a donkey, a dog and a lion and they are no bigger than two to three inches. The two human figures are almost five to six inches

F,

Clay sculptures discovered in Lahore

tall. One figure is with an English cap, wearing an overcoat. The other figure can be seen partially and that is of a European lady in a skirt. The main focus of interest is the male figure because it is of the same size and style as was observed in the old sculptured faces discovered in Lahore. This was the time when the British were in Lahore and they were a common sight. The presence of a European figure at a potter's place means that as late as the 19th century, the clay artists of Lahore were making 'figurines of people' living here in a very realistic manner.

Before the arrival of the Muslims, Lahore was a city of idol worshippers. An authentic reference to this fact was found in a compilation, Hadood ul Alam written by an unknown author in 982 AD. He wrote;





"Lahore is a city with a vast area. The ruler of Multan governs it. This city has many bazaars and temples. Trees of chalghoza (a small nut like a pistachio), walnuts and almonds are in abundance. The whole population consists of idol worshippers and there is not even a single Muslim in this city." This is evidence to prove that there were people in Lahore who were already making statues that were bought and worshiped by the citizens. During the excavation of the Lahore Fort in 1959, the finds of the pre-Muslim era are noteworthy because many religious sculptures and reliefs were found. The latest findings of human sculpture in Purani Kotwali reveal that the Muslims enhanced the element of portraiture to an already established tradition of sculpture in Lahore.

The amazing quality of these faces is the observation of the artist because these are the faces of individuals. They are not generalized features of some religious figures but are living people whose personalities have been preserved in these old terracottas. This shows another dimension of the city, that in Lahore art has been based on the true likeness of the models. Priests, soldiers, women and even

children are sculpted. There are faces of monks with shaven heads, big eyes and small chins. Another face is that of a soldier who has a scar on his face. There is a small head, not more then two inches high, of the face of a woman who is wearing a Chinese headdress. Some faces are hardly one inch in size but the modelling of their features is beautiful. There is a very strong face, sculpted with a large moustache with a look of authority on it. All these faces are of different sizes but even the smallest one is highly detailed. The expressive eyes, delicate cheeks, sensitive lips and soft chins are sculpted very skillfully. No complete figurine has been discovered so far and perhaps this is because most of these sculptures are hollow cast, a technique that is quite difficult to master. The artist, however, was able to handle it skillfully to produce, impressive results.

A great number of other objects and some more faces have been discovered in other parts of Lahore. They include pottery of various types along with lamp holders, smoking pipes and beads. There are riders mounted on horses and elephants and a human figure holding a musical instrument. The maturity of the style of these objects reveals that Lahori artists were experts in their expression even in the early Muslim Period of Lahore.<sup>6</sup>

In the light of these discoveries, the concept regarding the artists of Lahore has undergone a change and later art has been the further development of past artistic activities. Unfortunately we have no evidence of the art of the later centuries. The little proof that keeps on appearing, shows that the art of Lahore was of a high quality and only declined when different







F 4

Faces of monks in clay



Faces of a woman with a Chinese headdress, face of a soldier

F. 6

Face of a figure of authority

F. 7

Detailed sculpture of a human face

\_\_\_

Clay sculpture of a rider mounted on an elephant

A Miniature Painting in the *Hamzanama* showing stylistic influence of Persian conquerors destroyed the city and it was abandoned for years afterwards. Perhaps the most devastating conquerors of them all were the Mongols who invaded Lahore in the 13<sup>th</sup> century and left behind ashes, of a Lahore that was once the pride of the Muslim world. It was said that if Shiraz and Isphahan were united, they would not make one Lahore of the Ghaznavide period.

Due to this massive destruction no known specimen of painting has been found so far and the above-mentioned terracotta sculptures are possibly the only reference we have of the pre-Mughal art of Lahore.

