

LPP 120

LAHORE

PAST AND PRESENT

M. BAQIR


Publication

LAHORE

PAST AND PRESENT

(Being an account of Lahore compiled from original sources)

BY

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— from the destined walls
Of Cambala, seat of Cathian Can,
And Samarchand by Oxus, Temir's throne
To Paquin of Sinaean Kings ; and thence
To Agra and Lahore of Great Mogal.

Paradise Lost, Bk. xi, l.



— James the Apostle and
his companions, who were
the first to preach the Gospel
in the East, and who
were martyred for their faith.

— James the Apostle and
his companions, who were
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PREFACE

(First Edition)

This is a history of 58 kings and 173 of their satraps, who ruled over Lahore from the earliest times known (990 A.D.) to 1952 A.D. It is exclusively compiled from original sources, viz., the accounts of contemporary historians, court chroniclers, autobiographies of kings, poems of court poets, *farmāns*, coins, inscriptions on historical monuments and extant official records. Timūr, Bābar, and Jahāngir can be named as some of the monarchs who recorded history with their own pens in the *ḡuzuks* left behind by them. Amongst the court historians the distinguished name of Yahyā b. Ahmad b. 'Abdullah Sirhindī can be cited. He was a courtier of Mubārakshāh, a ruler of the Sayyid family and compiled *Tārīkh e Mubārakshāhī*. Yahyā is not only a contemporaneous writer but the only original authority available upon the times of Sayyids. Mirzā Haidar Doghlat, a military officer of Humāyūn, recorded an eye-witness account of events, in his *Tārīkh e Rashīdī*. Mirzā Haider was as bold and adventurous as Bābar and played a noble part in widely distant places. He was engaged actively as a military leader in Badakhshān, Kāshghar, and Kāshmir. *Bādshāhnāma* is a history of first twenty years of the reign of Shāhjahān, composed by 'Abdul Hamīd Lahori, while Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Kamboh, a younger rival writer, wrote a history of the reign of the emperor from his birth to his death in 1076 A.H. (1665 A.D.). Even the royal stewards tried their hand at recording events. Jauhar Afātibchī (ewer-holder), wrote about Humāyūn in his *Tas̄kirat ul Wāq'āt*, which he compiled in 995 A.H. (1587 A.D.). Mir Mubārakullah Irādat Khān, a soldier of Mughal army and later on governor of the Doāb in the reign of Shāh 'Ālam Bahādar Shāh, records in the preface to his *Tārīkh e Irādat Khān* : "The fall of worthy men and the rise of the unworthy, have been beheld by me. As, on account of my office, and being engaged in these transactions, I have obtained a perfect knowledge of the sources of most events, and of what to others even information must be difficult, was planned and executed in my sight ; and as I was a sharer as well as spectator of all the dangers and troubles, I have therefore recorded them".

Most of the contemporary written works contain a great amount of matter of no interest to anyone but the nobles and courtiers of the time. But it would not be fair to say that all of them are filled with these trifles; there is far too much of them; but still there is a solid substratum of historical matter, from which the history of Lahore has been drawn. The sources of information have not only been acknowledged but have been referred to with precision in accordance with canons of modern scientific research: Secondhand authorities have not been much relied upon with the consequence that hearsay and dubious matter have not found their way into the book. This precaution had its disadvantages too. Firstly the verbatim quotations from Persian, Arabic and other texts sound rather strange in their English translations; secondly the omission of much of the interesting gossip of careless historian has made the text rather dry. But despite care and patient checking some inaccuracies may persist on account of the relative scarcity of dependable historical data. Corrections of inaccuracies in any part of the text will be gratefully received.

In the descriptive portion, mention has been made of those architectural remains which must find a place in this book on account of their extreme historical importance or for various cultural reasons. Some of the buildings have been left unnoticed for the reasons, that their detailed accounts are already given by earlier historians like Latif, Kanhayyā Lal and Chishtī and their repetition without any improvement would have only added to the bulk of this volume. Care has also been taken to avoid unnecessary details based on fiction and superstition. A Lahore Directory is included at the end (Appendix IX) to give a bird's eye view of all that is important in modern Lahore.

A word should be added on the transliteration of names and terms of Indian and Pākistānī origin. In general the system of transliteration used is that adopted by the International Congress of Orientalists. In the case of a few names and places, forms which have acquired general usage have been preferred to their more correct transliterations. Thus *Lāhor* itself appears in the familiar guise of *Lahore*.

This book owes much to many people. First, as in duty bound, I would express my gratitude to the Honourable Dr. Justice S. A. Rāhmān, the Vice-Chancellor of the University of the Panjāb, and Dr. Barkat 'Alī Kuraishī, the Administrator of the University Oriental Publications Fund, whose award of a grant made the publication of this work possible. Next, I would record my grateful thanks to those in charge of various departments of the University of the Panjāb and others whose help was invaluable as their kindness and courtsey were unfailing. They are Khān A. Rāhmān, the then Dean of University Instruction, Mīān Muḥammad Bāshīr, the Registrar of the University of the Panjāb, Khān Muḥammad Wāliullah Khān, Superintendent of Archaeology, Western Pākistār Circle, Sayyid 'Ābid 'Alī 'Ābid, Principal, Dayal Singh College, Dr. Muḥammad Jahāngīr Khān, Deputy Director of Public Instruction, Panjāb, K. B. Maulavi Zafar Ḥasan, Dr. Muḥammad 'Abdullah Chaghataī, University Lecturer in Islāmīyāt, Mr. Shaikh Aḥmad, Vice-Principal, Mayo School of Art, Mr. Malik Shams, Curator Central Museum, Lahore, Mr. M. N. A. Hashmie, Deputy Director, Map Publication, Survey of Pākistan, and Mīān Muḥammad Afzal, the Officer-Incharge of the University Press. My thanks are also due to Mr. 'Abdul Ghani, the Research Scholar of University Persian Department, who helped me in compiling the index.

Model Town,
15 May 1952,

M. B.

PREFACE (Second Edition)

This second edition brings the events to 1983. It would not have seen the light of day, but for the generous financial help given by Lt.-General Ghulam Jilani Khan, the Governor of the Panjab. I offer him my grateful appreciation.

I also owe a debt of gratitude to Professor Dr. Miss M. K. Elahi, Chairman, Geography Department, University of the Punjab, for providing the latest Guide Map of Lahore; and Mr. Ali Muhammad

Lundkhwar, Government of Pakistan, Director of Archaeology, Mr. A. H. Nadim, Deputy Director of Archaeology, Mr. Muhammad Anwarul Haq, Librarian, Panjab University Main Library, and Mr. Nasir Ahmad, Deputy Librarian, Panjab University Library, and Malik Muhammad Hussain, Director, Public Relations, Government of the Punjab for supplying useful material. Mr. Farrukh Danial supervised the printing of this book. I thank them all.

Model Town,

24, January 1984.

M. B.

DR. B. A. C. S.
(General Librarian)

- Howdah.** Elephant seat.
- Īd.** A Muslim festival.
- Īdul Azha.** Feast of Sacrifice.
- Īdul Fitr.** The Muslim festival of breaking fast at the end of the fasting month of Ramazān.
- Jarīb.** A land measure (of 20 gaṭthās or 60 Hindustānī yards=55 Engl h yards).
- Jharok.** Balcony in the imperial palaces in which the Emperor showed himself to the people outside.
- Jogī.** One who performs the kind of religious exercise called *jog*.
A contemplative saint. An ascetic. A hermit.
- Kalīma.** The Muslim confession of faith.
- Karor.** One hundred *lakhs*. Ten millions.
- Khālṣa.** Lit. free or pure. Government land with no intermediate landlord between cultivator and the state. Used by the Sikhs as a synonym for their community.
- Khālṣa Panth.** A political organisation of the Sikhs.
- Khān e Sāmān.** Lord High Steward.
- Khatrī.** A member of the second (the military and royal) caste of Hindus.
- Khilāfat.** Caliphate.
- Khil'at.** A dress of honour conferred by a superior.
- Khutba.** A discourse, sermon or oration which the preacher recites on the pulpit in the noon-service of the congregational mosque on Friday.
- Khwān Salar.** Superintendent of the Royal Kitchen.
- Kos.** A measure of length equal to about two English miles (but varying in different parts of India).
- Kotwāl.** Chief of police in a town.
- Lakh.** One hundred thousand.
- Lāṭhī.** Stick.
- Madārul Malk.** Premier.
- Mahāl.** Estate.
- Mahavāt.** Elephant-driver.
- Malik.** Chief.
- Manṣab.** Rank.

- Māṣhā*. A weight of eight rattis.
- Masjid*. A mosque.
- Minār*. A tower.
- Mir Bahshi*. Paymaster—General. Controller of the military pay and accounts.
- Mir e 'Arṣ*. Officer who presented the petitions of the public to the king.
- Mir e Ātish*. Artillery Commander.
- Mir e Bahr*. Admiral.
- Mir e Barr*. Superintendent of Forests.
- Misl*. A sect of the Sikhs.
- Mufti*. An expounder of Muslim Law.
- Muhtasib*. Censor of Public Morals.
- Mullā*. A master of Muslim Law, a teacher or learned man.
- Mushrif*. Revenue Secretary—Registrar.
- Mustaufi*. Auditor—General.
- Mutawalli*. Superintendent or trustee of a religious or charitable foundation.
- Nakhās*. Horse—mart. Cattle market.
- Naurūz*. New Year's Day.
- Nāzir e Buyūtāt*. Superintendent of the Imperial Workshops.
- Naṣr*. Offering from inferior to a superior.
- Pargana*. Subdivision of a *ṣila'* or district (about the size of a barony).
- Paṭwārī*. One who keeps all the accounts connected with the lands of one or more villages. Village registrar.
- Purbīā (Purbīyā)*. A native of the eastern parts of *Hidūstān*.
- Qala'dār*. Governor of a fort. Commandant of a garrison.
- Qāṣ*. Judge.
- Qāṣīul Quṣāt*. Chief Justice.
- Qūr Begī*. Superintendent of the Royal Stud.
- Sadr*. Judge.
- Sadr e Ṣudūr*. Controller of religious endowments and charitable grants.
- Salār*. General.
- Sannyāsi*. One who abandons or resigns. An ascetic. A devotee.

Sarāe (Serāe). A rest house for travellers.

Sarkār. A Mughal district. Used as a synonym for government.

Sipāhsālār. General.

Sūba. A province.

Sūbadār. The governor of a Mughal province.

Tasawwuf. Mysticism Sūfism.

Tehşil. A revenue sub-division.

Tumān. Gold Coin = 10 şābqrāns about 9 fr. 75cts.

Tayyūl. Landed property. Fiefs.

Umarā. Nobles and courtiers.

Vağır (Wagır). Minister.

Wāqa' Nawis. News—recorder. Diary writer. Political Remembrancer.

Wagır. See *Vağır*.

Zamīndār. A landholder. Village proprietor.

ABBREVIATIONS

Cf.	Compare from
C.I.D.	Criminal Investigation Department.
D.C.	Deputy Commissioner.
Ed.	Edition.
G.O.C.	General Officer Commanding.
Ibid.	Ibidem.
N.W.R.	North Western Railway.
Pb.	Panjāb.
P(p.)	Page (s)
P.O.	Post Office.
P.W.D.	Public Works Department
R.P.A.F.	Royal Pākistān Air Force.
Vol.	Volume.

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Mir Mannu

Adina Beg Khan

'Allama Iqbal

General Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq

Lt.-General Ghulam Jilani Khan

The Badshahi Mosque

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The Diwan-e 'Am (Lahore Fort)

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CHAPTER ONE

NAME AND DATE OF FOUNDATION

THE early history of Lahore is enveloped in a mist of traditions, conjecture, and guesses, and it must be frankly admitted that from the available sources of information it is not possible to arrive at any definite conclusions about the earliest name and the date of foundation of the city. Definite references to this town have been made only by the early Arab geographers and Muslim historians, and these, along with other references to Lahore of a later period, will be discussed here in their chronological order.¹

We find Lahore being mentioned for the first time in a geographical treatise, entitled *Hudūd al-'Ālam*, which was compiled in 372 A.H./982 A.D. The author of this work is not known but this is what he remarks about Lahore :

1. Al-Balādhuri (Aḥmad bin Yahyā), who lived at the Court of Baghdad towards the middle of the ninth century of the Christian era, during the *Khilāfat* of the 'Abbāsi Khālifa Mu'tamid (256 A.H./870 A.D.—279 A.H./892 A.D.)* and died in 279 A.H./892 A.D.,** is one of the earliest Arab chroniclers. He gives an account of the first conquests of the Arabs in Syria, Mesopotamia, Egypt, Irān, Armenia, Transoxiana, Africa, Spain, and Sindh, in his famous book, *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, and refers to a Lahore situated near Aṭak and Waihind and not to the town discussed in this chapter, his Lahore being situated on the frontier (still being a small village at four miles to the north-east of Waihind) is the only place which would answer description of al-Balādhuri who remarks :

ثم غزا ذلك الثغر المهلب ابن أبي صفرة في أيام معاوية سنة م م فأتى بنة
والاهوار و هما بين الملتان و كابل***

"Then al-Muhallab son of Abū-Ṣufrah raided this frontier in the days of Mu'awiyah in the year 44. He reached Bannah (Bannū) and al-Āhvār, which lie between Muītān and Kābul."****

*Lane-Poole, S., *The Mohammedan Dynasties*, p. 12.

***Encyclopaedia of Islam* (New ed.) I, p. 971.

***Al-Balādhuri, Aḥmad b. Yahyā, *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, p. 438.

****Cf. Latif, Syad Muhammad, *Lahore*, p. 2 and Murgotten, *The Origin of the Islamic State*, p. 210.

NAME AND DATE OF FOUNDATION

لهور شہرست با ناحیت بسیار و سلطاناش از دمت امیر ملتانست و
اندرو بازارها و بت خانہاست و اندرو درخت چلغوزہ و بادام و
جوز ہندی بسیارست و ہمہ بت پرستند و اندرو وی هیچ مسلمان نیست.^۱

"Lahor is a town with numerous districts. Its government (*sulṭān*) is on behalf of the chief (*amīr*) of Multān. In it there are markets and idol-temples. In it great numbers of pine-trees, almond-trees, and coconut trees are found. All the inhabitants are idolators and there are no Muslims there."²

Abū Raiḥān Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Bīrūnī, who resided in India and speaks from personal knowledge of the country at the time of Maḥmūd's invasions at the beginning of the eleventh century of the Christian era, in his celebrated work *Tārīkhul Hind*, mentions Lahore, not as a city, but as a territory of which the capital was Mandahūkūr.

ثم فیما بین المغرب و الشمال الى آدت هور تسعة و الى ججنیر ستة
و الى مندهو کور قصبہ لوہاور علی شرق نہر ایراوہ ثمنیہ.^۳

"Thence marching towards the north-west, you come to Ādittahaur, 9 (*farsakh*) ; Jajjanīr, 6 (*farsakh*) ; Mankdahūkūr, the capital of Lauhāvar, east of the river Irāva, 8 (*farsakh*)."⁴

Again al-Bīrūnī in his description of the Himalayan mountains observes :

علی الیساریمتد فی العمارات الى القصبہ و علی الیمین الى قری
متصلہ علی جنوب القصبہ و یقضى الى جبل کلارجک و هو کالقبة شبیه
بجبل دناوند لایخسر عنه الثلج و یری دائما من حدود تاکیشر و لوہاور.

1. *Hudūdul Ālam*, p. 44.

2. Minorsky, V., *Hudūdul Ālam*, pp. 89 and 90.

3. Al-Bīrūnī; Abū Raiḥān Muḥammad b. Aḥmad; *Tārīkhul Hind*, p. 101.

4. Sachau, Edward C., *Alberuni's India* I, p. 206.

"Marching on the left side of the river, you always pass cultivated ground and reach the capital ; marching on the right side, you pass through villages, one close to the other, south of the capital, and thence you reach the mountain Kulārjak, which is like a cupola, similar to the mountain Dunbāvand. The snow there never melts. It is always visible from the region of Tākishar and Lauhāvar."¹

Shaikh Ahmad Zanjānī, who according to the statement of Kanhayyā Lāl,² wrote his treatise, *Tuḥfatul Wāṣilīn*, in 435 A.H./1043 A.D., is supposed to have remarked :

"This (Lahore) town was first of all founded by Rājah Parīc̣hit, who was a great Rājah from the descendants of Pāṇḍavas. After some time this town was depopulated on account of famines, etc., and was laid waste for many centuries. During the time of Rājah Bikramājī the town was ordered to be populated again and little progress had been made in this direction when Bikramājī died, and Samand Pāl Jōgī succeeded him. The town prospered during his reign and was named Samand Pāl Nagari. The town continued to flourish for a long time. Afterwards, when Rājah Dīp Chand became the king of Dehli, he gave away the Panjāb as a *jāgīr* to his nephew, Lohār Chand, who on acquiring perfect control over the whole of the Panjāb, made it (Lahore) his capital. He tried to add to the prosperity of the town and discarding the name of Samand Pāl Nagari named it Lohārpūr, after his own name. The name during the course of time was corrupted into Lahore !"

1. Sachau, Edward, C., *Alberuni's India*, I, pp. 207 & 208.

2. Kanhayyā Lāl, *Tārīkh e Lāhore*, p. 9. Kanhayyā Lāl remarks :

شیخ احمد زنجانی صاحب رسالۃ تحفة الواصلین جس نے وہ کتاب سنہ ۸۳۵
ہجری عہد سلطانی مسعود غزنوی بمقام لاہور اس کے علماء و فضلاء کے حال
میں لکھی ہے ۔

"Shaikh Ahmad Zanjānī, the author of the treatise, *Tuḥfatul Wāṣilīn*, who wrote this in Lahore about the learned people of the this town, in the year 435 A.H. during the time of Sultan Mas'ūd of Ghazna....."

The whole of this statement is not correct, because Mas'ūd I reigned from 421 A.H./1030 A.D. to 432 A.H./1040 A.D. So either the book was written in 432 A.H./1040 A.D. or it was written during the reign of Maudūd, the successor of Mas'ūd I. I have not been able to trace this work, although Syād Muḥammad Latīf, the author of *Lahore*, has also used the manuscript as one of his sources (*Lahore*, iv).

Describing an expedition of Maḥmūd of Ghazna, in Kashmīr, Gardīzī, the author of *Zainul Akhbār*, observes in 440 A.H./1048 A.D. :

و چون سنه اثنی عشره و اربعمائنه اندر آمد قصد کشمیر کرد و
حصار لوهركوت را اندر پیچید و یکماه آنجا قیام کرد و از آنچه قلعه
بغایت منیع و محکم بود نتوانست کشاد - و اندرین سال امیر نصر بن
ناصرالدین رحمة الله فرمان یافته بود و امیر یوسف بن ناصر الدین رحمة الله
با یمین الدوله رفته بود - و چون لوهركوت کشادن ممکن نگشت از
آن دره پیرون آمد بر جانب لوهور و تاکیشرف رفت.^۱

"In the year 412 he (Maḥmūd) attacked Kashmīr and besieged the fortress of Loharkot. He stayed there for one month, but as the fort was exceptionally high and strong he could not conquer it. In the same year Amīr Naṣr b. Nāṣiruddīn (May he rest in peace !) had died and Amīr Yūsuf b. Nāṣiruddīn (May he rest in peace!) was accompanying Yaminud-daulah (Maḥmūd). But as Loharkot could not be conquered he (Maḥmūd) came out of that pass and proceeded towards Lohūr and Tākīshar."

The same author names the province 'Lahore', when he refers to the conferment of the viceroyalty of this province by Mas'ūd on his son Majdūd :

پس امیر مجدود بن مسعود را رحمهما الله ولایت لاهور داد و طبل
و علم داد و او را با حشم و جاشیت سوی لاهور بفرستاد و خود سوی
غزنین آمد -^۲

"Then he (Mas'ūd) gave the kingdom of Lahore to Amīr Majdūd b. Mas'ūd (May both of them rest in peace !) and conferred upon him the royal insignia (literally, drum and standard). He then sent him with retinue and attendants towards Lahore and himself returned to Ghazna."

1. Gardīzī, Abū Sa'īd 'Abdul Ḥay b. az-Ẓahāk b. Maḥmūd, *Zainul Akhbār*, p. 79.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 104

Sayyid 'Alī Hajvīrī, a mystic saint and scholar of the eleventh century of the Christian era, who lived in Lahore for a considerable number of years and died there between 481 A.H./1088 A.D. and 500 A.H./1106 A.D., remarks in his book *Kashful Mahjūb* :

من اندر دیار هند در بلدۀ لہانور کہ از مضافات ملتان است
در میان ناجنسان گرفتار شدہ بودم۔¹

"In the country of India I myself had become a captive among uncongenial folk in the town of Lahānōr which is a dependency of Multān."²

Abul Fazl Muḥammad b. Ḥusain Baihaqī,³ a famous Persian historian of the eleventh century of the Christian era, who is the author of history of the Ghaznavīs in three volumes, writing in 450-51 A.H./1058-59 A.D., about the life of Mas'ūd, the son of Maḥmūd of Ghazna, in his book *Tārīkh e Baihaqī*, makes mention of Lahore along with the fort of Mandakakūr, a variation of the name of the place which is mentioned by al-Bīrūnī as the capital of the province of Lahore :

و نیمہ این ماہ (رمضان سنہ خمس و عشرين و اربعمائہ) ناسہا رسید
از لہور کہ احمد نیالتگین با بسیار مردم آنجا آمد و قاضی شیراز و جملہ
مصلحان در قلعہ مندککور رفتند و پیوستہ جنگ است و نواحی میکنند و
پیوستہ فساد است۔ امیر سخت اندیشمند شد کہ دل مشغول بود از سہ
جانب بسبب ترکمانان عراقی و خوارزم و لہور بدین سبب کہ شرح
کردم۔⁴

"In the middle of this month (Ramazān 425 A.H./ July 1033 A.D.) letters were received from Lahore, stating that Aḥmad Niāltigīn had arrived there with several men ; that Qāzī Shīrāz, with all his counsellors had

1. Hajvīrī, Sayyid 'Alī, *Kashful Mahjūb* (Panjab University Library Manuscript No. IV, 7b. f. 56b).
2. Nicholson, Reynold A., *the Kashful Mahjūb*, p. 91.
3. d. 470 A.H./1077 A.D. *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, I. p. 592.
4. Baihaqī, *Tārīkh e Baihaqī*, p. 523.

entered the fort of Mandkakūr; that there was perpetual fighting; and that the whole neighbourhood was in a state of turmoil and agitation. The Amir became thoughtful because his mind was troubled from three different sources, viz., the Turkomāns of 'Irāq, Khwārazm, and Laḥor, as I have already described."¹

Abul Faraj Rūnī, a great poet, writing a Qaṣida of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm, a grandson of Maḥmūd, names the town or the province Lohāvar in 472 A.H./1079 A.D. :

کشید رایت منصور سوی لوهاور بطالمی که تولا کند بدو تقویم²

"He (Ibrāhīm) proceeded towards Lohāvar with victorious banners and with a fortune which was favoured by the stars."

Al-Idrisi³ (Abū 'Abdullāh Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. 'Abdullāh b. Idris), one of the most eminent Arab geographers of Sibtā, who composed his famous system of geography, *Nuzhatul Mushtāq fi Ikhtirāqal Āfāq*,⁴ which has been translated into Latin by several authors, names the town Lāhāvar in his work :

"The towns of India are numerous; among them may be mentioned Māhmal, Kambāya, Sūbara, Asāval, Janāval, Sindān, Saimar, Sandūr, Rūmala; in the desert: Kahata, Aughasht, Nahrvara and Lāhāvar."⁵

Sharafal Zamān Ṭāhir Marvazī, an Iranian, who was employed as a physician at the court of Malikshāh, and who continued to serve under his successors down to Sanjar, writing in his book *Tabā'i' al-ḥayawān* in the beginning of the sixth *hijra* century (about 1100 A.D.) remarks :

و فی اراضی لوهوور مدینة یقال لها رامیان فیها صنم مضطجع و
حوله اصنام قیام و فیها صنم من صفر مموی بالذهب و صنمهم الاعظم

1. Elliot and Dowson, *The History of India as told by its own Historians*, II, p. 129.
2. Rūnī, *The Diwān*, p. 96.
3. d. 560 A.H./1166 A.D., *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, II, p. 451.
4. Beale, T.W., *An Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p. 175.
5. Elliot and Dowson, I, 84.

وله غلات كثيرة من العقار و الحوافيت في السوق وله ثلثون قبة
تجربى عليهن الجرايه من غلاته و الناس يتمتعون بهن مجاناً و يطلبن
به الثواب و لا يبرحن من موضعه الليل و النهار¹

"In the territory of Lūhūvar there is a town called Rāmiyān which possesses an idol reclining on one side, with (other) idols standing upright around it. It also possesses an idol of gilt copper which is their greatest idol. To it belong many incomes from land and shops in the market. It has thirty courtesans who are paid from the same sources, and the people avail themselves of them for nothing, and thereby they seek merit. The courtesans are never absent from temple either by night or day."²

Turning to early literary references we find that Mas'ūd b. Sa'd Salmān, a Panjābī poet, who flourished in the latter half of the eleventh and the beginning of the twelfth century of the Christian era, and who probably died in 515 A.H./1121 A.D., refers in his *Dīwān* very often to Lahore, but almost always gives it a different name; e.g., Lahāvūr, Lohāvūr, Lāohūr, Lovhūr, Lohūr, and Lahore. In a *Qaṣ'ida* in praise of 'Alī, the favourite of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm, he says:

درویشی و نیستی ز لوهور برکند و بحضورتم فرستد³

"Poverty and want drove me forth from Lohūr and sent me to the capital (Ghazna)."⁴

In another *qaṣ'ida* he writes:

رسید عید و من از روی حور دلبر دور
چگونه باشم بی روی آن بهشتی حور
برا که گوید کای دوست عید فرخ باد
نگار من به لهاور و من به نیشاپور

1. Marvazī, *Sharaf al-Zamān Tāhir, Tabā'iat-hayāwān*, p. 39.

2. Minorsky, V., *Sharaf al-Zamān Tāhir Marvazī on China, the Turks and India*, p. 52.

3. Mas'ūd b. Sa'd Salmān, *The Dīwān*, p. 49.

4. Qazwīnī, Mīrzī Muḥammad b. 'Abdul Wahhāb, *JRAS.*, 1905, p. 704.

چه یاد شهر لاهور و یار خویش کنم
 نبود کس که شد از شهر و یار خویش نفور
 مرا به است بهر حالی و بهر وجهی
 جمال حضرت غزنین ز شهر لوهاور^۱

"The festal time is come, and I am far from the face of that charming houri ;

How can I exist without the face of that houri of paradise ?

Who shall say to me, 'O friend, a happy festival to thee,'

When my sweetheart is at Lahāvūr while I am in Nīshāpūr ?

Why do I recall the city of Lahāvūr and my friends ?

Because no one can be indifferent to his friends and his native land

Yet, in any case and in every way, to me

The beauty of the capital of Ghaznīn is better than the city of Lohāvūr."^۲

In another Qaṣida entirely addressed to Lahore, wherein he grieves and pines for the days passed in his native town, he says :

ای لاهور و یحک بی من چگونه ای ؟ بی آفتاب تابان و روشن چگونه ای ؟^۳

'O Lāohūr, well-a-way, how farest thou without me ?

How canst thou be bright without the lauminous Sun ?"^۴

In another poem, after, complaining of his imprisonment, he makes the following request of some great man :

مغلی باید از خداوندم که ازو بوی لوهور آید
 که می ز آرزوی لوهاور جان و دل در تنم همی ناید^۵

"I want from my lord some velvet from which emanates the fragrance of Lovahūr,

1. Mas'ūd b. Sa'd Salmān, *The Diwān*, p. 98.

2. *JRAS.*, 1905, p. 706.

3. Mas'ūd b. Sa'd Salmān, *The Diwān*, p. 200.

4. *JRAS.*, 1905, p. 706.

5. Mas'ūd b. Sa'd Salmān, *The Diwān*, p. 255.

For, another longing for Lohāvar, heart and soul faint within me."¹

In another passage, while complaining of the filth of his prison, and indicating the comfort which he enjoyed in his own country, he says :

گرمايه سه داشتم بلاهور وين نزد همه کسی عيان است
امروز سه سال شد که مويم ماننده موی کافران است²

"I had three baths at Lahore, a fact patent to everyone ;

To-day it is three years since my hair became like the hair of the unbelievers."³

In another passage wherein, after describing his prison, he expresses his longing for his country, he says :

از زمانه نکرده ام گله ای تا که دانسته ام که مجبور است
مر مرا گاه گاه رنج کند همه ام یوبه لهاور است⁴

"I have not uttered one complaint against Fortune, since I know that she acts under compulsion :

The only thing which troubles me from time to time is my longing for Lahāvūr."⁵

And lastly in the following quatrain, also composed in prison, he thus speaks of his longing for his country :

دانی تو که پابند گرانم یا رب دانی که ضعیف و ناتوانم یا رب
شد درغم لوهور روانم یا رب یارب که در آرزوی آنم یا رب⁶

"Thou knowest that I lie in grievous bonds, O Lord !

Thou knowest that I am weak and feeble, O Lord !

My spirit goes out in longing for Lohūr, O Lord !

O Lord, how I crave for it, O Lord !"⁷

1. *JRAS.*, 1905, p. 707.

2. Mas'ūd b. Sa'd Salmān, *The Diwān*, p. 251.

3. *JRAS.*, 1905, p. 707.

4. Mas'ūd b. Sa'd Salmān, *The Diwān*, p. 24.

5. *JRAS.*, 1905, p. 707.

6. Mas'ūd b. Sa'd Salmān, *The Diwān* p. 293.

7. *JRAS.*, 1905, p. 708.

Abul Ḥasan 'Alī b. Zaid Baihaqī, called ibn e Funduq, wrote a history of his native district of Baihaq in 563 A.H./1168 A.D.¹ In this history, giving the details of the kingdom of the Ghaznavis, he remarks that Lohāvūr was a province or region :

ملک ایشان از دیار خراسان و عراق منقطع گشت و با غزنی افتاد
فی شهر سنه ثمان و عشرين و اربعمائه، و از غزنین منقطع شده است.
و با دیار لوهاور و برشاوور و آن طرف افتاده از سنه خمس و خمسين و
خمسّمائه -²

"In the year 428 their dominions ceased in the countries of *Khurāsān* and *Irāq* and shifted to *Ghaznī*. And in the year 555 their dominions ceased in *Ghaznī* and shifted to the country of *Lohāvūr* and *Barshāvūr* (*Peshāwar*)."

Yāqūt b. 'Abdullāh, a famous Arab geographer, in his monumental work, *Mu'jamul Buldān*, completed in 621 A.H./1224 A.D., mentions the name of the place as *Lauhūr* as well as *Lahāvūr*, and names the capital of the province *Mandakūr* :

لوهور بفتح اوله و سکون ثانیه و الهاء و اخره راء و المشهور من اسم
هذا البلد لهاور و هی مدینة عظيمة مشهورة فی بلاد الهند -³

"*Lauhūr* is generally known as *Lahāvūr*. It is a big and well-known town in India."

مندکور بالفتح ثم السكون و فتح الدال و سکون الکاف و همزة
على واو و راء مدینة و هی قصبة لوهور من نواحي الهند فی سمت غزنه -⁴

"*Mandakūr* : It is a town, which is the capital of *Lauhūr*, a city of India, in the direction of *Ghazna*."

Here is a traditional record of the history of the foundation of Lahore. Hitherto no author has traced the history of Lahore earlier than the times

1. *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, I, p. 592.

2. Baihaqī, Abul Ḥasan 'Alī b. Zaid, *Tār ḥ e Baihaqī*, p. 71.

3. Yāqūt, *Mu'jamul Buldān*, IV, p. 371.

4. Yāqūt, *Mu'jamul Buldān*, IV, p. 660.

mentioned by Sharīf e Muḥammad b. Maṣṣūr, who wrote a treatise on the art of war, etc., in the time of Sulṭān ʿItutmish (1210-1236). In his work entitled *ʿAdābul Ḥarb waḥ Shujāʿa*. Sharīf e Muḥammad remarks :

و در تاریخ چنین آمده است که حج بن بهندرا که والی لوهور بود
و بنای لوهور او نهاده است او بگذشت - پسری بود او را بنرت نام مردی
عادل - روزگاری آرمیده داشت و آنجا در لوهور مسجد خشتی است پتخانه
کرد - و صورتی از سنگ بفرمود تا بتراشیدند و آنرا آفتاب نام کرده بود -
و مذهب او آفتاب پرستی بود و عمری دراز یافته بود نود و سه سال - از
آنجمله هفتاد و پنج سال امیر لوهور بود -¹

"It is related that Haj (Chach ?) b. Bhandrā, who was the ruler and founder of Lohūr, had died, and had a son named Banrat (?), who was a just person under whose benevolent administration the people enjoyed peace. In Lohūr he ordered a temple to be constructed on the site where now stands the brick mosque. He ordered an idol to be made of stone and named it 'the Sun'. He worshipped the Sun. He lived to the advanced-age of 93 years and ruled Lohūr for seventy-five years."²

The famous Indian poet Amīr Khusrū in his *Qirānūs Saʿdain*, compiled in 688 A.H./1289 A.D., names the town Lāohūr. Writing about the attack of the Mughuls on the Panjāb he says :

از قدم شوم مغل آن بلاد نام و نشان ز عمارت نداد
از حد سامانه و تا لاهور هیچ عمارت نه مگر در قصور³

"In that country not a sign of a building remained when the wretched steps of Mughuls trod on it.

From the boundary of Sāmāna to Lāohūr every building was shaky (or, no building was left except in Quṣūr)."

1. Sharīf e Muḥammad b. Maṣṣūr, *ʿAdābul Ḥarb waḥ Shujāʿa* (British Museum Manuscript Add. 16, 853) f. 122. [This book is styled *ʿAdābul Mulūk wa Kifāyatul Mulūk* in Etbe's *Catalogue of the Persian MSS. in the India office*. Library (Column 1493), but I had access to the rotographs of the British Museum Manuscript¹]

2. Compare with the translation in the *JRAS.*, 1927. p. 491.

3. Khusrū, Amīr, *Qirānūs Saʿdain*, p. 64.

The famous historian Rashiduddīn has only repeated the words of al-Birūnī in his *Jāmi'ut Tawārīkh* (828 A.H./1424 A.D.) :

و سالک چون بر یسار آن برود مستد بر عمارات با قصبات بدیهای
چند که متصل اند بر جنوب قصبه و مفضی تا بکوه لارجک که او مانند
کوه دماوند است و میان او و صحرای کشمیر دو فرسنگ است و دایما از
حدود کشمیر و لاهور آنرا توان دید -¹

"Whoever travels along the left bank (of the river) will find villages and towns which are close to one another on the south of the capital and as far as the mountain Lāṛjak, which resembles the mountain Damāvand between which and Kashmīr there is a distance of two *farsangs*. It can be seen from the boundaries of Kashmīr and Lohāvar."²

And again :-

پس آنچه میان شمال و مغرب است تا ادتھور نه و تا چچنیر
شش، و تا مندھوکور قصبه لوهاور بر شرق نہر ایراوہ ہشت فرسنگ³ . . .

"In going north-west from the latter place (Sanām) to Āddittahaur, nine *farsangs* ; thence to Jajjanīr, six ; thence to Mandhūkur, the capital of Lohāvar, on the east of the river Irāva, eight"⁴

Haider Mirzā Dughlat, who conquered Kashmīr in the time of Humāyūn (947 A.H./1540 A.D.) and later on became the king of that country, has fixed the position of Lahore in his famous work *Tārīkh e Rashīdī*, compiled in 1544-47 A.D. In the description of the position of mountains and plains of Tibet he remarks :

چنانچہ عقبہ بالا شدن از جانب یارکند سانجو است و عقبہ فرود آمدن
بر جانب کشمیر عقبہ اشکاردو است ازان تا باین عقبہ بیست روزہ راہ

1. Rashiduddīn, *Jāmi'ut Tawārīkh* (Punjab University Library Manuscript, Po I, 55) f. 662.

2. Elliot and Dowson, I, 65

3. Rashiduddīn, *Jāmi'ut Tawārīkh*, f. 661 b.

4. Elliot and Dowson, I, 62.

باشد و هم چنین بر مغرب زمستان ختن بعضی از بلاد هند واقع است چون
لاهور و سلطان پور و باجواره¹ -

"The pass ascending from Yārkaṇd is the pass of Sānju, and the pass descending the side of Kashmīr is the pass of Ashkārdū. [From the Sānju pass to the Ashkārdū pass] is twenty days' journey. In direction of winter sunset from Khutan are some of cities of Hind, such as Lahore, Sulṭānpur and Bājwāra...."²

Jamāluddīn Husain Ṭinjū, a grandee of Jahāngīr's time, furnishes us with useful information about the name of Lahore authenticated by verses of eminent Indian and Iranian poets. In his Persian dictionary called *Farhang e Jahāngīrī*, which he compiled in 1017 A.H./1608 A.D. and dedicated to the emperor Jahāngīr, he says :

لاهور و لانهور و لوهاور و لوهور و لهاور و لهاور و لهانور نام
شهریست از ملک هندوستان که بلاهور اشتهار دارد :

ابوالفرج رونی

بلاهور درآمد میان موکب خویش
بزیتی که برآید شب چهارده ماه

امیر خسرو فرماید

از حد سامانه و تا لانهور
هیچ عمارت نه مگر در قصور

از ابوالفرج رونی است

کشید رایت منصور سوی لوهاور
بطالعی که تولا کند بدو تقویه

حکیم سنائی منظوم ساخته

ای بزرگان غزنه و لوهور
چشم بد زین زمانه بادا دور

1. Dughlat, *Tārīkh e Rashīdī*, p. 604.

2. Elias, N. Ross E. D., *the Tārīkh e Rashīdī* p. 403.

شیخ نظامی راست

ندیم خاص بودش نام شاپور
جہاں گشتہ ز مشرق تا لہانور

"Lāohūr, Lānhor, Lohāvar, Lohūr, Lahāvar, Lahāvār, and Lahānūr are the (different) names of a town of India, which is known as Lahore." (The translation of the verses is omitted as most of them have been already translated).

This is a pure and authentic history, recorded as it is, about the name and date of foundation of Lahore. I have reproduced it word by word. Looking back into this faithful record the following inferences can be drawn :

(i) The earliest definite reference to Lahore is made in the latter half of the tenth century of the Christian era, in the *Hudūdul 'Ālam*, wherein the town is named Lahor. Lahore is not mentioned by any other traveller, geographer, or historian earlier than this.

(ii) Lahore has been differently named by different authors; one author has even named it in several ways. The following are the different variants employed by chroniclers, historians, and geographers :

الاهوار	Alahvār ;
لہور	Lahor, Lahūr or Lahore ;
لواہور	Lauhāvar, Lūhāvar or Lohāvar ;
لوہور	Lohūr, Lohor, Lauhor or Lauhūr ;
لہانور	Lahānor, Lahānūr or Lahānaur ;
لواہوور	Lohāvūr ;
لہاوور	Lahāvar ;
لاوہور	Lāohūr, Lāvhar ;
لہاور	Lohāvar ;
لانہور	Lānhor ;
لہاوار	Lahāvār ;
لاہور	Lahore.

Why these twelve variants are used is not known. There is another notable thing about the names ; one and the same name is used by different authors at different times, so no one name is older than another, and there is no chronological order in the use of the names .

(iii) The town (or fort) of Mandahukūr (Mandkakūr or Mandakūr) is mentioned as the capital of the province of Lahore, and as a separate town from that of Lahore.

Obviously when a region or country is named Lahore, the writer means the province of the Panjāb of those days, which had its capital at Mandakūr.

Mandakūr, or any of its variants, is not traceable in these days. Amongst western orientalist and historians Thomas is the first person to identify this city with Lahore, suggesting that it is a corrupt form of Maḥmūdpur.¹ This is the basis of his conclusions. Some coins struck at Maḥmūdpur by Maḥmūd of Ghaznī are preserved in the British and Lahore Museums. I have personally examined all the coins preserved in the Lahore Museum. None of them bears a date, but the cataloguer, taking a hint from the cataloguer of coins of the British Museum,² has also included dates in the transcription of the legends of the coins, and this is how he has reproduced the legends³ from one of the coins :

Obverse		Reverse
अव्यक्तमेक	الله	القادر
मुहम्मद अ		لا اله الا الله
वतार (नृप) ⁴		محمد رسول الله
(ति) ⁴ महमूद		يمين الدولة
Margin		وانين الملة
अब टक महमूदपुर घटे(त) ⁴ (ता) ⁴		محمود
जिकीदेर सबती ४१९		Margin :
		بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بمحمود پور
		سنة تسع عشرة واربعة مائه

1. Cf. Cunningham, A., *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 228 and Thomas, Edward, *The Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi*, p. 47.

2. *British Museum Catalogue of Coins*, II, No. 510, p. 151.

3. Rodgers, C. J., *Catalogue of the Coins in the Government Museum, Lahore*, p. 27.

4. These letters have not been deciphered by Rodgers, the cataloguer, but they are there.

This is a silver bilingual coin which bears a Sanskrit inscription (*Abyaktameka Muḥammad Avatār, Nripati Mahmūd. Margin : (Ayaṃ ṭankam, Maḥmūdpur ghatet Tājikiyera Samvat 419)* on the obverse, and an Arabic inscription in Kufic letters on the reverse. The Kufic dies for these coins seem to have been entrusted to first-class artists, for they are always excellently fashioned and correctly marked in the details; whereas the legends on Sanskrit face of the coins vary considerably in their execution, and the orthography and the forms of the characters themselves are crude. The Arabic inscription rendered into English reads thus : Alqādir Billah ; there is no god but God, Muḥammad is the Prophet of God ; Yamīnuddaulah, Amīn ul Millat Maḥmūd. Margin : Begin in the name of God. This dirham was struck at Maḥmūdpur in 419.

The Sanskrit inscription means :

The Invisible (is) One Muḥammad incarnation King Maḥmūd.

Margin : This ṭankam (was) struck at Maḥmūdपुरi (in) the Arabic Samvat 419.

Thomas happened to see some similar coins struck by Maḥmūd and without either rhyme or reason jumped to the conclusion that Maḥmūdpur, a corruption of Mandakūr, was the name of Lahore, where these coins were struck in 419 A.H./1028 A.D.; that is about three years before the death of Maḥmūd. Talking about ṭankah in his *Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi*, he remarks : "Moreover, it may be seen how distinctly the ṭankah was the accepted and recognised term in India by the fact that the great Maḥmūd of Ghazni, while continuing to make use of the ordinary mint designation of dirham, in the Kufic legend of his new Lāhor coinage of 'Maḥmūdपुरi' admits the corresponding word ṭaka (or ṭāka ṭanka) in the Sanskrit legend, on the reverse."¹ And in the foot-note Thomas has suggested that Mandakūr and its variants are a corruption of Maḥmūdpur.

From this statement we cannot discover how Thomas has been able to decide that by Maḥmadpur Maḥmūd of Ghazna meant Lahore and that Mandakūr is a corrupted form of Maḥmūdpur. But Rodgers has further

1. Thomas, Edward, *The Chronicles of Pathan Kings of Delhi*, p. 27.

misled people and has tried to perpetuate this conjecture by writing in his lectures on *Coin Collecting in Northern India*: "One series of coins he (Maḥmūd) struck in Lahore. On one side in the centre was the Mahomedan confession of faith, together with the name and titles of Maḥmūd; on the margin was a statement of the fact that the coin was struck at Maḥmūdpur, as it pleased the conqueror to rename Lahore, and the year. The other side was covered with Sanskrit."¹

I do not feel convinced by this conjecture for various reasons. Firstly there is no reason to believe that eminent men like al-Bīrūnī would have corrupted Maḥmūdpur into Mandakūr; particularly when we know that al-Bīrūnī was a contemporary and companion of Maḥmūd, and was well-versed in the literature of the Hindūs. Secondly it has not been mentioned anywhere in any chronicle, history or literary composition like a *Qaṣīda*, that Maḥmūd renamed Lahore and called it Maḥmūdpur. Such an event should have figured prominently somewhere in some record, but, as it is, we do not find a single reference to this imaginary episode. Besides, it is a remarkable fact that no mention of Lahore is to be found in the *Tarikh e Yamīnī* of 'Utbī (420 A.H./1029 A.D.), who held many responsible positions under Maḥmūd and travelled with him, although 'Utbī has made a reference to Maḥmūd's crossing of the Rāwī in his book.

و عبر مياه سيحون و جيلم و چندرايه و ايرابه و شتلدز سالما في
سالمين - وهذه اودية تجل اعماقها عن الاوصاف و تمنع اطرافها عن
الاطراف - منها ما يعمر غوارب الفيول فكيف كواهل الخيول²

"He (the Sultān) crossed in safety the Sihūn (Indus,) Jelam, Chandrāha, Irābah (Rāwī) and Shataludz. These are all rivers, deep beyond description; even elephants' bodies are concealed in them, so it may easily be conceived what is the case with horses."³

Similarly Mas'ūdī (d. 345 A.H./956 A.D.), the "Herodotus of the Arabs," who wrote in the tenth century of the Christian era, and himself

1. Rodgers, Charles J., *Coin-Collecting in Northern India*, pp. 58 and 59.

2. 'Utbī, Abū Naṣr Muḥammad al-Jabbār, *Tarikh e Yamīnī*, p. 305.

3. See Elliot and Dowson, II, 41.

sojourned at Multān; does not mention Lahore or Mandakūr in his famous geography *Murūj al-Dhahab*.¹

So the results of my inquiries are :—(i) Lahore, Maḥmūdpur and Mandakūr are all different places ; (ii) Maḥmūd definitely struck coins in Maḥmūdpur, but this town cannot be identified from the available sources of information, although the Sanskrit legends on the coins testify to the fact that Maḥmūdpur was definitely in India ; (iii) Mandakūr was the capital of the province of Lahore (Panjab), but it again cannot be identified, although Thornton has suggested that it is a corrupted form of Mānkot, a place near Sialkot. “Now,” says Thornton, “Madhokor might easily, from the similarity between *h* and *n*, and *r* and final *t*, in the Arabic character, be corrupted from Mānkot or Mandhukot, a place near Sialkot. The supposition is rendered more probable by the fact that, in after-time, Shir Shah, the so-called usurper,—but, as will be hereafter pointed out, in reality the representative of the anti-Mogul, or anti-foreigner party,—seriously contemplated removing the seat of Government from Lahore, which had become associated with Mogul supremacy, to this very place, the capital of the last dynasty.”² Thornton’s guess would have fitted in very well but, in fact, no such place as Mānkot or Mandhukot is traceable near Sialkot, as he asserts.

(iv) The government of Lahore was on behalf of the chief of Multān in 372 A.H./982 A.D., and it was a dependency of Multān in 465 A.H./1072 A.D.

(v) At least up to 372 A.H./982 A.D. there was no Muslim living in the town of Lahore, and it was inhabited only by Hindus.

(vi) There is no contemporary evidence to prove definitely that a certain person at a certain time founded this town. The traditions name different founders, some of which are the following :—

(a) Rājah Parīc̣ḥḥit, who was a descendant of the Pāṇḍavas.

(b) Lohār Chānd, who was the nephew of Rājah Dīp Chānd.

1. Mas'ūdī, Abul-Ḥusain Ali b. al-Ḥusain, *Murūj al-Dhahab* and Sprenger, A. *Meadows of Gold and Mines of Gems*.

2. Thornton, T. H., *Lahore*, p. 1.

As has been already stated, this is all the traceable pre-Muslim history of Lahore, which neither gives us the exact date of its foundation nor the definite name of its founder. Lahore suddenly seems to spring into existence and prominence in the latter half of the ninth century of the Christian era. This may not be a fact, and very probably it is not, but all the same we have no authentic source from which we can prove the existence of Lahore earlier than this time. But many conjectures, some of them ingenious and based upon very striking probabilities, have been made to fix the date of foundation and the name of the founder of Lahore. Necessarily these have to be noted. They will be discussed here in chronological order.

Here are some of the most popular legendary and traditional accounts written by western and oriental writers about the founders of Lahore.

Bernier in a letter written to Monsieur De Merveilles from Lahore in February 1665, casually remarks : "Whether Lahor be the ancient Bucefalos, I do not pretend to determine. Alexandar is here well known by the name of Sekander Filsous, or Alexander the son of Philip : concerning his horse, however, they know nothing."¹

Sujān Rāe, the author of *Khulāṣatut Tawārīkh*, writing in 1107 A.H./ 1695-96 A.D. reproduces the popular legend that Lava, the son of Rāma Chandra, was the founder of Lahore, and that the capital of the Panjāb was shifted to Siālkoṭ when Lahore was depopulated :

لاهور مصریست متقدمین بر کنار دریای راوی ، آبادی آنرا به
لو خلف راجه رام چندر نسبت میدهند در بعضی توایخ لهور و لهور
نیز می نویسند - چون از گردش چرخ دوار بعد امتداد ادوار در ارکان
آبادی آن انهدام رو داد قلیلی نشان معموری ماند دارالحکومت این ولایت
شهر سیالکوت گردید^۲

1. Bernier, Francois, *Travels in the Mogul Empire*, p. 383.

2. Sujān Rāe Bhandārī, *Khulāṣatut Tawārīkh*, p. 64.

"Lahore is an ancient town situated on the bank of the Ravi. It is related that Lava, the son of Rājā Rām Chandra, founded it. In some books of history it is also styled Lahūr and Lahavar. As time passed, its inhabitants began to decrease and the population became thin. Then Siālkoṭ became the capital of this region."

Khairullah Fidā, a Panjābī poet, thinks Ayāz was the founder of Lahore. In an eposée *Mirzā Shāhibān*, written by him in 1155 A.H./1742 A.D. Fidā says :

نیست در هیچ کشوری مشهور شهر دیگر بخوبی لاهور
زین بنا حسن و عشق مقصودست بانی او ایاز محمودست^۱

"A town with the beauties of Lahore is not known in any kingdom.

The foundation of this town was inspired by Beauty and Love and Ayāz of Maḥmūd was its founder."

Murtaẓā Husain, the author of *Ḥadīqatul Aqālīm*, written in 1202 A.H./1787 A.D. has only carelessly quoted Sujān Rāe :

لاهور شهرست در هندوستان بر ساحل دریائی راوی - مولف
خلاصة التواریخ می نویسد که هندوان آبادی آنرا بخلف رام چند که
لهور نام داشت نسبت می دهند^۲.

"Lahore is a town in India, situated on the bank of Ravi. The compiler of *Khulāṣatul Tawārīkh* writes : Hindus relate that Lahor (Lava), the son of Rām Chandra, founded it."

The following authors have all stated that Lava, the son of Rāma, was the founder of Lahore :

1. Fidā, Khairullah, *Mirzā Shāhibān* (MS. owned by Ghulām Dastagīr Nāmī of Lahore) f. 76.

2. Murtaẓā Husain, *Ḥadīqatul Aqālīm*, (Panjab University Library MS., f. 8) p.192.

Todd (1832) : "Rāma had two sons, Lava and Kusa : from the former the Rāma's family claim descent. He is stated to have built Lahore,"¹

Buṭe Shāh. (1258 A.H./1847 A.D.) :

شہریت پاستانی کہ بناء آنرا یہ لو پسر راجہ رام چندر پسر
جسرت نسبت میکنند^۲ -

"It is an ancient town, which is said to have been founded by Lava, the son of Rājah Rāma Chandra, the son of Jasrat."

Chishū (1867) :

راجہ رام چندر کے دو بیٹے ایک کشو دوسرا لوهو تھے - لوهو
نے شہر لاہور آباد کیا^۳ -

Rājah Rāma Chandra had two sons, viz., Kushū and Lohū. Lohū founded the town of Lahore."

Cunningham (1871) : "The great city of Lahore, which has been the capital of the Panjāb for nearly nine hundred years, is said to have been founded by Lava, the son of Rāma, after whom it was named Lohāwar."⁴

Kanhayyā Lāl (1882) :

عموماً مشہور ہے کہ مہاراجہ رام چندر اوتار کے فرزند مسمی
لونے یہ شہر آباد کیا اور لوہور نام رکھا تھا - صدہا بلکہ ہزار ہا
سال کی مدت گزرنے کے سبب سے لوہور کا لفظ بگڑ کر لاہور مشہور
ہو گیا^۵ -

"It is generally known that Lava, the son of Mahārajah Rāma Chandra, the *avatār*, founded this town and named it Lavpūr. After many centuries Lavpūr was corrupted into Lahore."

1. Todd James, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, I, p. 252.
2. Buṭe Shāh, *Tārīkh e Panjāb* (P.U.L. MS. A. Po III 8), f. 166.
3. Chishū, Nur Ahmad, *Tarīkh e Chishū*, p. 793.
4. Cunningham, A., *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 226.
5. Kanhayyā Lāl, *Tārīkh e Lahore*, p. 7.

Temple (1884) : "The name of Lāhore, in full Lāhāwar or Lāh's fort, is usually derived from Lava, the son of Rāma Chandra."¹

Gulab Singh (1884) : "Lahōr (Lahore) is variously called Lahār, Lāhār, Lohār, Lāhāwar and Lohāwar. According to Hindū tradition it is named after Rāma Chandra's son, Lou (Lava). Afterwards when this prince's kingdom sank, the capital was removed to Sialkot. During the rule of Sultān Maḥmūd of Ghazni his favourite Malik Ayāz repopulated the town and built a substantial fort."²

In the classical Greek accounts we do not find Lahore mentioned in connection with Alexander. Yet there can be no doubt that Alexander crossed the Rāvi in the vicinity of Lahore, and must in all probability have passed the site of the modern city. If, therefore, any place of importance had existed at the time, it would doubtless have been mentioned. So it is not probable that Lahore was founded before the first century A.D. In the next place, no city answering in name or description to Lahore occurs in Strabo, who wrote between 60 B.C. and 19 A.D. and whose object was "to correct the earlier works in the light of the increase of knowledge;" nor does it appear in Pliny's description of the royal road between the Indus and Allahabad, which must have been written between 23 A.D. and 79 A.D.

But, further, in the Geography of Ptolemy, whose name marks the highest pitch of perfection in early geography, and who flourished at Alexandria about 150 A.D., mention is made of a city called Labokla, situated on the route between the Indus and Palibothra, in a tract of country called Kaspeira (Kashmir?), described as extending along the rivers Bidastas (Jehlum), Sandabal (Chandra Bhaga, or Chenab), and Adris (Rāvi). This place, Wilford would identify, from its name and position, with Lahore, and the identification is made more probable by the discovery of Cunningham of the Amakatis of Ptolemy, a city placed by him in the immediate vicinity of Labokla, to the West of the Rāvi, in the ruins of Amba Kapi, about 25 miles from Lahore. Cunningham believes the identification of Wilford to be correct. If we agree with these inferences,

1. Temple R.C., *Panjab Notes and Queries* I, March, 1884, p. 68.

2. Gulab Singh, *Panjab Notes and Queries*, I, February, 1884, p. 57.

we can approximately fix the date of the foundation of Lahore at the end of the first or the beginning of the second century of the Christian era.¹

Walker,² Hunter³ and the author of the article on Lahore contributed to the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*,⁴ have remarked that Yüan Chwāng, the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim of the seventh century of the Christian era, who visited the Panjāb in 630 A.D., notices the city in his itinerary. This is an error. In the itinerary published by Cunningham no mention of Lahore exists.⁵ Besides, this is how this portion of Yüan Chwāng's journey is described by Shamans Hwui Li and Yen Tsung, in their *Life of Hiuen-Tsiang*: "From this (Rajpura), going south-east down the mountains and crossing the river, after 700 li or so, he came to the kingdom of Tseh-kia (Takka)." After travelling for some time "on the morrow he arrived at the eastern frontiers of the kingdom of Tcheka (Takka) and entered a great city."⁶ This city, Samuel Beale thinks, would probably be Lahore.⁷ Thornton also subscribes to this opinion, saying: "A far less dubious mention of Lahore is found, as was pointed out by Major General Cunningham, in the itinerary of Hwan Tshang, the Chinese traveller, who visited the Punjab, 630 A.D. He speaks of a large city, containing many thousands of families, chiefly Brahmans, situated on the eastern frontier of the kingdom of Cheka, which, he says, extended from the Indus to the Byas. From this city he proceeded to Jalandhara, the modern Jullundur. Now Jullundur is situated almost due east of Lahore, and midway between the two cities is a village called Patti to this day. There can be little doubt, therefore, that the great Brahmanical city of Hwan Tshang was the city of Lahore."⁸ Now all this is not very logical if we compare the statement with the itinerary of Yüan Chwāng, the Chinese traveller. Yüan Chwāng has clearly stated that the kingdom of Cheka or

1. Cf. Latif's *Lahore*, pp. 6-7; Cunningham's *Geography*, pp. 225-28; Thornton's *Lahore*, pp. 58-59; *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XVI, p. 106; Walker's *Lahore District Gazetteer*, p. 20; and Wilford's *Comparative Geography of India*.

2. Walker, Casson, *Lahore District Gazetteer*, p. 20.

3. Hunter, *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, XVI, p. 106.

4. *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 13, p. 596.

5. Cunningham, Alexander, *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 644.

6. Shamans Hwui Li and Yen-Tsung, *The Life of Hiuen-Tsiang*, pp. 72-74.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 74. f. n.

8. Thornton T.H., *Lahore*, p. 60.

Takka extended from the Indus to the Biās. He also mentions that travelling south-east from Rajpura he came to the eastern frontier of the kingdom of Cheka, which should naturally be near the Biās. Here he enters a great city, which should be on the Biās river, and as Cunningham has pointed out, must be Kasūr¹ and not Lahore. This disproves the assertion that Yūān Chwāng has directly or indirectly mentioned Lahore in his itinerary.

To borrow an expression from Thornton, "such are the somewhat barren results of inquiries" about the name and date of foundation of Lahore. They may be briefly recapitulated as follows : The city of Lahore, named variously, and possibly the Labokla of Ptolemy, was probably founded as early as the beginning of the second century of the Christian era ; it is definitely mentioned first of all in the ninth century ; and it did not come into prominence until the period of the invasion of Mahmūd of Ghazna, in the beginning of the eleventh century.

1. Cunningham, A., *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 229.

CHAPTER TWO

LAHORE DURING THE PRE-MUSLIM PERIOD

(a) THE HAJ (CHACH ?) DYNASTY (?—389 A.H.) (?—999 A.D.)

ALL the scholars writing about Lahore have hitherto informed us that the first known rulers of Lahore are the Hindu Shāhi monarchs, and that nothing is known of the kings who ruled at Lahore earlier than the Hindu Shāhi Rājas. But here is a singular account of the rulers of Lahore given by Sharif e Muḥammad b. Maṣūr, who gives the details of a dynasty of kings immediately preceding the Hindu Shāhis :

“It is related that Haj (Hah or Chach)¹ b. Bhadrā (or Bhandrā) who was the ruler and founder of Lahūr, and who has died, had a son, named Banrat, who was a wise person under whose benevolent administration people enjoyed peace. In Lahūr he ordered a temple to be made on the site where now stands the brick mosque. He ordered an idol to be made of stone and named it ‘the sun.’ He worshipped the sun. He lived to the advanced age of 93 years and ruled over Lahūr for seventy-five years. As he lived for a long time his son Bharat (Thanrat), who was a temerarious and wicked person took him (Banrat) prisoner, confined him in the fort of Kahlūr (or Lohūr) and usurped the kingdom of Lohūr. Bharat was an arrogant man and was proud of his army. He built a fort in the town of Lohūr, the site of which is now occupied by the Arab quarters, and gave to it the name of Thanpūr. He also founded a village Thanpūr on the bank of the river Biah. He became very ambitious.

1. The variants are given from the India Office Library and Asiatic Society of Bengal manuscripts.

and resolved to conquer the fort of Nandna.¹ He wanted to conquer all that territory and had a mind to snatch the salt-range of Nandna, and the districts of Jhelum and Tākīshar from the Shāh Jaipāl. He, therefore, collected an army and marched on Tākīshar. The patrols of the Shāh (Jaipāl) gathered together in Tākīshar and wrote letters (to Jaipāl) that Bharat, the ruler of Lohūr, had marched in Tākīshar and Jhelum. Jaipāl sent his son Anandpāl at the head of a large army to give a battle to Bharat. In the morning Bharat had crossed the river Chandrāha and had reached Tākīshar, Anandpāl had also reached there at midnight. In the morning when he (Anandpāl) came near his army the royal drum of merriment was played in his camp. This drum was particularly associated with Shāh Jaipāl, who was the king of the Brahmans. It was called the *Singh Nād*, which means "the Lion's Roar". As they touched the drum the Lohūr army got frightened thinking that the Shāh (Jaipāl) had come himself. A large number of the army took to flight. Thus the Lohūr army got disheartened. The following morning when both the armies met in battle most of the men of Lohūr army had fled. Bharat fell a prisoner into the hands of Anandpāl, who crossed the Chandrāha and marched to Lohūr. The Bisthān (?) of Lohūr pleaded for Bharat, who was asked to pay a large sum of money. He himself paid whatever he had got and the rest of it was collected from his subjects living in Lohūr.

"He (Anandpāl) subjugated Bharat, gave him a *khil'at*, allowed him to rule in the kingdom of Lohūr (as a feudatory prince), and himself returned (to) his country.

"Bharat had a son named Chandrat (or Jaindarat), who was as wicked as his father. When Anandpāl returned to his country this Chandrat placed his father in confinement, as he (Bharat) had done to his own father, and said to him : "You have lost your reason and are not fit to rule. Why did you fight against the Shāh ? It has brought so much disgrace on you." Thus Chandrat became the ruler of Lohūr. He founded a village on the bank of the Biāh, in the neighbourhood of the fort of Bilūr

1. Situated in Lat. 32° 43' N. & Long. 73° 17'E. See Haig, Sir Wolseley, *The Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, p. 171 f.n.; *Punjab District Gazetteer*, xxvii, A, 1904, pp. 46-7; *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, xviii, p. 349; and Raverty, Major H. G., *Tabaqāt e Nāsirī*, pp. 536-39, note.

HAJ DYNASTY

BHANDRĀ

1. HAJ (CHACH)

?

2. BANRAT

?

3. THANRAT

? ————— 990

4. CHANDRAT

990 ————— 999

(or Philūr), and named it Chandratpūr. He was very cruel. When Shāh Jaipāl of Purshūr heard that Chandrat had cast into prison his own father, he became very angry and commanded his son Anandpāl : 'Collect a large army to attack that wicked and cruel person (Chandrat). Do not forgive him if you are victorious this time : put him to death and annex Lahūr so that your people may understand that a person whose rebels against his own father does not deserve to be a ruler.' Anandpāl advanced on Lohūr at the head of a large army, and encamped at a village named Sāmūtalah (?).

"Chandrat advanced from Lohūr with great preparations and sent a messenger to Anandpāl with the message : 'What imprudence has brought you to this kingdom ? Did you think that I had lost my reason like my father who had attacked another kingdom, and was consequently deserted by his soldiers and taken prisoner by you ?' Anandpāl replied, 'My boldness in coming to your kingdom is due to the fact that I am obedient to my father unlike you who rose and rebelled against your father, who in his own turn had risen against his father ; and it was for this reason that God granted me victory over him, and for the same reason He will help me to vanquish you. Thus you will be disgraced and your evil deeds will turn on you.'

"As Chandrat reached his army he went out hunting. Now 500 troops of Anandpāl's advance-guard had laid an ambush in the forest. Chandrat, not suspecting them, followed the quarry till the prayer of the afternoon and thus tired out the horses. Then he got down from his horse and mounted an elephant. The troops of Anandpāl rushed out, attacked Chandrat, surrounded his elephant, and made him prisoner. The sons of Chandrat escaped and took refuge with Shāma Kaurā Rāy of Jālandar.

"Chandrat ruled over Lohūr for nine years. The kingdom of Lohūr now passed from the descendants of Haj to Anandpāl, and Shāh Jaipāl became the *amir* of Lohūr in A.H. 389 (A.D. 999), the same year in which the Khalifa bestowed on Yamīnddaulah Maḥmūd a *khil'at* and the patent of sovereignty of Irāq, Khwārazm, Nīmruz, Khurāsān, Sindh and Hind."¹

1. Sharīf e Muḥammad b. Maṣṣūr, *Adābul Harb waḥ Shujā'a*. B. M. L. MS., ff. 122-24 I.O.L.MS. ff. 89b-90b ; and A.S.B.L.MS. ff. 134-35.

As has been mentioned this is the only record of a dynasty ruling over Lahore before the Hindu Shāhīs in A.D. 999 who annexed Lahore to their kingdom comprising the salt-range of Nandna, and the districts of Jhelum and Takīshar, according to Sharīf e Muḥammad b. Maṣṣūr.¹

(b) THE HINDU SHĀHĪS (389—417 A.H.)
(999—1026 A.D.)

With the exception of a very brief notice in al-Bīrūnī's *Tārīkhul Hind*, and a few references in the *Tārīkh e Yamīnī* of al-'Utbi, and the *Rājataranginī* of Kalhana, there is scarcely any mention of the Hindu Shāhīs of Ohind (Udabhandā of *Rājataranginī* and Waihind of Muslim histories; modern Und, near Attock on the Indus), the successors of the Ḥaj dynasty, in Lahore and the successors of the Turkī Shāhiya dynasty of Kushāns in Ohind. Nobody is certain as to the origin of the Hindu Shāhīs. Cunningham² advances the conjecture that after a period of usurpation by Kallar (the Brahman *Wazīr* of the last of the Turkī Shāhiya dynasty) and his descendants, the Turkī Shāhiya dynasty was revived by the enthronement of Jaipāl : i.e., Jaipāl and his successors, according to Cunningham, were not the descendants of the Brahman Kallar, but of Kanishka and therefore Turks or Rājapūts. This view is contradicted by Smith,³ and Dr. Muḥammad Nāẓim,⁴ who consider that Jaipāl was definitely a Brahman and hence a descendant of Kallar. Dr. Nāẓim has been misled by the following statement of Sharīf e Muḥammad b. Maṣṣūr

شاه جیپال کہ شاہ برہمنان بود⁵

1. It seems that Lahūr (Lohūr) referred to by Sharīf e Muḥammad bin Maṣṣūr is the Lahor of al-Baladhurī, as Sharīf e Muḥammad talks of 'Arab quarters', in the town, which could not possibly exist in the modern Lahore of those days. This doubt is further confirmed by the fact that this author has mentioned that 'Anandpāl advanced on Lahūr at the head of a large army, and encamped at a village named Sāmūtalāh, which is So-lo-tu-lo, or Sālātura, the birth place of the celebrated grammarian Pānini. Cunningham (*Ancient Geography*, 66) has identified Sālātura with Lahor, but I believe it was a village very near Lahor, as has been mentioned by Sharīf e Muḥammad. Sharīf e Muḥammad is, of course, a bit confused when he says that Chandrat founded a village on the bank of the Biāh, as the dominion of Chandrat could not extend as far east and south as that

2. Cunningham, Alexander, *Coins of Mediaeval India*, p. 55.

3. Smith, V. A., *Early History of India*, p. 396.

4. J.R.A.S. 1927, pp. 484-85.

HINDU SHAHI DYNASTY

1. JAIPĀL

999—1003

2. ANANDPĀL

1003—1013

3. TRILOCHANPĀL

1013—1014

(Shāh Jaipāl, who was the king of Brahmins.....)

Sharif e Muhammad b. Manṣūr definitely calls Jaipāl a king of Brahmins, but that does not imply that Jaipāl was a Brahmin. It is very likely that here Sharif e Muhammad meant *Hindu* by *Brahmin*, as he has unequivocally stated in his *Ādābul Ḥarb waḥ Shujā'a* that Jaipāl was a *Bhattī* and hence a *Rājput*. Relating an incident at the court of Jaipāl, he remarks :

در وقت سلطان یمن الدوله محمود غازی رحمة الله علیه افغانی
ادیرا نام شهنه و کوتوال بر دری بود - از شاه جیپال بسی ترسید ،
بدان جهت که ، روزی در پیش شاه جیپال تشسته بود - روی سوی
او کرد و گفت : ادیرا شما گوشت گاو بخورید ؟ ادیرا جواب داد : که
من نخورم ، اما چون پدر و جد من بخوردندی همچنان باشد که
من خورده باشم - شاه جیپال بخشم بسوی او نگرست - ادیرا ترسید
که این مرد بهتست و بهتیان از گوشت گاو عار دارند - نباید که
روزی از منش کراهیت آمد یا مرا بکشد یا بقلعه محبوس کند -
هرکرا محبوس فرمودی از آنجا سلامت نیامدی - برخاست ، بغزنین
رفت - بردست سلطان مسلمان شد -¹

"In the time of Sultān Yāmīnuddaula Maḥmūd Ghāzi there used to be an Afghān with the name of Adīrā, who was the head of the police. He was very much afraid of Shāh Jaipāl on account of the following reason : One day when he was sitting with Shāh Jaipāl, he (Jaipāl) addressed him saying : 'Adīrā do you eat beef ?' Adīrā replied, 'I do not eat beef, but as my ancestors ate, it means practically the same thing as if I have eaten it.' Shāh Jaipāl looked at him angrily. Adīrā thought that he (Jaipāl) was a *Bhattī* and *Bhattīs* loathed to take beef. Maybe some day if he felt repugnance towards him, he would either kill him or cast him into prison. And whosoever was imprisoned by him never regained his freedom in safety. (Reviewing this) he (Adīrā) left (his place), went to Ghaznī and accepted Islām at the hands of the Sultān."

1. Sharif e Muhammad b. Manṣūr, *Ādābul Ḥarb waḥ Shujā'a* A. S. B. L. MS. f. 137.

From this incident we gather that Jaipāl was a Bhaṭṭī Rājput. Elliott has also subscribed to this view. "The assertion that he was a Brahman," remarks Elliott, "probably arises from ignorance on the part of Firihṭa. Al-Bīrūnī is not definite in his statement that he was a Brahman, but merely associates him with the dynasty which commenced with a Brahman, and he may no more have been really of that caste than were the Brahmanī sovereigns of the Dekhin, though they were called after one. The term Brahman, in the conception of a Musulmān, might merely imply that he maintained the doctrine of that faith, and from his position was its staunchest defender and champion. There seems ground to suppose he must have been a Rājput and some reasons have been assigned in the notes on Maḥmūd's invasion for considering him a Bhaṭṭī."¹

Now let us examine the statement of al-Bīrūnī, who is actually the earliest authority on the Hindu Shāhīs and who is the originator of all this confusion about their descent. Referring to the Turki Shāhīs he remarks : "The last king of this race was *Lagatūrmān*, and his vazīr was Kallar, a Brahman. The latter had been fortunate in so far as he had found by accident hidden treasures, which gave him much influence and power. In consequence, the last king of this Tibetan house, after it had held the royal power for so long a period, let it by degrees slip from his hands. Besides, *Lagatūrmān* had bad manners and a worse behaviour, on account of which people complained of him greatly to the Vazīr. Now the Vazīr put him in chains and imprisoned him for correction, but then he himself found ruling, his riches enabled him to carry out his plans, and so he occupied the rōyal throne. After him ruled the Brahman kings Sāmān (Sāmanta), Kamālū, Bhīm (Bhīma), Jaipāl (Jaypāla), Anandpāla, Tarō-janapāla (Trilo^{ch}anapāla). The latter was killed 412 (1021), and his son Bhīmpāla five years later (1026)."²

Al-Bīrūnī has unequivocally stated that the rulers who succeeded Kallar, the Vazīr, were Brahmans, but personally I am inclined to agree with Elliott, that Jaipāl is included by al-Bīrūnī in the dynasty which commenced with a Brahman although he himself was not a Brahman, but a Bhaṭṭī (Rājput), as has been pointed by Sharīf e Muḥammad b. Maṇṣūr.

1. Elliott and Dowson, II, p. 426.

2. Sachau, E. C., *Al-Bīrūnī's India*, Vol. II, p. 13 ; and Al-Bīrūnī, *Tārīkh al Hind*, p. 206.

(1) JAIPAL (389—393 A.H.)
(999—1002-3 A.D.)

Jaipāl¹ is the first Hindū Shāhī ruler, who actually ruled in Lahore and whose dominion is shown by Muslim authors to have extended from Sirhind to Lamaghān, and from Kashmīr to Multān.² The history of Jaipāl and his successors till the end of Hindū Shāhī dynasty is nothing more than an account of the invasions of India by Ghaznavīs (Sabuktāgin and Maḥmūd) and details of their wars with the Rājās of Hindū Shāhī dynasty. It is notable that when this history was being made Hindūs did not know the art of writing history or recording chronicles. So we have to depend on Muslim sources for filling in the details of this period. Consequently we do not get a fuller picture of events happening in India or in the Panjāb.

We hear of Jaipāl for the first time, when to retaliate for raids of Sabuktāgin, he advanced with a large force to attack Ghazna about the year 376 A.H.³ (986-7 A.D.) Sabuktāgin met him near a hill called Ghazak, between Ghazna and Lamaghān. The Hindūs fought bravely but a sudden snowstorm created consternation among them and they suffered great losses. Jaipāl was forced to sue for peace and Sabuktāgin had very nearly accepted the request of Jaipāl, when Maḥmūd intervened and pressed to carry on the war till Jaipāl was beaten. On this Jaipāl threatened that Hindūs, particularly the Rājās, in despair, would burn themselves with all their valuables the course they would adopt in such circumstances to keep their traditions alive. Learning this Sabuktāgin consented to come to terms. Jaipāl promised to pay an indemnity of 1,000,000 *dirhams* and to surrender 50 elephants as the price of peace; and to cede

1. Al-Bīrūnī, II, 13, mentions the name of Jaipāl after that of Bhīm in the list of Hindū Shāhīs, which implies that Jaipāl was the successor of Bhīm, but Firishṭa, I, 19, says that Jaipāl was the son of Jaipāl.

2. Cf. Thomas, J. R. A. S., IX, p. 186 and Firishṭa, I, p. 19. Smith, p. 39 says that eastwards it extended to the River Hakra. He has evidently confused Wainind, the capital of the Hindū Shāhī dynasty, with Bhatīnda, and hence the error.

3. Firishṭa, I, 19, states that Maḥmūd was a youngster at this time, while 'Ubbī, pp. 9, 22 has definitely mentioned that Maḥmūd was fifteen years of age at this time. This date is conjectured from these statements.

some forts and towns on the frontier. As a security for the fulfilment of these terms, Jaipāl left some of his noblemen as hostages and returned to his kingdom.¹ Once back in safety, Jaipāl repudiated his promise and had the audacity to take prisoners the officers of Sabuktāgīn who had accompanied him to his kingdom to receive the stipulated ransom and to take charge of the ceded forts and towns.²

The perfidy of Jaipāl brought Sabuktāgīn a second time to India. He marched at the head of a large army and captured many towns in Lamaghān. Jaipāl, in retaliation, organised a league of Hindū Rājās against Sabuktāgīn and marched on Ghazna at the head of a great host which is said to have swelled to the number of 1,00,000 cavalry and infantry by the contingents furnished by the Rājās of Northern India.³ Sabuktāgīn defeated Jaipāl and routed his armies. Then he annexed the districts between Lamaghān and Peshawar, and introduced Islām among the people. The Khaljis and Afghāns who inhabited the region submitted to him and were received in the army.⁴

Sabuktāgīn died at the village of Mārdū Mūy, on the frontier of Balkh in Sha'bān, 387 A.H. (August, 997 A.D.) and his son, the celebrated Maḥmūd, after a disputed succession ascended the throne of Ghazna. He continued the forward policy of his father and, when he was recognised as an independent sovereign by the Khalifa of Baghdād in 389 A.H. (999 A.D.) he resolved to lead an expedition to India every year.⁵

In pursuance of this resolution, Maḥmūd marched towards India about the close of the year 390 A.H. (September, 1000 A.D.), and took many forts and returned to Ghazna.⁶

1. Firishṭa, I, 19, says that Jaipāl returned to Lahore. But we learn from Sharīf e Muḥammad b. Maṣṣūr (see *supra* p. 29) that Lahore was taken by Jaipāl not earlier than 389 A. H. (999 A. D.) 'Utbi does not define the place.

2. 'Utbi, pp. 21-4 ; and Firishṭa I, 19.

3. Firishṭa, I, 20, mentions the Rājās of Ajmer among them but Ajmer was founded in 1100 A.D. (*Indian Antiquary*, CXXVI 162).

4. 'Utbi, pp. 21-6 ; and Firishṭa, I, 20.

5. 'Utbi p. 134, simply says : *و فرض على نفسه في كل عام غزوة في الهند* which means, 'He made it obligatory on himself to undertake every year an expedition to Hind,' as Dr. Nāṣim p. 86, has pointed out. Elliott (E & D., II, 24) in his translation of this passage implies that the Sultān vowed to undertake a holy war to Hind every year. Thus Elliott gives a touch of religious fanaticism to Maḥmūd's expedition, which is far from the truth.