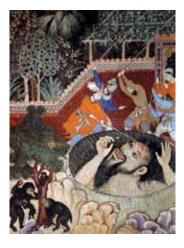
### Portraits in Mughal Art

The tradition of portrait making, which was established in the early Muslim period, is an indication of the abilities of Lahore artists and has a direct bearing on the art of the coming centuries, especially the Mughals. The arrival of the Mughals in the Sub-continent was an important factor in the development of its art. Although they were Central Asian, their true inspiration came from Iran. The famous Hamzanama was one of the earliest major projects of the Mughals regarding their artistic patronage. Humayun initiated and Akbar completed it.7 It was a big assignment that took a long time to finish. The initial illustrations of the Hamzanama were completely under the stylistic influence of Persian art because the leading artists were brought from Iran by the previous king Humayun. Hamzanama paintings have the buildings, faces, flora and fauna of the Persian miniature.

There are numerous characters in







this great epic. We see them in different scenes, fighting the demons and genies and struggling against natural disasters. These are all imaginary faces that have idealized features that were painted according to the demand of the story. They were heroes and villains and their features changed accordingly. Since they were the product of the artist's imagination, we cannot say that they were the faces of living people of a particular era or region.

A very important event of the late 16th century was Akbar's arrival and stay in Lahore in 1586. At that time the Mughal atelier was in the process of development. The whole setup was shifted to Lahore. This shifting brought a dramatic change in Mughal Art because the artists of Lahore influenced future creations. The leading artists were Persian but now the local Indian, especially Lahori painters also joined the Mughal atelier. They were trained by the Persian masters and worked under their supervision but maintained their identity. An important name in this regard is an artist named Basawan, who contributed paintings to the Hamzanama also. He was active in the making of this manuscript before Akbar's arrival in Lahore.<sup>8</sup> If we compare his work with the other artists of the Hamzanama, we can see a clear difference in approach. Basawan is more realistic and his portraits and figures are people of real body and flesh.

'Anvari's Divan: A pocket book for Akbar', by Stuart Cary Welch, is a very informative book about the arts of Lahore during Akbar's period. While discussing its illustrations, the author writes, "One of the outstanding pictures, 'The Hunter Sells the Mother Parrot to the King of Kamro',







F. 1

Basawan's miniature in the Hamzanama



A close-up of the above miniature painting

F. 12

'The hunter sells the mother parrot to the King of Kamro' in Anvari's Divan is already fully attributable on stylistic grounds to Basawan, whose name is inscribed on it. Even at this formative stage of Akbari painting, Basawan's psychologically observed figures, masterful and painterly brushwork, and sculpt risqué view of form reveal him as one of the atelier's avant-garde artists". All the faces depicted in the painting have individual features and they look like real people from the real world. They are not imaginary characters with idealized lips and the long Mongolian eyes that were in vogue among the Persian artists. Even the folds of the dresses are treated very differently. They move with the body. They are not rigid designs as was the style of a typical Persian miniature.

Amina Okada, in her book, 'Indian Miniatures of the Mughal Court', gives another reason for the realism of Basawan's painting when she writes, "Basawan's interest in psychological portraits was undoubtedly nourished by his thorough study of European engravings, with their stress on modelling and volume to enhance naturalistic effects and a realistic approach to the subject." Local artists of India were very familiar with the works of European painters because Akbar's Lahore Darbar was open to all who desired to share their knowledge. The European priests and travellers were on top of the list and they brought artistic trends of their region with them. Along with this, the ancient local sculptural and painting traditions of Lahore also influenced the artists working in Akbar's atelier.

At another point in his book 'Anvari's Divan: A pocket book for Akbar', Welch describes the contribution of the Lahori artists to the manuscripts of Akbar's period, "Many of the *Darbarnama's* 157 miniatures bear in their lower margins attribution to court painters. These include several new artists, recently hired at Lahore, with names such as Ibrahim Lahori and Kalu Lahori, whose somewhat crude, angular manner, with attenuated figures, represent the bazaar level recollections of a now little known Sultanate Style." Although Lahore painting lacked the finish of the traditional miniature painting, it had the capacity to represent forms in a naturalistic way and portraitmaking was highly significant.