6. Gardīzi, Abū Sa'īd, *Zainul Akhbār*, p. 63.

The following year Mahmūd made greater preparation for an attack on his father's old adversary, Jaipāl, the Rājāh of Waihind. He marched from Ghazna in Shawwāl, 391 A.H.¹ (September, 1001 A.D.), at the head of 15,000 cavalry and a large number of volunteers and encamped near Peshāwar. Jaipāl advanced to meet him with an army numbering 12,000 horse, 30,000 foot and 300 war-elephants and took up his position in front of Mahmūd's camp. The two armies met on Thursday, 8th Muharram, 392 A.H.² (27th November, 1001 A.D.) and the conflict raged fiercely till noon when the Indian army unable to stand repeated charges of Mahmūd's forces, broke and fled leaving 5,000 dead on the field of battle.³ A great number of Hīndūs were taken prisoners, among them being Rājāh Jaipāl with fifteen of his sons and grandsons. Jaipāl was sent to a place named Mirand.⁴ Fifteen necklaces of pearls, one of which was valued at 80,000 *dīnārs* and other booty 'beyond all bounds of calculation' fell into the hands of victors. Jaipāl and others were subsequently released on the Rājāh's promising to pay 260,000 *dīnārs* as ransom and

1. Firishṭa, I, 24.

2. 'Utbī, 158; and Gardīzī, 66.

3. 'Utbī, 157; and Gardīzī, 66.

که بر سپهر بلندش همی بسود افسر (*)
حجر نبود بروی زمین برو نه مدر
بدست ایشان شمشیرها چو صبح سحر
تو گفتی آنکه پراکنده شد بدست سحر
ز هول ایشان در چشمها شمعیده بصر
بحملة ای پراکنده جمع آن لشکر (*)
نمانده بود سواری نه شاه و نه چاکر
به پیش خیمه شاهنشده رهی پرور

(م) شنیده ای خبر شاه هندوان جیپال
فزون ز لشکر او بر سما ستاره نبود
بدین صفت سپهری چون شب سیاه سراک؟ (+)
چه دود تیره درو آتشی زبانه زبان
ز بیم ایشان از مغزها رمیده خرد
خدا یگان خراسان بدست برشاپور
پیاده پا شده آنجا بیک زمان آنروز
فروختند بمیرند شاه هندو را

(*Unṣuri, D. vān e 'Unṣuri P. U.L. MS. f. 46)

In *Ṭabaqāt e Nāsiri*, p. 82, Mirand is called Man Yazīd.

چو بر سه صد افزود هشتاد و هفت
مهری چند دیگر زیادت برفت

پوشید محمود	تاج	دراج	وزان پس بر آمد بران تخت عاج
شنیدم همان سال	آن شیر مرد	سوی هند آهنگ کفار کرد	
یکایک در آمد به هندوستان	شدش کار بر کامه دوستان		
بیک حمله افواج هندو شکست	فتادش همان رای جیپال دست		
مر او را در اقصای غزنین برد	بدلال یازار برده سپرد		
شنیدم بفرمان فرمانروا	بهشتاد دینار جیپال را		
مقیمان بیازار بفروختند	بهایش بیخازن در اندوختند		

(Iṣmī, *Futūḥus Salāṭin*, pp. 32-3.)

*These lines slightly differ from Bombay Edition.—1320.

†This line in the Bombay Edition is as follows:

بدین صفت سپهری بود دست شسته بخون

‡This line in the Bombay Edition is as follows:

خدا یگان خراسان بدست ترساور بحملة پراکنده جمع آن معشر

to deliver 50 elephants.¹ Jaipāl was allowed to return to his kingdom, but his son and grandson were detained as hostages till the condition should be fulfilled.² Jaipāl did not long survive this humiliation, and, shortly after his return to the Panjāb, he burnt⁴ himself to death probably in the beginning of 393 A.H.³ (1002-3 A.D). He was succeeded by his son Anandpāl.

(2) ANANDPĀL (393—404 A.H.)
(1002—1013 A.D.)

Anandpāl was appointed the viceroy of Lahore by his father in 389 A.H. (999 A.D.), when Lahore was annexed by Jaipāl to his territory.⁵ The capital of the Hindū Shāhi kingdom was now probably shifted from Waihind to Nandna, and it is very likely that Anandpāl on ascending the throne left the vicerealty of Lahore and moved to Nandna.

In spring 396 A.H. (March-April, 1006 A.D.) Maḥmūd marched to Multān⁶ but as it was not safe⁷ to cross the Indus lower down, he resolved to cross it near Peshāwar and asked Anandpāl to let him pass through his territories. Anandpāl refused to do so and taking up the cause of Dāud, the ruler of Multān, advanced towards Peshāwar to prevent the passage of the river. Maḥmūd inflicted a crushing defeat on him and pursued him as far as Sodhra,⁸ situated on the Chināb, where Anandpāl eluded the Sultān by escaping into the Kashmīr hills.⁹ The Sultān relinquished the pursuit and resumed his march to Multān.

Anandpāl was now filled with serious apprehension at the growing power of Sultān whose advance he and his father had failed to check. He,

1. 'Utbi, 158.

2. 'Utbi, 158.

3. Firishṭa, I, p. 24 relates that the Hindūs believed that if any Rājah was twice taken prisoner by the Muslims or was twice defeated by them he did not deserve to be a sovereign after that and he could expiate his crime by burning himself in fire.

4. 'Utbi, 159; and Firishṭa, I, 24.

5. Sharīf e Muḥammad b. Maṣṣūr, *Ādabul Harb wash Shujā'a*, B.M.L.M.S. f. 124.

6. 'Utbi, 211.

7. Gardīzi, 67, says that the reason for the request was that Maḥmūd wanted to take Dāud unawares.

8. Firishṭa, I, 25.

9. 'Utbi, 212; and Gardīzi, 67.

therefore, appealed to the neighbouring Rājahs¹ for help in stemming the tide of Muslim conquest from the north-west. The Rājahs readily responded to his appeal and despatched their contingents to swell the army which Anandpāl had mustered from all parts of his kingdom. This huge host was placed under the command of Brahmanpāl, son of Anandpāl, and ordered to advance to Peshāwar.²

Sulṭān Maḥmūd received news of this attack in mid-winter but disregarding the severity of weather, he left Ghazna on Rabi' II 29, 399 A.H.³ (December 31, 1008, A.D.), crossed the Indus and met the invaders in the plain opposite Waihind. The Hindūs fought with great valour and towards the evening the success of the Muslims seemed to be in jeopardy, but the Sulṭān retrieved the situation by sending his personal guards to sweep round and deliver an attack on the enemy's rear.⁴ By effecting a partial change of front to meet the attack, the Hindū ranks fell into confusion and were utterly defeated. Valuable spoils including 30 elephants fell into the hands of the conquerors.⁵

After this victory the Sulṭān returned to Ghazna about the end of the year 399 A.H.⁶ (June, 1009 A.D.). After the departure of the Sulṭān Anandpāl managed to re-establish his power in the Salt Range with his headquarters at Nandna. Anandpāl died some time after this and was succeeded by his son Trilochanpāl.⁷

(3) TRILOCHANPĀL (404—412 A.H.) (1013—1021-22 A.D.)

Trilochanpāl had not very cosily settled in his kingdom of Salt Range, when Sulṭān Maḥmūd resolved to crush his power. He started from Ghazna about the end of autumn 404 A.H.⁸ (November, 1013 A.D.),

1. Firishṭa, I, 26, mentions that the Rājah of Ujjain, Gwālīār Kālinjar, Kannauj, Dehlī and Ajmer helped Anandpāl, but Dehlī and Ajmer were most probably not founded at that time.

2. 'Utbi, 224.

3. Gardīzi, 69; and 'Utbi, 224.

4. 'Utbi, 224; and Firishṭa, I, 26.

5. 'Utbi, 224.

6. 'Utbi, 226; and Gardīzi, 70.

7. Al-Bīrūnī, II, 13.

8. Baihaqī, 841.

but was forced to return on account of a heavy fall of snow. He started again in the following spring¹ (March, 1014 A.D.) and marched to Nandna² which, situated on the northern spur of the Salt Range, commanded the main route into the Ganges Doāb. Having learnt of the Sultān's intention, Trilochanpāl entrusted the defence to his son Bhimpāl, the Fearless,³ and set out for Kashmīr Pass⁴ to implore the assistance of Sangrānārājah of Kashmīr.⁵ Bhimpāl entrenched himself in a strong position between two hills at the junction of which the fort was situated, and closed the entrance to the pass by a strong line of elephants. The Sultān advanced to the assault and, after several days of futile fighting, was at last able to draw out a detachment of Bhimpāl into the plain and put it to rout.⁶

Bhimpāl in the meantime received reinforcements, and leaving his entrenched position, he came out into the plain, with his rear resting on the hills and his wings protected by elephants and attacked the Sultān, but he was beaten back. He then ordered a charge of elephants. The Muslims assailed them with such a deadly shower of arrows on their eyes that they were forced to turn back. The Sultān now delivered a furious charge on Bhimpāl which proved irresistible.⁷ Hindus broke up and fled for life to the fort of Nandna. The Sultān laid a siege to it. Mines were run under the walls of the fort and the Turkomān sharpshooters poured a terrific shower of arrows on the defenders. Realising that it would be impossible to hold out long, the garrison surrendered unconditionally. The Sultān entered the fort and captured immense booty including a large number of elephants, and a big store of arms and other valuables. There was an idol in a temple here with an inscription indicating that it had been constructed 40,000 years ago.⁸

1. 'Utbr, 260.

2. It is Nārdīn of 'Utbr, 260 ; and Gardtzi, 72.

3. He is called *Niḡar* meaning 'fearless' by 'Utbr

4. Gardtzi, 72.

5. Kalhana, *Rājatarangīn*. Bk. VII, 11, 47-60.

6. 'Utbr, 262.

7. *Ibid.*

8. Gardtzi, 72 ; and 'Utbr, 263. Elliott, II, 39 has given an incorrect translation of 'Utbr. The word *bud* in this passage is the Arabised form of the Persian *but* which means an idol, and not *Budda* as Elliot has translated it.

The Sultān now turned his attention to Trilochanpāl who, with the Kashmīr contingent, was encamped in one of the valleys to the north of Jhelum¹. Tunga, the commander of the Kashmīr forces was so elated with pride at an easy victory which he had won over a reconnaissance party of the Sultān that he began to think too lightly of the strength of the invader, but on the following day Tunga's pride received a rude shock when the leader of the Turushka army who was skilled in stratagem,² personally led an attack on the Kashmīr troops and put them to rout. Tunga fled for his life.³ Trilochanpāl rallied his forces and made final attempt to retrieve his fortune but he was defeated.⁴

The Sultān placed the fort of Nandna in charge of Sārugh and returned to Ghazna in summer, 405 A.H.⁵ (July-August, 1014 A.D.). The power of Trilochanpāl was broken and he returned to the eastern part of the Panjāb where he seems to have established himself in the Siwālik hills, but Hindū Shāhīs no longer remained the monarchs of Lahore. Trilochanpāl was assassinated by some of his followers in 412 A.H.⁶ (1021 A.D.) and his son Bhimpāl, the Fearless, died five years later in 417 A.H.⁷ (1026 A.D.). Thus came to an end a grand dynasty of Rājās about whom Al-Bīrūnī remarks 'Of the whole house there is no longer the slightest remnant in existence. We must say that, in all their grandeur, they never slackened in the ardent desire of doing that which is good and right, that they were men of noble sentiment and noble bearing.'⁸

1. Gardīzi, 12 ; and Kalhana, Bk. VII, I, 53 note.

2. These epithets are employed by Kalhana, Bk. VII, I, 56, for Sultān Maḥmūd. He is mentioned in I, 53 as *Hammira* which is an obvious adaptation of Amīr.

3. Kalhana, Bk. VII i. 57.

4. Gardīzi, 72.

5. *Ibid.*

6. Ibnul Athīr, VII, 301 & 302 ; and Al-Bīrūnī, II, 13.

7. Al-Bīrūnī, II, 13.

8. *Ibid.*

CHAPTER THREE

GHAZNAVIS (405—582 A. H.) (1014—1186 A.D.)

(1) YAMĪNUD DAULAH MAḤMŪD (405—421 A.H.) (1014—1030 A.H.)

ALTHOUGH Sultān Maḥmūd lived a number of years after permanently annexing Lahore to the empire of Ghazna, yet he never stayed in Lahore and did not take any keen interest in this town, which at that time probably was of no great importance. It appears from the scanty accounts recorded by different chroniclers about this period that viceroys of Lahore were neither appointed by Sultān Maḥmūd at regular intervals nor with any specific instructions. The viceroys were sometimes styled as *nāibs* and mostly *sipāhsālārs* (generals). They mostly looked after the defence of the province and collected revenue.

As has been already pointed out we find the Sultān appointing Sārugh *kotwāl* (officer-in-charge) of the fort of Nandna in 405 A.H. (1014 A.D.). It is not again known what area was controlled by him and for how long he acted as *kotwāl*. In 412 A.H. (1021 A.D.)¹ the Sultān again came to Lahore and on returning to Ghazna left Lahore in charge of one of his trusted nobles.

After this noble 'Abdullah Qirātagīn,² Abul Fath of Dāmghān and Abul Farj of Kirmān, in turn succeeded one another as *sālārs* (generals) of the annexed part of India. All these generals could not maintain peace and order in the country under their rule as they could not pull on smoothly with Qāzī Abul Ḥasan 'Alī,³ who was appointed the controller of internal affairs by the Sultān, along with them. This Qāzī was independent of the

1. Gardīzī, 79 ; and Firīšta, I, 31.

2. Baihaqī, *Tārīkh e Baihaqī*, 327.

3. He was a Shīrāzī (Bosworth, pp. 76—77).

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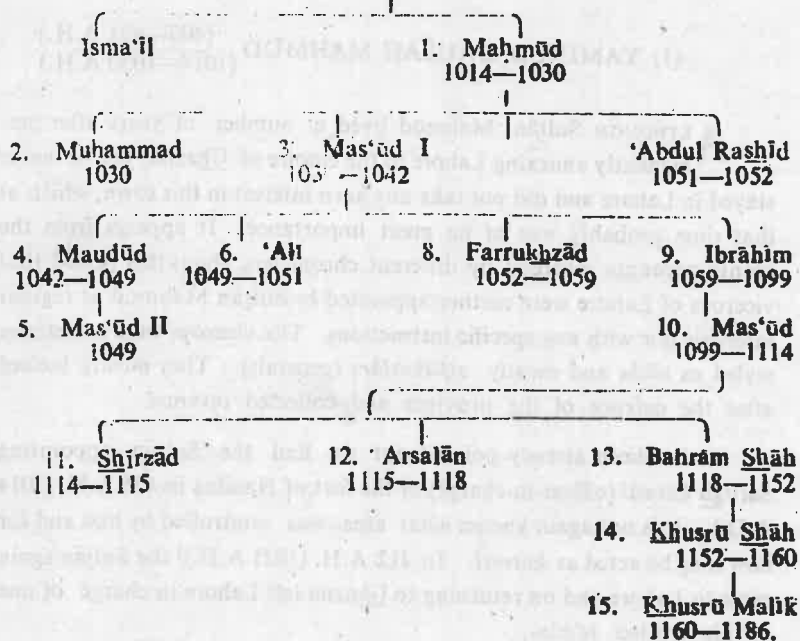
1. Gardāzī, 79 ; and Firishta, I, 31.

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GHAZNAVIS

SABUKTAGIN



sālars and was only responsible to the Sultān. Being an ambitious person he tried to keep the *sālars* under his thumb, but on meeting with stiff resistance from the generals he upset the administrative arrangements of the representatives of the Sultān.

The last general who was sent to India during the reign of Sultān Maḥmūd was Aryārūq.¹ He was a very headstrong and cruel person and rode a high horse with the Qāzī. The messengers from India and other persons having influence with the Sultān were so much awe-inspired of him that they never dared to report to the Sultān all the irregularities that he was committing in India. Consequently he held this position till long after the death of the Sultān.²

(2) JALĀLUD DAULAH MUHAMMAD $\frac{(421-421 \text{ A.H.})}{(1030-1030 \text{ A.D.})}$

Aryārūq was still in India, when Yāmīnud Daulah Sultān Maḥmūd died in Ghazna on Thursday, the 23rd of Rabi' II in 421 A.H. (April 30, 1030 A.D.), and his son Jalālud Daulah Muhammad succeeded him.³

Sultān Muḥammad's rule did not last long. Only after about six months, on the 3rd Shawwāl, 421 A.H. (October 4, 1030 A.D.), when he was camping in Takīnābād,⁴ his nobles and generals rose against him and insisted on his abdication of throne in favour of Mas'ūd, another son of Maḥmūd in the fort of Valj, whence they marched towards Herāt to report the matter to Mas'ūd.⁵

(3) NĀṢIRUD DĪN MAS'ŪD I $\frac{(421-433 \text{ A.H.})}{(1030-1042 \text{ A.D.})}$

After the deposition of Sultān Muḥammad, when Sultān Nāṣirud Dīn Mas'ūd I installed himself on the throne of Ghazna in 421 A.H. (1030 A.D.), he set free Khwāja Ahmad b. Hasan Maimandī from the fort of Kālinjar, where he was interned by the late Sultān Maḥmūd, and

1. Gardīzī, 97, الماروق (Alyārūq).

2. Baihaqī, *Tārīkh e Baihaqī*, 275.

3. Gardīzī, 92.

4. Firishṭa, I, 40 : calls Takīnābād.

5. Firishṭa, I, 40; Gardīzī, 94-95.

elevated him to the position of *Vizārat*. As Khwāja Aḥmad b. Ḥasan Maimandī was coming to Ghazna to report to the imperial headquarters, Aryārūq, the viceroy of Lahore was also asked to report to Ghazna. He had a mind not to carry out this order but was prevailed upon by Khwāja Aḥmad b. Ḥasan Maimandī, who took him along with himself to Ghazna in 422 A.H. (1030 A.D.) and reported to Sultān Mas'ūd :

۱- اگر هندوستان بکار است ، نباید که نیز اریاروق آنجا شود

(If India is needed Aryārūq should not be there).

The details of the atrocities committed by Aryārūq are not to hand but Sultān Mas'ūd is reported to have expressed his views about this viceroy in the following words :

او مردی گردن کش و مهتر شده بود - بروزگار پدر ما بدان جای که خون های ناحق ریخت و عمال و صاحب بریدان را زهره نه بود که حال وی به تمامی باز نمودندی ، که بیم جان بود که راهها بگرفتندی و بی جواز وی کس نتوانست رفت - به طلب پدر ما از هندوستان نمی آمدی و اگر قصد وی کردندی بسیار فساد انگیزتی^۲

(He had become a headstrong and superior person. During my father's time he recklessly shed blood but the officers and news-carriers did not dare report him, as they were afraid of losing life, although nobody approved of it. Even if he was sent for by my father from India he would not come and if they chased him he caused great disturbances).

The impressions of Sultān Mas'ūd speak eloquently what he thought of Aryārūq. Consequently he was interned in Ghūr on Rabi' I, 19, 422 A.H. (March 17, 1031 A.D.), and Aḥmad Niāltagīn was appointed the *sālār* of India, in his place³. Aḥmad Niāltagīn was the minister of exchequer during the period of Sultān Maḥmūd and before he left for

1. Baihaqī, *Tārīkh e Baihaqī*, 262.

2. *Ibid.*, 275.

3. Cf. Firishṭa, I, 40 ; Baihaqī, 262, 275 and 329; and Gardīzi, 96 and 97.

India he was fully equipped with all information about the situation prevailing in India by Khawāja Aḥmad, who laid a particular stress on the activities and ambitions of Qāzī Abul Ḥasan 'Alī' who was still the Qāzī in India¹.

On reaching India Aḥmad Niāltagīn just ignored the Qāzī and proceeded with Lahore armies to Benāres and other areas to wage wars against rājās and to collect revenue. The Qāzī was very much annoyed at this treatment and started sending unfavourable despatches about him to the imperial headquarters at Ghazna. It was also mentioned in these despatches that Aḥmad Niāltagīn was going against the royal instructions and was amassing most of the revenue with himself instead of sending it to the imperial court.² Sultān Mas'ūd, not investigating these reports properly, got prejudiced against Aḥmad Niāltagīn.

In 425 A.H. (1032-33 A.D.) when Aḥmad Niāltagīn returned from his expeditions to Lahore, he found the Qāzī entrenched in the fort of Mandhūkūr³ (Mandkakūr) with his supporters and an army. In about the middle of Ramazān, 425 A.H. (August, 1034 A.D.) Sultān Mas'ūd got the news from Lahore that Aḥmad Niāltagīn had laid a siege to the fort of Mandkakūr and regular war was going on between him and the Qāzī.⁴

On hearing this news Sultān Mas'ūd despatched Bānah,⁵ a Hindū general, at the head of a large army to the rescue of the Qāzī. But Bānah was defeated and got killed.⁶ Another Hindū general Tilak then offered his services to Sultān Mas'ūd for this purpose. This offer was accepted and Tilak reaching Mandhākūr gave a battle to Aḥmad Niāltagīn. Niāltagīn this time did not take a firm stand and after fighting for a short time escaped towards Multān. His defeated army was routed by Tilak, who also placed a price at the head of Niāltagīn. Soon after

1. Baihaqī, 237.

2. Baihaqī, 497-98.

3. See *infra*, p. 15.

4. Baihaqī, 523.

5. Nāth according to Firāhta, 1, 42.

6. Gardīzī, 102.

Ahmad Niāltagin was killed by jāṭs¹ and according to the version of Gardīzī he was drowned in the river of Sindh, as he was trying to cross it. When his corpse touched a bank of the river a soldier, on finding it, recognised it and cutting the head away brought it to Tilak. Tilak sent this head to Sulṭān Mas'ūd in Balkh.²

According to Baihaqī two years later on Saturday, the 3rd Zu'lqāda, 427 A.H. (August 29, 1037 A.D.) Sulṭān Mas'ūd sent his son Majdūd as viceroy of Lahore to India,³ but according to Gardīzī when Sulṭān Mas'ūd was returning to Ghazna in 428 A.H. (1037-38 A.D.) after the conquest of Hānsī he appointed Majdūd, the viceroy of Lahore.⁴ Firishṭa remarks that Ayāz, the famous slave of Sulṭān Maḥmūd, was appointed the guardian of Majdūd at this time.⁵ This indicates that Majdūd was only a nominal viceroy of Lahore and probably Ayāz became virtual ruler of Lahore.

In 431 A.H. (1040 A.D.) Mas'ūd, finding himself unable to withstand the power of Saljūk Turkmāns in Ghazna, resolved to withdraw to India, till he was able to collect forces sufficient to make another effort to retrieve his affairs. With this determination he collected all his wealth from the different strongholds of Ghazna, and loading camels with it, marched to Lahore. At this time he sent for his brother, Muḥammad, who had been previously dethroned and blinded.⁶

When Mas'ūd reached the *kārvānsarā* of Mārgalah⁷ after passing the Jehlum, his household troops, who had entered into a conspiracy with the camel-keepers, began to divide the treasure among themselves. The troops fearing the king's resentment, and not choosing to refund the

1. Baihaqī, 536-37; Gardīzī, 102.

2. Gardīzī, 102.

3. Baihaqī, 622.

4. Gardīzī, 104.

5. Firishṭa, I, 42.

6. Firishṭa (Briggs Ed.), I, 74, 75.

7. A pass, in ancient times somewhat difficult, situated between Rāwalpindī and Aṭṭak, a few miles east of Ḥasan Abdāl. The hills around used to be infested with robbers who generally chose this pass for attacking travellers and kārvāns of traders, hence the name "Māri-galah". The emperor Akbar had a good road carried through the pass for about two miles. Major Raverty has noticed it in his paper "*Diary of a March with the Bombay Column of the Army of the Panjab*", contained in the Transactions of the Bombay Geographical Society for 1850-51.

plunder, hastened in a mob to the blind Prince Muḥammad, who had been before on the throne, and exalting him upon their shoulders, proclaimed him king. Mas'ūd during this time was collecting the only troops on whom he could rely to suppress the mutiny; but no sooner was it known that his brother was proclaimed, than he found himself entirely deserted, and he became prisoner in the *kārvānsarā*. The mob pressing round him, he was constrained to give himself up into their hands, and was carried before the new king, Muḥammad, who told him he had no design to take his life, and desired him to select some fort, whither he might retire with his family into confinement. Mas'ūd in this extremity, chose the fort of Gīrī. After accession Muḥammad advanced his son, Prince Aḥmad, to the Government, reserving for himself only the name. Shortly after his coming into power, in the year 433 A.H. (1042 A.D.), Aḥmad went to the fort of Gīrī and assassinated Mas'ūd.¹

(4) SHIHĀBUD DAULAH MAUDŪD (433—441 A.H.)
(1042—1049 A.D.)

When the news of the murder of Mas'ūd reached the ears of Muḥammad the Blind, he wept bitterly, and severely reproached the assassins. At the same time he wrote to the Prince Maudūd, then at Balkh, that such and such people had killed his father. To this Maudūd replied, sarcastically, "May God lengthen the days of so good and merciful a king, and grant that his mad son, Aḥmad, may gain glory in the practice of regicide, till his reward be obtained from our hands!" Maudūd proposed marching immediately to Mārgalah to revenge the death of his father, but was persuaded by his council to go first to Ghazna, where the citizens, upon his approach, thronged out to meet him, and expressed their joy in acclamations and congratulations.²

In the year 433 A.H. (1042 A.D.), Maudūd marched from Ghazna; while Muḥammad the Blind, appointing his younger son, Prince Nāmī, governor of Peshāwar and Multān, marched in person to the banks of the Indus, to oppose Maudūd. The two armies met at Dīpur²; and action

1. Firiḥta (Briggs Ed.) I, 75; *Ṭabaqāt e Nāsiri* 15, *Tārīkh e Guzda*, I, 402. (T. N. gives the date of death as 432 A.H.)

2. Firiḥta (Briggs Ed.), I, 76.

3. Baihaqī calls it Dīnūg while in *Ṭabaqāt e Nāsiri* (p. 16) it is named Takarhārūd. In any case the position is not determined.

ensued between the uncle and nephew : victory declared in favour of Maudūd, while Muḥammad was taken prisoner together with his sons. Maudūd wreaked vengeance upon him for his father's fall and put to death all of them except Prince 'Abdul Raḥīm, a son of Muḥammad.¹

Maudūd having revenged his father's death, built a town on the spot on which he had obtained the victory, and called it Fateḥābād. He had now no rival of whom he was apprehensive but his own younger brother Majdūd, who was then in possession of Lahore and its dependencies. Majdūd on the murder of his father, marched from Multān, and, at the instance of his minister Ayāz, occupied all the country east of Indus, as far as Hānsī and Thānesar. Maudūd, finding that his brother refused to pay him allegiance, ordered an army against him, and Majdūd, apprised of this circumstance, marched from Hānsī, where he then resided, with his whole force, to oppose the troops of Maudūd, whom he met, before they reached Lahore, on the 6th Zu'lḥijja 433, A.H. (August 4, 1041, A.D.). The army of Maudūd was so numerous, that Majdūd's forces were on the point of flying, when several of the chiefs deserting their colours, enrolled themselves under the banners of the latter. But a strange incident here helped Maudūd. On the morning of the 'Id-e-Qurbān Majdūd was found dead in his bed, without any previous complaint or apparent cause and as, after a few days his vazīr, Ayāz, was also found dead, the Indian territory submitted to the authority of Maudūd quietly.²

After this victory Maudūd returned to Ghazna leaving the control of Indian territory to some of his chiefs, who did not obviously manage the affairs very successfully, as in the year 435 A.H. (1043 A.D.) the Rājah of Dehli, in conjunction with other rājahs, retook Hānsī, Thānesar, and their dependencies, from the governors to whom Maudūd had entrusted them. The success of the Rājah of Dehli gave such confidence to the Indian Chiefs of the Panjāb, that though, before this time, like foxes, they durst hardly creep from their holes, for fear of the Muslim arms, yet now they put on the aspect of lions, and openly set their masters at defiance. Three of those Rājahs, with 10,000 horse and innumerable army of foot,

1. *Firishṭa* (Briggs Ed.), I, 76; *Tabaqat e Nasiri*, 16.; *Guzīda*, I, 402.

2. *Firishṭa* (Briggs Ed.), I, 77.

advanced and invested Lahore. The Muslims, in their defence, exerted themselves to the utmost ; and during the period of seven months, defended the town, street by street, for the walls being bad, were soon laid in ruins. Finding however, that, in the end, they must be overpowered, unless speedy succours arrived, they bound themselves by oath to devote their lives to victory or martyrdom ; and making a sally presented themselves in order of battle before the enemy's camp. The Hindūs, struck by their unexpected appearance, and intimidated by their resolution, betook themselves to flight, and were pursued with great slaughter.¹

In the year 440 A.H. (1048 A.D.) Maudūd, on one and same day, conferred the royal dress, drums, and colours, on his two eldest sons. These were Maḥmūd, whom he sent to Lahore, and Maṣṣūr, whom he sent to the province of Peshāwar. At the same time, Abū 'Alī Kotwāl of Ghazna was deputed to command the army in India, and to maintain the conquests in that quarter.²

In the year 441 A.H. (1049 A.D.) Maudūd undertook an expedition against Khurāsān, by the way of Kabul. When he reached the fort of Sankot he was seized with a violent bowel complaint, and was obliged to return in a litter to Ghazna. A week later he died on Rajab 24, 441 A.H. (December 24, 1049), having reigned nearly nine years.³

(5) ABŪ JA'FAR MAS'UD $\frac{(441-441 \text{ A.H.})}{(1049-1049 \text{ A.D.})}$

After the death of Maudūd, 'Alī bin Rabi' Khādīm, formed a design to usurp the throne ; but concealing his intentions in the first instance, he raised Mas'ūd, the son of Maudūd (a child of four years old), to the throne. Bashtagīn Ḥajīb, one of the principal officers of Sultān Maḥmūd's court, not having been made acquainted with the measure, deemed himself insulted, and drew off with that half of the army which was in his interest. The troops, thus divided, came to action ; in which 'Alī bin Rabi' being worsted, the party of Bashtagīn espoused the cause of Abul Ḥasan

1. Firishṭa (Briggs Ed.), I, 77-78.

2. Firishṭa (Briggs Ed.), I, 79

3. Firishṭa, I, 80; Tabaqāt, 16; Guṛīda, I, 402.

'Alī, one of the sons of the emperor Mas'ūd, and proclaimed him king, deposing Mas'ūd, after nominal reign of six days.¹

(6) ABUL HASAN 'ALĪ (441—443 A.H.)
(1049—1051 A.D.)

On Friday, the 1st Shābān, in the year 441 (Dec. 26, 1049 A.D.) Sulṭān Abul Ḥasan 'Alī ascended the throne of Ghazna; and espoused the widow of his brother Maudūd, daughter of Ja'far Beg.² In the meantime 'Alī bin Rabi' in conjunction with Mirak Vakil broke open the treasury and fled with a band of the household troops, towards Peshāwar and the Panjāb. At Peshāwar, being joined by the natives, he raised a great army, and having reduced Multān and Sind, subdued, by force of arms, the Afghāns who had declared their independence in that country. 'Alī bin Rabi' held this territory independently of the crown, till the accession of Sulṭān 'Abdul Rashīd.

Two years later in 443 A.H. (1051 A.D.) 'Abdul Rashīd, a son of Sulṭān Maḥmūd, formed a party in his own favour. The king opened the treasury, and increased the strength of his army, but his power daily declined. 'Abdul Rashīd advanced to Ghazna, and having gained a complete victory, ascended the throne in the latter end of the same year. Sulṭān Abul Ḥasan 'Alī reigned little more than two years.³

1. Firishṭa (Briggs Ed.), I, 80. According to Guzīda (p. 402) Mas'ūd was on the throne for one month. The author of Ṭabaqāt e Naṣiri (p. 16) is at variance with all works of undoubted authority about the successor of Maudūd. He says that after the death of Maudūd two princes viz., 'Alī, son of Mas'ūd and Muḥammad, son of Maudūd, uncle and nephew, were raised to the throne. No other writer says one word about two rulers in joint occupation of the throne, except this author, who also makes a great blunder in calling Maudūd's, infant son, Mas'ūd by the name of Muḥammad Cf. Yāfa'i, Faṣṭhī, Niḡamat Tawārikh of Baiḡāwī, Guzīda, Jāhān Arā and Lubbut Tawārikh.

2. Chaghri Beg according to Guzīda, I, (p. 403), and Jaghar Beg according to Ṭabaqāt e Naṣiri (p. 16).

3. Firishṭa (Briggs Ed.), I, 80; Guzīda, I, 403. Banākati and Tārīkh e Ibrāhimi also agree that 'Alī reigned two years, but the author of Ṭabaqāt e Naṣiri (p. 16) asserts that his reign terminated after two months.

(7) 'IZZUD DAULA 'ABDUL RASHĪD (443—444 A.H.)
(1051—1053 A.D.)

(8) TUGHRIL (USURPER) (444 A.D.)
(1053 A.D.)

Sultān 'Abdul Rashīd, according to the most authentic accounts, was a son of Sultān Maḥmūd, and by the orders of Maudūd was imprisoned in a castle situated between Bust and Isfirāin. He was released from his imprisonment by 'Abdul Razzāq bin Aḥmad bin Hasan Maimandī in conjunction with Nūshṭagīn Ḥājib in the latter end of the year 443 A.H. (1051 A.D.), and was placed on the throne. Abul Hasan 'Alī, then actually in possession, made no resistance, but fled, and being seized by some of the *zamīndārs* of the country was brought prisoner before 'Abdul Rashīd and confined in the fort of Dundirū.¹ The king now prevailed on 'Alī bin Rabī' who had usurped the Ghaznavi conquests in India, to return to his allegiance, and to come to Ghazna. Nūshṭagīn Ḥājib being appointed ruler over the provinces east of the Indus, and having received the title of Amīrul Umarā of India, proceeded with an army to Lahore.²

Living in Lahore Nūshṭagīn Ḥājib played a very important role in the history of Ghaznavis, when about a year later, Tughril, who had been raised to the rank of a noble by Maudūd, and who married his daughter, impelled by a spirit of ambition, marched towards Ghazna from Sistān at the head of a great army. 'Abdul Rashīd almost destitute to troops, was compelled to remain shut up within the town, which shortly fell into the hands of Tughril, where the king with nine of the blood-royal were inhumanly put to death by the usurper, who forcibly espoused the daughter of the late Sultān Mas'ūd, previously to ascending the throne. After having succeeded in his plans he wrote to Amīr Nūshṭigīn Ḥājib, endeavouring to prevail on that noble to acknowledge him, but he was answered with the contempt he deserved. Not content with giving him a refusal, Nūshṭagīn communicated privately with the daughter of Mas'ūd, whom the tyrant had compelled to marry him, as well as with all the *umarā*, whom he knew retained their attachment to the imperial family, urging them to

1. Not traceable on the available maps.

2. Firishṭa (Briggs Ed.), I, 81.

revenge the death of their sovereign, so that a conspiracy was forthwith formed, and put in execution on the new-year's day, when, as Tughril was stepping to the throne to give public audience, he was assassinated. Thus the usurper at the end of 40 days met the well merited fate.¹

After this important event, Nūshṭagīn arrived at Ghazna, and calling a Council of State, enquired whether any yet remained of the royal race of Ghaznavis. Being informed that the Princes Farrukhṣād, Ibrāhīm, and Shuja' were still alive, but imprisoned in a fort, he caused them to be brought to Ghazna, and resolved that fortune should decide by lot who should reign. She favoured Farrukhṣād, who was accordingly raised to throne on Saturday the 9th Zu'lq'ada 444 A.H. (March 2, 1053 A.D.)²

(9) JAMĀLUD DAULAH FARRUKHṢĀD (444—451 A.H.)
(1053—1059 A.D.)

When Farrukhṣād,³ the son of Mas'ūd, placed the crown upon his head, he made over the administration of his government to Nūshṭagīn Ḥājib. He was a man of mild and amiable disposition, and just. He reigned seven years,⁴ when suddenly, he was carried off by colic, in the year 451 A.H. (1059 A.D.), at the age of thirty-four years.

(10) ZAHĪR UD DAULAH IBRĀHĪM (451—492 A.H.)
(1059—1099 A.D.)

Farrukhṣād was succeeded by his brother Ibrāhīm. In the year 472 A.H. (1079 A.D.) he marched in person to India, and conquered many places in that country, which before had not been visited by the Muslim arms. He extended his conquests to the fort of Ajudhan, called now Paṭṭan of Shaikh Farid Shakar Ganj. This place being taken, he returned to

1. *Firishta* (Briggs Ed.), I, 81; *Guzīda*, I, 403-4.

2. *Firishta* (Briggs Ed.), I, 81; *Guzīda*, 403-4; *Ṭabaqāt e Nāsiri*, 17.

3. *Firishta* (Briggs Ed.), I, 82; and *Ṭabaqāt e Nāsiri*, 16.

Guzīda (I, 404), *Faṣīḥī*, and *Tārīkh e Ibrāhīmī*, strange to say, call Farrukhṣād son of 'Abdul Rashīd. His title was Jamālud Daulah, but in the *Muntakhabat Tawārīkh*, he is styled 'Imādud Daulah, son of Mas'ūd.

4. *Firishta* (Briggs Ed.), I, 82 and *Ṭabaqāt e Nāsiri*, 19. Farrukhṣād, according to *Guzīda* (I, 404), reigned six years, in which several other authors agree; but the former gives the year 450 A. H. as that of his death. *Faṣīḥī* and *Yāfa'i* agree with him as to the year, but state that he reigned seven years. The *Muntakhabat Tawārīkh*, however, says he began to reign on Saturday, the 19th of Zu'lq'ada, 444 A. H. (March 8, 1053 A.D.) and died, in Šafar, 451 A.H. (1059 A.D.).

another fort, called Rūpāl,¹ situated on the summit of a steep hill. The king conquered this fort and marched from thence to another town in the neighbourhood, called Dera, the inhabitants of which came originally from Khurāsān; and were banished thither with their families by Afrāsīāb, for frequent rebellions. The town of Dera, after a long siege, was taken by assault, and the Muslims found in it much wealth.²

Ibrāhīm had 36 sons and 40 daughters by a variety of women. The death of this monarch according to some authors, took place in the year 481 A.H. (1089 A.D.), which would limit his reign to 31 years; others fix it in the year 492 A.H. (1099 A.D.) which extends it to 42 years.³

(11) 'ALĀUD DAULAH MAS'UD III (492—508 A.H.)
(1099—1114 A. H.).