An interesting comparison can be made between a painting of Akbar's era with a sculpture that was found in the depths of Lahore. It is the portrait of a Yati or Jain ascetic. Amina Okada describes this painting in these words, "Mughal painters in Akbar's days were more likely to portray Hindu ascetics and Muslim dervishes than the rare Jain monks. There is, however, a portrait of a Yati, or Jain ascetic, that is





F. 13

Portrait of a Yati or Jain ascetic by the artist Basawan

F. 14

Old terracota head, Walled City of Lahore

attributed to Basawan, based on an old inscription partially erased". <sup>12</sup> This is one of the best works produced by the artist. The pious facial expression along with an absence of worldly grandeur shows the true spirit of the Jain religion and its followers. There are some trees and birds behind the figure of the Yati but beyond that the background is hazy, giving the painting an ethereal quality.

If we study the face, especially the eyes, it seems that the man does not belong to this mortal world. The same kind of treatment can be seen in one of the old terracotta heads found in the Walled City of Lahore. Clearly this is also the face of a monk and the stylistic resemblance between the two faces is amazing. The expressions are the same, that is, very calm, serene and devotional. Chubby cheeks, long eyes and elongated earlobes are the features adopted by Basawan and the old *Kullal* of Lahore. Although one is a painter and the other is a sculptor and their creations are of different time periods, both have portrayed faces that have an identical look of devotion for their religion. Here we can see the similarity of style in sculpture and painting.

This type of religious sculpture was a routine sight for the artists working in Lahore because many sculptures of monks have been discovered. Not much record is available of the Sultanate period painting or sculpture of Lahore, but with the help of present day findings, we can assume that the quality of the portraits of the Lahori artists was always high.

Recently discovered evidence of the terracotta figurines reveals the earlier art of Lahore. It shows the familiarity of the artist with the reproduction of human faces. Later in the city of Lahore, Mughal Art - 15

Members of the Mughal Darbar, miniature painting

underwent a change and the generalized, imaginative features of the faces of Persian miniature paintings were replaced by the portraits of individual people. As a result the main characteristic of later Mughal Art is its quality of portraiture. This serious change was the influence of the local artists of Lahore who had been making the portraits of the personalities around them for centuries. From now on this characteristic would dominate Mughal miniature painting also. Later on we can see that all members of the Mughal Darbar can be identified in the miniatures because of their individual faces, that is, their portrait quality.



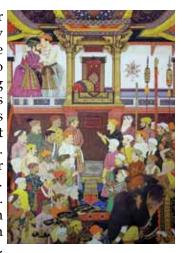
The clay artists of Lahore were no ordinary people. Some of them were highly learned and talented personalities. There is a Quran at the Chughtai Museum in Behari Script and it has an inscription that says, "Makhdoom Musa *Kullal*, Dar ul Sultanate Lahore, dated 1055 Hijra" that is. 1645.<sup>13</sup> It is possible that either Makhdoom Musa did the calligraphy of this Quran or he had some calligrapher to write it. A poet named May, who was the son of a *Kullal*, was also mentioned in history books. Empress Noorjahan liked his poetry so much that she tried to promote him to Jahangir's Darbar.<sup>14</sup>

The above-mentioned names show that the potters of Lahore were active during the Mughal era also. It was the tradition of the time that artists practiced in more than one art form at a time. Some of these potters were involved in the art and culture of the Mughal Darbar and influenced the artefacts produced there.

The Mughal family came in Lahore and soon this became their favourite city. Jahangir spent the early years of his life here and his love for this city is evident in his memoirs. He was a frequent visitor of the Mughal atelier where he used to study with and instruct the artists. Akbar and Jahangir shared a passion for paintings and spent hours together discussing them. In this way Jahangir received his initial training in miniature painting from Lahore.