Mas'ud the son of Ibrāhīm, ascended the throne on the demise of his father. He espoused the princess Mahd e 'Irāq, sister of Sultān Sanjar, Saljūqī. In his reign Hājib Tughāntagīn, an officer of his government, proceeded in command of an army towards India, and being appointed governor of Lahore, crossed the Ganges, and carried his conquests farther than any Muslim had hitherto done, except Sultān Maḥmūd. He plundered many rich cities of their wealth, and returned in triumph to Lahore, which now became in some measure the capital of the empire, for the Saljūqī having deprived the house of Ghaznavīs of most of its territory both in Irān and Tūrān, the royal family went to reside in India.

After Mas'ud had reigned 19 years without domestic troubles or foreign wars, he died in the latter end of the year 508 A. H. (1114 A.D.).⁴

(12) KAMĀLUD DAULAH SHĪRZĀD (508—509 A.H.)
(1114—1115 A.D.)

Kamālud Daulah Shīrẓād succeeded his father Mas'ud. He only reigned, however, one year, when he was assassinated by his younger

1. The situation of this place has not been fixed.

2. Firishṭa (Briggs Ed.), I, 84.

3. Cf. Firishṭa (Briggs Ed.), I, 84-5; Guzīda, I, 404; and *Tabaqāt e Nāsiri*, 21.

4. Cf. Firishṭa (Briggs Ed.), I, 85; Guzīda, I, 404; and *Tabaqāt e Nāsiri*, 22.

brother Arsalān, who succeeded him.¹

(13) SULTĀNUD DAULA ARSALĀN (509—512 A.H.)
(1115—1118 A.D.)

Arsalān, the son of Sultān Mas'ūd, having become the king of Ghazna, seized and confined all his brothers excepting one, who avoided the same fate by flight. Prince Bahrām, who was his step-brother and was fortunate to escape, found protection with Sultān Sanjar Saljūqī, his maternal uncle, who on the part of his brother Muḥammad, then ruled the province of Khurāsān. Sultān Sanjar, having demanded the release of the other brothers of Bahrām (which was not complied with), espoused the cause of the princes, and made the refusal of Arsalān to liberate them a plea for invading the kingdom of Ghazna. He set out along with Bahrām for Ghazna, attended by a numerous army. Arsalān came forth to meet them with 30,000 horse, but, after an obstinate engagement, was defeated and retired to Lahore. Having placed Bahrām on the throne of Ghazna, and fixing a yearly tribute, Sanjar returned to his own dominion; but in the same year, 509 A.H. (1115 A.D.) Arsalān returned with an army and defeated Bahrām, who again took shelter in Sanjar's dominions. It was only in the following year that Sanjar became sole monarch of the Saljūqs, after the death of his brother Muḥammad. In the year 511 A.H. (1117 A.D.) Bahrām, having obtained the aid of an army from his uncle, who did not accompany him the second time, was able to move against his brother Arsalān again. In the encounter which ensued, Arsalān was taken prisoner, and thrown into confinement. Bahrām's reign really commenced in 511 A.H. (1117 A.D.). In the following year Arsalān was released, but, being again found plotting, was put to death.²

(14) YAMĪNUD DAULA BAHRĀM SHĀH (512—547 A.H.)
(1118—1152 A.D.)

Bahrām went twice into India, to chastise his refractory subjects, and collectors of revenue. On the first occasion he reduced Muḥammad Bahām, who had charge of the government of Lahore on the

1. Cf. *Firishṭa* (Briggs Ed.) I, 85 and *Guzīda* I, 405. Some historians like the author of *Ṭabaqāt Nāṣirī*, have left out this sovereign. Faṣṭhī mentions him.

2. Cf. *Firishṭa* (Briggs Ed.) I, 85—6; *Guzīda*, I, 405; and *Ṭabaqāt e Nāṣirī*, 22-23.

part of his brother Arsalān. Having defeated and taken him prisoner, on the 27th of Ramzān, in the year 512 A.H. (December 5, 1118), he pardoned him, upon his swearing allegiance. The king then reinstated him in the government, and returned to Ghazna. In the meantime, Muḥammad Bahlīm built the fort of Nāgore, in the province of Shīvālik, whither he conveyed his wealth, his family, and his effects. He then raised an army, composed of Arabs, Persians, Afghāns, and Khaljis, and committed great devastation in the territories of the Indian independent princes with such a success, that he aspired at length to the throne. Sultān Bahrām, afraid of his plans, collected an army, and marched a second time towards India. Muḥammad Bahlīm, with his ten sons, advanced to oppose the king as far as Multān. A battle ensued but the curse of ingratitude fell like a storm on the head of the perfidious rebel, who, in his flight, with his ten sons and attendants, sank into a deep quagmire, wherein they all perished. The king after this victory appointed Salār Husain, the son of Ibrāhīm 'Alavi, to the chief command of the conquered part of India, and returned himself to Ghazna.¹

Soon after returning to Ghazna between him and Ghūris hostilities arose ; and an engagement took place between them, in which Daulat Shāh, a son of Bahrām, was slain. During that one campaign Bahrām sustained three defeats from Sultān 'Alāud Dīn Ghūri, and Ghazna fell into the hands of the Ghūris. They set fire to it, and destroyed the whole city. Bahrām fled with the scattered remains of his army towards India, but overwhelmed with his misfortunes, sunk under the hand of death in the year 547 A.H. (1152 A.D.), after a reign of 35 years.²

1. Cf. *Firishṭa* (Briggs Ed.) I, 87 and *Ṭabaqāt e Nāsiri*, 23.

2. *Firishṭa* (Briggs Ed.) I, 880. Great discrepancy prevails among authors respecting the latter part of Bahrām's reign. *Ṭabaqāt e Nāsiri* (p. 24), mentions that Bahrām, on the withdrawal of Ghūri forces, returned to Ghazna again, and there died after a reign of forty-one years. *Guzīda* (I, 406) says Bahrām died in 544 A.H. (1149 A.D.) after a reign of thirty-two years, while Barakatī asserts that he reigned twenty years, and died in 532 A.H. (1137 A.D.). The *Muntakhabat Tawārikh*, agrees with *Guzīda*. *Taghtiratul Mulūk* and *Tārīkh e Alfī* state that Bahrām died in 547 A.H. (1152 A.D.) after reigning thirty-five years and in this *Ṭabaqāt e Akbari* and *Badāūni* agree.

(15) ZAHİR UD DAULA KHUSRŪ SHĀH (547—555 A.H.)
(1152—1160 A.D.)

As the Maliks and Sultāns of Ghūr had shaken the empire of Ghaznavis to its very foundation, and had wrested Ghazna, Bust, Zamīn e Dāwar, and Tiginābād out of their hands, and had revaged and desolated them, feebleness had come upon its government. When Khusrū Shāh, the son of Bahrām, ascended the throne he was weak and powerless, and was unable to maintain his rule over the country.

Unable to resist the attack of 'Alāud Dīn Ghūrī on Ghazna, Khusrū Shāh retired to India and took up his residence at Lahore. He turned his attention to the government of the western portion of his father's dominions, which were now left to him, but, when 'Alāud Dīn retired, after the plunder of Ghazna, Khusrū Shāh returned to Ghazna, and again took up his quarters there. Soon after, when the Ghuzz tribe took Sultān Sanjar, his great uncle, captive, and were advancing towards Chazna, Khusrū Shāh, who, probably, while Sultān Sanjar was in power, might have expected help from him in some shape or other, now that he was a prisoner, was totally unable to resist them, and he again retired to Lahore, and died there in 555 A.H. (1160 A. D.), after reigning eight years.¹

(16) TĀJUD DAULA KHUSRŪ MALIK (555—582 A. H.)
(1160—1186 A.D.)

Khusrū Malik, the son of Khusrū Shāh, ascended the throne after the demise of this father in Lahore, extending his rule over all the provinces of India, formerly possessed by Sultān Ibrāhīm and Bahrām. In his time, Sultān Shihābud Dīn Muḥammad Ghūrī, the nephew of 'Alāud Dīn, invaded the kingdom of Ghazna, which he reduced, and not satisfied with that achievement, marched an army to India, over-running the provinces of Kabul, Peshāwar, Multān, and the Indus. He advanced at length to Lahore, and in the year 576 A.H. (1180 A.D.) invested Khusrū Malik in

1. Cf. Firishṭa (Briggs Ed.), I, 90; Guzīda I, 406; Ṭabaqāt e Naṣiri, 24-25; and Tagkiratul Mulūk.

his capital, but being unable to take the place, peace was concluded. Muḥammad Ghūrī evacuated the country, carrying with him Malik Shāh, the son of Khusrū Malik, a young child, as hostage for the performance of treaty. The terms not being fulfilled by Khusrū Malik, Muḥammad Ghūrī, in the year 580 A.H. (1184 A.D.) returned to Lahore; but being foiled in his attempt on the town he subjected the open country to devastation by fire and sword. He then repaired and strengthened the fort of Siālkoṭ, where he left a strong garrison, and returned to Ghazna. In his absence Khusrū Malik, in alliance with Ghakkhars, besieged the fort of Siālkoṭ; but their enterprise proving unsuccessful, they were obliged to desist.

Some time after these events, Muḥammad Ghūrī, collecting his forces, attempted a third time to reduce the city of Lahore, which he effected by treachery in the following manner. While he was preparing for his expedition, he wrote to Khusrū Malik, that he was desirous of accommodating their differences by a treaty of peace. To convince him of the sincerity of his intention, he released his son Malik Shāh, and sent him back to Lahore with a splendid retinue. The escort had orders to make short marches. In the meantime Muḥammad Ghūrī with a large army, marching with incredible expedition, came to Lahore and surrounded the camp of Khusrū Malik in the night. The emperor awoke in the morning, and seeing no means of escape, threw himself on the mercy of his enemy. The gates of the city were accordingly thrown open to receive him, and the empire passed from the house of Ghazna to that of Ghūr. The reign of Sulṭān Khusrū Malik lasted 28 years.¹

۲ همو ختم اولاد محمود بود
محیط کرم معدن جود بود
شد آن روز از گردش آسمان
ز اولاد محمود خالی جهان

1. Cf. *Firishāṭa* (Briggs Ed.) I, 90—1; *Ṭabaqāt e Naṣīrī*, 26-27 and *Futūḥ Salāṭīn*, 66—8.

2. 'Iṣāmī, *Futūḥ Salāṭīn*, 68.

CHAPTER FOUR

GHŪRĪ-AND SLAVE DYNASTIES

(582—689 A.H.)
(1186—1289 A.D.)

(1) SHIHĀBUD DĪN MUḤAMMAD GHŪRĪ (582—602 A.H.)
(1186—1206 A.D.)

MUḤAMMAD Ghūrī, having settled the province of Lahore, confided the government to 'Alī Karmāj,¹ governor of Multān, and retired to Ghazna. In the year 587 A.H. (1191 A.D.), he marched again to India and proceeding towards Ajmer, he took the town of Pathindah (Bhaṭṭindah),² where he left Malik Zīāud Dīn Tulakī, with above a thousand chosen horse and some foot to form its garrison. While on his return, he heard that Pithow Rāe (Pithorā), Rāja of Ajmer, with his brother Khānde³ Rāe, the Rāja of Dehlī, in alliance

1. 'Alī Karmākḥ according to *Ṭabaqāt e Nāsiri*, 117; and *Tārīkh e Mubārak Shāhi*, 6.

2. *Ṭabaqāt e Nāsiri* (p. 118) as well as many other authors say Tabarhindah (or Tabarhindh). Firishṭa has Pathindah in the lithographed copy edited by Briggs (p. 99), and Bathindah in other MS. copies I have examined, but, in his translation, Briggs, (I, 172) has Bituhnda, and Dow calls it "The capital of Tiberhind". The printed text (p. 118) of *Ṭabaqāt e Nāsiri* has Sirhand, and many authors of comparatively modern date including the *Ṭabaqāt e Akbari*, *Mirāt e Jahān Numā* and *Khulāṣat e Tawārīkh* also have Sirhind. The *Tārīkh e Alfī*, *Zubdat e Tawārīkh* and Badaūnī say Tarhindah. The *Lubbut Tawārīkh* says Tabarhindah now known by the name of Bhaṭṭandah. I may mention that Bhaṭṭindah is some hundred miles west of Thānesar.

3. Firishṭa (Briggs ed.) I, 99. Styled Gobind and Gobindah in *Ṭabaqāt e Nāsiri* (120). Some have گوبند and گوبند both of which modes of writing the name confirm the correctness of the above which is a common Hindū name; but some texts of *Ṭabaqāt e Nāsiri*, in agreement with Firishṭa have Kand, Khānd and Khānde. Hindū bard Chānd, calls him Rāe Gobind. Tod (I, 119) says Chaond Rāe, which the historians of "Shabudin" style "Khandirai," was not brother of Pirt'hwirājā ! He states that he was of the Dahima race of Rājput, one of three brothers, the eldest of whom Kaimas, was lord of Biana (Beānah,) minister of Pirt'hwirājā, the second was "Poondir, who commanded the frontier at Lahore." and the third brother Chāond Rāe was the principal leader in the last battle in which Pirt'hwirājā fell." All Muslim historians and Hindū chroniclers agree in the statement that this person, styled Gobind by some and Khānde by others, was Pithorā's brothers, and that he was present in both and battles, was killed in the last.

with other Indian princes, were marching towards Pathinda. Muhammad Ghūrī marched to the relief of his garrison. He encountered the enemy at the village of Tarān,¹ now called Tarāūrī, on the bank of Sursuti², fourteen miles from Thānesar and eighty miles from Dehli, where he gave them battle.³

When the ranks were duly marshalled, the Sultān seized a lance and attacked the elephant on which Khānde Rāe, the Rāja of Dehli, was mounted, and on which elephant he moved about in front of the battle. The Sultān charged and delivered his lance full into Rāja's mouth, by which many of his teeth were knocked out. In the meantime the Rāja pierced the king through the right arm, with a long spear. The king turned his charger's head round and receded, as from the agony of the wound he was unable to continue on horseback any longer. Seeing this a Khaljī warrior sprang up behind the king, and, supporting him in his arms, urged the horse, and brought him out of the battle-field. Defeat befell the Muslim army, which was pursued by the enemy nearly forty miles. After this defeat, when Muhammad Ghūrī had recovered of his wound at Lahore, he appointed governors to the different provinces he possessed in India, and himself retired towards Ghazna.⁴

After the retreat of Muhammad Ghūrī, the allied rājas of India, under the leadership of Pithorā, continued their march to the fortress of Tabarhindah, which was left in charge of Malik Ziaud Din Tulakī. The Hindūs besieged the stronghold, and

1. The name is plainly and correctly written in the different texts of *Tabaqat e Naṣiri* (p. 120) and *Firishta* (I, 99), and all the authors quoted previously as well as many others, call this place by the same name. Compilers of Histories of India, led astray by the translation of *Firishta* (not by *Firishta* himself), have turned this name into Narāin. Dow has "Sirauri upon the banks of Sirsuthy, and Briggs, "Narain now called Tiroury." Elphinstone following Briggs, no doubt, calls it "Tiroury between Thanēsar and Carnāl" and Dowson (II, 295), is led to believe it. This is all incorrect.

2. The ancient Saraswati. The word is Sursuti. Ibn Baṭūṭah calls Sursuti a great city. In Akbar's time Sursuti was one of the Maḥals of Sarkār e Sanbhal.

3. *Firishta*, (Briggs ed.) I, 99 ; and *Tabaqat e Naṣiri*, 120.

4. Cf. *Firishta* (Briggs ed.), I, 99 and *Tabaqat e Naṣiri*, 121.

GHŪRĪ AND SLAVE DYNASTIES

1. MUHAMMAD GHŪRĪ

1186—1206

2. Quṭbūd Dīn Aybek

1206-1210

3. Arām
1210

daughter

4. Ilutmish
1210-1236

5. Firūz Shāh
1236

6. Razīā
1236-1239

Mahmūd

7. Bahrām
1240-1241

9. Mahmūd
1246-1266

daughter

10. Balban
1266-1286

8. Mas'ūd
1241-1246

Bughrā Khān

11. Kaiqubād
1287-1289

12. Kaikāūs
(Kaiyūmār)
1289

Firūz

(... Dotted lines indicate the relation of master to slave).

fighting commenced. For a period of thirteen months and a little over the place was defended, and that last the Hindūs were obliged to grant favourable terms to the Muslims.¹

Muhammad remained a few months with his brother at Ghur, who still retained the title of King. Having taken leave of his brother, at Firāzkūh, he proceeded to Ghazna; and, with the determination of taking revenge on Pithorā, having made sleep and rest unlawful to himself, in a short time assembled troops, brave and ruthless. He, then, marched to India from Ghazna.² On reaching Lahore, passing through Peshāwar, he despatched the Ṣadr e Kabir Qivām ul Mulk Rukn ud Dīn Ḥamza to Ajmer to offer his ultimatum to Pithorā. The King called upon Pithorā to embrace Islām and acknowledge his supremacy. The Chohān Prince sent an indignant reply; having received aid from most of the Rājas of India, with 300,000 horse—Rājputs, and some Afghāns, one author says³—advanced to meet him, and they again met on the former battle-field. Pithorā sent a message to the Sultān, saying: "It is advisable thou shouldst retire to thine own territory, and we will not follow thee". The Sultān, in order

1. Cf. Firishṭa, I, 100 and *Ṭabaqāt e Nāsiri*, 119.

2. I have here to notice, and enter protest against, a statement respecting the character of Sultān Shihabud Dīn Ghūrī, which Firishṭa's translators have incorrectly given and which neither Firishṭa nor any other author asserts. In this instance the character of this Prince has been unjustly assailed, held up in a wrong light, and things are asserted which never happened at all. Here are the translations of Dow (I, 139) and Briggs (I, 173):

Dow

Mohammed remained a few months with his brother at Ghor, who still kept the imperial title, and then, returning to Ghizni spent the ensuing year in indolence and festivity.

Briggs

Mahomed remained a few months with his brother at Ghoor, who still retained the title of King, and then, returning to Ghizny, spent the ensuing year in pleasure and festivity.

Not only that these translations are incorrect but they are definitely garbled versions of Firishṭa and coined only by the imagination of Dow and Briggs.

3. Hasan Nizāmī, *Tajal Ma'āzīr*.

to deceive him, and throw him off his guard, replied : "It is by command of my brother, my sovereign, that I come here and endure trouble and pain ; give me sufficient time that I may despatch an intelligent person to my brother, to represent to him an account of thy power, and that I may obtain his permission to conclude a peace with thee under the terms that Tabarhindah, the Panjāb, and Multān shall be ours, and the rest of the country of Hind thine." The leaders of Hindū forces from this reply, accounted the army of Muslims as of little consequence, and, with any care or concern, fell into the slumber of remissness. That same night the Sultān made his preparation for battle, and in the morning entered the plain with his ranks marshalled. Although the Hindūs were amazed and confounded, still, in the best manner they could, they stood to fight, and sustained a complete overthrow. Khānde Rāe, and a great number besides the Rājas of India, were killed, and Pithorā was taken prisoner within the limits of Sursutī, and put to death.¹ The seat of government, Ajmer, with the whole of the Siwālik territory, such as Hānsī, Sursutī, and other tracts were subjugated. These events took place, and this victory was achieved, in the year 588² A.H. (1192 A.D.); and the Sultān placed Malik Quṭbud Dīn Aybek, in the fort of Kuhrām, with a considerable detachment and returned to Ghazna. After the return of Muḥammad Ghūrī, his General, Quṭbud Dīn Aybek, took the fort of Mīraṭh and the city of Dehlī from the family of Khānde Rāe. In the year 589 A.H. (1193 A.D.) he also took the fort of Kol ; and making Delhī the seat of his government,

1. Cf. *Tājul Ma'āshir*; *Ṭabaqāt e Nāsiri* (120) and *Firishṭa*, I, 101. Alfi gives another version of the battle which is certainly curious. It states that the Sultan having taken the route by Purshor (Peshawar) arrived within the limits of Dehlī, Pitho Rae prepared to oppose him, on which Mu'izzud Dīn, made a precipitate retreat. Rae Pitho was following in pursuit of him until they had passed beyond Lahore, and had reached the *mauza* (village) called Shihabud Dīn, when the Sultān came to a stand. His object in retiring had been to separate Rae Pitho from his own territory; and at the above-mentioned place on which Rāe Pitho was defeated and taken prisoner. After this the Sultān advanced upon Ajmer. He subdued that territory and put Rāe Pitho to death; after which he made Quṭbud Dīn Aybek, governor of it, and returned to Ghazna.

2. Authors generally agree respecting this date.

established himself there.¹

Muhammad Ghūrī, in the meantime returning from Ghazna, marched towards Qannauj, and engaged Jai Chand, the Prince of Qannauj and Benāres, who was at the head of a numerous army of horse, besides upwards of 300 elephants. This prince led his forces into the field, between Chundwār and Etāwa where he sustained a signal defeat from the vanguard of the Ghaznavi army, led by Qutbud Dīn Aybek, and lost the whole of his baggage and elephants. Muhammad Ghūrī then marched to Benāres and from thence to fort of Kol, where he confirmed Qutbud Dīn Aybek in the Vice-regency of India. After this the King's army took the route of Ghazna.²

In Ghazna in 599 A.H. (1202 A.D.) on the death of his brother, Sultān Ghiyāṣud Dīn Muhammad, Shihābud Dīn Muhammad Ghūrī, according to the will of his deceased brother, was crowned in form; and ascended the throne. Soon after Muhammad Ghūrī led an expedition against Turks and Khitāis in Khwārazm and was defeated by them. When Muhammad was defeated, one of his slaves, Lek Tāl, escaped from the field, and imagining his master was slain, made his way to Multān. Having waited on Amīr Dād Hasan, governor of the province, he told him that he had a private message from the king. Amīr Dād Hasan retired with him into his closet, where Lek Tāl, pretending to whisper into his ear, drew a dagger and stabbed him to the heart. He then ran instantly to the courtyard, where he proclaimed aloud, that he had killed the traitor, Amīr Dād, in obedience to the king's command, and producing a false order, and commission, to assume the government, he was acknowledged by the army and the people.³

When the rumour of the death of the Sultān became noised abroad throughout his territories the seditious people, in all parts,

1. Cf. *Firiḥṭa*, I, 102; and *Ṭabaqāt e Nāṣirī*, 120.

2. *Firiḥṭa*, I, 102.

3. Cf. *Firiḥṭa*, I, 103; *Tārīkh e Alfi*, *Jāmi'ut Tawārikh* and *Tājul Ma'ān*.

raised their heads, and each stretched forth his hands towards some tract of the territory. Among the seditious was one, Ran Bāl, who was the ruler of *Kh e Jūd* (the Salt Range), and who had become a Muslim, but had subsequently relapsed. The Gakhkhār tribe, also, rising in rebellion, entertained the idea of becoming independent, and obtaining dominion. Ran Bāl, in concert with a body of Gakhkhārs, having revolted from authority and obedience, commenced plundering and harrying the tract between Lahore and Ghazna and completely closed the route between the two districts. Muhammad Ghūrī, being apprised of this situation, and in order to chastise the rebels, marched towards India. After the Sultān had defeated his slave Lek Tāl, who had taken possession of Multān, and had put him to death, he despatched Muhammad, son of Ab e 'Alī (the son in law of Ghīāṣud Dīn, the late Sultān) to Lahore and Multān as governor, in order that he should send the tributes of those territories, which for the last two years were in arrears. He then defeated and dispersed the Gakhkhārs, recovering Lahore completely out of their hands.¹

Muhammad Ghūrī, having settled the affairs of India, marched in the year 602 A.H. (1206 A.D.) from Lahore, in the direction of Ghazna. But he was destined never to undertake his project; for on the third of *Shā'bān* (March 15), having reached the village of Dam Yak² on the banks of the Indus, 20 Gakhkhārs, who had lost some of their relatives in the late wars, entered into a conspiracy against the king's life and stabbed him to death.³

شهادت ملک بحر و بر معزالدین

کز ابتدای جهان مثل او نیاید یک

سیم ز غرة شعبان بسال شش صد و دو

فتاده در ره غزنین بمنزل دم یک

1. Cf. Firishṭa, I 103; *Tārīkh e Alfī, Jāmi'ut Tawārīkh* and *Tājul Ma'āzīr*.

2. Dam Yak is in Rāwalpindī district near Gujar *Khan*, and not on the banks of the Indus, as has been mentioned by Firishṭa.

3. Some historians state that he was assassinated by some heretics (*Mālakhida*). Cf. Firishṭa, I, 105; *Tājul Ma'āzīr*, Guzīda I, 412, *Tārīkh e Alfī, Jāmi'ut Tawārīkh*, Yafā'i 'Islāmī, p. 97.

The king's body was conveyed in mournful pomp to Ghazna where he was buried on the 22nd Sha'bān (April 3), in a new-vault which had been built for his daughter.

(2) QUTBUD DĪN AYBEK $\frac{(602-607 \text{ A.H.})}{(1206-1210 \text{ A.D.})}$

After the assassination of Sultān Shihābud Dīn Muḥammad Ghūrī, his nephew, Sultān Maḥmūd, the son of Sultān Ghiāṣud Dīn, assumed the royal titles at Ghūr, and on his accession, sent all the *insignia* of royalty, a throne, a canopy, standards, drums, and the title of king to Qutbud Dīn Aybek, desirous of securing his interest, and being by no means able to oppose his power, if he refused to acknowledge him.¹ Qutbud Dīn Aybek received these marks of favour with becoming respect at Lahore, where he ascended the throne on the 18th² of Zu'lqāda, 602 A.H. (July 24, 1206 A.D.). He returned from thence in a few days to Dehli.

In the year 603 A.H. (1206 A. D.), shortly after Qutbud Dīn Aybek had received the title of Sultān from Sultān Maḥmūd, Sultān Tājūd Dīn Iyaldūz³, who considered the Panjāb part of the dominion of Ghazna to which he had succeeded, and which had neither been assigned, by Maḥmūd, to Qutbud Dīn, nor to the other slave, Malik Nāṣirud Dīn Qabājah,⁴ Qutbud Dīn Aybek's son-in-law, the Khwājah, the Muayyidul Mulk, Sanjari,

1. Cf. *Firishṭa*, I, 109; *Guzīda*, I, 412—3; and *Ṭabaqāt e Nāṣirī*, 140.

2. 17th of Zu'lqāda according to *Ṭabaqāt e Nāṣirī* and 11th of Rabī' II, 603 A.H. according to *Khulastat Tawārīkh*.

3. He was a slave of Sultān Shihābud Dīn Muḥammad Ghūrī and gradually rose to be a big administrator. Sultān Maḥmūd presented him with a letter of manumission and assigned the throne of Ghāzna unto him. By command of Sultān Shihābud Dīn Muḥammad Ghūrī, a daughter of Tājūd Dīn Iyaldūz, was given in marriage to Qutbud Dīn Aybek; and another daughter was married to Malik Nāṣirud Dīn Qabājah. (*Ṭabaqāt e Nāṣirī*, 133).

4. Malik Nāṣirud Dīn Qabājah was likewise son-in-law to Sultān Qutbud Dīn Aybek, through two daughters, one having died previously (*Ṭabaqāt e Nāṣirī*, 143).

the Wazir of Ghazna, against Lahore,¹ and ousted Qabājah, who held it, for Quṭbud Dīn. Quṭbud Dīn, soon, after, marched against Iyaldūz with all the available troops of India, and a battle took place between them, in the Panjāb, and Iyaldūz was worsted, and retreated into strong country of Kirmān and Shalūzān. Quṭbud Dīn now pushed on to Ghazna, which having obtained possession of, he gave himself up to wine and riot till the citizens of Ghazna, disgusted with his conduct, sent a message privately to Tājūd Dīn Iyaldūz, acquainting him with the king's negligence, and entreating his return. Tājūd Dīn raised troops with great secrecy and expedition, advanced towards Ghazna, and surprised Quṭbud Dīn, who had no intelligence of his design till the day before his arrival. It was now too late to attempt a defence, so that he was compelled to abandon Ghazna and to retire to Lahore.

چو سلطان سر انداز باشد زمی
فتد بی خبر از سرش تاج کی

As the decree of fate supervened, in the year 607 A.H. (1210 A.D.) whilst engaged in playing ball² on the course, the horse came down upon him, in such a wise that the prominent part of the front of saddle came upon his breast, and he died. He ruled fourteen year as Sultān Shihābud Dīn's lieutenant and five and a half years as independent sovereign.³

(3) ĀRĀM SHĀH (607—607 A.H.)
(1210—1201 A.D.)

On the sudden removal of Quṭbud Dīn from the scene, at Lahore, the nobles and chief men who were with him there, in order to preserve tranquility, set up at Lahore, Ārām Bakhsh, the son of Quṭbud Dīn, and hailed him by the title of Sultān Ārām Shāh. Mandates and decrees were now issued in his name.

1. But a few authors say he went himself. Cf. Firishṭa, I, 110 and *Ṭabaqāt e Naṣiri*, 140.

2. Chaugān, something similar to modern polo.

3. Cf. *Tārīkh e Ibrāh mī*; *Mirāt e Jahān Namā*, *Lubḥṭ Tawārīkh*; *Ṭabaqāt e Naṣiri*, 141; and *Firishṭa*, I, 110.

Ārām Shāh was ill adapted to govern the empire left by his father. Consequently many dependent chiefs threw off their allegiance in many parts of India.

At this juncture Amīr 'Alī Isma'īl, the Sipāhsālār, and governor of the city and province of Dehlī, the Amīr Dāūd Dailamī, and other chief men in that part conspired together, and sent off to Badāūn and invited Malik Īltutmish, the feoffee, of that part, Quṭbud Dīn's former slave and son-in-law, to come thither and assume the sovereignty. He came with all his followers, and possessed himself of the city and fort and country around. At the same time, Nāṣirud Dīn Qabājah, who had two daughters of Quṭbud Dīn (in succession), appropriated Sind and Multān, Bhakhar and Sīwastān, and, subsequently, the territory to the North East, as far as Sursuti and Kuhrām; the Khaljī chiefs in Bangālah assumed independency there, and the Rājas and Rāes on the frontiers of the Muslim dominions began to show a rebellious and contumacious spirit.

Ārām Shāh, on first becoming aware of these acts of Īltutmish, at the advice of his supporters, summoned to his aid the old Amīrs and soldiers of his father, and having rallied round him in considerable numbers from Amrohah, and other parts, and he having inspired them, advanced with a strong force towards Dehlī. Malik Īltutmish, having gained possession of the capital, issued from it with his forces; and, in the plain of Jūd before Dehlī, the rival forces encountered each other. After a feeble effort on the part of Ārām Shāh's troops, he was defeated and disappeared and what became of him is not quite certain. The reign of Ārām Shāh, if such can be properly so called, is said by some to have terminated within the year; but others contend that it continued for three years.¹

(4) SHAMSUD DĪN ĪLTUTMISH (607—633 A.H.)
(1210—1236 A.D.)

After expelling Ārām Shāh from the throne in the year 607 A.H. (1210 A.D.) Īltutmish declared himself King with the

1. Cf. Firishṭa, I, 112; *Tabaqat e Naṣiri*, I, 141; Elliot and D., II, 301.

title of Shamsud Dīn. Sultān Tājūd Dīn Yaldūz, from Lahore and Ghazna made a treaty with him, and sent him ensigns of royalty and a Dūrbāsh,¹ pretending to confirm him in the government of India; but soon after, when Yaldūz was himself defeated by the troops of Khwārazm Shāh, and retired to Kirmān, he turned his views towards the conquest of East. In the first instance he seized the country of the Panjāb, and occupied the city of Thānesar in the year 612 A.H. (1215 A.D.), where he endeavoured by his emissaries at the court of Dehli to raise a faction in his favour. Shamsud Dīn Īltutmish meanwhile collected his troops, and advanced towards him. An action took place on the plains of Tarāin; Tājūd Dīn Yaldūz was defeated, and with many of his officers taken prisoner and imprisoned in Badāun, where, he died.

In the year 614 A.H. (1217 A.D.), Īltutmish attacked Nāṣirud Dīn Qabājah, his brother-in-law, at Manṣūria, on the banks of the Chenāb, and gained a complete victory. During the following year several chiefs of the tribe of Khalj inhabiting the country near Ghazna, being defeated by Nāṣirud Dīn Qabājah, fled for protection, to Shamsud Dīn Īltutmish, who espousing their cause, marched against Qabājah, and overthrew him. Īltutmish, after this, remained some time at Lahore to arrange its affairs; and, having published the news of his success in all parts, conferred the government of that territory upon his eldest son, Nāṣirud Dīn Mahmūd Shāh and then returned to Dehli.

In the year 618 A.H. (1221 A.D.) Jalālud Dīn Khwārazm Shāh being defeated in the north by Chingiz Khan, retreated towards Lahore, where Īltutmish opposed and compelled him to retreat towards Sind.

After having ruled India for twenty-six years, Shamsud Dīn Īltutmish died in Dehli on the 20th Shā'bān in the year 633 A.H.

1. A kind of spear with two horns or branches, the wood of the staff of which used to be studded with jewels and ornamented with gold and silver. This used to be carried before the sovereign when he issued forth.

(April 30, 1236 A.D.)¹(5) RUKNUD DĪN FIRŪZ SHĀH (633—634 A.H.)
(1236—1236 A.D.)

When his father, İltutmish, died Ruknud Dīn Firūz Shāh happened to be at Dehlī, and ascended the throne, without opposition. But no sooner was the ceremony over than he abandoned himself to licentious excesses, and neglected the affairs of his government. He lavished his father's treasures on dancing women, comedians, and musicians, leaving the conduct of all public business to his mother Shāh Turkān. This woman was a monster of cruelty. She murdered not only the women of Shamsud Dīn's harem, to gratify her hatred, but also put to death Quṭbud Dīn, the youngest of king's sons. The minds of the people revolted at these scenes. Ghīāṣud Dīn Muḥammad, the king's younger brother, governor of Oudh, intercepted the revenues from Lakhnauṭī on their way to the capital, and declared himself independent. At the same time, also Malik Aʿizud Dīn Muḥammad Sālār, the governor of Badāun, Malik ʿAlāud Dīn Sher Khānī, the governor of Lahore, Malik Aʿizud Dīn Kabīr Khānī, the governor of Multān, and Malik Saifud Dīn Kūchī, the governor of Hānsī, entered into a confederacy, which broke out into open rebellion. Sultān Ruknud Dīn Firūz Shāh, collecting his troops, marched to Kelokhary, but was there deserted by his vazīr, Nizāmul Mulk Muḥammad Junaidī. The vazīr went to Kōle, where he joined Malik Aʿizud Dīn Muḥammad Sālār, and they proceeded together to Lahore, at which place they formed a junction with the nobles of that part of the country. The king, meantime, marched towards the Panjāb; but on reaching Mansūrpūr, some of his principal chiefs, viz., Tājud Dīn, Malik Muḥammad Dabīr, Bahāud Dīn Hasan, Malik Karīmʿud Dīn, Zīāul Mulk Sher Khānī, Khwāja Rashīd and Amīr Fakhrud Dīn deserted him and retired with their followers to Dehli. There they raised Sultāna Razīa, the eldest daughter of Shamsud Dīn İltutmish,

1. Cf. *Firiḡhtā*, I, 117 ad *Ṭabaqāt e Naṣirī*, 176. There is some discrepancy respecting the date of İltutmish's death. Cf. *Ṭabaqāt e Akbarī*; *Tazkiratul Mulūk*, *Muntaḥabat Tawārīkh*, *Rawzatūṣ Ṣafā*, *Lubbut Tawārīkh* and *Khulāṣatut Tawārīkh*.

to the throne, and imprisoned the king's mother. When this news reached the king, he returned hastily with his army towards Dehli and having arrived at Kelokhary, Sultāna Raẓīā, on the 18th of Rabi' I, in the year 634 A.H. (Nov. 19, 1236 A.D.) advanced with a force against him. Ruknud Dīn was delivered up into her hands, and died in confinement some time after.¹

(6) RAẒĪĀ (634—637 A.H.)
(1236—1239 A.D.)

Soon after the accession of Raẓīā, the confederates, consisting of Vazīr Nizāmud Mulk Juhaidī, Malik 'Alāud Dīn Sher Khānī, Malik Saifud Dīn Kūchī, Malik A'izud Dīn Muḥammad Sālār and Malik A'izud Dīn Kabīr Khānī, who had united their forces at Lahore, now advanced to Dehli, and, encamping without the city, commenced hostilities. They at the same time sent letters to all the officers of the empire, inviting them to join their party. The queen, meanwhile, was busily engaged in sowing dissension among the rebel chiefs, and with such success, that, distrusting each other, they shortly after broke up their camp, each retreating to his own government. The queen's troops, availing themselves of this event, pursued them and put to death many of them. Malik A'izud Dīn Kabīr Khānī, having submitted to the authority of Sultāna Raẓīā, was allowed to resume the government of Lahore.²

At this time the Malik e Kabīr Ikhtīārud Dīn Aetkīn, became Amīr e Hajīb, and Malik Jamālud Dīn Yāqūt, the *ḥabashī*, who was Lord of the Stables, acquired favour in attendance upon the Sultāna, so that the Turk Amīrs and Maliks began to be envious thereat; and it so chanced to happen that Sultāna Raẓīā laid aside the female dress and issued from her seclusion and donned the tunic, and assumed the head-dress (of a man) and appeared among the people; and, when she rode out on an elephant, at the

1. *Firishta*, I, 117—8, and *Ṭabaqāt e Nāsiri*, 184.

2. *Firishta*, I, 119, and *Ṭabaqāt e Nāsiri*, 187.

time of mounting it, all people used, openly, to see her.¹

In the year 637 A.H. (1239 A.D.) Malik A'izud Dīn Kabir Khāni, the viceroy of Lahore, began to show a rebellious spirit. Sultāna Razia led an army towards that part from Dehlī, and followed in pursuit of him. At last an accommodation took place, and he presented himself to obtain pardon. He conducted himself with so much art on this occasion, that the queen, on her departure, either believing him sincere, or desirous of binding him to her interest by gratitude, not only permitted him to retain his office as governor of Lahore, but added to it that of Multān.²

In the same year, Malik Ikhtiārud Dīn Altūniā, governor of Bhāṭinda, revolted, on the plea of queen's partiality to Jamālud Dīn Yāqūt. On hearing this intelligence, she marched towards

1. *Ṭabaqāt e Nāṣirī*, 188. Here is a proof of what a deal may be made out of a little. Jūzjānī is the sole authority for these statements in the *Ṭabaqāt e Akbari*, *Firishṭa* and *Badā'ūnī*, each of whom, in rotation, enlarge upon, add exaggerate Jūzjānī's words—the last reverses them by saying that when she mounted an elephant or horse she leant upon him, Jamālud Dīn Yāqūt, the Abyssinian. He was Amīr e Ākhur before she came to the throne apparently, for she does not seem to have raised him to that office; and it was only in the last year of her reign that she assumed male attire, when she appeared in public. Jūzjānī does not say so, but the *Ṭabaqāt e Akbari* mentions that Jamālud Dīn Yāqūt was treated with favour, a mere transliteration of Jūzjānī's words قربتی افتاد and that the Turk Maliks and Amīrs were envious in consequence. All that that work states, in addition to Jūzjānī's words—for he does not say so—is that when she mounted to ride forth, the Master of the Horse, who had become Amīrul Umarā (such an office did not exist in those days and Jūzjānī never mentions such an office), used to aid her to mount by taking her under the arm pit (بغل). *Firishṭa* (I, 119) corrupts the facts more sensibly and says: "A very great degree of familiarity was observed to exist between the Abyssinian and the queen; so much so that when she rode he always lifted her on her horse by raising her up under the arms." This seems to be nearer the intending meaning, although contradicts the fact that she always rode an elephant and never a horse. I think the character of this Princess has been assailed without just cause. It was very possible that it was part of the duty of the Lord of the Stables, or his privilege, to assist his sovereign to mount when he or she rode forth, and that such an act might not have occasioned through any undue familiarity.

2. *Ṭabaqāt e Nāṣirī*, 188; *Firishṭa* I, 119.

Bhaṭinda; but about half way all the Turki chiefs in her army mutinied. A tumultuous conflict ensued, in which the *ḥabashī* favourite was killed; and the queen being taken prisoner, was sent to the fort of Bhaṭinda, to Malik Altūnla, who espoused the empress soon after.¹

The royal armies returned to Dehli, where the Turki officers elevated queen's brother, the Prince Bahrām, a son of late Shamsud Dīn Iltutmish, to the throne. Meanwhile Malik Altūnla was enabled, in a short time, through the influence of his wife, to raise an army, with which he marched towards Dehli. Bahrām, the new king, sent his forces to oppose Malik Altūnla and the queen. The two armies met near Dehli; an obstinate conflict ensued, in which the queen was defeated, and fled to Bhaṭinda. She, some time after, re-assembled her scattered forces and made another bold effort for the crown. She was defeated again at Kaithal, on the 4th Rabi' I, 637 A.H. (October 24, 1239 A.D.). She and her husband were seized and put to death on the 25th of the same month by the Zamīndārs.²

(7) MU'IZUD DĪN BAHRĀM $\frac{(637-639 \text{ A.H.})}{(1240-1241 \text{ A.D.})}$

When Sultāna Raḡia was confined in the fort of Bhaṭinda, her brother Bahrām, one of the sons of Shamsud Dīn Iltutmish, ascended the throne on Monday the 28th Ramaḡānī 637 (April 21, 1240 A.D.). The Deputyship was conferred on Malik Ikhtisrūd Dīn Aetkīn, who took the affair of the kingdom into his own hands, and in conjunction with the Wazīr Nizāmūl Mulk Khwāja Muhazzabud Dīn Muḥammad 'Iwāḡ the Mustaufī, assumed control over the disposal of all state affairs.³ He also maintained an elephant at his gate, a piece of state reserved solely for royalty. This circumstance having excited much jealousy in the king's mind, he employed two Turk slaves to assassinate both Aetkīn and the Wazīr. Accordingly, on a certain day, these Turks, while the king was giving public audience attacked Aetkīn and the Wazīr with

1. *Ṭabaqāt e Naṣīrī*, 188; *Firishta*, I, 119.

2. *Firishta* I, 120; and *Ṭabaqāt e Naṣīrī*, 190.

3. *Firishta* I, 120 and *Ṭabaqāt e Naṣīrī*, 192.

daggers. Aetkin died on the spot while the Wazir escaped through the crowd with two severe stabs without being mortally wounded. The Turks were immediately seized and cast into chains, but shortly after were pardoned and released.¹

Among the calamities which happened during the reign of Bahrām Shāh was the matter of the city of Lahore, when an army of the infidel Mughuls from the direction of Khurāsān and Ghazna appeared before the city, and for a considerable time, carried on hostilities. The viceroy of Lahore was Malik Ikhtiarud Dīn Qarāqash, and he, by nature, was very warlike, energetic, intrepid and fearless, but the inhabitants of Lahore did not act as the conditions of union demanded, and in fighting, and in keeping guard at night, showed much neglect. When that disposition became evident to Malik Qarāqash, he put his retainers in motion, and at night, evacuated the city, and set out towards the capital. The infidel Mughuls pursued him but he escaped in safety. As no ruler remained within the city of Lahore, on Monday, the 10th Jumāda II, 639 A.H. (December 22, 1241 A.D.) the Mughuls obtained possession of the city, martyred the Muslims, and made captive their dependants.²

When the dreadful intelligence of this calamity reached the capital, the king called a general council of state in White Palace, when it was determined to send the wazir and Malik Quṭbud Dīn Husain Ghuri, with other officers, towards Lahore to oppose the Mughuls. The army arrived as far as the river Beās, where the town of Sultānpūr now stands, when the wazir, who had every reason to be hostile to the king, began to sow the seeds of sedition in the minds of his officers; and the better to effect his purpose, wrote privately to the king, accusing certain nobles of disaffection, begging he would either join the army in person, or send written orders to him and his colleague Quṭbud Dīn, authorizing them to make away with those officers who were discontented and

1. *Firishṭa* I, 120 and *Ṭabaqāt e Nāsiri*, 192.

2. *Ṭabaqāt e Nāsiri*, 194 and *Firishṭa* I, 121.

disposed to revolt. Though previously aware of the treachery of his wazīr the king gave full credence to this representation. He replied that the officers deserved death ; at the same time, he recommended the wazīr to keep them quiet till he should be able fully to convict and bring them to punishment without danger. This was precisely what the wazīr required : for by producing the king's letter, he inflamed the minds of the officers, while he misled them with respect to the accuser. He even pretended to be apprehensive for himself ; and having consulted with them regarding their general safety, they resolved to unite and support the wazīr against the king.

The news of this confederacy opened the king's eyes a bit too late. He now proceeded in great perturbation to the house of Khwāja Qutbūd Dīn Bakhtīār Ūshī, the Shaikhul Islām, requesting him to go to the camp, and endeavour to reclaim the disaffected chiefs. The Shaikhul Islām accordingly went forth privately ; but being unable to accommodate matters, returned to Dehli. The wazīr, in the meantime, threw off the mask, and, advancing with the army to the capital, besieged it for three months and an half, till at length disaffection having communicated itself to the citizens, Dehli was taken on Monday the 8th Zulqā'da, in 639 A.H. (May 10, 1242 A.D.) and Bahrām thrown into prison, where in a few days he suffered death.¹

(8) 'ALĀUD DĪN MAS'ŪD (639—644 A.H.)
(1242—1246 A.D.)

When the city of Dehli passed out of the possession of Bahrām, the Maliks and Amīrs, with one consent, brought forth, from confinement, all the three princes, the sons and grandsons of Īltutmish, and agreed to the sovereignty of 'Alāud Dīn Mas'ūd Shāh, the son of Ruknud Dīn Firūz Shāh. The same day Malik A'izud Dīn Balban e Kashlū Khān had assumed the throne within the royal residence, but as the greater part of nobility did not agree with him, they administered a public pledge of fealty to the people after placing Mas'ūd Shāh upon the throne.²

1. Firishṭa I, 121 and Ṭabaqāt e Nāsiri, 197.

2. Ṭabaqāt e Nāsiri, 197 and Firishṭa, I, 122.

No mention of Lahore is made during the four years' reign of Mas'ud in Dehli except that just after assuming power he removed Malik Ikhtiarud Dīn Qarāqash, the viceroy of Lahore, to Dehli and elevated him to the exalted office of Amīr e Hājib (Lord Chamberlain).¹

Mas'ud was imprisoned by the disaffected Amīrs on Muḥarram 23, 644 A.H. (June 10, 1246 A.D.) and during this confinement he was received into the Almighty's mercy.²

(9) NĀSĪRUD DĪN MAHMŪD SHĀH (644—664 A.H.)
(1246—1266 A.D.)

Sultān Nāṣirud Dīn Mahmūd Shāh, a son of İltutmish, ascended the throne within the Qaṣr e Sabz in the capital city of Dehli on Sunday the 23rd Muḥarram, 644 A.H. (June 10, 1246 A.D.) with the common consent of the Amīrs and Malīks. The office of minister was conferred on Malik Ghiyāṣud Dīn Balban, junior, who was originally the slave of İltutmish, and the whole executive power of government was vested in him. Ghiyāṣud Dīn's nephew, A'zam Sher Khān, received the title of Mu'azzam Khān, and was appointed to the government of the Panjāb, Multān, Bhatner, and Sirhind, and was directed to maintain a standing army to watch the movements of Mughuls, who now occupied the provinces of Ghazna, Kābul, Qandhār, Balkh and Herāt. The forts of Bhatner and Sirhind were rebuilt at this time by Sher Khān.

Sher Khān, the most celebrated man of his age, for his wisdom, valour and every princely quality, in a short time raised and disciplined a body of horse, with which he drove the Mughuls out of Ghazna, and annexed it once more to the kingdom of Dehli. He also caused coin to be struck in the name of Nāṣirud Dīn Mahmūd, and proclaimed him king through all the provinces in that quarter.³

1. *Tabaqat e Nāṣiri*, 197 and *Firishṭa*, I, 122.

2. *Tabaqat e Nāṣiri*, 201 and *Firishṭa*, I, 123.

3. *Firishṭa*, I, 123 and 125.

In the beginning of the year 651 A.H. (1253 A.D.), 'Imādud Dīn Rehānī,¹ who owed his situation entirely to the minister Balban, envying the fame and influence of that great man, took every private opportunity to traduce his benefactor to the king. At last he succeeded in getting minister dismissed, and taking his office. As soon as he came into power he exercised his authority in ejecting from their offices and government all those who owed their situation to the former Wazīr. At this time Sher Khān had, unfortunately, been defeated by a body of insurgents from Sind, and had lost several forts in Multān. This furnished 'Imādud Dīn with an opportunity of disgracing him in the eyes of the king, who removed him from his government which he conferred on Arsalān Khān. The administration of 'Imādud Dīn became unpopular very soon and the governors of provinces, viz., Karra, Mānakpur, Oudh, Badāun, Sirhind, Sūnām, Kuhrām, Lahore and Nāgore entered into a confederacy and prevailed upon the king through an address to banish 'Imādud Dīn from his presence and to recall the dismissed Wazīr. The king acceded to this request and as a consequence Sher Khān was re-instated in his former position.²

Nāṣirud Dīn fell sick in the year 663 A.H. (1264 A.D.) and having lingered some months of the disease, he expired on the 11th Jumāda I, 664 A.H. (February 18, 1266 A.D.), after a reign of over 20 years.

(10) GHIĀṢUD DĪN BALBAN (664—685 A.H.)
(1266—1286 A.D.)

On the death of Nāṣirud Dīn Muḥmūd, his Wazīr Ghiāṣud Dīn Balban known also by his title of Ulugh Khān, who already exercised the power of a king, ascended the throne not only without opposition, but even with the general consent of the nobility and people.

In the fourth year of his reign, 668 A.H. (1270 A.H.), the king's

1. Zanjānī according to Briggs I, 241.

2. Firīhta, I, 126.

nephew, Sher Khān, the viceroy of Lahore, died and was buried at Bhatner, where he was entombed in an extensive mausoleum which he had there constructed for the purpose.¹ On the demise of Sher Khān the provinces under his administration were divided among some officers of the court. The Mughuls, encouraged by the death of Sher Khān, recommenced their depredation in those provinces. The mutual jealousies and dissensions among the new and numerous governors were favourable to their incursions; and the king was obliged to appoint his eldest son, the Prince Muhammad, (bearing the title of Qāānūl Mulk and known by the name of Khān e Shahīd), viceroy of Lahore and Multān and their dependencies. The Prince, accordingly, marched with a fine army, to Lahore attended by some of the best generals in the service. He was a youth of promising talents, and evinced great taste in literature.² Among the learned men at the Prince's Court were Amīr Khusrū, a poet and author of great talents, and Khawja Amīr Hasan equally celebrated for his profound learning.

After an expedition in Bengāl and an absence of three years, when the king returned to Dehli in 684 A.H. (1285 A.D.), the Prince Muhammad, who was holding his court in Multān, came from Multān to Dehli to visit him and was received with greatest affection. He had scarcely been at the capital three months, when news arrived that the Mughuls had invaded Multān. The Prince hastened his departure to oppose them. He marched against the enemy, and having expelled, with great slaughter, the Mughuls who had invaded his province recovered all the territories of which they had possessed themselves in his absence.³

The throne of Irān at this time was filled by Arghūn Khān, the son of Abāqā Khān, and grandson of Hulāku Khān. Timūr Khān, a Changīzi noble, ruled the eastern provinces of Irān, viz., Herāt, Qandhār, Balkh, Badakhshān and Ghazna. He invaded

1. *Firishta*, I, 136.

2. *Firishta*, I, 136.

3. Cf. *Firishta* I, 142 and 43 and *Tarikh e Firuz Shahi*, 109.

Lahore with 20 thousand chosen horse, to revenge the death of the Mughuls who had been slain during the former year. Having ravaged the country about Dīpālpur and Lahore, he directed his march towards Multān. The Prince Muḥammad, then in Multān, hearing of his designs, hastened to the banks of the river of Lahore, which runs through part of the Multān province, and prepared to oppose him. When Timūr Khān advanced to the river, he saw the Hind army on the opposite bank; but the Prince desirous of engaging so great a chief on equal terms, permitted Timūr Khān to pass it unmolested.

Both armies drew up in order of battle, and attacked each other with great spirit, during which fight both commanders were eminently distinguished. The Mughuls being at last put to flight, the Muslims followed them with too much eagerness. The Prince Muḥammad, who had not said his mid-day prayers (ظهر), halted on the banks of a big pond, with 500 attendants, to say the prayers. As he was busy doing so a Mughul chief, who had concealed himself with 2,000 horse in a neighbouring wood, rushed upon his party. The Prince Muḥammad, quite foolishly, with his fatigued men and horse, accepted the challenge and started fighting. They defended themselves desperately; but at length the Prince, overpowered by numbers, and having received several wounds, fell, and in a few minutes expired. Fearing the return of the Indian army the Mughuls took to flight. Few of the Prince's party survived this unfortunate conflict. Among those who fell into the hands of the Mughals was the Prince's favourite and tutor, Amīr Khusrū.

When the army returned from the pursuit of Timūr Khān, and beheld their Prince weltering in his blood; the shouts of victory were changed into wailings of woe. Not a dry eye was to be seen from the meanest soldier to the general. The fatal news reached the old king, who was so much distressed that life became irksome to him. He did not long survive the affliction and died in the year 685 A.H (1286 A.D.) after a reign of 21 years.¹

1. Cf. *Firishṭa* I, 145 and *Tārīkh e Firūz Shāhi*, p. 109.

(11) MU'IZUD DĪN KAIKUBĀD (685¹—689 A.H.)
(1286—1289 A.D.)

As soon as the late king was numbered with the dead, his grandson, Kaikubād, the son of Nāṣirud Dīn Bughrā Khān, then in his eighteenth year, ascended the throne, and assumed the title of Mu'izud Dīn.

During the brief rule of Kaikubād we do not much hear of Lahore except that some districts of Lahore were invaded by Mughuls and Malik Yār Beg Birlās and Khān e Jahān were sent with an army against them from the capital. The Mughuls were defeated near Lahore, and numbers of prisoners were brought to Dehlī.² Firishṭa only casually mentions that Malik Turki³ was the Viceroy of Lahore for a short period during his reign, which ended by the end of the year 689 A.H.⁴ (1289 A.D.), when the Khāljis seized the reins of the government from the hands of the Turks who were the slaves of Ghūrī Kings.

1. Properly 689 as Amīr Khusrū says :

بر سر شان شاه جوان بخت زاد

تا حور پاک گهر کعباد

کرد چودر شش صد و هشتاد و شش

بر سر خود تاج جد خویش خویش

(Qirānis Sa'dain, p. 63).

2. Cf. Firishṭa, I, 147 and Tārīkh e Fir'z Shāhī, p. 141.

3. Firishṭa, I, 153.

4. Tārīkh e Fir'z Shāhī, 175. Firishṭa (I, 153) gives it 687 A.H.

CHAPTER FIVE

KHALJIS (689—721 A.H.)
(1289—1321 A.D.)

TAGHLAQs (721—815 A.H.)
(1321—1412 A.D.)

HISTORIANS have made different conjectures about the pedigree of Sultan Jalālud Dīn Firūzshāh, the first ruler of the Khalji dynasty. Firishta,¹ quoting Nizāmud Dīn Ahmad Bakhsī as his authority, remarks: "the tribe of Khaljis descended from Qālīj Khān, a son-in-law of Changiz Khān." Badāūni says: "In some histories it is said that Khalj is the name of one of the sons of Yāfiṣ (Japhet) the son of Nūh (Noah) and that the Khaljis descend from him."² In any case nothing is definitely known except that Jalālud Dīn Firūz Khaljī was the son of Malik Yaghrash Khaljī. He first appears on the scene as Deputy Governor³ of Sāmāna and Sarjāndār of the court of Sultan Kaikubād. He was brought from Sāmāna, in the last year of the reign of Sultan Kaikubād, and the fief of Baran was conferred upon him, and he received the title of Shāista Khān.

The affairs of the court at this time had fallen into great confusion, and no regularity was observed in any business. The Sultan (Kaikubād) was struck with paralysis from his excesses in wine and venery, in addition to which other deadly ills and chronic diseases obtained mastery over his body, and his constitution not being able to stand against them, his powers succumbed. There was no hope of his recovery, so the old Balban officers, the *Maliks*, the officials, heads of tribes, etc., met together and although the Sultan's son was of tender years, they

1. Firishta, I, 154.

2. *Muntakhabat Tawārikh*, I, 167.

3. *Tārīkh-e Firūz Shāh*, 170.

KHALJIS

1. Firūz
1289—1295

2. Ibrāhim
1295

3. Muhammad
1295—1315

4. Umar
1315—1316

5. Mubārak
1316—1321

6. Khusrā

(... Dotted line indicates the relation of master to slave).

brought him forth from the harem and seated him upon the throne,¹ with the title of Sultān Shamsud Dīn.

Sultān Kaikubād was lying sick and powerless at Kilokhārī² attended by his doctors. At the same time Jalālud Dīn, who had subsequently become 'Ārif e Mamālik (Muster—master-general), had gone to Bahārpur, attended by a body of his relatives and friends. Here he was joined by many other nobles. In the meantime Aitamur Kachhan and Aitamur Sarkha, *Wakil e dar*, conspired to denounce and remove several nobles of foreign extraction. They accordingly drew up a list, at the head of which they placed the name of Jalālud Dīn. The latter very prudently collected his adherents, and all the Khalji maliks and *amirs*, drew together, and formed a camp at Bahārpur. Aitamur Kachhan now proceeded to Bahārpur in order to entice Jalālud Dīn to the Shamsi palace, where he intended to kill him. Jalālud Dīn was aware of the plot, and intercepted and slew Aitamur Kachhan, as he was on the way to invite him. The sons of Jalālud Dīn, who were all daring fellows, went publicly at the head of 500 horse to the royal palace at Kilokhārī, seized upon the infant Sultān, and carried him off to their father in Bahārpur.

Several *maliks* and *amirs* of Turk extraction now joined Jalālud Dīn at his camp, and the Khalji force increased. Two days after these occurrences a *malik*, whose father had been put to death by order of Sultān Kaikubād, was sent to Kilokhārī with instructions to make an end of him. This man entered Kilokhārī, and found Sultān lying at his last gasp in the room of mirrors. He despatched him with two or three kicks and threw his body into the Jamunā.

¹ Cf. Tārīkh e Firuzshāhi, p. 171 and Muntakhabut Tawārikh, I, 165. Neither Barni nor Firishata (I, 152) reckon Kaikāūs (or Kaiyūmār, according to Firishatā) as having had an independent reign, and in as much as he was only an infant of some three years of age, it seems more rational to allude to him merely as the puppet that he really was. The only object in raising him to the throne was an attempt to save the kingdom from passing into the hands of the Khaljis.

² It was a place founded by Kaikubād in the year 1287 A.D. It was situated near the fort of Khwāja Khizr on the banks of the river Jamunā. It very soon fell into ruins. See Muntakhabut Tawārikh, I, 157.

Friends and opponents now came to terms with Jalālud Dīn who was escorted from Bahārpur by a large body of horse, and was seated on the throne in Kilokhārī. He immediately proceeded to strengthen his position by bringing in his friends, and distributing the offices. But the majority of the people of Dehli was opposed to him, and through fear of the populace he did not go to the city, there to take his seat upon the old throne of his predecessors. Sometime elapsed before he ventured there.¹

Sultān Jalālud Dīn Firūz Khaljī ascended the throne in the palace of Kilokhārī in the year 689 A. H. (1289 A. D.)² and soon after held a *darbār* which was attended by citizens, soldiers and traders of all degrees and classes.

During the rule of Khaljī and Taghlaq dynasties a period extending over nearly one hundred and twenty-three years, Lahore shared little in political history of the day. The Mughuls continued to ravage the surrounding country, but were repulsed by the viceroys or rulers of Lahore. Firishṭa refers to the first viceroy of Lahore of the Khaljī dynasty in the following words: "The King (Jalālud Dīn), about this time ($\frac{691 \text{ A. H.}}{1292 \text{ A. D.}}$) having appointed his son Arqulī Khān, viceroy of Lahore, Multān and Sind, and having left a strong force with him, returned himself to his capital."³ Badāūnī refers to another viceroy of Lahore during the reign of 'Alāud Dīn Khaljī in these words. Ghāzī Malik, who afterwards became Sultān Taghlaq Shāh, had obtained great renown in Hindustān and Khurāsān. He held the territories of Dīpālpur and Lahore and until the end of the reign of Qutubud Dīn, he proved a barrier to the inroads of the Mughuls, occupying, in fact, the position formerly held by Sher Khān. Every winter he led out a chosen force

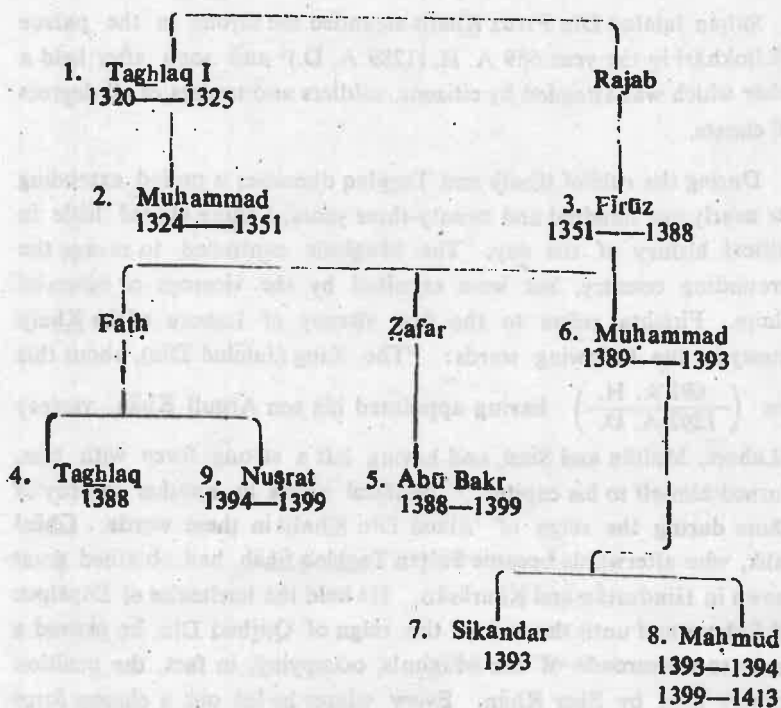
1. *Tārīkh e Firūzshāhī*, 172-73.

2. *Tārīkh e Firūzshāhī* (p. 175) gives it 688 A.H. and Firishṭa (I, 154) 687, but the correct year is 689 A.H. as mentioned by Amīr Khusrū (*Miftāḥul Futūḥ*).

جماد دومین را سویمین روز سوم ساعت زروز عالم افروز
بگه چاشت با فیروزی قال ز هجرت شش صد و هشتاد و نه سال

3. Firishṭa, I, 144.

TAGHLAQ



from Dīpālpur, and marching to the frontiers of the Mughuls, he challenged them to come forth. The Mughuls were so dispirited that they dared not even make any military display upon their frontiers. No one now cared about them or gave them the slightest thought."¹

In the reign of Muḥammad Taghlaq we again find Lahore being mentioned in a minor incident. In the year 743 A.H. (1342 A.D.) Malik Halājūn² and Kul Chāndar³, a chief of Gakhkhars, invaded the Panjāb and slew Tātār Khurd, the viceroy of Lahore in action. To reduce this enemy Khwāja Jahān was sent to that quarter who defeated them.⁴

Near the end of the reign of Muḥammad Shāh Taghlaq, son of Firūz Shāh, Lahore is again referred to by Sīrhindī and others. In the year 796 A.H. (1393 A.D.) Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh appointed Shāhzāda Humāyan Khān to oppose Shaikha Gakhkhar, who had rebelled and gained possession of Lahore, but the Shāhzāda was still in the city of Dehli when the Sulṭān took his departure from the populous city of existence to the deserted regions of annihilation, and was buried in the mausoleum of his father on the banks of the Hauz e Khāṣ.⁵

The plan which could not be executed by Humāyūn Khān during the reign of Muḥammad Shāh was accomplished a few months later by Sārang Khān, who was appointed viceroy of Dīpālpur by Sulṭān Maḥmūd Taghlaq soon after his accession to throne in 796 A.H. (1393 A.D.). Sārang Khān was despatched by the king to quell the rising of Gakhkhars in the Panjāb in the month of Zulqāda, 796 A.H. (1393 A.D.). He collected the troops of the province of Multān, and the north-west

1. *Tārīkh e Firūzshāhi*, 322. According to *Firishṭa* (I, 200) Chāzi Malik was nominated viceroy of the Panjāb in 704 A.H. (1304 A.D.) by 'Alāud Dīn Khālji.

2. *Muntakhḥabut Tawārīkh*, I, 231; Halāchūn according to *Tārīkh e Mubārakshāhi*, 106.

3. *Muntakhḥabut Tawārīkh*, I, 231; Gulchandar according to *Tārīkh e Mubārakshāhi*, 106 and Malik Jandar according to *Firishṭa* I, 245.

4. Cf. *Muntakhḥabut Tawārīkh*, I, 231, *Firishṭa*, I, 245 and *Tārīkh e Mubārakshāhi* 106.

5. Cf. *Muntakhḥabut Tawārīkh*, I, 263; *Firishṭa*, I, 229 and *Tārīkh e Mubārakshāhi*, 154.

division of the state, and advanced against the Gakhkhars upto Ajuddhan, about 124 miles from Lahore. Shaikhā Gakhkhar also came out of Lahore and a battle ensued at Samūthala, about 12 *kos* from Lahore. The Gakhkhars were defeated and their chief, Shaikhā, after escaping to Lahore took refuge among the hills of Jammū. Sārang Khān, after this victory, left his younger brother 'Adil Khān in Lahore and himself returned to Dīpālpur, where he established his headquarters.¹

Invasion of Timūr (801 A.H.)
(1398 A.D.)

Amir Timur was born in 1335 A. D, at Kesh in Transoxiana, fifty miles south of Samarqand. At the age of 33 he became the head of the Chaghatai Turks. Having made himself master of the countries of Central Asia, he resolved on the invasion of Hindustān, which was at the time in a state of anarchy. The advance-guard of Timūr's army reached India under Pir Muḥammad, his grandson, crossed the Indus, captured Uchh, and then advanced upo Multān, which also capitulated after a protracted siege of six months. Soon after in 801 A. H. (1398 A.D.) Timūr attacked the town of Tulumba, and taking Multān put to the sword the whole of the prisoners of the army of Sārang Khān whom Mirzā Pir Muḥammad, the grandson of Timūr, had kept in confinement; proceeding thence by continuous marches he took many other towns in India, including Dehli.²

It appears Lahore escaped the sword of the conquerer, through the timely submission of Malik Shaikhā Gakhkhar, who after the invasion of Timūr and the withdrawal of the royal armies from Lahore, took possession of the government. Timūr himself relates the incident as follows :

“On the 23rd Jumādi'ī Ākhir (801 A.H.) I remained stationary, and messengers arrived from Prince Pir Muḥammad and Prince Rustam and Amir Jahān Shāh, whom I had sent some days before with a force

1. Cf. *Tārīkh e Mubarakshahi*, 157—8 ; *Firishta*, I, 279 ; and *Muntakhabat Tawārikh*, I, 264.

2. Cf. *Firishta* I, 284—288 ; *Muntakhabat Tawārikh*, I, 269-70 ; *Mafūzāt e Timūr* (Eng. Tr.) E & D. III, 412—17.

to Lahore. They brought me the information that the princes and *amirs* had arrived at Lahore upon the business on which I had sent them. Malik Shaikhā Gakhkhar¹ was brother of Nuṣrat² Gakhkhar, who was formerly governor of Lahore on the part of Sultān Mahmūd of Dehli. After I defeated his brother Nuṣrat, Shaikhā Gakhkhar had been first of all the *zamindārs* and governors of Hindustān to wait upon me and make his submission. From my capture of the city of Dehli till my passage of Jamunā he remained in attendance on me. In the middle of the Doāb he asked permission to return home to Lahore. I had always perceived the signs of hypocrisy upon his countenance, and I knew well that he had submitted from necessity and was false in his professions. Still he was the first to yield, and I was very considerate for his subjects, and whenever any *Zamindār* of that country represented himself to be a dependent of Shaikhā Gakhkhar, I protected him from the assaults of my followers, and from pillage and plunder. When I gave him permission to leave he proceeded to Lahore, and there forgot his protestations of service and devotion, and the duties imposed upon him by my favour and kindness. He kept not the promises he made when he waited upon me, but when a party of my followers, such as Maulānā 'Abdullah, etc., passed through Lahore on their way from Samarqand to join me, he showed them no attention, and never asked them why are you come? where do you come from? or, where are you going to? The defection of Shaikhā Gakhkhar had become clear to me, and I sent the princes and *amirs* to take that ungrateful man prisoner, and to levy a ransom from the city of Lahore.

"When I read the letters from the princes and *amirs*, I found that in execution of my orders they had gone to Lahore, and had fixed the amount of ransom to be levied from the inhabitants. They had found Shaikhā Gakhkhar remiss and negligent in raising contribution, and so in compliance with my order they had made him prisoner. They had collected the whole of the ransom and were coming up to join me. In reply to their report I wrote that as Shaikhā had proved false to his

1. Kokhar according to E and D, III, 473.

2. Nuṣrat according to Firsihta, I, 288.

engagement and had acted inimically, his country was to be plundered and he himself should be sent in chains to my presence. This order I sent off by the hands of messengers....

"When I returned from the hunt Prince Pir Muḥammad Jahāngir, Prince Rustam, Amīr Sulaimān, and Amīr Jahān Shāh returned from Lahore with much wealth and property and were received with all honour. The plunder which they had obtained at Lahore in money, goods, and horses they presented to me, and I divided and gave all the goods and effects among the *amīrs* and councillors who were in attendance at the court."¹

The government of Lahore, which was under Multān at that time, was then conferred upon Khizr Khān. "Khizr Khān, who was one of the principal men of Hindustān", says Tīmūr, "had been made prisoner by Sārang, the governor of Multān, and kept in confinement. But he escaped from prison and took refuge with Ahodan, governor of Bayāna, who was a Muslim and an honest man. When I was marching victorious through Hindustān, Khizr Khān hastened from Bayāna to wait upon me, and I received him with honour and kindness and took him into my suite. I now appointed him governor of Multān (and after bestowing the usual marks of honour) I sent him thither."²

The task of the conquest was now over. Tīmūr felt that it was time to go. Having entrusted the fiefs of Lahore, Multān and Dipolpur to Khizr Khān, he left for Samarqand. Tīmūr's invasion caused widespread anarchy in Hindustān. The government at Dehli was completely paralysed, and in the vicinity of the capital as well as in the provinces of the empire, the greatest confusion prevailed. According to Sirhindī, the author of *Tārīkh Mubārakshāhī*, the whole business was fallen into greatest disorder. The Sultān (Mahmūd Taghlaq) gave no heed to the duties of his station, and had no care for the permanency of the throne ; his whole time was devoted to pleasure and debauchery."³

1. Cf. *Malfūzāt e Tīmūrī*. (Eng. Tr. by E. & D. III 473 and 475) and *Zafar Nama* (Eng. Tr. by E & D. III, 520—21).

2. Cf. *Malfūzāt e Tīmūrī* (Eng. Tr. E & D. III 475) ; *Zafar Nama* (Eng. Tr. E & D. III, 521) ; *Firishṭa*, I, 288, and *Tārīkh e Mubārakshāhī*, 166-168.

3. *Tārīkh e Mubārakshāhī*, 179.

Sultān Mahmūd died in 815 A.H.¹ (1523 A.D.), and with him, Firishṭa writes, fell the kingdom of Dehli from the race of Turks, the adopted slaves of the Emperor Shihābud Dīn Ghūrī.² After his death the Amīrs and Maliks chose Daulat Khān as their leader and gave him their adhesion. Daulat Khān received no honour of royalty; he occupied only the position of the head of military oligarchy, which was trying to save itself from a highly difficult situation. Meanwhile Khizr Khān, the governor of Multān, and Timūr's deputy in Hindustān, who had been watching the disordered state of things, advanced upon Dehli, and after a siege of four months compelled Daulat Khān to surrender in the month of Rabi I, 817 A.H. (May, 1414 A.D.). Fortune befriended Khizr Khān; he acquired the possession of Dehli and laid the foundation of a new dynasty.

1. *Tārīkh-e Mubārakshāhi*, 180. According to Firishṭa (I, 292) 814 A. H. (1412 A.D.) but no other author agrees with Firishṭa. See *Muntakhabat Tawārīkh*, I, 277.

2. Firishṭa, I ; 292.

3. Cf. Firishṭa, I, 293 and *Tārīkh-e Mubārakshāhi*, 181.

CHAPTER SIX

SAYYIDS (817—852 A. H.) (1414—1448 A.D.)

The author of the *Tārīkh e Mubārakshāhī*¹ traces the family of Khizr Khān to that of the Prophet, and he accordingly styles him Sayyid. It is not known exactly what he did to government of Lahore before or after he assumed the reigns of government in Dehli. In fact Lahore was not prominent politically during the dynasty of the Sayyids and we only hear of it during the insurrections of Gakhkhars.

Malik Rajab² was the first viceroy of Lahore appointed during the reign of Sayyid Mubārak, the eldest son of Sayyid Khizr Khān, in 824 A.H. (1421 A. D.). In the month of Jumāda I, (May) he received advices that Jasrat,³ the brother of Shaikhā Gakhkhar, (who had the preceding year defeated and made captive 'Alī Shāh, King of Kashmir,) presuming on his success, had come to the resolution to attempt the throne of Dehli. For this purpose Jasrat Gakhkhar invited Malik Tughān, who had fled to the mountains, to join him. Their first operations were directed against the Panjāb; and having seized Lahore, they secured the person of Zirak Khān, the governor of Jālandhar, which they also took, and subsequently besieged Islām Khān in the fort of Sirhind.

Sayyid Mubārak, in spite of the rainy season, which was then at its height, marched from Dehli; but on his approaching Sirhind he found Jasrat Gakhkhar had raised the siege and retreated to Ludhiāna. The Dehli army now advanced towards Ludhiāna, where they perceived Jasrat Gakhkhar encamped on the opposite bank of the Sutlaj. He had secured all the boats on the river, a circumstance which obliged the king to halt at Qabūlpur till the stream become fordable. On the 11th of Shawwāl, 824 A. H. (October 8, 1421 A. D.) Malik Sikandar, Mahmūd

1. pp. 182-83.

2. Cf. *Firishṭa*, I, 297 and *Tār. kh e Mubārakshāhī*, 193.

3. He is called Nuṣrat by some historians. See *infra*, p. 87.

SAYYIDS

1. Khizr

1414—1421

2. Mubarak
1421—1434

Farid

3. Muhammad
1434—1445

4. 'Alaud Din
1445—1448

Hasan, Malik Kālū, and other chiefs, forded the river; and the king himself following with the main body of the army, attacked the Gakhkhar chief. Jasrat Gakhkhar and his troops were thrown into confusion, and eventually put to flight. The king's forces pursued the enemy closely, slaying vast numbers, and capturing all their baggage. Jasrat fled hastily with some light-horse, to the town of Jālandhar, and on the second day he crossed the Biās. When the royal army reached the Biās, he made off to the Rāvi. The Sultān crossed the Biās at the foot of the hills, and reached the Rāvi near the town of Bhowah. He continued his pursuit across the river, and Jasrat then went over the Chenāb, and proceeded to Tekhar, in the hills. Rāe Bhīm, the Chief of Jammū, was honoured in an interview with the Sultān, and he then undertook to act as guide. He crossed the Chenāb, and conducted the royal army to Tekhar which was his (Jasrat's) strongest place. They destroyed the place, and made many of those who had there sought refuge prisoners. The royal army then retired victorious towards Lahore.¹

In Muharram, 825 A.H. (December, 1421 A.D.) the Sultān entered the ruined city of Lahore, in which no living thing except the owl of ill omen had its abode. After a while the Sultān turned his attention to the restoration of the city, and under his royal favour building was recommenced. He stayed there encamped by the side of the Rāvi for nearly a month, engaged in repairing the fort and the gates. When this work was completed, he gave the fief of Lahore to Malikush Sharq Malik Mahmūd Hasan. He gave him also two thousand horse, and having made preparation for the maintenance of this force and of the fort, he left them in his charge, and then returned to Dehli. In Jumāda II, of the same year, Jasrat crossed the rivers Chenāb and Rāvi with a large force of horse and foot, and proceeded to Lahore. He pitched his camp near the place (tomb) of Shaikhul Maghaikh Shaikh Hasan Zanjāni. On the 11th Jumāda II, an engagement was fought in the mud fort, and by God's grace Jasrat was repulsed. The royal forces came out of the fort in pursuit, but did not advance very far, so that the

1. Cf. *Tarikh e Mubarakkhahi*, 195-6; and *Firights*, I, 297-8.

opposing forces maintained their respective positions. On the next day Jasrat held his ground, but on the following day he went down the Rāvi. There having assembled his wise men, he, on the 17th of the month, fell back one *kos* from Lahore. On the 21st he returned and again attacked the fort, but the arms of Islām were once more victorious. The assailants were driven back and pursued, and Jasrat, returned to his army. In this way for a month and five days fighting went on outside the fort, but at length Jasrat was compelled to retreat towards Kalānaur. Rāe Bhīm had come into the fort of Kalānaur, with the object of rendering assistance to the royal forces. He had (already) incited the enmity of Jasrat, and when the latter approached, constant fighting went on, but neither party could prevail. So the strife continued, but subsequently, in the month of Ramazān, they made peace. Jasrat then went towards the Rāvi, and there he gathered together all the people of the territory of the Gakhkhars who were in alliance with him. Sikandar Tuhfah now arrived from Dehli at the ford of Būhi with a large force to support Malik Maḥmūd Hasan, who had been sent by the Sultān against Jasrat. Unable to resist these forces, Jasrat fled across the Rāvi and Chenāb with his followers, and proceeded to Tekhar. Sikandar, now, having crossed the Bias at the ford of Būhi on the 12th Shawwāl, arrived at Lahore. Malik Maḥmūd Hasan came three *kos* out of the fort to receive him.