Stuart Cary Welch, while discussing the illustrated Divan by the famous Mughal poet Anvari, writes about the interest of Prince Saleem

in the Mughal atelier. He narrates, "A further reason for the unprecedented delicacy and naturalism of the Divan might be the presence at Lahore of Prince Saleem, who was the most enthusiastic and discerning lover of fine paintings in the dynasty's long history. He remained at his father's court for thirteen years after his marriage at Fatahpur-Sikri in 1584, when he was fifteen. But, in 1591, according to Badaoni, 'Akbar suffered from stomach-ache and colic ...... [and]......in this unconscious state....... uttered some words which rose from suspicion of his eldest son, and accused him of giving him poison.' Until this falling out,



Saleem must have had access to the imperial painting studio, where his devotion to art would have been influential. Very likely father and son discussed painting often during these years."<sup>15</sup>

It is a well-known fact that Jahangir's era is a celebration of portrait painting. He inherited his father's atelier that consisted of hundreds of artists but he hired only a few masters and let the rest of them go. Of all those masters that he kept, most were brilliant portrait painters. "Manohar, Basawan's son, was approximately the same age as Saleem, and it is hardly a coincidence that he painted several outstanding portraits of the prince." The Lahori tradition of portraitmaking influenced the art produced in Jahangir's atelier and the later Mughal emperors also followed this tradition.

## 19th Century Portraits of Lahore

The decline of the Mughals and the unrest of later years, do not provide much record of the pictorial art in Lahore but the stable government of Maharaja Ranjit Singh brought back prosperity and art to the city. The Lahori nobles hired artists and the main form of their expression was again portrait painting, the most dominating feature of 19<sup>th</sup> century art. Sikh Ashrafia loved to have their likenesses painted and Lahori artists painted so many portraits that Sikh art is known for its art of portrait painting either of individuals or of groups in the Darbar paintings.

We do not have many evidences of Lahori sculpture in the 19<sup>th</sup> century but we do have a few literary references where it has been

F. 16

Miniature painting of

F 17

An etching titled 'An open air restaurant at Lahore'



mentioned that there was a tradition of sculpture in this city. On 14<sup>th</sup> December 1889, an etching titled 'An Open Air Restaurant At Lahore' was published in The Illustrated London News. Its description is at the back of the same newspaper page and gives a brief introduction to the art and architecture of Lahore, "It (Lahore) contains several grand mosques and superb tombs of the Mogul Empire, and its suburban gardens are very beautiful though robbed of their decorative sculpture by the Sikhs......The picture by Mr. Weeks, which was in the last exhibition of the Paris Salon, gives an idea of the aspect of a street in Lahore". It appears that in Lahore, sculpture was very much in vogue.

A 19<sup>th</sup> century reference to the sculpture of Lahore was found at the Fakir Khana Museum. This is the small head of a young European girl. The archival material of the museum reveals that this is the head of General Allarde's daughter named Felicie Marie Allarde that was made by Rulia Ram who was a Lahori sculptor/potter. It is almost one and a half inches tall and broken from the neck down. The modelling of the face is beautiful. Her head, eyes, straight Roman nose, delicate lips, chin and long neck are worth noticing. As late as mid 19<sup>th</sup> century, the sculptors of Lahore were making portraits of high quality.

Many courtiers who belonged to the Sikh Darbar used to live in Lahore. The patrons were from Lahore and the artists usually painted them here. Some portraits of high quality are discussed below to prove that the tradition of portrait painting saw its golden age in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, when the Lahori artists were producing one masterpiece after another.

#### Shabih Maharaja Kharak Singh, Crown Prince of the State of Kapurthalla

Maharaja Kharak Singh (1850-1877) was one of the rulers of Kapurthalla, a very rich state. He naturally attracted the attention of gifted masons, architects, artists and designers of a high order. The Kapurthalla Darbar also patronized Keher Singh *Musawwir* of Lahore and Amritsar in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. There is a signed and dated portrait by Keher Singh who was a painter of high merit in Maharaja Ranjit Singh's court.