Previous to this, Malik Rajab, *amir* of Dīpālpur, Malik Sultān Shāh Lodī, *amir* of Sirhind and Rāe Firuz Miān joined Malik Sikandar. The army (of Sikandar Tuhfah) marched along the Rāvi, and crossed that river between Kalānaur and the town of Bhowah. On reaching the confines of Jammū, they were joined by Rāe Bhīm. After this, some Gakhkhars who had separated from Jasrat, at the river of Chenāb, were defeated, and the army returned to Lahore. His Majesty now gave orders that Malikush Sharq Maḥmūd Hasan should go to the fief of Jalandhar, and having got ready (his followers), should join him (the king). Malik Sikandar was placed in charge of Lahore, and

in obedience to the royal order, he proceeded with his army into the fort.¹

On Jumada I, of the year 826 A.H. (1423 A.D.) there was fighting between Jasrat and Rāe Bhīm. The Rāe was killed, and the greater portion of his horses and arms fell into the hands of Jasrat. On ascertaining the death of Rāe Bhīm, Jasrat united a small army of Mughuls with his own, and attacked the territories of Dipālpur and Lahore. Malik Sikandar immediately marched after him, but Jasrat fell back, and crossed over the Chenāb.²

In the month of Zulqāda 831 A.H. (1428 A.D.) Jasrat Gakhkhar besieged the town of Kalānaur. Malik Sikandar Tuhfah marched from Lahore to recieve the place ; but Jasrat, quitting his position before Kalānaur, advanced some *kos* to meet him. A battle followed, in which Jasrat was victorious ; Malik Sikandar retreated with his forces to Lahore. Jasrat passing by Kalānaur, crossed the Biās, and attacked Jālandhar ; but the place was strong, and he was unable to take it, so he retreated to Kalānaur, carrying off the people of the neighbourhood as prisoners. When His Majesty was informed of these occurrences, he ordered Zīrāk Khān, *amir* of Sāmāna, and Bān Khān, *amir* of Sirhind, to unite their forces and advance to reinforce Malik Sikandar. But before they reached Lahore, Malik Sikandar had gone to Kalānaur, and there uniting with his own forces all the horse and foot belonging to Rāe Ghālīb of that town, he marched after Jasrat, and met him near Kāngra, on the banks of the Biās. Both armies drew up in battle array, and the fight began. The forces of Islām were victorious. Jasrat being defeated, all the spoils which he gained at Jālandhar fell into the hands of the victors, and he retreated to Tekhar. Malik Sikandar then returned to Lahore.³

In the year 835 A.H. (1431—2 A.D.) it was reported to the Sultān that Malik Sikandar Tuhfa had marched towards Jālandhar. For Jasrat Gakhkhar had come down with a strong force from

1. Cf. *Tārīkh e Mubarakshahi*, 199 ; and *Firishāh*, I, 298.

2. *Tārīkh e Mubarakshahi*, 201.

3. *Tārīkh e Mubarakshahi*, 211—12.

the mountains of Tekhar, and having crossed the Jhelam, Rāvi and Biās, had come near Jālandhar on the bank of the Paini. Malik Sikandar was incentionous, and encountered him with a small force. At the first charge he was defeated, and by the decree of fate fell into the hands of Jasrat Gakhkhar. Some of Malik Sikandar's men were killed in the fight, and some fled to Jālandhar. Jasrat carried off Sikandar and some others who had been made prisoners with him, and marched in triumph to Lahore, to which fortress he laid siege. Sayyid Najmud Din, lieutenant of Sikandar, and Malik Khush Khabar, his slave, held the fort, and carried on constant fight with the besiegers. When the Sulṭān received information of these events, he himself marched towards Lahore and sent Malik Sarwar on in advance with a strong force. When the army came near to Sāmāna the infamous Jasrat Ghakkhar abandoned the siege of the fort and went into hills of Tekhar, carrying with him Malik Sikandar. The fief of Lahore was taken from Malikush Sharq Shamsul¹ Mulk, and given into the charge of Khān e 'Azam Nuṣrat Khān Gurg-Andāz. Malik Sarwar brought the family of Shamsul Mulk out of Lahore, and sent them to the capital. Nuṣrat Khān thus became possessed of the fort of Lahore and the fief of Jālandhar. In the month of Zu'l-hijja Jasrat Gakhkhar came down with his followers from the hills, and attacked Nuṣrat Khān at Lahore, but, in the end, was worsted and returned to the hills.²

In the year 836 A.H. (1433 A.D.) the king took the fiefs of Lahore and Jālandhar from Nuṣrat Khān, and gave them to Malik Allahdād Kākā Lodi. When Malik Allahdād arrived at Jālandhar, Jasrat crossed the Biās and attacked him. Jasrat was victorious, and the Malik being obliged to flee went into the mountains of Kothl.³

After the king had been in the capital for a few days, in the month of Jumāda I, the intelligence arrived that Shajkh 'Alī,

1. It is not recorded when it was given to him.

2. Tarikh e Mubarakshahi, 223—25.

3. Tarikh e Mubarakshahi, 226.

the governor of Kābul, was marching with a large force against the *amīrs* who were engaged in the siege of Tabarhind. This troubled His Majesty, for he feared lest these *amīrs*, alarmed at the news, should raise the siege, as it had been raised before. He therefore sent Malik 'Imādul Mulk to support them ; and when that chief arrived, the officers-in-command were encouraged and strengthened. Shaikh 'Alī, marching quickly from Shor, entered the country on the banks of the Biās and after making prisoners of many of the men of Sāhaniwāl and other villages, he went on to Lahore. Malik Yūsuf Sarwar, Malik Isma'īl and the son of Bahār Khān, had been left in charge of the fort of Lahore. They now closed the fort, and opposed the assailants. The people of the city were negligent of their watch and ward ; consequently Malik Yūsuf and Malik Isma'īl left the city by night and fled. Shaikh 'Alī sent a force in pursuit. Many of the horsemen fell under the attack of the accursed pursuers, and many were taken prisoners. Next day the accursed Shaikh 'Alī made all the Muslims of city, both men and women, prisoners. This wretched graceless fellow had no better object or occupation than to lay waste the seats of Islām and to make Muslims captive. After making prisoners of the men of Lahore, he remained there for some days, and repaired the walls of the fortress which had been damaged. Then leaving about 2,000 men, horse and foot, behind with the means of standing a siege, he marched towards Dīpālpur. In Jumāda II, the Sultān received intelligence of these movements. The brave monarch, prompted only by his courage and without hesitation, marched with the limited force which was ready at his command to Sāmāna. Some other chiefs also joined him later. When the enemy heard of these movements, he was alarmed, and took to flight. The Sultān marched on unopposed towards the fort of Shor, which was in possession of Amir Muza'ffar, the nephew of Shaikh 'Alī. He capitulated in the month of Ramaṣān. He gave his daughter to the king's son, and paid a large sum of money as tribute. The band of the accursed¹ people

1. Elliot has wrongly translated it as Mughuls. Elliot and Dowson, IV, 77.

who had entrenched themselves in the fort of Lahore capitulated to Shamsul Mulk in the month of Shawwāl, and he then took possession of the place. The king then retired to Dehli.¹ Malikush Sharq Imādul Mulk had been successful in several important charges, so the Sultān took the fiefs of Dipālpur, Lahore, and Jalandhar from Malik Shamsul Mulk and gave them to Imādul Mulk.²

In 845 A.H. (1441 A.D.) Sultān Muḥammad Shāh went to Sāmāna. He conferred upon Bahlol Khān Lodī the country of Dipālpur and Lahore, and sent him against Jasrat Gakhkhar. Then the Sultān returned to Dehli. Jasrat made peace with Bahlol Khān, and flattered him with hopes of the throne of Dehli. Aspirations of sovereignty now inspired Bahlol Khān and he became intent on forming a party. He called together the Afghāns from all parts around, and enlisted them, so that in a short time he assembled a large force. He also took possession of all the surrounding *parganas*. On a slight pretence he declared war against Sultān Muḥammad Shāh, and marched against Dehli in great force, and besieged it for some time, but was eventually obliged to fall back unsuccessful. The business of the state day by day fell into greater confusion, and affairs came to such a pass that there were *amirs* at twenty *kos* from Dehli who shook off their allegiance, and made pretensions to independence. At length, in the year 849 A.H. (1445 A. D.), Sultān Muḥammad Shāh died.³

Upon the death of Muḥammad Shāh, the *amirs* and nobles assembled and raised his son to the throne, under the title of Sultān Alāud Dīn. Malik Bahlol and all the *amirs* proffered allegiance to him. In a very short time it became evident that the new Sultān was more negligent and incompetent than his father in the duties of government, and the mad ambition of Malik Bahlol grew stronger. In 852 A.H. (1448 A.D.) the Sultān went to Badāūn, and gave himself up to pleasure, resting satisfied

1. *Tarikh e Mubarakshahi*, 229-30.

2. *Ibid.*, 232-3.

3. Cf. *Tabaqat e Akbari*; 214 ; *Firishta*, I, 312-314 ; and *Muntahabul Tawarikh*, I, 304 and 305.

with the little territory that remained to him. After a time, dissension broke out between his wife's two brothers, one of whom was appointed by him governor of Dehli. Both the brothers made war against each other, and one was killed. Next day the citizens killed the other brother in revenge, at the instigation of Hisām Khān, the *Umdatul Mulk* (a Privy Councillor). Disaffected men now incited the Sultān to kill Hamīd Khān, the *Wazīr e Mamlukat* (Minister of the State). The Khān took to flight, and proceeding to Dehli, he, with the connivance of Hisām Khān, took possession of the city, and invited Malik Bahlol to assume the sovereignty. The result was, that Malik Bahlol Lodī came to Dehli with a large force, and took possession of it. After a short time he left a party of his adherents in Dehli, and went to Dīpālpur to organise army. Then he wrote to the Sultān, stating that his opposition was really for the Sultān's benefit, and that he was his devoted servant. To this 'Alāud Dīn replied, 'My father called you his son, and I have no means of resisting you. I will content myself with the single district of Badāūn, and resign the sovereignty to you.' Thus successfull, Malik Bahlol clothed himself with the garments of royalty. Leaving Dīpālpur, he proceeded to Dehli, and ascended the throne with the title of Sultān Bahlol. The nobles who remained with 'Alāud Dīn were confirmed in their privileges. After a while 'Alāud Dīn died and the world went according to the wish of Sultān Bahlol.¹

LODĪS (852—932 A.H)
(1448—1526 A.D.)

During the time of Lodīs we do not find Lahore mentioned by the contemporary chroniclers or later historians except by the end of the rule of last and third ruler of the dynasty, viz., Sultān Ibrāhīm Lodī. Ibrāhīm tried to destroy the feudal chieftains in his empire in order to strengthen his position, but the attempt recoiled upon himself and led to his ruin. The baronial discontent reached its climax when Ibrāhīm cruelly treated Dilāwar Khān, a son of Daulat Khān Lodī, the viceroy of Lahore. The latter was summoned to the court at Āgra from Lahore, but he excused himself on the ground that he would come later with the treasure of the state, and sent his son Dilāwar Khān to avert the wrath of the Sultān.

1. Cf. *Tabaqāt e Akbarī*, 214; *Firishṭa*, I, 314—16; and *Muntakhḥabāt Tawārīkh*, I, 305—307.

LODIS

1. Bahlol
1448—1489

2. Sikandar
1489—1517

3. Ibrāhīm
1517—1526.



for a revolt, and soon after fled, but took shelter in the hill-country to the east of the Panjāb. Bābur on receiving the news of this event, sent for Dilāwar Khān, and gave him the possession of their states, and loaded him with favours. This revolt of a man of such influence in the Panjāb as Daulat Khān, with other adverse circumstances made it inexpedient for him to advance to Dehli, so that he fell back on Lahore. He, soon after, found it necessary to return to Kābul. He had now, however, gained a permanent footing beyond the Indus, and parcelled out the different districts among his most trusted officers. He appointed Mir 'Abdul 'Aziz to the charge of Lahore.'

Scarcely had Bābur crossed the Indus, when Daulat Khān and Ghāzi Khān issued from their retreat in the hills, resumed possession of Sulṭānpur, by vigorous exertions, succeeded in making Dilāwar Khān prisoners, and detained him in close custody. Their army rapidly increased, and they advanced to Dīpālpur, where they defeated Sulṭān 'Alāud Dīn, the governor appointed by Bābur. 'Alāud Dīn escaped and fled to Kābul. Bābur on receiving the intelligence decided to invade India for the fifth time in 932 A.H.² (1525 A. D.).

It would be of some interest to hear from Bābur's own mouth the beginning of the drama of conquest of India, as it was being enacted in those days. 'On Friday, the 18th of Ṣafar, in the year 932 (November 17, 1525),' he says, 'when the sun was in Sagittarius, I set out on my march to invade Hindustān'. On Friday, the 14th of first Rabi' (December, 1525), we arrived at Siālkoṭ. While I was at Siālkoṭ I dispatched Shāham and Nur Beg to the Begs at Lahore enjoining them to ascertain the position of the enemy, and when they had found out from some one well acquainted with the country at what place they could join me, to send me information about it.' At Siālkoṭ 'Alāud Dīn Lodi, Muḥammad 'Alī, the governor of Kalinaur and Khwaja Husain, collector of revenues joined Bābur. Daulat Khān and his son Ghāzi Khān Lodi, who still considered themselves to be in the service of the King Ibrāhīm, were at this time encamped on the

1. Cf. *Memoirs of Babar*, II, 151—52; and *Firishṭa*, I, 375—76.

2. Cf. *Memoirs of Babar*, II, 152—3; and *Firishṭa*, I, 376.

3. *Memoirs of Babar*, II, 155.

banks of the Rāvi, near Lahore, with an army of 40,000 men; but on Babur's approach they retreated, Daulat Khān to the fort of Malot, and Ghāzi Khān to the hills. Bābur having invested Malot, it capitulated after a few days; and Daulat Khān, who had some days before put on two swords, and boasted of the manner in which he would treat Bābur, was ordered to appear with those two swords slung round his neck. Nowwithstanding his conduct, Bābur subsequently forgave him, and took him into favour. On the following day he went in pursuit of Ghāzi Khān, when Dilāwar Khān, the son of Daulat Khān, who had been confined by his father and brother, found means to escape, and was honourably received by Bābur. Ghāzi Khān was subsequently overtaken and defeated; and being followed very closely, was induced to joined Ibrāhīm Lodī at Dehli. Daulat Khān died shortly afterwards.¹

Bābur thereupon marched towards Dehli without entering Lahore. This was Bābur's fifth and last expedition, and the battle of Pānipat, fought on Thursday the 30th Jumāda II, 932 A. H. (April 12, 1526 A.D.), decided the fate of the empire. Ibrāhīm was slain, his army defeated with great slaughter and Dehli captured by the victorious Bābur, who thus laid the foundations of the Mughul empire in Hindustān, although himself did not long survive to enjoy his rule. He died at Āgra in 637 A. H. (1530 A. D.), and his remains were carried to Kābul and buried there.²

1. Cf. *Memoirs of Bābur*, II, 164—75; and *Firishṭa* I, 377—78.

2. Cf. *Memoirs of Bābur*, II, 182; *Firishṭa*, I, 393; and *Muntakhabat Tawārīkh*, I, 340.

CHAPTER SEVEN

MUGHULS (932—947 A. H.)
(1526—1540 A.D.)

AFGHANS (947—962 A.H.)
(1540—1555 A.D.)

HUMĀYŪN AND AFGHĀNS (937—962 A.H.)
(1530—1555 A.D.)

Nāṣirud Dīn Muḥammad Humāyūn ascended the throne at Āgra on the 9th Jumāda I, 937 A.H.¹ (December 28, 1530 A.D.), in the midst of great public rejoicings. No sooner did his brother, Kāmran, who at that time held Kābul and Qandhār, hear of this event, than he marched for the Panjāb, ostensibly to offer his congratulations to his brother on his accession, but in reality to try his own fortune whether he might not be raised to the throne of Hindustān. Having entrusted his territories to the care of 'Askari he moved towards Lahore at the head of a considerable force. Humāyūn who knew him too well to be deceived by these effusive expressions of loyalty sent an envoy in advance to inform him that he had already decided to add Peshāwar and Lamaghān to the fiefs of Kābul and Qandhār held by Kāmran. But Kāmran was not satisfied with this offer and marched down to the Indus. As he drew near to Lahore, he found that Mīr Yūnis 'Alī, who had been its governor under Bābur, was faithful to his trust and adhered to the cause of Humāyūn. Averse to having recourse to warlike operations, Kāmran resorted to a stratagem and succeeded in capturing Lahore. After this success, he took possession of the whole of the Panjab as far as the Sutlaj. Humāyūn who was not prepared for war acquiesced in this forcible seizure, and allowed him to enjoy the kingdoms of Kābul, Qandhār and the Panjāb.²

1. *Ṭabaqāt e Akbarī* (in E. and D.), V, 188.

2. Cf. *Firihīta*, I, 397, and *Akbarnāma*, 330.

In the year 942 A.H. (1535 A.D.) Muḥammad Zamān Mirzā, after his defeat at Mandsūr, having made a diversion on the side of the Panjāb, laid siege to Lahore. Mirzā Kāmran, the governor of Lahore, at this same juncture had proceeded to Qandhār from Lahore. Muḥammad Zamān took advantage of his absence but when he heard tidings of the return of Humāyün to Gujrāt, retraced his steps.¹

When the conflict between Humāyün and Sher Shāh Suri broke out, and Humāyün was finally defeated by Sher Shāh in Dehli on the 10th of Muḥarram, 947 A.H. (May 17, 1540 A.D.) he escaped to Āgra, but seeing that the enemy's army was coming up in pursuit, he could not remain there, so made his way to the Panjāb with all speed.²

At the commencement of Rabi' I, 947 A.H. (August 6, 1540 A.D.) all the Sultāns and Amirs of the Chagḡatai tribe assembled for conference in Lahore. Hypocrisy was still the order of the day, and Muḥammad Sultān and his sons fled from Lahore to Multān, while Mirzā Hindāl and Mirzā Yādgār Nāṣir thought it advisable to proceed to Bhakkar and Ṭhaṭṭa. Mirzā Kāmran prayed that this conference might speedily be dissolved so that he might go to Kābul. In the meantime tidings reached the king that Sher Khān had crossed the river at Sultānpur and had arrived within thirty *kos* of Lahore. Humāyün on the first of the month of Rajab (December 1, 1540 A.D.) in the aforesaid year, crossed the Rāvi, and Mirzā Kāmran, after breaking his solemn vows, agreed for certain reasons to accompany Humāyün as far as the neighbourhood of Bhera. At Bhera, Mirzā Kāmran and Mirzā 'Askari parted from Humāyün, and went off to Kābul, while Humāyün proceeded towards Sind. On the banks of the river Sind a famine arose in the camp, and boats to cross the river were not procurable. Such great scarcity of food prevailed that one seer of millet could sometimes not be bought even for an *ashrafi*.

1. Cf. *Muntahabut Tawārikh*, I, 348; and *Ṭabaqāt e Akbari* (E. and D. V. 199).

2. Cf. *Muntahabut Tawārikh*, I, 355; *Firishta*, I, 305—7; *Tārikh e Rashidi* (Eng. Tr.), 477; and *Tagkiratul Wāqiat* (Eng. Tr.) 25—82.

The greater part of the army perished owing to this scarcity, while others died from want of water, till at last Humāyūn with a smaller number passed on to the districts of Jaisalmer, and the country of Mārwar. After undergoing great hardships and distress he betook himself to 'Irāq and having obtained reinforcements from Shāh Tahmāsp gained possession of Qandhār and Kābul, and collecting a great army re-conquered Hindustān. This exploit will be described later on.¹

Sher Shāh, who had pursued the Emperor from Āgra, through the Panjāb, laid the foundations of a new fort in Rohtās, and having appointed his able general Khawāṣ Khān, viceroy of the province, returned to Āgra.²

Sher Shāh marched from Āgra to Bengāl; but, on his arrival at Behār and Patna, he was attacked with a severe illness. After recovering from illness he returned from Patna in the year 950 A.H. (1543 A.D.) to direct his operations against Mālwa, where he besieged the fortress of Rāisein. He received here a despatch of Khawāṣ Khān, the viceroy of the Panjāb, that between him and Haibat Khān a quarrel had arisen, the results of which might perhaps prove detrimental to the imperial affairs; but that by recalling either of them to the court, the welfare of the empire would be preserved. Sher Shāh consequently called Khawāṣ Khān, Isā Khān Niāzi, and Habib Khān Gakhkhar; and transferred the government of the Panjāb to Haibat Khān Niāzi, to whom he gave orders to wrest Multān from the sway of the Balūchis. Haibat Khān in obedience to the command, arrived in forced marches to Multān and took possession of Multān and its dependencies. He sent a full account of his successful operations in Multān to Sher Shāh; who evinced his gratitude, by bestowing upon him the title of 'Azam Humāyūn and a scarlet tent.³

1. Cf. *Muntakhabat Tawārikh*, I, 356—57; *Tabaqāt e Akbari* (in E. and D., V, 216); *Tārīkh e Sher Shāhi* (in E. and D., IV.) 387; and *Mahẖzan e Afghāni* (Eng. Tr.), 130.

2. Cf. *Tārīkh e Sher Shāhi* (in E. and D., IV., 387); *Tārīkh e Khān Jahān Lodi* (in E. and D., V, 115); *Mahẖzan e Afghāni* (Eng. Tr.), 131 and *Firishṭa*, I, 425.

3. Cf. *Mahẖzan e Afghāni* (Eng. Tr.), 134; and *Firishṭa*, I, 426.

AFGHĀNS

1. Sher Shāh
1540—1545

x

Ghāzī Khān

5. Sikandar
1555

2. Islām Shāh
1545—1552

3. Muhammad
1552—1553

4. Ibrāhīm
1553—1554

The last expedition in which Sher Shāh took part was against the Rājā of Kālānjar in the year 952 A.H. (1545 A.D.). Sher Shāh invested the fortress of Kālānjar, which was one of the strongest and most famous of the forts of Hindustān. The siege was pushed for but when victory was in sight, on Friday the ninth of Rabi' I, 952 A.H. (May 19, 1555 A.D.) Sher Shāh was suddenly burnt by an explosion of a shell that fell down amidst the store of bombs near which he was standing. Sher Shāh's condition grew worse rapidly and he died three days later on Monday the 12th of Rabi' I, 952 A.H. (May 22, 1545 A.D.).¹

After the death of Sher Shāh his descendants gradually lost control over the affairs of the Panjāb and Haibat Khān Niāzi, the viceroy of Lahore appointed by Sher Shāh, became so powerful that by 953 A.H. (1546 A.D.), during the reign of Islām Shāh, the son of Sher Shāh, he stopped obeying the imperial commands. As Badā'uni says, "Day by day the scales turned more in favour of the Niāzi faction, and 'Azam Humāyūn (Haibat Khān) read the *Khutbah* in his own name in Lahore".²

A year later, however, the scales turned. In the year 954 A.H. (1547 A.D.) Khwāja Wais Sirwānī, who had been commissioned by Islām Shāh to proceed against 'Azam Humāyūn; fought a battle with the Niāzis in the vicinity of Dhonkot and was defeated. 'Azam Humāyūn having taken a strong force pursued him as far as Sirhind. Islām Shāh, then, sent a large army against the rebels, and at last they fought another battle in the same country, and on this occasion the Niāzis suffered defeat, and some of their women were captured and sent to Gawāllār. 'Azam Humāyūn was not able to gird himself again to war, and the Niāzi party being scattered asunder grew daily weaker, and at first took refuge with the Gakhkars in the neighbourhood of Rohtās. Islām Shāh, in order to remove the cause of the mischief, marched with a large army, and reaching the Panjāb took up a strong position in the northern hill range. He remained in the Panjāb for two years till the

1. Cf. *Makhzan-e Afghāni* (Eng. Tr.) 141; *Firishāh*, I, 428; and *Muntakhabat Tawārīkh*, I, 374.

2. *Muntakhabat Tawārīkh*, I, 360.

strength of Nizāts was completely broken.¹

After these events Islām Shāh returned towards Gawālīār, which he had made his metropolis, and had arrived at Dehli when tidings arrived that Muḥammad Humāyūn had reached the banks of the Indus, from Afghānistān, with the aim of conquering Hindustān. Islām Shāh ordered all his infantry and artillery to move from Gawālīār to the Panjāb. Due to the shortage of bullock, men were employed to drag the guns and some of the large mortars were of such a size that it took one or two thousand men, more or less, to drag each one. At this rate of speed they reached the Panjāb in the course of seven days. Humāyūn in person, in accordance with certain advantageous plans he had formed, advanced as far as Bhimbar, at the skirt of the mountain range to the north of the Kashmīr frontier, and then returned towards Kābul. Islām Shāh also upon hearing this tidings fled with all haste from Lahore to Gawālīār.²

After an exile of fourteen years Humāyūn again planned to conquer India and in Zulhijja, 961 A.H. (November, 1554) set out from Kābul to march against Hindustān. When the army encamped at Peshāwar, Bairam Khān, according to orders, came up from Qandhār, and the royal standards passed over the river Indus. Bairam Khān, Khizr Khwāja Khān, Tardī Beg Khān, Iskandar Sulṭān, and some other nobles, went on in advance. Tātār Khān Kāsi, the Afghān governor of the Panjāb, commanding the new fort of Rohtās, evacuated the fort and fled. Humāyūn continued his march towards Lahore, and when the Afghāns of that city became aware of the near advance of his army, they took to flight. He entered Lahore without opposition on the 2nd Rabī' II, 962 A.H. (February 23, 1555 A.D.), and then sent on the nobles in command of the advance to Jalandhar and Sirhind. The districts of the Panjāb, Sirhind, and Hīṣār all came without a struggle into the hands of Chaghataī forces.³

1. Cf. *Muntakhabat Tawārikh*, I 386; and *Makhzan e Afghāni* (Eng. Tr.), 164—167.

2. Cf. *Muntakhabat Tawārikh*, I, 412—13; and *Makhzan e Afghāni* (Eng. Tr.), 168—69.

3. Cf. *Muntakhabat Tawārikh*, I, 459; *Tabaqāt e Akbari* (in E. and D., V. 237); *Firgha*, I, 547; and *Turikh e Salafin e Afghāni* (in E. and D.), V, 57.

Sikandar Shāh Sūr, the last ruler of the Sūr dynasty, after being defeated by Humāyūn at Sirhind, fled to Siwālik hills and in the month of Ramaṣān in the year 962 A.H. (July, 1555 A.D.) the City of Dehli became the seat of the imperial glory and majesty, and the most regions of Hindustān for the second time enjoyed the honour of the *khutbah* and *sikkah* of Humāyūn. In this year Humāyūn apportioned the greater part of his territories. The whole of the Panjāb was bestowed upon Shāh 'Abul Ma'ālī, who was despatched to Lahore to keep in check Sultān Sikandar, who had fled into the Siwālik mountains.¹

Humāyūn did not long live to enjoy his rule the second time. On the 7th Rabi' I, 963 A.H. (January 17, 1556 A.D.)², at sunset, the emperor ascended to the roof library, and there stood for a short time. As he was descending, the *muazzin* cried aloud the summons to prayer, and he reverently sat down on the second step. When he was getting up again his foot slipped, and he fell from the stairs to the ground. The people in attendance were greatly shocked and the emperor was taken up senseless and carried into the palace. After a short while he rallied and spoke. The court physicians exerted all their powers, but in vain. Next day he grew worse, and his case was beyond medical help. Shaiikh Jālī was sent to the Panjāb to summon Prince Akbar. On the 11th Rabi' I, 963 A.H. (January 21, 1556 A.D.), at the setting of the sun he left this world for paradise.³

1. Cf. *Muntahabāt Tawārīkh*, I, 462; *Ṭabaqāt e Akbar*: (in E. and D., V. 239); and *Tazkirat al Wāqī'āt* (Eng. Tr.) 117.

2. 8th Rabi' I according to *Ṭabaqāt e Akbarī* and 7th Zulhijja, 965 A.H. according to *Tārīkh Salāṭīn e Afāḡīna*. The latter seems to be quite incorrect.

3. Cf. *Tazkirat al Wāqī'āt*, (Eng. Tr.) 120; Jauhar's *Tazkirat al Wāqī'āt*, f. 113; *Muntahabāt Tawārīkh*, I. 466; *Ṭabaqāt e Akbarī* (in E. and D. V, 240); and *Firishta* I, 359. The *Muntahabāt Tawārīkh* and *Ṭabaqāt e Akbarī* give 15th Rabi' I, as date of Humāyūn's death.

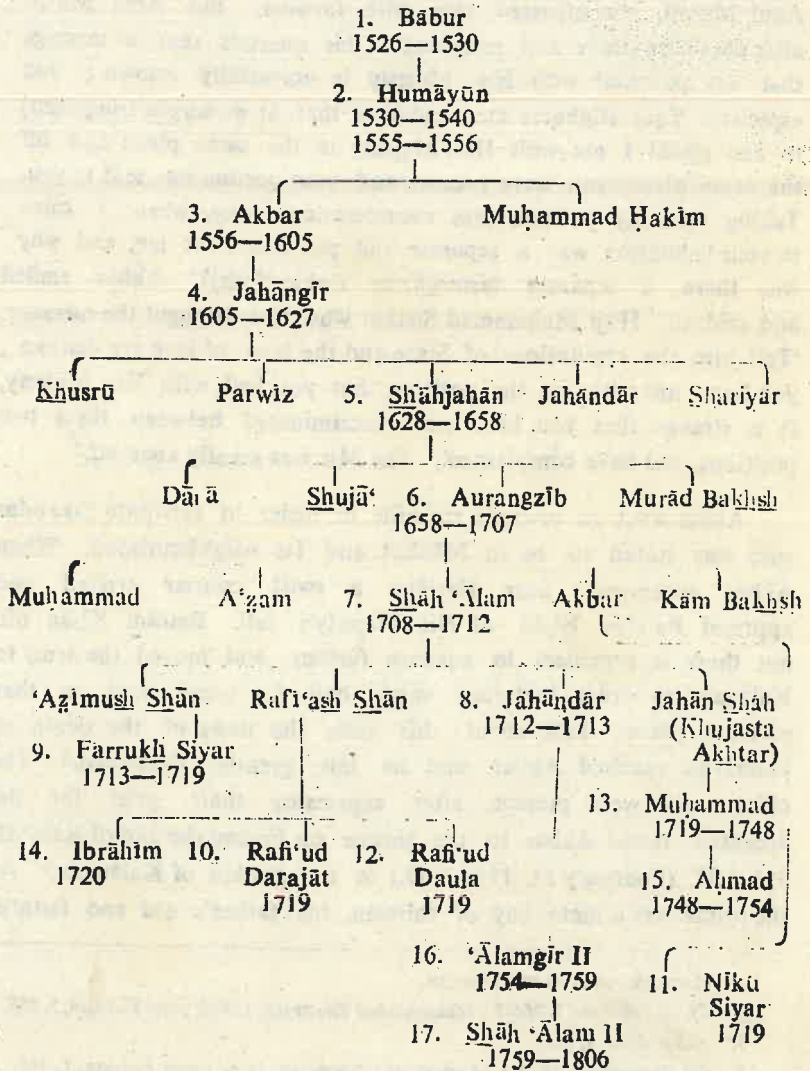
CHAPTER EIGHT

MUGHULS (962—1118 A.H.) (1555—1707 A.D.)

(1) JALĀLUD DĪN AKBAR (963—1014 A.H.) (1556—1605 A.D.)

DURING the time Humāyūn was managing the territories of India unpleasant reports about Shāh Abul Ma'ālī came to the effect that being intoxicated with the harmful wine of the world he was troubling the people, and was conducting himself in ways contrary to the king's command. As His Majesty had a special regard for him he considered such reports as contrary to the truth and as inventions of the envious and malignant. But at length it was noised in the royal camp that Sikandar had come out from the hills and it became certain this infatuated rebel had without authority severed Farhat Khān from the governorship of Lahore and had appointed one of his own creatures in his room. Also that he was laying hands on the royal treasure. Humāyūn then decided to send the young prince Akbar for the protection and government of the Panjāb and to transfer Shāh Abul Ma'ālī to Hīṣār. In the beginning of the year 963 A.H. (November, 1555 A.D.) the prince was appointed to the Panjāb according to the rules of sovereignty and splendour. Bairām Khān was appointed the guardian of His Highness. As Akbar moved towards the Panjāb Atka Khān and other servants came from Hīṣār Firūza and met him on the way. When he arrived at Sirhind all the king's servants who had been appointed as auxiliaries to Shāh Abul Ma'ālī, came away without taking leave from him on hearing of the advance of the prince. They were favourably received. Sikandar, who had come out of the hills, withdrew to them again before the victorious army had encamped. The infatuated Mīr (Shāh Abul Ma'ālī) who had marched out to put him down

MUGHULS



hastened back to Lahore. When it became certain that the province had been given to Akbar, and that he was proceeding thither, Abul Ma'ālī felt constrained to come to the bank of the Sultānpur river (the Beās) and to do homage. Akbar out of kindness, and in order to ratify the favour that had been shown by Humāyūn to Abul Ma'ālī, encompassed him with favours. But Abul Ma'ālī after obtaining leave and returning to his quarters sent a message that 'my position¹ with His Majesty is universally known; and especially Your Highness may recollect that at *qamargha* (ring-hunt) in Jūe Shāhī I ate with His Majesty in the same place and off the same plate; you were present, and your portion was sent to you. Taking then my position into consideration, why, when I came to your habitation, was a separate rug put down for me, and why was there a separate *dastarkhwan* (table-cloth)?' Akbar smiled and said to Hājī Muḥammad Sistānī who had brought the message, 'Tell him the regulations of State and the laws of love are distinct; you have not with me the position that you had with His Majesty. It is strange that you have not discriminated between these two positions, and have complained'. The Mir was greatly abashed.²

Akbar went on towards the hills in order to extirpate Sikandar who was stated to be in Mānkoṭ and its neighbourhood. When Akbar encamped near Hariāna a swift courier arrived and apprised Bairām Khān of His Majesty's fall. Bairām Khān did not think it expedient to advance further, and moved the army to Kalānaur in order that they might halt for some days in that pleasant place. Just about this time the news of the death of Humāyūn reached Akbar and he felt greatly distressed.³ The officers who were present, after expressing their grief for the deceased, raised Akbar to the throne on Friday the 2nd of Rabi' II, 963 A.H. (February 14, 1556 A.D.) in the garden of Kalānaur.⁴ As the prince was a mere boy of thirteen, his father's old and faithful

1. Humāyūn used to call him son.

2. Cf. *Akbar-nāma*, I, 366-7; *Muntakhabat Tawārīkh*, I, 462; and *Firishṭa*, I, 458.

3. *Akbar-nāma*, I, 366.

4. Cf. *Akbar-nāma*, II, 3; *Muntakhabat Tawārīkh*, II, 8; and *Firishṭa*, I, 461.

friend Bairām Khān undertook to act as regent for him, and formally assumed charge of the affairs of the empire.

The first event of importance which took place concerning Lahore, was the capture of Shah Abul Ma'ālī, the viceroy of Lahore, appointed by Humāyūn. On the third day after the accession of Akbar a great assembly was organised in Kalinaur. Before this a message had been sent to Abul Ma'ālī, announcing that a great festival had been agreed upon, and that his presence was necessary. That self-conceited fool made excuses, which were worse than his offence, and among them were that he had not yet left off mourning (for Humāyūn), and that, supposing that he came, how would His Majesty the Emperor behave to him, and where would he sit in the assembly, and how would the officers come forward to receive him? He was sent for again and after making his attendance conditional over certain things he attended. When the festive board was about to spread Bairām Khān gave the order to Tulak Khān Qūchīn, a man of great bodily power, who at that moment appeared on the scene, and, in accordance with a preconcerted plan, went unseen behind Abul Ma'ālī and took him prisoner. But Akbar disapproved of the design, and said that it would be a pity to shed the blood of a possibly innocent man on the very day of his accession. So he was put in chains and sent to Lahore, where those charged with the business put him in charge of Pahlwān Gulgaz, the Chief Constable of Lahore. That foolish man either from carelessness or from an evil design, did not exercise proper caution in guarding the intriguer and so Abul Ma'ālī escaped from jail. Other officers in Lahore imprisoned Pahlwān Gulgaz, and he from fear of disgrace took poison.¹

As the mind of Akbar was not satisfied about the matter of Sikandar, he left a force under the charge of Khizr Khawāja Khān,² to put order into the distracted affairs of the Panjāb and quell the disturbances caused by Sikandar. Isma'īl Beg Dūldāī, 'Alī Qulī Khān, Mīr Latīf, Shah Qulī Nārānjī, Khaliq Bardī Beg

1. Cf. *Akbarnāma*, II, 16—17; and *Muntakhbat Tawārīkh*, II, 9—10.

2. He had married Gulbadan Begam, half-sister of Humāyūn.

and a large force were sent with him. The great officers went and took up their quarters in Lahore. Sikandar, on the invitation of Mulli 'Abdullah Sulṭānpurī, gathered to himself a number of Afghāns and some land-holders of the hill-country of the Panjāb, and came out of the mountains to the Panjāb. Khizr Khawāja Khān set out from Lahore to oppose him. When Khizr Khawāja Khān arrived near town of Chamyāri and was about ten *kos* separated from the enemy, he detached 2,000 picked men and sent them on in advance. Sikandar did not lose the opportunity and met them with a large force. A great battle took place, and the 2,000 were defeated. Khizr Khawāja Khān did not think it was time to stand firm and set off towards Lahore. Sikandar pursued him for a little way, and then regarded the collection of the revenues of the country as a free gift from him. When the news of this reached the royal ears, Sikandar Khān, who had received the title of Khān e 'Ālam was hastily given Sialkot as a *Jāgir*, and sent off with all speed to assist Khizr Khawāja Khān.¹

On Monday the 4th Ṣafar, A.H. (December 7, 1556 A.D.) Akbar himself marched with a large force from Dehlī to settle the affairs of the Panjāb. When Jālandhar became the station of the royal camp, Sikandar withdrew to the hill-country of the Siwālīks, which was his appointed asylum and permanent residence, in order that he might stay there for a while and wait upon events. The royal army, in the hope of extirpating once for all his sedition, followed Sikandar into the Siwālīks and encamped at the town of Dasūha. From there the army proceeded to the town of Dahmīrī. Sikandar, when he heard of this pursuit, fell into confusion and distress, and threw himself into the fort of Mānkoṭ. Akbar's armies, then, proceeded to besiege the fort, and the entrenchments were pushed forward on all sides. When eventually the siege turned out of long duration, and corn became dear among the garrison of Sikandar and his Amīrs deserted him one by one, he brought forward proposals of peace, and sent his son 'Abdur Rahmān, together with Ghāzī Khān Sūr, with a present of elephants to visit the emperor, through the intervention of Atka

1. Cf. *Akbarnāma*, II, 30 and 47 and *Muntahabāt Tawārīkh*, II, 14 and 17.

Khān and Pir Muhammad Khān, on Saturday the 27th of Ramāzān in the year 964 A.H. (May 24, 1557 A.D.), and surrendered the fort. Then Akbar issued a *farmān* that Jaunpur should be given temporarily to Sikandar in fief. On the 2nd Shawwāl, 964 A.H. (July 31, 1557 A.D.), the army, after a stay of six months odd, left the slopes of the Siwaliks for Lahore, in order that it might proceed to Āgra after having arranged the affairs of the Panjāb.¹

Of the events which happened during the stay of the emperor in Lahore for the warning of strife-mongers there was the bringing to capital punishment of Takht Mal, the *Zamīndār* of Māu (Paṭhānkoṭ). This *Zamīndār* became a companion of Sikandar and was a cause of his errors. When the royal army besieged Mānkoṭ, and the garrison had got into difficulties he, according to *zamīndārī* tricks, joined the royal army. When Bairām Khān became apprised of his intrigues he had him executed.²

When Akbar's mind was free from the affairs of the Panjāb he spent four months and fourteen days in Lahore. When his officers had settled matters, the government of Lahore was entrusted to Husain Khān, and the victorious standards advanced on Tuesday 15 Ṣafar, 965 A.H. (December 7, 1557 A.D.) towards the capital of Dehli.³

Nearly two years later in the year 967 A.H. (1560 A.D.), when Bairām Khān fell into disfavour, an order was sent to Shamsud Dīn Muḥammad Khān Atka,⁴ who was in Bhera, directing him to come to Lahore and to make over that city to Mir Muḥammad Khān Kalān, and to come himself rapidly to Court. Shamsud Dīn acted according to command and hastened to render service. When Shamsud Dīn Muḥammad Khān Atka entered upon service he was received with princely favours. In conformity with his loyalty he attained to a lofty dignity which he had not

1. Cf. *Akbarnāma*, II, 48-60; and *Muntakhabat Tawārīkh*, II, 18-20.

2. *Akbarnāma*, II, 63.

3. *Akbarnāma*, II, 64.

4. His wife was wet-nurse of Akbar. Humāyūn called her Jiji. Angah. Akbar called Shamsud Dīn Atka (foster-father) Khān.

even imagined. The standard, drum and *tūmān togh* of Bairām Khān were presented to him, and he was entrusted with the government of the Panjāb. Shortly afterwards news were brought of Bairām Khān's proceeding from Bikanir to the Panjāb, and Akbar decided to send an army to block his progress, so that there might be no disturbance in the province of Lahore (Panjāb). Shamsud Dīn Muḥammad Khān Atka and other nobles were despatched to Lahore to prevent Khān Khānān from going there. After they had started His Majesty as a measure of increased precaution, made arrangements for his own expedition also.¹

When Akbar was halting at Ludhiāna news came of the victory of Atka Khān and the flight of the Khān Khānān towards the mountains of Siwālik. The captives were brought into the Emperor's presence, and he had them imprisoned. The title of Khān e 'Azam was conferred on Shamsud Dīn, and extensive *Jāgirs* were bestowed on him and his family in the Panjāb.²

In the beginning of Rabī' I, 969 A.H. (November, 1561 A.D.) Shamsud Dīn Muḥammad Khān Atka, went from the Panjāb to the imperial court and did homage. He presented splendid gifts, such as were befitting his loyalty, and was exalted by the glorious favours of the emperor. He was made the Prime Minister. He undertook the management of affairs, political and financial, and disposed of matters relating to the army and to the civil population according to his own sound judgement.³

After the appointment of Shamsud Dīn Muḥammad Khān Atka to the premiership, the Panjāb seems to have been left in charge of Khān e Kalān, Qutbud Dīn Muḥammad Khān and a number of other officers for about three years, after which Mīr Muḥammad Khān was appointed the viceroy of the province.⁴ It was during his reign the peace of Lahore was disturbed by Muḥammad Hakīm Mirzā, the Emperor's half-brother, who having been

1. Cf. *Akbarnāma*, II, 95 and 110 ; and *Muntaḥḥabut Tawārikh*, II, 43.

2. Cf. *Akbarnāma*, II, III—114 ; and *Muntaḥḥabut Tawārikh*, II, 43.

3. Cf. *Akbarnāma*, II, 149 ; and *Muntaḥḥabut Tawārikh*, II, 52.

4. *Akbarnāma*, II, 169, 239, 410 and 411.

expelled from Kabul, sought to establish himself in the Panjāb. The Emperor received the news of the disturbances at Kābul in the year 974 A.H. (1566 A.D.), and sent by the hand of a state-messenger Khushkhabar Khān a saddle, a bridle adorned with jewels, and precious things of Hindustān, and substantial sum of money to Muḥammad Ḥakīm Mīrzā, together with a reassuring *farmān* promising him the assistance of the Amīrs of the Panjāb. Mīrzā hastened to meet the envoy, and intended to come to Court, when Farīdūn Khān, his maternal uncle whom the Emperor had sent from Nagarchīn to bring the disturbances to an end, suddenly arrived, and immediately on his arrival tried to seduce the Mīrzā into rebellion, and so changed the aspect of affairs. Hasan Khān, who was at Kābul and one Sultān 'Alī, a scribe who had fled from Hindustān and was waiting for something to turn up, joined with Farīdūn Khān in representing to the Mīrzā that it would be very easy to capture Lahore. Then, when he agreed to their rebellious proposals, they tried to induce him to seize the person of Khushkhabar Khān. But the Mīrzā through his generosity sent privately for him and dismissed him. Muhammad Ḥakīm Mīrzā then marched towards India. As he reached in the neighbourhood of Bhera he set his hand to spoiling and plundering the district. Then, setting out for Lahore, he came by forced marches, and encamped in the garden of Mahdī Qāsim Khān, which was situated outside the city on the banks of the river Rāwī.¹ Mīrzā's designs, however, were soon made public; and the officers

1. The *Darbār-e Akbarī*, p. 288, says where Jahāngīr's tomb now is. But this is incorrect. Latif says (*Lahore*, p. 26, f. n.), "The garden referred to stood on the bank of the Rāwī branch (or Chootā Rāwī), close to *Karbala of Shīas*, where the Mahomedans bury their *taḥīas* on the 10th of Moharram, south-west of the tomb of Dātā Ganj Baksh and behind the Government School premises, or the ice-pits. A very high dome known as Gumbaz Qāsim Khān, existed here until lately. This was the mausoleum of the Mahomedan noble after whose name the garden was called. The building was double storeyed with vaulted chambers round it. It was one of the most handsome and imposing buildings of Lahore, the graceful and majestic tower of which is still fresh in the memory of the people. The son of Kishen Singh *Kamboh*, who laid some pretensions to its ownership destroyed it for the sake of its bricks and nothing of the monument remains but a heap of lime and pieces of bricks." The location of Bagh Mehdi Qāsim Khān on this side of the Rāwī is also borne out by Badāūni who when referring to another retreat of Muḥammad Ḥakīm Mīrzā after a stay in this garden, remarks, "When the Mīrzā heard this news (approach of Akbar), he crossed the river of Lāhor, and turned his reins back to Kābul." (*Muntakhbat Tawārīkh*, II, 293).

of the Panjāb, particularly Mīr Muḥammad Khān, the viceroy of the Panjāb, and all the Atkah-khans with their *posse comitatus* came into the fortress of Lahore, and however much Mīrzā attacked it, they so repulsed him that they gave him no opportunity to formally invest it. Now, when the reports from the Amīrs reached the emperor, he leaving Āgra in charge of Mun'im Khān, and Muẓaffar Khān, on the 3rd of Jumāda I, 974 A.H. (November 17, 1566 A.D.) marched on the Panjāb by way of Dehlī and Sirhind. And Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm on the mere hearing of this news, without effecting anything, went back to Kābul.

Akbar reached Lahore in the middle of Rajab (near the end of February, 1567 A.D.) and appointed Qutbud Dīn Muḥammad Khān, and Kamāl Khān Gakhkhār to go from Lahore in pursuit of Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm. They went a certain distance and then turned back from Bhera.¹

At this time the Emperor held a *Qamargha*² at about five *kos* from Lahore. For a space of 40 *kos* in every direction they drove the wild game together in a circle, and day by day they contracted the circle, till it became very narrow. About 15,000 wild animals of various kinds were counted in that area. The nobles, and afterwards the people generally, were permitted to join in the sports.³ On Monday the 12th of Ramaẓān, 974 A.H. (March 23, 1567 A.D.) the emperor committed the whole administration of the province of the Panjāb again to Mīr Muḥammad Khān Atkah,⁴ who was ruling the province since 1564 A.D.,⁵ and himself returned towards the capital, Āgra.⁶

Near the middle of the thirteenth year of his reign (976 A.H./1568 A.D.) Akbar, for political reasons, decided to

1. Cf. *Akbarnāma*, II, 276-7; and *Muntakhabut Tawārīkh*, II, 90-91.

2. A Turkī word denoting a great *battle*; De Courteille merely calls it *lieu de chasse*.

3. Cf. *Akbarnāma*, II, 277; and *Muntakhabut Tawārīkh*, II, 92.

4. The elder brother of Shamsud Dīn Muḥammad Khān Atka.

5. *Akbarnāma*, II, 239.

6. Cf. *Akbarnāma*, II, 286; and *Muntakhabut Tawārīkh*, II, 94.

remove the officers of the Atka clan from the Panjāb and entrusted the government of the province to Husain Qulī Khān, who on account of his good services received the title of Khān Jahān. Abul Fazl, the court historian of Akbar, reading as usual the mind of his master and justifying his acts, records on this occasion, 'whenever a large body is gathered together of one mind and speech, and show much push and energy, it is proper to disperse them, firstly for their own good, and secondly for the welfare of the community.' Accordingly the wisdom and statesmanship of the Shahinshāh demanded that the loyal members of the Atka Khail, who had for a long time been gathered together in the Panjāb and been administering that province, should leave it, and after appearing at the court should have charge of another territory. Consequently all the officers of the Panjāb reported to the Emperor at Āgra in Rabī' I, 976 A.H. (August, 1568 A.D.). After a short period, the Sarkār of Sambal was made the fief of Mīr Muḥammad Khān Atka, Sarkār of Mālwa given to Qutbud Dīn Muḥammad Khān, and Sarkār of Qanauj to Sharīf Khān.¹

In the beginning of the sixteenth year of his reign (Shawwāl 978 A.H. (March, 1571 A.D.), Akbar visited Ajudhan (Pāk Paṭṭan) to pay his benedictions to the mausoleum of Saint Farīd Shakar Ganj. The place being a jāgīr of Khān A'zam Mīrzā 'Azīz Koka, His Majesty was sumptuously entertained by him. His Majesty went on from there, and hunting he arrived at Lahore on Thursday the 22nd Zuhijja 978 A.H. (May 17, 1571 A.D.). Husain Qulī Khān, the viceroy of the Panjāb, performed the rites, of service and loyalty, and at his request Akbar visited his quarters which had been newly prepared. When the affairs of this country had been disposed of His Majesty left Lahore for Hīṣār on 1st Muḥarram 979 A.H. (May 26, 1572 A.D.).²

In 981 A.H. (1573 A.D.) great officers from the provinces went to the imperial court to do homage to the emperor. Among

1. Cf. *Akbarnāma*, II, 332-3 ; and *Muntakhbat Tawārīkh*, II, 105.

2. Cf. *Akbarnāma*, II, 362-4 ; and *Muntakhbat Tawārīkh*, II, 133-34.

them was Husain Quli Khān, the viceroy of the Panjāb. Each of the officers who had done good service was rewarded with glorious favours. At this time Husain Quli Khān was exalted with the title of Khān Jahān.¹

On the 15th November, 1575 A.D., His Majesty directed Khān Jahān, who was prepared with a victorious army to proceed to the conquest of Badakhshān, to march to Bengāl and to conquer and clear that country. Rājah Todar Mal, who was an able and experienced man, was appointed to accompany him and an order was given that all the Bengāl officers and land-holders should regard Khān Jahān as the executor of the orders of the emperor, consider his will and pleasure as those of the sovereign, and properly exert themselves for the conquest and civilisation of the country. The government of the Panjāb was taken from him and given to Shāh Quli Khān Mahram, who was renowned among the brave and right-thinking.²

In 986 A.H. (1578 A.D.) Akbar proceeded to Lahore and on his way halted at Kalānaur and stayed in the garden of that city where his accession had taken place. He gave a feast there. He crossed the Beās by a bridge near Khokhowāl. When the royal cortege first arrived in the province (near Khokhowāl) a large number of suppliants for justice had come and complained that Shāh Quli Mahram did not attend to the punishment of oppressors, and that in consequence the administration of justice was not in a good taste. His Majesty censured Shāh Quli Khān Mahram and quited the grieved hearts by appointing Sa'id Khān in his place as viceroy of the Panjāb. Sa'id Khān was detailed properly for his duties and the emperor sent along with him to Lahore abundance of money for the poor and the empty-handed. He observed to Rājah Todar Mal that he had learnt that many Afghāns had settled in the towns and villages of the Panjāb. Though some professed to be traders and some to be husbandmen, yet there were signs

1. Cf. *Akbarnāma*, III, 40; and *Muntakhabut Tawārikh*, II, 165.

2. Cf. *Akbarnāma*, III, 230; and *Muntakhabut Tawārikh*, II, 216 & 218.

of their being wicked. From time to time it appeared that they oppressed the weak, and that such things were not promptly inquired into; also the weak were unable to produce evidence. It appeared to His Majesty that this body of men (Afghāns) should be scattered and be sent in detachments to different provinces, so that the people might obtain relief from the burden of oppression, and also that the Afghāns might not become vagabonds.¹

In the month of Muharram of the year 989 A.H.² (February, 1581 A.D.) news arrived that Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm, the ruler of Kābul on the invitation of Ma'sūm Kābulī and Ma'sūm Farankhūdī, and at the instigation of Farīdūn Khān, who was his maternal uncle, and a regular leprous spot, set out with the intention of conquering Hindustān. He sent his servant Shādmān over the Indus, but Mān Singh, son of Bhagwān Dās marched to oppose him, and slew him. On hearing the news, the Mīrzā crossed the Indus, and encamped in the environs of Sayyidpūr. Upon this the emperor, having advanced the soldiers eight months, pay out of the treasury, and leaving the Prince Dāniyāl with Sultān Khawājah Ṣadr, and Shaikh Ibrāhīm Chishtī, as vicegerents, marched from Fathpūr towards the Panjāb. At the Sarāe of Bāb, which is 15 *kos* from Fathpūr, news arrived of the victory of Shahbāz Khān over Ma'sūm Farankhūdī.

Mān Singh found in the portfolio of Shādmān three letters of Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm addressed respectively to Ḥakīmūl Mulk Gilānī, Shāh Manṣūr Diwān and Qāsim Khān Mir e Bahr. He sent them *verbatim* to the emperor, who read them, but kept the matter to himself.

At Dehlī news arrived, that the Mīrzā was encamped at Lahore in the garden of Mehdī Qāsim Khān, and that Rājah Bhāgwān Dās and Mān Singh, and Sa'īd Khān, the viceroy of the Panjāb, had shut themselves up in the fortress. They strengthened

1. Cf. *Akbarnāma*, III, 247; and *Muntakhbat Tawārīkh*, II, 254.
2. Laṭīf wrongly calls it 1579. (*Lahore*, 28).

the fort somewhat and prepared for war. As the order was, not to engage, they abode in the batteries and from prudence they restrained the learned foolish talkers of the city from making confusion, and prevented the gates from being opened. Several times did Sher Khwāja, Nād 'Alī, Qurbān 'Alī and Mīr Sikandar make attacks from the side of the besiegers, but they did not succeed. The Mīrza became from time to time more distressed on account of the non-advancement of the work, and showed dissatisfaction with his prating companions. In the meantime the emperor came by way of Sirhind to Kalānaur and Rohtās, and reached the Indus. When the Mīrza heard this news, he quickly turned to fly on Monday the 23rd Muḥarram 989 A.H. (February 27, 1581 A.D.) after a stay of 21 days. He crossed the Rāvī one *kos* above Mehdi Qāsim Khān's garden and hastened off in confusion to Kābul. On that night he halted for a while in the neighbourhood of Shāham 'Alī, and then crossed the Chenab near Jalālabād. Many of his companions lost their lives in that crossing.¹

In January 1583 A.D. the Commander-in-Chiefship (Viceroyalty) of the province of the Panjāb was bestowed on Rājah Bhagwant Dās and Sa'īd Khān received a *jāgīr* in Sambal.²

At the beginning of the year 993 A.H. (1584 A.D.), which was the end of the 29th year of the emperor's reign, Mīrza Shāhrukh and Rājah Bhagwant Dās arrived near Fathpūr, and having sent the Prince Dāniyāl with Shaikh Ibrāhīm Chishti, and a number of Amīrs to meet them, they conducted them to the court. Meanwhile the emperor, in accordance with his established custom of connecting himself with Hindu families, married the Prince Sulṭān Salim in his sixteenth year to the daughter of Rājah Bhagwant Dās. And going himself to his house the emperor celebrated the ceremony of marriage in the presence of the Qāzīs and nobles on about February 16, 1584 A.D. (5 Isfandārmaz). The sum of two

1. Cf. *Akbarnāma*, III, 342—46; and *Muntakhbat Tawārīkh*, II, 291—3.

2. *Akbarnāma*, III, 587.

karors of tankahs was fixed as the marriage settlement. And they performed all the ceremonies, which are customary among the Hindūs, such as lighting the fire, etc., and over the litter of the princess the emperor ordered gold to be scattered all the way from that house to the palace. Rājah Bhagwant Dās gave as his daughter's dowry, several strings of horses, and a hundred elephants, and boys and girls of Abyssinia, India and Circassia, and all sorts of golden vessels set with jewels, and jewels, and utensils of gold, and vessels of silver and all sorts of stuff, the quantity of which is beyond all computation. And to each one of the Amīrs, who were present, according to their station and rank, he gave Persian, Turkish, and Arabian horses, with golden saddles, etc.¹

In the year 1586 A.D. Rājah Bhagwant Dās became mad. He was appointed to go to Afghānistān and help Kunwar Mān Singh in punishing the Yūsufzāis. When he took leave to go to Kābul, he crossed the Indus, and put up in the sarāe of Khairābād. For some days he looked after military matters. Suddenly, his intellect grew darkened, and he became very giddy. They were compelled to bring him back to Attock, and to place him under care. A physician named Sāmān was feeling his pulse, when suddenly he drew his dagger and wounded himself. On hearing this, His Majesty sent Hakīm Hasan and Mahādev along with Khangār and Daulat Khān in order that the Rājah's friends might employ whichever of the four they preferred. They chose Mahādev, and after a long time he got better.

When Rājah Bhagwant Dās fell ill, Isma'il Quli was sent in his room. He, from inexperience and selfishness, formed crude wishes, and indulged in idle thoughts. He fell out of favour, and order was given that he should be put on board a boat and shipped off, *via* Bhakkar, to the Hijāz. He awoke somewhat from his somnolence, and had recourse to supplications. Though his apologies were accepted, he was removed from his post and ordered to chastise the Yūsufzāis.²

1. Cf. *Akbarnāma*, III, 451; and *Muntakhabat Tawārikh*, II, 341.

2. *Akbarnāma*, III, 491-2.

In May, 1586 A.D., Akbar decided to move to the Panjāb and stay there for a while to give peace to Afghānistān, cleanse Swāt and Bajāur of the stain of rebellion, uproot the thorn of the Rāshnāis from Tīrah and Bangash, seize the garden of Kashmīr, and bring the populous country of Tatta (Sind) within the empire. Furthermore, should the ruler of Tūrān remove the foot of friendliness, he would send a strong army thither, and follow it up in person. With these plans he resolved to spend some time in Lahore, the capital. He traversed 112½ *kos* from Attōck-Benāres in twenty-six marches and reached Lahore on the night of the 27th May, 1586 A.D. (15th Khurdād). He selected for his residence the house of Rāja Bhagwant Dās.

By the end of the year 1586 A.D., when Akbar had conquered Kashmīr and executed some of his other plans he thought of appointing and transferring the viceroys of the different provinces. This time he decided to nominate two able officers to every province so that if one came to court, or should fall ill, the other might look after his work. He also sent with them a Diwān, and a Bakhshī. Lahore was entrusted again to Rāja Bhagwant Dās and with him was appointed Rāe Pāl Singh as a co-viceoy. As the court was there no Diwān and Bakhshī were appointed and the palace Diwān and Bakhshī performed these duties.¹

At Barik 'Alī, in Afghānistān, news came that Rāja Bhagwant Dās had died. His Majesty was somewhat grieved at this. The Rāja had been at the cremation of Rāja Todar Mal, and when he returned to his house, he vomited and had an attack of strangury. After five days he departed from this world on 3rd Āzar (13th or 14th November, 1589 A.D.). His son Kunwar Mān Singh received the title of Rāja and the rank of 5,000. It appears that Akbar had a presentiment about the approaching ends of those two officers. When he went on expeditions, he, as a rule, did not leave more than two high officers in the capital, and he had arranged that Rāja Bhawant Dās and Rāja Todar Mal should be in the capital of Lahore. On the very day of the march, Qilij Khān was also sent off. So Qilij Khān took over the reins

1. *Akbarnāma*, III, 511.

of the Government immediately after Rāja Bhagwant Dās died. Madho Singh was sent off from the imperial court to assist Qilij Khān in administration and financial matters.¹

In 1592 Akbar introduced a new arrangement for government of provinces. Under this arrangement on February 12, 1592 A.D. the provinces of the Panjab, Multān, Kābul and Kashmīr were made over to Khwāja Shamsud Dīn Khwāfi, one of the Amirs of Akbar, and Qilij Khān was relieved of his duties.² Two years later on the 25th April, 1594 A.D. the charge of mint³ of Lahore was also given to Khwāja Shamsud Dīn Khwāfi, the collectors of all the provinces, the fief-holders and the assayers of the mint were summoned, and a proper test and just weight were assigned to the coins.

In May 1594, a ship was completed on the banks of the Rāvi. The length of the keel, which formed the foundation of this wooden house, was 35 Ilāhī yards. 2936 large planks (*shahtīr*) of sāl and pine, and 468 *mans* and two *seers* of iron, were used in building it, and 240 carpenters and blacksmiths and others were employed. His Majesty went to see the spectacle. A thousand persons struggled to drag it along. In ten days it was brought from the dry land to the water, and sent to Bandar Lāharī. There was much difficulty on account of deficiency of water.⁴

In 1600 A.D. Khwāja Shamsud Dīn Khwāfi died. He was one of the singular of the age for success, truthfulness and courage. His Majesty grieved at the departure of this able man, showed suitable favour to his survivors. He appointed his younger brother Momin, who was distinguished for propriety, to the same office.⁵

1. Cf. *Akbarnāma*, II, 570 and *Muntakhabat Tawārīkh*, II, 371-2.

2. *Akbarnāma*, III, 605.

3. Reference is made to this mint by Abul Faḡl (*Akbarnāma*, II, 227) in 1577 A.D., when Akbar gave charge of this mint to Muḡaffar Khān and ordered that square rupees should be coined.

4. *Akbarnāma*, III, 651.

5. *Akbarnāma*, III, 777.

It cannot be ascertained with exactness for how long Momin remained in power but we find Qiliġ Khān, a great general of Akbar's army, installed on the *gāddi* as viceroy of the Panjāb in 1010 A.H. (1602 A.D.). At this time he was ordered by Akbar to send his son, Hasan Qiliġ, with a body of troops to put down disturbance in Rohtās, Qiliġ Khān remained the viceroy of the Panjāb till the death of Akbar in 1605 A.D.¹

For fourteen years, namely, from 1584 to 1598 A.D., Akbar made Lahore his headquarters, and from it all his military operations and campaigns were organised. He died on the night of Wednesday the 12th of Jumāda II, 1014 A.H. October 25, 1605 A.D.),² in Āgra and was buried in the tomb at Sikandara, which he had commenced to build during his life-time.

(2) NŪRUD DĪN JAHĀNGĪR (1014—1037 A.H.)
(1605—1628 A.D.)

Jahāngir ascended the throne on Thursday the 20th Jumāda II, 1014 A.H.³ (November 2, 1605)⁴, in the 38th year of his age, at Āgra in the midst of great rejoicings.

The administration and government of the Panjāb was bestowed on Sa'īd Khān, who was one of the confidential nobles of Akbar. His origin was from a Mughul tribe, and his ancestors were in the service of the Mughul rulers. At the time of his taking leave, as it was said that his eunuchs oppressed and tyrannized the weak and the poor, Jahāngir sent him a message, 'My justice will not put up with oppression from anyone, and that in the scales of equity neither smallness nor greatness

1. *Akbarnāma*, III, 1207, 1254 and 1256.

2. 'Inayatullah, *Takmilā e Akbarnāma* (E.&D., VI, 115).

3. Rogers and Beveridge, *Tuzuk e Jahāngiri*, I, 1. Some MSS. have 8th Jumāda II, as the date of accession; and *Iqbalnāma e Jahāngiri* (p. 2) gives 11th of Jumāda II, but this is clearly wrong, as Akbar did not die till the morning of the 13th Jumāda II. Evidently the copyists have, as is so often the case, misread *bistum* as *hashtum*. In *Farhang e Jahāngiri* (p. 6) the date of accession is recorded as Tuesday the 20th Jumāda I, 1014 A.H.

4. The *Hijra* date has been wrongly converted by Rogers and others into Christian date. This is the correct conversion.

is regarded. If after this any cruelty or harshness was observed on the part of your people, you will receive punishment without favour.¹

Nearly six months after his accession, Jahāngir's eldest son, Khusrū, broke into open rebellion. Jahāngir records, 'Futile ideas had entered the mind of Khusrū in consequence of his youth, and the pride youths have, and the lack of experience and the lack of foresight of worthless companions... I invariably found Khusrū pre-occupied and distracted. However much, in favour and affection for him, I wished to drive from his mind some of his fears and alarms, nothing was gained until, at last, by the advice of those whose fortune was reversed, on the night of Sunday the 8th Zulhijja, 1014 A.H. (April 16, 1606, A.D.) when two *ghazis* had passed, he made a pretence of going to visit the tomb of His Majesty (Akbar), and went off with 350. horsemen, who were his adherents, from within the fort of Āgra.² In the morning the news was brought that Khusrū was making for the Panjāb. Jahāngir also followed him the same morning. When Khusrū arrived at Mathurā he met Hussain Beg Badakhshī, who was coming from Kabul to wait on the emperor. Khusrū regarded this meeting as a godsend and succeeded in alluring Husain Beg to join him by making him the captain of 200 Badakhshān Aimāqs,³ who were with him. Anyone whom they met, they plundered of horses and goods. Merchants and conveyers of goods were plundered on the road.

1. Tuzuk (Eng. Tr.), I, 12-13.

2. Tuzuk (Eng. Tr.), I, 51-3.

3. This is the specific name of a tribe, as well as a generic term to signify a tribe. The particular tribe of Aimāks is noticed in Bidle's *Bohkāra* p. 79; *David's Turkish Grammar*, p. xliii. The Aimaks of Afghānistān lie to the west of Hazāra—Elphinstone's *Cabul*, vol. i, p. 162; vol. ii pp. 242-49. For its generic meaning see *Modern University History*, vol. iii, pp. 251-334: "Each of the three great branches of the Muguls is divided into aymaks or tribes. Every aymack is compound of a number of families, who usually encamp together, and never separate without acquainting their chief. When an aymack or tribe is assembled, whether to fight to their enemies, or for any other particular reason, it is called orda, as the Europeans term it, a horde. *Ibid.*, vol. iv, p. 79.

Following Khusrū and his comrades, Jahāngīr reached Hōdal on 10th Zulhijja. Shaikh Farid Bakhshī and a band of valiant men were chosen to pursue Khusrū and to become the vanguard of the imperial army. Jahāngīr reached Dehlī on the 13th. At the time that Khusrū had left Dehlī and was proceeding to Pānipat, it happened that Dilāwar Khān had arrived there. When shortly before Khusrū's arrival he heard of this affair, he sent his children across the Jamunā and bravely determined to hasten on and throw himself into the fort of Lahore before Khusrū should arrive. Dilāwar Khān, on his way to Lahore, informed everyone and everybody of the servants of the court and *karoriyān*, and the merchants whom he came across, of the exodus of Khusrū. Some he took with him and others he told to stand aside out of the way. Thus Dilāwar Khān, by his rapid march, entered the fort of Lahore before Khusrū reached it.

On Tuesday the 24th of the same month five of the attendants and comrades of Khusrū were captured by the royal army. Two of these, who confessed to his service, were ordered, by Jahāngīr, to be thrown under the feet of elephants and three who denied were placed in custody that enquiry might be made. When Dilāwar Khān entered the fort with a few men he began to strengthen the towers and walls. Wherever these were broken and thrown down he repaired them. Assembling the small number of the royal servants who were in the fort, they were assigned their several duties, and people of the city also with loyalty gave their assistance. Two days later, when all was ready, Khusrū arrived, and having fixed a place for his camp, gave orders to invest the city and to prepare for battle, and to burn one of the gates on any side where one could be got at. 'After taking fort,' he said to his crew, 'I will give orders to plunder the city for seven days to make captive the women and children.' Khusrū's crew after all succeeded in setting fire to a gate of the fort. But Dilāwar Beg Khān, Husain Beg the *diwān*, and Narud Dīn Qulī, the *kotwāl*, who were all inside the fort, built a wall inside opposite the gateway and did not allow Khusrū's forces to pass in.

Meantime Sa'id Khān, who was one of those appointed to Kashmīr and was now encamped on the Chenāb, having heard the news, started rapidly for Lahore. When he reached the Rāyī he sent word to the garrison of the fort to admit him. They sent someone at night and conducted him and some of his men inside. When the siege had lasted nine days, news of the approach of the royal army came repeatedly to Khusrū and his adherents. They became helpless and made up their minds that they must face the royal army.

'As Lahore', says Jahāngīr, 'is one of the greatest places in Hindustān, a great number of people gathered in six or seven days. It was reported on good authority that 10,000 or 12,000 horses were collected, and had left the city with the view of making a night attack on the royal vanguard. This news was brought to me at the Sarāe of Qāzi 'Alī on the night of Thursday the 16th. Although it rained heavily in the night I beat the drum of march and mounted. Arriving in Sultānpur at dawn I remained there till noon. By chance, at this place and hour the victorious army encountered that ill-fated band. Mu'izzul Mulk had brought a dish of *biryānī*, and I was turning towards it with zest when the news of the battle was brought to me. Though I had a longing to eat the *biryānī*, I immediately took a mouthful by way of augury and mounted without waiting for the coming up of men and without regard to the smallness of my force I went off in all haste. However much I demanded my *chiltah* (wadded coat), they did not produce it. My only arms were a spear and sword, but I committed myself to the favour of God and started off without hesitation. At first my escort did not number more than fifty horsemen; no one had expected a fight that day. In fine, when I reached the head of the bridge of Gobindwāl 400 or 500 horse, good and bad, had come together. When I had crossed the bridge the news of victory was brought to me. The bearer of the good news was Shamsī, *tūshakchī* (wardrobe man), and for his good news he obtained the title of Khushkhabar Khān. Mir Jamālud Dīn Husain, whom I had sent previously

to advise Khusrū, came up at the same time and said such things about the number and bravery of Khusrū's men as frightened his bearers. Though news of victory came continuously, this simple-minded Sayyid would not believe it and expressed incredulity that such an army as he had seen could be defeated by Shaikh Farid's force, which was small and not properly equipped. When they brought Khusrū's litter with two of his eunuchs, the Mīr admitted what had happened.

In this command Shaikh Farid behaved with sincerity and devotion. The Sayyids of Bārha, who are of the brave ones of the age, and who have held this place in every fight in which they have been, formed the van. Saif Khān, son of Sayyid Mahmūd Khān Bārha, the head of the tribe, had shown great bravery and had received seventeen wounds. Sayyid Jalāl, also of the brethren of this band, received an arrow in his temple and died a few days later. At the time when the Sayyids of Bārha, who were not more than fifty or sixty in number, having received wounds from 1,500 Badakhshī horsemen, had been cut to pieces, Sayyid Kamāl, who, with his brothers, had been appointed to support the van, came up on the flank and fought with wondrous bravery and manliness. After that the men of the right wing raised the cry of Pādshāh Salāmat (Long live the King) and charged, and the rebels hearing the words, gave up and scattered abroad to various hiding places. About 400 Aimāqs became crushed on the plain of anger and overcome by victorious army. Khusrū's box of jewels and precious things which he had always with him fell into our hands.¹

In the night, after the battle, Khusrū with a handful of his followers, arrived on the banks of the Chenāb, intending to have crossed over the ferry of Khānpur; but not finding a boat there, they proceeded to Sohdara. Here were lying two boats, one empty and without men, and the other loaded with firewood and straw. They forced the people out of the loaded

1. *Tuzuk*, I, 51-64.

boat, into the empty one, but neither promises nor threats could engage them to use their oars. Immediately upon the defeat of Khusrū's army, orders had been issued to the guards at all the ferries in the Panjāb, not to suffer any person to pass unexamined; and the *mallaḥs* were afraid to offend against so positive an order at such a critical time. The Chaudharī of Sōhdara, on hearing the noise, raised an alarm, and the people of the neighbourhood gathered together. Khusrū's party tried to escape in the empty boat without any outside help but were soon captured. The news reached Jahāngīr, when he was camping in the garden of Mīrzā Kāmraṇī in Lahore. He immediately ordered the Amīrul Umarā to go to Gujrāt and to bring Khusrū to wait on him.

On Thursday the 3rd Muḥarram 1015 A.H., in Mīrzā Kāmraṇ's garden, they brought Khusrū before Jahāngīr with his hands tied and chains on his legs on the left side after the manner and custom of Chingīz Khān. His companions, Husain Beg and 'Abdur Raḥīm, were made to stand on his right and left respectively. Husain Beg, with the idea that it might profit him, began to speak wildly. When his purport became apparent to Jahāngīr he did not allow him to continue talking, but handed over Khusrū in chains, and ordered the other two to be put in the skins of an ox and an ass, and that they should be mounted on asses with their faces to the tail and thus taken round the city. As the ox-hide dried more quickly than that of the 'ass, Husain Beg remained alive only for four watches and died from suffocation. 'Abdur Raḥīm, who was in the ass's skin and to whom they gave some refreshment from outside, remained alive.