The portrait shows Kharak Singh in a very majestic manner, seated with all his finery and gems glittering. The most dominating feature is the headdress, the Gugha, that is highly decorative. It was a family ornament inherited by Kharak Singh. It had emeralds, rubies and many other precious stones. Keher Singh was a master in painting gems and jewels and his mastery is evident in this painting. Strings of pearls and other necklaces are painted in great detail. There is an intricately painted golden belt. Kharak Singh is holding a sword in his powerful hands and sitting on the royal chair with blue velvet upholstery.

### The Portrait of Badami Begum or Gul-i-Badam

This is a beautiful portrait in the Fakir Khana Museum where it has been documented as the portrait of Badami Begum. Faqir Sayyad Qamar ul Din heard from his father, Faqir Sayyad Aziz ul Din about a lady and discussed her with Sayyad Muhammad Latif who wrote in Tareekh-i-Lahore, "The place where Badami Bagh is now situated, in the old days was named after a princess, Gul-i-Badam. Her tomb was in the middle of Masti Darwaaza and Khizri Darwaaza. The tomb was decorated with very expensive marble. It also had a garden but all was destroyed during the rule of the Sikh Trinity." The present Siyah Qalam is a portrait of the same lady that was drawn in Lahore in the 19th century. The treatment is very different from the portraits of the Mughal ladies because it is the face of a Lahori woman depicted in a realistic manner. Her features are not Persian or Central Asian.

### Drawings and Sketches of the 19th Century

A complete painting has its value but there are times when the process of painting becomes a piece of art in its own right. In painting,

this process consists of sketches and drawings that an artist makes to reach the end product. These sketches have freedom of expression and are not as carefully planned and composed as are the final paintings. If we study the drawings of Leonardo da Vinci or Michelangelo, they reveal their skill and mastery. Although the final paintings and sculptures do not lack artistic expression, the drawings are more refreshing and spontaneous. They tell a lot about the method, skill and technique of the artist.

The painters of Lahore sketched and painted the courtiers and guests of the Sikh Darbar on different occasions. Artists accompanied the rulers in important meetings where they used to sit and draw sketches of the main participants. When a German, Von Orlich visited Sher Singh's Darbar, he observed the presence of an artist. He writes, "On occasions of this kind, it is customary for the Indian nobles to bring the artist attached to the court, to paint the portraits of those present: the painter of Sher Singh was, therefore incessantly occupied in sketching with a black lead pencil those likenesses which were afterwards to be copied in watercolours, in order that they might adorn the walls of the royal palace; and some of them were admirably executed. I was among the honored few and the artist was very particular in making a faithful representation of my uniform and feathers."20 A significant example is a sketch of British officers that testifies to this fact. The faces and the hats along with their decorative feathers are recorded very realistically. The words Map Sahib, Nawab Sahib, Lord and Clark Sahib are written above their heads. The artist has recorded these faces to use them for some future painting.

There are many other drawings and sketches of different faces. The main thing to notice in these faces is the skill of the artist. The way he recorded the features, the beards and hair is remarkable. The simple sketch of a seated nobleman with a shawl is astounding and the light beard on his face is very realistic and acutely observed by the artist.

The same is true of the seated old man with a rosary in his hand. The drawing of his body is weak but the grey of the beard is striking. A small drawing of a female face opposite the old man is also noticeable. It looks like a practice sketch of the artist but the flow of line and the spontaneity of the stroke are excellent.

The portraits of Lahori artists were even used as reference by Europeans especially by Auguste Schoefft, a famous Austrian painter



F. 18

'Darbar of Mahraja Ranjit Singh' by Auguste Schoefft

who painted many Sikh paintings including the world famous 'Darbar Maharaja Ranjit Singh'. W. G. Archer testifies to this fact in these words, "Schoefft himself wished to draw as many Sikhs as possible and throughout 1841, the year of his stay in Lahore, he sketched the principal characters at court and copied portraits of those who were recently dead. He learnt in this way, how to paint famous figures such as Ranjit, Kharak and Nau Nihal and thus acquire material with which to reconstruct historical scenes. These sketches and copies were to prove their value when, later in life, he worked at Vienna from 1844 to 1846, and held an exhibition there in 1855."<sup>21</sup> When he painted the 'Darbar of Maharaja Ranjit Singh', many of the people he portrayed were dead. Schoefft must have used paintings of the local artists as references for his large canvas. The foreigners saw the skill of the Lahori artists and they acknowledged their brilliance.<sup>22</sup>

All these portraits and sketches reveal the sensitive work done by the Lahori sculptors and painters in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and before. They were keen observers and believed in the true reproduction of what they saw, especially in portrait painting. They established the concept of presenting a true likeness of the personalities painted or sculpted, discarding the idealised presentation of the human form in miniature that was the trend of that time. This characteristic has been persistent over the centuries and the recent discovery of terracotta heads is a distinct example of this.

#### **Notes and References**

- Percy Brown, Indian Architecture (The Islamic Period) (Bombay: Treasure House of The Books 1942), p. 33.
- Sayyad Muhammad Latif, Tareekh-i-Lahore (Lahore: Takhleeqat Publishers 2004), pp. 365-66.
- 3 A detailed interview with Dr. Moin Nizami, head of the Persian Department, Punjab University Lahore, helped me to understand the concept. Many Persian dictionaries were also consulted.
- During an interview with Hajji Bashir, who belonged to a painter/carpenter family of Lahore he mentioned about his ancestors who were accomplished sculptors also.
- Muhammad Baqar, "Lahore Tareekh, Tasees Aur Wajah Tasmia," Naqoosh, Lahore Nama (Lahore: Idara-i-Farogh-i-Urdu 1962), p. 24.
- Arif Rahman Chughtai, Muslim Figurines of Lahore (Lahore: Jahangeer Book Club 2008) Photos of the objects and figurines are taken from this book. This collection is at the Chughtai Museum Lahore.
- 7 Abdul Rahman Chughtai, Lahore Ka Dabistan i Musawwari (Lahore: Chughtai Museum Trust 1979), p. 11.
- John Seyller, The Adventures of Hamza, Painting and Storytelling in Mughal India (Washington D.C: Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institute 2002), p. 49.
- Annemarie Schimmel, Stuart Cary Welch, Anvari's Divan: A Pocket Book for Akbar (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art 1983), p. 45.
- Amina Okada Translated by Deke Dusinberre, Indian Miniatures of the Mughal Court (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Publications 1992), p. 90.
- Schimmel, Welch, Anvari's Divan: A Pocket Book for Akbar, p. 46.
- 12 Ibid., 92.
- 13 This Quran is in the Library of the Chughtai Museum.
- Muhammad Aleem ul Din Salak, "Ulmai Ikram, Dini Madrase," Naqoosh, Lahore Nama (Lahore: Idara-i-Farogh-i-Urdu 1962), p. 475.
- 15 Schimmel, Welch, Anvari's Divan: A Pocket Book for Akbar, p. 51.
- 16 Ibid.
- 17 Old newspaper section of Lahore Archives.
- 18 R. P. Srivastava, Punjab Painting (New Delhi: Abhinav Publications 1983), p. 44.
- Munshi Muhammad ul Din Fauq, "Maasar Lahore, Baghat o Mazarat,"
  Naqoosh, Lahore Nama (Lahore: Idara-i-Farogh-i-Urdu 1962), p. 373
- W. G. Archer, Paintings of the Sikhs (London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office 1966), p. 50.
- 21 Ibid., 47.
- 22 Ibid., 50.