From Monday, the last day of Zu'lḥijja, 1014 A.H. until the 9th of Muḥarram, 1015 A.H., Jahāngīr remained in Mīrzā Kāmraṇ's garden. He bestowed Bhaironwāl, where the battle

1. According to Latīf (*Lahore*, p. 43) this used to be in Naulakhbā quarters.

had taken place, on Shaikh Farid,¹ and rewarded him with the high title of Murtaẓā Khān. He ordered posts to be set up on both sides of the road from the garden to the city and ordered his officers to hang up and impale the seditious Aimāqs and others who had taken part in the rebellion.²

Jahāngīr also punished, with death and penalties, other companions and helpers of Khusrū, the most important of them being Gurū Arjun, the fifth Sikh Gurū, and compiler of *Ādī Granth*. The Emperor notices the event as follows in his autobiography: In Gobindwāl, which is on the river Biyāh (Beās), there was a Hindu named Arjun, in the garments of sainthood and sanctity, so much so that he had captured many of the simple hearted of Hindūs, and even of the ignorant and foolish followers of Islām, by his ways and manners, and they had loudly sounded the drum of his holiness. They called him Gurū, and from all sides stupid people crowded to worship and manifest complete faith in him. For three or four generations (of spiritual successors) they had kept the shop warm. Many times it occurred to me to put a stop to this vain affair or to bring him into the assembly of the people of Islām. At last when Khusrū passed along this road this insignificant fellow proposed to wait upon him. Khusrū happened to halt at the place where he was and he came out and did homage to him. He behaved to Khusrū in certain special ways, and made on his forehead a finger-mark in saffron, which the Indian call *qashqa* and is considered propitious. When this came to my ears I clearly understood his folly. I ordered them to produce him and handed over his houses, dwelling places, and children to Murtaẓā Khān, and having confiscated his property commanded that he should be put to death.³

After punishing the rebels Jahāngīr moved from Mīrzā Kāmran's garden to Lahore fort and stayed there for about a

1. It is on the right bank of the Beās on the road from Jālandhar to Amritsar.

2. Cf. *Tuzuk* (Eng. Tr.), I, 67—69 ; and *Iqbāl-nāma*, 14—17.

3. *Tuzuk* (Eng. Tr.), I, 72—73.

year. Then he planned to go on a hunting tour to Kābul. In pursuance of this plan he left Lahore on the 7th Zu'l-hijja, 1015 A.H. (March 16, 1607 A.D.) and took up his quarters in the Dilāmiz Garden, which was on the other side of the Rāwī, and stayed there for four days. Here he passed orders leaving Lahore in charge of Qilij Khān, who was asked to settle matters of administration in consultation with Mirān Šadr Jahān, and Mīr Sharīf Āmulī.¹ Jahāngīr returned from Kābul to Lahore on Tuesday the 13th of Sha'bān, 1016 A.H. (December 3, 1607 A.D.), and stayed here till the end of Sha'bān, when he left for Āgra. During this period he appointed Mīr Qawāmud Dīn as *Dīwān*, Shaikh Yūsuf as *Bakhshī*, and Jamālud Dīn as *Kotwāl* of Lahore, and presented each according to his circumstances with dresses of honour, including Qilij Khān, the viceroy of the province.²

In the sixth year of his reign Jahāngīr received the news that on Saturday the 2nd Šafar, 1020 A.H. (April 16, 1611 A.D.) Aḥdād Afghān had invaded Kābul with a large number of horsemen and foot-soldiers, at a time when the Governor of Qandhār, Khān Daurān, had gone in the interior of Afghānistān. News was also brought that in the absence of Khān Daurān, Mu'izul Mulk, with a few servants of the aforesaid, and according to the measure of his ability, defended Kābul. Kābulis and other inhabitants, especially the Farmulī tribe, helped him and barricaded up the streets and fortified their houses. The Afghāns with some guns came into the streets and bazars from different directions. The people from the shelter of their terraces and houses killed many of these invaders with arrows and guns. From the occurrence of this affair, for fear that the people from all sides and quarters should assemble and block the road for them to get out, the invaders, in a state of distraction, turned back and fled. About 890 of them were killed and 200 escaped on horses. As it transpired that Khān Daurān and the Kābulis were in the habit of passing their days in carelessness, it occurred to Jahāngīr that as the Khānkhānān was without employment he might be appointed to this duty. Soon after this

1. Cf. *Tūzūk* (Eng. Tr.), I, 90, 125 and 135; and *Iqbalnāma*, 22.

2. *Tūzūk* (Eng. Tr.), I, 135.

idea occurred Qilij Khān, to summon whom a *farmān* had already been issued, came from the Panjāb and obtained the honour of an audience. Jahāngir, after meeting with Qilij Khān felt, that he (Qilij Khān) was annoyed at the duty of driving back Ahdād being assigned to Khānkhānān. As he faithfully promised to take up this duty, it was settled that the governership of the Šabah of the Panjāb should belong to Murtaẓā Khān, and that Khānkhānān should remain at home, and that Qilij Khān should be promoted to the rank of 6,000 personal and 5,000 horse, and be appointed to Kābul to drive back Ahdād and the up-country robbers.¹ In the eighth year of his reign, on 26th Rabi' I, 1022 A.H., Jahāngir raised the manṣab of Murtaẓā Khān by 1,000, so that it came to 6,000 personal and 5,000 horse.²

On 5th Rabi' I, 1024 A.H. (April 4, 1615 A.D.), in the tenth year of Jahāngir's reign, Murtaẓā Khān obtained leave to go for the capture of the fort of Kāngra, the equal of which, according to Jahāngir, people 'could not point to in the hill country of the Panjāb or even all the habitable world'. From the conquest of Muslims in India, upto that time none of the rulers or kings had obtained possession of it. Once in the time of Akbar, the army of the Panjāb was sent against this fort and besieged it for a long time. At length they came to the conclusion that the fort was not to be taken, and the army was sent off to some more necessary business. When he was dismissed, Jahāngir gave Murtaẓā Khān a private elephant with trappings. Rāja Sūraj Mal, son of Rāja Bāsū, as his country was near the fort, was also appointed to help Murtaẓā Khān; and his previous manṣab was increased by 500 personal and horse.³ Murtaẓā Khān died before the fort could be captured, but subsequently the fort was captured in the year 1029 A.H. (1620 A.D.).⁴

In May, 1616 A.D. (3rd Khurdād) Jahāngir received the news of the death of Murtaẓā Khān. Recording this incident he remarks,

1. Cf. *Tuzuk* (Eng. Tr.), I, 197—99; and *Iqbāl-nāma*, 54—55.

2. *Tuzuk* (Eng. Tr.), I, 239.

3. *Tuzuk* (Eng. Tr.), I, 283.

4. *Ibid.*, 311 and II, 183.

'He was one of the ancients of this State. My revered father had brought him up and raised him to a position of consequence and trust. In my reign also he obtained the grace of noteworthy service, namely the overthrow of Khusrū. His *maṣab* had been raised to 6,000 personal and 5,000 horse. As he was at this time *Subahdār* of the Panjāb, he had undertaken the capture of Kāngra, to which in strength no other fort in the hill-country of that province or even in whole inhabited world can be compared. He had obtained leave to go on this duty. I was much grieved in mind at this news; in truth, grief at the death of such a loyal follower is only reasonable. As he had died after spending his days in loyalty, I prayed to God for pardon for him.'¹

In the eleventh² year of Jahāngir's reign (1616 A.D.), the Panjāb was visited by a severe pestilence, of which Lahore had its share. Mu'tamad Khān, the Court historian of Jahāngir, gives the following details: This year a pestilential disorder broke out in certain parts of Hindustān, and gradually increased untill it raged with great fury. This dreadful calamity arose in the *parganas* of the Panjāb: It reached Lahore, and a great number of Muslims and Hindūs lost their lives from it. It then proceeded towards Sirhind, and through the Doāb as far as Dehli and the surrounding places. It destroyed many villages and *parganas* in that part of the country. When it was about to break out, a mouse would rush out of its hole as if mad, and striking itself against the door and the walls of the house, would expire. If, immediately after this signal, the occupants left the house and went away to the jungle, their lives were saved; if otherwise, the inhabitants of the whole village would be swept away by the hand of death. If any person touched the dead, or even the clothes of a dead man, he also could not survive the fatal contact. The effect of the epidemic was comparatively more severe upon the Hindūs. In Lahore its ravages were so great, that in one house ten even twenty persons would die, and their surviving neighbours, annoyed by the stench, would be compelled to desert their

1. *Tuzuk* (Eng. Tr.), I, 324—25.

2. Latif (*Lahore*, p. 46), has "tenth" which is wrong.

habitations. Houses full of the dead were locked, and no person dared to go near them through fear of his life. It was also very severe in Kashmīr, where its effect was so great that (as an instance) a *darwesh*, who had performed the last sad offices of washing the corpse of a friend, the very next day shared the same fate. A cow, which had fed upon the grass on which the body of the man was washed, also died. The dogs, also, which ate the flesh of the cow, fell dead upon the spot. In Hindustān no place was free from this visitation, which continued to devastate the country for a space of eight years.¹

Glūās Beg, the father of Nūr Jahān, styled E'timādud Daula; was appointed the viceroy of the Panjāb after the death of Murtaẓā Khān. In January, 1617 A.D., Aghā Fāzil, who had been appointed deputy for E'timādud Daula at Lahore, was dignified with the title of Fāzil Khān. In 1617 A.D. Jahāngīr conferred upon E'timādud Daula, one of his private elephants of the name of Jagjot.²

When E'timādud Daula was promoted to the post of *Madārul Mulk* (Premier), on his recommendation, Mīr Qāsim, the Bakhshī of the *Ahādīs*, who was son-in-law³ of E'timādud Daula, was promoted to the Government of the Panjāb in the beginning of the thirteenth year of Jahāngīr's reign on Thursday the 21st Rabi' II, 1027 A.H. (March 28, 1618 A.D.). The emperor also bestowed on him a *mansab* of 1,000 personal and 400 horse and the title of Qāsim Khān.⁴ The post of the Bakhshī of *Ahādīs* was given to 'Ināyat Khān in place of Qāsim Khān.⁵ A year later when the emperor halted at the Fort of Rohtās, on his way to Kashmīr, in 1028 A.H. (1619 A.D.), Qāsim Khān was received by him and was favoured with a horse, a sword and a *parm-narm*⁶

1. Cf. *Tuzuk* (Eng. Tr.), I, 330 ; and *Iqbāl-nāma*, 88-89.

2. *Tuzuk* (Eng. Tr.), I, 345 and 384.

3. Mīr Qāsim was married to Mānīja Begam, elder sister of Nūr Jahān.

4. *Tuzuk* (Eng. Tr.), II, 2.

5. *Ibid.*, 4.

6. *Ibid.*, 122.

(softshah). He was promoted to the *mansab* of 2,000 personal and 1,000 horse in the year 1029 A.H. (1620 A.D.).¹

On his return from Kashmir in 1030 (1620 A.D.) Jahāngir fixed his court at Lahore. He gives the following account of the newly built royal palaces in Lahore: 'In one march after this stage (Jahāngirābād)² I encamped at the garden of Momin 'Ishqbāz, which is on the bank of the Lahore river (the Rāvi), and has some lofty plam-trees and handsome cypresses. It is certainly a rare garden. On Monday, the 9th of the Divine month of Āzar corresponding with the 5th Muḥarram, 1030 A.H. (November 30, 1620 A.D.), mounting an elephant of the name of Indr, I went towards the city, scattering coins as I proceeded. After three watches and two *gharis* of day had passed, at the selected auspicious hour, having entered the royal residence, I alighted happily and auspiciously at the building recently brought to completion and finished handsomely by the exertions of Ma'mūr Khān. Without exaggeration, charming residences and soul-exciting sitting places had been erected in great beauty and delicacy, adorned and embellished with paintings by rare artists. Pleasant green gardens with all kinds of flowers and sweet-scented herbs deceived the sight.

ز فرق تا بدم هر کجا که می نگرم
کر شمه دامن دل می کشد که جا این جا است

"From head to foot, wherever I look,
A glance plucks at the heart's skirt (saying),
'This is the place' (to stop at)."

Altogether, there had been expended on these buildings the sum of Rs. 7,00,000 or 23,000 current *tūmān* of Iran.³

Qāsim Khān was further raised to a *munṣab* of 3,000 personal and 2,000 horse in the end of the sixteenth year of reign (1031 A.H./ 1622 A.D.) and ruled over the Panjab till 1032 A.H. (1623 A.D.),

1. *Tuzuk* (Eng. Tr.), II, 177.

2. Modern *Sheikhpūra*, called Hiran Mināra during *Shahjahan's* times. See 'Abdul Hamid Lāhori, *Badsāhnama*, II, (2), 14.

3. Cf. *Tuzuk* (Eng. Tr.), II, 182—83; and *Iqbālāma*, 171.

when Šādiq Khān, the Chief *Bakhshī*, was promoted to the governorship of the province. Šādiq Khān, before his appointment was also given a dress of honour, a sword and an elephant, with an increased *manṣab* of 4,000 personal and 3,000 horse.¹

In the 21st year of his reign (1035 A.H./1625 A.D.), when the emperor returned from Kabul and halted at Lahore, he appointed Yamīnūd Daula Āṣaf Khān, the brother of Nūr Jahān, to the government of the Panjāb province. He was also appointed Prime Minister, and the order was given for him to preside permanently over the administration of all affairs, revenue and political.²

In the end of 21st year of his reign the emperor moved to Kashmīr, where he stayed till the beginning of the 22nd year. He was not feeling quite well when he started from Lahore. During his stay in Kashmīr his illness, increased, and he daily became weaker. He was unable to ride on horseback, but was carried about in a *pālki*. His sufferings were great. He lost all appetite for food, and rejected opium, which had been his companion for forty years. He took nothing but a few cups of wine of the grape. In the beginning of the winter the emperor started on his return to Lahore. When he reached Bairan Kala, his love of sport revived. The country people drove the deer near to the place where His Majesty was seated. He raised his piece and fired, and the stricken animal bounded off to its females, and fell. A man who followed it fell down a precipice, and was killed. The fate of the poor man greatly affected the emperor. It seemed as though he had thus seen the angel of death. From that time he had no rest or ease, and his state was entirely changed. The journey was continued two marches to Rājaur. Towards close of day he started from thence. On the way he called for a glass of wine but when it was placed to his lips, he was unable to swallow. Towards night he grew worse, and he died early on the following day, the 28th Šafar, 1037 A.H., (November 8, 1627 A.D.) in the

1. *Tāzūk* (Eng. Tr.), II, 228, 230 and 259.

2. Cf. Mu'tamad Khān, *Iqbāl-nāma e Jahāngiri*, 278 ; and Shāhnawāz Khān, *Mu'āẓir al-Umar* (Eng. Tr.), 287.

22nd year of his reign. Next day the royal retinue came down from the mountains to Bhimbar. There the funeral ceremonies were performed, and the corpse was sent under escort to Lahore, where it was interred in a garden which Nūr Jahān had made.¹

(4) SHIHĀBUD DĪN SHĀHJAHĀN (1037—1068 A.H.)
(1628—1658 A.D.)

After the death of Jahāngīr near Rājaur, Āṣaf Khān, the chief personage of the State, in concert with Khān e A'zam (Irādat Khān), brought Dāwar Bakhsh, son of Khusrū, out of confinement, and held out to him the prospect of his becoming king. But he did not believe them, and placed no confidence in their proposals till they had bound themselves with stringent oaths. Then they placed him on the horseback, raised the royal canopy, and proceeded towards the royal quarters. Nūr Jahān Begam sent several persons to bring her brother to her; but he made excuses, and did not go. Āṣaf Khān now sent off Banārsī, a swift runner, to Shāhjahān, with intelligence of the death of Jahāngīr; and as there was no time for writing, he sent his signet-ring as a guarantee.²

When the nobles and officers of the State became aware that Āṣaf Khān had resorted to the stratagem of proclaiming Dāwar Bakhsh, in order to secure the accession of Shāhjahān, and that Dāwar Bakhsh was, in fact, a mere 'sacrificial lamb, they gave their support to Āṣaf Khān, and did whatever he said. So the *khuṭbah* was read in Dāwar Bakhsh's name near Bhimbar, and they started for Lahore. Āṣaf Khān was not at ease in respect of Nūr Jahān, so he kept watch over her, and would allow no communication with her. The Begam's wish was to raise Shahryār to the throne. Shahryār was in Lahore when he heard of the emperor's death, and urged by his intriguing wife, he assumed the royal title. He seized upon the royal treasure and everything belonging to the State which was in Lahore. To secure troops and supporters, he gave to every one what he asked for, and in the

1. Mu'tamad Khān, *Iqbāl-nāma e Jahāngīrī*, 290—294.

2. Mu'tamad Khān, *Iqbāl-nāma e Jahāngīrī*, 294—95

3. Nūr Jahān's daughter by Sher Afgan was married to this prince.

course of one week he distributed seventy *lakhs* of rupees among the old and new nobles, in the hope of securing his position. Mirzā Bāysunghur, son of the late Prince Dāniyāl, on the death of emperor, fled to Lahore, and joined Shahryār. He took the command of the forces, and led them over the river.¹

On the other side Āṣaf Khān advanced, Dāwar Bakhsh being seated upon one elephant, and he upon another. Thus they marched to action, and the opposing forces met about three *kos* from Lahore. At the first attack Shahryār's mercenaries, unable to face the old and loyal servants of the State, broke, and fled. Shahryār, with 2,000 or 3,000 horse, was in the vicinity of Lahore, awaiting the course of events. A Turki slave brought him the intelligence of the rout. Unable to understand his position in danger, Shahryār fell back and entered the fortress, thus placing his own foot in the trap. Next day the nobles arrived, and sat down before the fort. Some of his followers had an interview with Āṣaf Khān, and made terms. A'zam Khān entered the fort at night, and next morning let in the other *amirs*. Shahryār fled for refuge into the female apartments of the late emperor. A eunuch brought him out, and he was led bound to the presence of Dāwar Bakhsh. After making the regular bows and homage, he was placed in confinement, and two or three days afterwards he was blinded. Āṣaf Khān, wrote to Shāhjahān, informing him of the victory.²

Banārsī, the runner, left Jangazhatī, in the mountains of Kashmīr, and in 20 days, on the 19th Rabi' I, 1037 A.H. (November 28, 1627 A.D.), he arrived at Junīr, on the frontiers of Nizāmūl Mulk. The runner went to the abode of Mahābat Khān, who had just before been received by Shāhjahān. Mahābat Khān sent word into the private apartments of the prince, who came out and received from the runner the signet-ring of Āṣaf Khān. After observing the proper rites and terms of mourning, he commenced

1. Mu'tamad Khān, *Iqbāl-nāma e Jahāngīrī*, 295—96

2. Mu'tamad Khān, *Iqbāl-nāma e Jahāngīrī*, 296—97.

his journey on the 23rd Rabi' I, (December 2, 1627 A.D.), and proceeded by way of Gujrāt.¹

Shāhjahān sent a *farmān* to Yaminud Daula Āṣaf Khān, to the effect that it would be well if Dāwar Bakhsh the son, and (Shahryār) the useless² brother, of Khusrū, and the sons of Prince Dāniyāl, were all sent out of the world. On the 2nd Jumāda I, 1037 A.H. (January 17, 1628 A.D.), by general consent Shāhjahān was proclaimed at Lahore, and the *khuṭba* was read in his name. Dāwar Bakhsh was cast into prison. On the 26th Jumāda I, Dāwar,³ his brother Garshāsp, Shahryār, and Tahmūras and Hūshang, sons of deceased Prince Dāniyāl, were all put to death.⁴

Just after the accession of Shāhjahān in Lahore Khidmat Parast Khān Razā Bahādar was appointed viceroy of Lahore in 1037 A.H. (1628 A.D.),⁵ only for a short time, after which Yaminud Daula Āṣaf Khān again took over the charge in the same year.⁶ As Āṣaf Khān was entrusted with much more important affairs of State he relinquished his charge of viceroyalty of Lahore again very soon and in 1038 A.H. (1628 A.D.) Qiliḡ Khān was appointed the viceroy of Lahore.⁷ Soon after in the second year of the reign of Shāhjahān, on the 8th Rajab, 1038 A.H. (March 3, 1629 A.D.) Qiliḡ Khān was transferred to the government of Allahābād and the Government of the Panjāb⁸ was conferred on 'Ināyat Ullah.⁹ Yazdī who was removed from this post on 2nd Zūlqa'da, 1041 A.H. (May 21, 1639 A.D.) as he could not manage the affairs of the

1. Mu'tamad Khān, *Iqbāl-nāma e Jahāngiri*, 298.

2. Here, as well as in *Tāzūk e Jahāngiri* Shahryār is designated ناشدنی 'fit for nothing'.

3. He was also called Bulāqī.

4. Mu'tamad Khān, *Iqbāl-nāma e Jahāngiri*, 303.

5. 'Abdul Ḥamīd Lāhorī, *Badshāhnāma*, I, 79.

6. 'Abdul Ḥamīd Lāhorī, *Badshāhnāma*, I (1), 125; and Muḥammad Ṣāliḡ Kamboh, *Amal e Ṣāliḡ*, I, 171.

7. Cf. 'Abdul Ḥamīd Lāhorī, *Badshāhnāma*, I (1), 218; and Muḥammad Ṣāliḡ Kamboh, I, 305.

8. 'Abdul Ḥamīd Lāhorī, *Badshāhnāma*, I (1), 255.

9. *Ibid.*, 425.

Panjab and Wazir Khān¹ was appointed the viceroy of the Panjab instead.

Lahore seems to have enjoyed comparatively peaceful time during the reign of Shāhjahān. At least no major disturbance is mentioned during these 30 years of imperial rule, and the chroniclers have been busy recording essentially events of social and cultural importance. The carpet factory of Lahore, established by Shāhjahān, is the subject of praise in the account of the sixth year of the emperor's reign. 'So soft and delicate are these carpets', says 'Abdul Hamīd Lāhorī, 'that compared with them, the carpets made at Kirmān, in the manufactory of the King of Īrān, look like coarse canvas'. These were made of *pashm e shāl* and were priced at one hundred rupees a yard. All the rooms in the royal palaces were furnished with these beautiful carpets.²

In the seventh year of his reign (1043 A.H./1633 A.D.), Shāhjahān decided to come to Lahore from the imperial capital. On his way to Lahore, as he was camping on the bank of the Beās, the eldest daughter of Muḥammad Dārā Shukoh died. This upset the prince to a great extent and he had an attack of fever also. As the Court physicians attending on the prince did not succeed in curing him of the malady, Wazir Khān, the viceroy of Lahore was sent for, as he was also an experienced physician. Wazir Khān arrived at the camp on 4th Shawwāl, 1043 A.H. (April 3, 1634 A.D.) and treated the prince, who got well quickly. On the 6th Shawwāl, 1043 A.H. (April 5, 1634 A.D.) the royal camp moved to the tank of Khwāja Hushīār, which is in the environs of Lahore. On the 7th Shawwāl riding on an elephant, the emperor started towards the town of Lahore. His Majesty was received with great pomp by Wazir Khān (who presented him with a *nazr* of 1,000 *ashrafis*), the grantees and nobles of Lahore. He entered the palace in state after the first watch of the day. On the 9th, Wazir Khān presented His Majesty with jewels, gold and silver utensils, rich stuffs, carpets, horses and camels, valued at

1. 'Abdul Hamīd Lāhorī, *Badshāhnāma*, I (1), 255.

2. 'Abdul Hamīd Lāhorī, *Badshāhnāma*, I (1), 448.

four *lakhs* of rupees, which he had collected during the period of his viceroyalty in the Panjāb.¹

On the 21st *Shawwāl* (April 20, 1634 A.D.), His Majesty and the royal princes were sumptuously entertained by Yamīnūd Daula Āṣaf Khān, in his new palace at Lahore. Yamīnūd Daula had built these lofty and superb edifices in the direction of the Fort on the boundary of the horse-market² plains where traders and merchants assembled daily in this city, the cost of the construction of the building being twenty *lakhs* of rupees, and the period in which they reached completion ten years. Yamīnūd Daula on this occasion, presented the emperor with jewels, horses, rich stuffs, and other curiosities, valued six *lakhs* of rupees, exclusive of the presents to the members of the royal family.³

During his stay in Lahore this time, Shāhjahān also attended to the repair and reconstruction of royal palaces. As the building of the *Daulatkhāna*, or Fort of Lahore, had been neglected for a long time, the emperor availed himself of the opportunity of his arrival in the capital of the Panjāb to order the reconstruction of the *Ghuskhāna* and *Khawābgāh* (i.e. the bath-room and sleeping apartment) according to plans designed by skilful engineers. The supervision of these buildings was entrusted to Wazīr Khān and other officers of Lahore, who were ordered to finish the works by the time of His Majesty's return from Kashmīr. The Shāh Burj, or the regal tower, built by Jahāngīr, having failed to impress Shāhjahān, he ordered the building to be dismantled, the execution of the work being left to the taste of Yamīnūd Daula Āṣaf Khān, who had already displayed much tact and judgment in the embellishment of the Imperial Court.⁴

1. 'Abdul Hamīd Lāhorī, *Badshāhnāma*, I (2), 9 and 10.

2. The place south of the Bādshāhī Mosque has been locally known as *Nakhās* in the early years of this century, and this presumably is the spot where the palaces of Āṣaf Khān were. The place should not be confounded with the *Nakhās* of later times, on the site of the Sulṭān's *seras* outside the Dehli Gate, near Shāhīd Ganj.

3. Cf. 'Abdul Hamīd Lāhorī, *Badshāhnāma*, I (2), 13 ; and Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Kamboh, *Amal e Ṣāliḥ* II, 8.

4. Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Kamboh, *Amal e Ṣāliḥ*, 8.

In the seventh year of his reign as the emperor was returning from Kashmīr and halted in Bhimbar on 22nd Rabi' II, 1044 A.H. (December 7, 1634 A.D.), it was reported to him that in Bhimbar and the neighbouring District of Gujrāt it was a prevalent custom that the Hindū girls were married to Muslims and Muslim girls were married to Hindūs, and that the Hindūs cremated their Muslim wives on their death. Shāhjahān did not like the idea of Muslim girls being cremated after their death and immediately ordered that if all Hindūs, who had Muslim wives, got converted to Islām, their Muslim wives should be re-married to them in Islamic ways, otherwise the Muslim wives should be seized from them and restored to the Muslim community. This order had a very salutary effect and Jūkū, a great landlord of Bhimbar, who was responsible for introducing this malicious practice, immediately got converted with all his kith and kin.¹ He was honoured with the title of Rāja Daulatmand by the emperor.²

In the end of the twelfth year of his reign, as the emperor was returning to Lahore from Kābul it was reported to him on 8th Jumāda I, 1049 A.H. (September 6, 1639 A.D.) that Wazīr Khān, the viceroy of Lahore, had committed certain indecent acts and was not pulling on well with the public. An order was issued for his transfer and Mu'tamad Khān was appointed the viceroy of Lahore in his place with effect from the same date.³

In the thirteenth year of his reign (1049 A.H./1639 A.D.) 'Alī Mardān Khān represented to His Majesty that one of his followers was an adept in the forming of canals, and would undertake to construct a canal from the hills into the plains, and to conduct the waters to Lahore, benefitting the cultivation of the country through which it should pass. The emperor gave to the Khān one *lakh* of rupees, a sum at which experts estimated the expense, and the Khān then entrusted its formation to one of his

1. Jūgū according to 'Amal e Šālīh, II, 64.

2. Cf. 'Abdul Hamīd Lāhorī, *Badshāhnāma*, I (2), 56; and Muḥammad Šālīh Kambōh, 'Amal e Šālīh, II, 64.

3. Cf. 'Abdul Hamīd Lāhorī, *Badshāhnāma*, II, 158; and Muḥammad Šālīh Kambōh, 'Amal e Šālīh, II, 309.

trusted servants, who made preparations for cutting a canal from the village Rājpur, in Nūrpur, to the environs of Lahore, a distance of 48 *jarīb kos*. After the canal was completed it was discovered that the water did not flow through it properly. Another one *lakh* of rupees was advanced from the royal exchequer to finish the works successfully. The inexperienced workers spent rupees 54,000 out of this amount without achieving any results. The emperor then ordered Mullā 'Alāul Mulk Tūnī, a learned man, to take charge of the works, who used the five *kos* length of the canal, constructed under the supervision of 'Alī Mardān Khān, and re-constructed 32 *kos* long new canal, which properly irrigated the lands and gardens for which it was meant.¹ Along with the completion of the canal, His Majesty ordered that a spacious garden, with chambers, baths, reservoirs and fountains, be laid out on its banks near Lahore. Accordingly the foundation of these gardens were laid out on 3rd Rabi' I, 1051 A.H.² (June 12, 1641 A.D.), and Khalilullah Khān was entrusted with the execution of the work with the help of other servants of State. Shāhjahān himself did the opening ceremony of the gardens on the 7th Sha'bān, 1052 A.H.³ (October 31, 1642 A.D.), when they were completed at a cost of six *lakhs* of rupees⁴. The garden comprised three *ṭabaqas*, out of which the highest was styled *Farah Bakhsh* and the two lower *ṭabaqas* were named *Faiz Bakhsh*.⁵

After having settled the affairs of Kābul and the Panjāb, the emperor decided to leave for the capital, Akbarābād (Agra), on 22nd Sha'bān, 1052 A.H. (November 15, 1642 A.D.) from the *Farah Bakhsh* and *Faiz Bakhsh* gardens⁶, where he had encamped.

1. Cf. 'Abdul Hamīd Lāhorī, *Badshāhnāma*, II, 168—69 and 315; and Muhammad Ṣāliḥ, Kambōh, *'Amal-e-Salīh*, II, 312.

2. 'Abdul Hamīd Lāhorī, *Badshāhnāma*, II, 311.

3. *Ibid.*

4. Cf. 'Abdul Hamīd Lāhorī, *Badshāhnāma*, II, 315; and Muhammad Ṣāliḥ, Kambōh, *'Amal-e-Salīh*, II, 373.

5. *Ibid.*

6. Present *Shālamār* gardens.

Four days earlier, on 18th Sha'bān, 1052 A.H. (November 11, 1642 A.D.), Sa'id Khān Bahādar Zafar Jang was received by the emperor and presented a *nazr* of *ashrafis*. On 21st Sha'bān, 1052 A.H. (November 14, 1642 A.D.) Zafar Jang was honoured with a *khil'at e khāssa* and the viceroyalty of the Panjāb.¹

On the first of Muharram, 1054, A.H. (March 10, 1644 A.D.) it was reported to the emperor that Şafdar Khān was not able to cope with the work of the government of the province of Qandhār. On the 4th Muharram, 1054 A.H. (March 14, 1644 A.D.), His Majesty transferred Sa'id Khān Bahādar Zafar Jang to the government of this province and Qilij Khān was appointed the viceroy of the Panjāb in his place.²

On the 29th Shawwāl, 1055 A.H. (December 18, 1645 A.D.), Nūr Jahān, the widow of Jahāngīr, who was in receipt of two lakhs of rupees per annum, died at Lahore, and was buried in a mausoleum which she had herself built close to the tomb of her brother Āṣaf Khān.³

On the 19th Şafar, 1056 A.H. (April 6, 1646 A.D.) Ja'far Khān was appointed the viceroy of the Panjāb, with his brother, Bahrām, as *Bakh'ī* and *Wāqī'a Nawīs* of Lahore. Sarandāz Khān was appointed the Qal'adār of Lahore and they were all despatched to Lahore after being honoured with *khil'ats*.⁴

On the 24th Rabi' II, 1057 A.H. (May 29, 1647 A.D.) Ja'far Khān, the viceroy of the Panjāb, was received by the emperor in Kābul, where he was staying at that time. Ja'far Khān presented to His Majesty one *karor* and 20 lakhs of rupees, and 3 lakhs of *ashrafis* which Rāja Jaisingh had delivered to him in Lahore, after bringing this money from the royal exchequer in Akbarābād. Ja'far Khān

1. Cf. 'Abdul Hamīd Lāhorī, *Badshāhnāma*, II, 317 ; and Muḥammad Şāliḥ Kamboh, *'Amal e Şāliḥ*, III 377.

2. Cf. 'Abdul Hamīd Lāhorī, *Badshāhnāma*, II, 356 ; and Muḥammad Şāliḥ Kamboh, *'Amal e Şāliḥ*, III, 397.

3. 'Abdul Hamīd Lāhorī, *Badshāhnāma*, II, 475.

4. Cf. 'Abdul Hamīd Lāhorī, *Badshāhnāma*, II, 500 ; and Muḥammad Şāliḥ Kamboh, *'Amal e Şāliḥ*, II, 470.

was honoured with a *khil'at* and was appointed *Mir Bānshī*. Qāzī Afzal was appointed viceroy of the Panjāb in his place.¹

In the twenty-sixth year of the reign of Shahjahān, Lahore became a centre of organisation of forces with artillery to attack Qandhār, after Prince Aurangzīb was defeated by the garrison of the fort. As Prince Dārā Shukoh, after the return of the army from Qandhār, had guaranteed to conquer that territory, and with this view the provinces of Kābul and Multān had been bestowed upon him, His Royal Highness, on reaching the capital, applied himself to the task of making the requisite arrangements for the campaign. In the course of three months and some days that he remained in Lahore, he used such profuse exertions, that what would not have been otherwise accomplished in a year was effected in this short period. Among the siege train was a gun called *Kishwarkushā* (clime-conquering), and another *Gaṛhbhanjan* (fort-shattering), each of which carried an iron shot one maund and eight seers in weight (96 lbs.); and they were worked by the gunners under the direction of Qāsim Khān. There was also another piece of ordnance that carried a shot of a maund and sixteen seers (1 cwt.), and was plied under the management of His Royal Highness's *Mir e Ātish*, as well as 30,000 cannon-balls, small and great. He also got ready 5,000 maunds of gun-powder, and 2,500 of lead, measuring by Imperial weight, and 14,000 rockets. Having likewise collected as many grain dealers as were procurable, he made arrangements for the army commissariat, and the safe arrival of supplies. He then despatched a letter to Court, representing that the moment of starting was fixed for the 23rd of Rabi' I, 1062 A.H. (March 5, 1651 A.D.)²

Qāzī Afzal, the viceroy of the Panjāb, was succeeded by Shaikh 'Abdul Karīm in 1062 A.H.³ (1651 A.D.), who was in turn

1. Cf. 'Abdul Hamīd Lāhorī, *Badshāhnāma*, II, 681; and Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Kamboh, *'Amal e Ṣāliḥ*, II, 561 and III, 66.

2. Cf. 'Ināyat Khān, *Shahjahān Nama* (Eng. Tr. in E. & D., VII), 101; and Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Kamboh, *'Amal e Ṣāliḥ*, III.

3. Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Kamboh, *'Amal e Ṣāliḥ*, III, 138, 195 and 202.

succeeded by Khwāja Mu‘in¹ (Mu‘in Khān) and Bahādur Khān² in 1066 A.H. (1655 A.D.) and 1067 A.H. (1656 A.D.) successively. Sayyid ‘Izzat Khān³ was the last viceroy of the Panjāb of Shāhjahān’s time, who being appointed to his post in 1067 A.H. (1656 A.D.) continued to rule over the province till the time of Aurangzib.

On the 8th Zulhijja, 1067 A.H. (September 17, 1657 A.D.), the Emperor Shāhjahān was seized with illness at Dehli. His illness lasted for a long time, and every day he grew weaker, so that he was unable to attend to the business of the State. Irregularities of all sorts occurred in the administration, and great disturbances arose in the wide territories of Hindustān. Dārā Shukoh considered himself heir apparent, and notwithstanding his want of ability for the kingly office, he endeavoured with the scissors of greediness to cut the robes of the Imperial dignity into a shape suited for his person. With this over-weening ambition constantly in his mind, and in pursuit of his design, he never left the seat of government. When the emperor fell ill and was unable to attend to business, Dārā Shukoh took the opportunity of seizing the reins of power, and interfered with everything. He closed the roads against the spread of news, and seized letters addressed to individuals. He forbade the officers of government to write or send any intelligence to the provinces, and upon the mere suspicion of their having done so, he seized and imprisoned them. The seed of rebellion was sown in all directions, and by degrees the evil reached to such a height that in Gujarāt Murād Bakhsh, the youngest son of Shahjahān took his seat upon the throne, had the *khutba* read and coins struck in his name and assumed the title of king. Shujā‘, the second eldest son of the emperor, took the same course in Bengāl, led an army against Patna, and from thence advanced to Benāras.⁴

1. Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Kamboh, *‘Amal e Ṣāliḥ*, III, 231 and 239.

2. *Ibid.*, 239 and 267.

3. Cf. Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Kamboh, *‘Amal e Ṣāliḥ*, III, 266; and Munshi Muḥammad Kāzīm, *‘Ālamgirnāma*, 178 and 180.

4. Munshi Muḥammad Kāzīm, *‘Ālamgirnāma*. 27—29.

Soon after Dārā Shukoh succeeded in prevailing upon Shāhjahān to move to Āgra from Dehlī. The emperor, while he was very ill, left Dehlī on the 20th Muḥarram, 1068 A.H.¹ (October 28, 1657 A.D.) and reached Āgra on the 19th Šafar, 1068 A.H. (November 26, 1657 A.D.). He took up his abode in the Āgra Fort, where he was to pass the remainder of his life.

Munshī Muḥammad Kāzim, the court historian of Aurangzib, has given in the following sketch of the religious character of Dārā Shukoh : Dārā Shukoh in his later days did not restrain himself to the free-thinking and heretical notions which he had adopted under the name of *taṣawwuf* (Sūfism), but showed an inclination for the religion and institutions of the Hindūs. He was constantly in the society of *Brahmans*, *Jogīs* and *Sanniyāsīs*, and he used to regard these worthless teachers of delusions as learned and true masters of wisdom. He considered their books which they call *Bed* as being the Word of God, and revealed from heaven, and he called them ancient and excellent books. He was under such delusion about this *Bed*, that he collected *Brahmans* and *Sanniyāsīs* from all parts of the country, and paying them great respect and attention, he employed them in translating the *Bed*. He spent all his time in this unholy work, and devoted all his attention to the contents of these wretched books. Instead of the sacred name of God, he adopted the Hindū name *Prabhū* (lōrd), which the Hindūs consider holy, and he had this name engraved in Hindū letters upon rings of diamond, ruby, emerald, etc. Through these perverted opinions he had given up the prayers, fasting and other obligations imposed by the law. It became manifest that if Dārā Shukoh obtained the throne and established his power, the foundation of the faith would be in danger and the precepts of Islām would be changed for the rant of infidelity and Judaism.²

Dārā Shukoh was his father's favourite but Aurangzib was the ablest of Shāhjahān's sons. The result was that when the rival claimants to throne started trying their strength against each

1. Munshī Muḥammad Kāzim, '*Alamgīrnāma*, 30.

2. *Ibid.*, 34—36.

other, Aurangzib came at the top. After his defeat near Āgra, on the 7th Ramazān, 1068 A.H.¹ (June 8, 1658 A.D.), Dārā Shukoh marched rapidly to Lahore, took possession of the fort on the 14th Shawwāl, 1068 A.H.² (July 15, 1658 A.D.) and seizing on the royal treasury, began to raise army. He rewarded the *Umarās* munificently, and in a short time succeeded in collecting around him twenty thousand horsemen.³ *Khonja Khān*, the *Faujdar* of Bhera and *Khushāb*, and Raja Rājarp, the Chief of Jammū, took his side. He sent a detachment of five thousand cavalry to guard the passage of Sutlej, and another strong detachment under Dāud Khān, to guard that of the Beās.⁴ No sooner, however, had Aurangzib settled his affairs at Dehli, than he marched to the Panjāb in pursuit of his brother. Dārā was soon after deserted by his Panjāb allies, and he was alarmed at the approach of Aurangzib : so he fled with three or four thousand horse and a few guns towards Thatta and Multān. He left behind Dāud Khān to obstruct as much as possible the passage of the rivers by the army of Aurangzib by burning or sinking the boats. After a while the intelligence was conveyed to Aurangzib that Dārā Shukoh, after staying at Multān for a short time, had gone off towards Bhakkar, and that his followers were daily decreasing.⁵

Aurangzeb, who had by this time already crossed the Sutlej, sent his son, Prince Muḥammad Aʿẓhm,⁶ to take over charge of Lahore, and himself proceeded to Multān. Dārā Shukoh was betrayed at Multān by his own men. Sayyid ʿIzzat Khān and Shaikh Mūsā Gilānī,⁷ who had been put in charge of Multān by Dārā Shukoh, held aloof from him. Dārā Shukoh was followed

1. Munshī Muḥammad Kāzīm, *ʿAlamgīrnāma*, 94.

2. *Ibid.*, 178.

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Ibid.*, 179.

5. Cf. Khān Khān, *Muntakhabul Lubāb*, II, 44—45 ; and Munshī Muḥammad Kāzīm, *ʿAlamgīrnāma*, 185—86.

6. Munshī Muḥammad Kāzīm, *ʿAlamgīrnāma*, 201.

7. *Ibid.*, 207.

by Aurangzib's General Saif Shikan Khān.¹ Aurangzib himself arrived at Multān on the 8th Muharram, 1069 A.H.² (October 6, 1658 A.D.) and next day paid his benedictions to the mausoleum of Shaikh Bahāud Dīn, where he offered 1,000 rupees as a present.³ He then, with his whole army, marched to Lahore, which he reached on the 24th Muharram, 1069 A.H. (October 22, 1658 A.D.). He put up in the garden of Faiz Bakhsh, on the road to Dehli. The following day, he was visited in state by Prince Muhammad A'zam, from the city, who was accompanied by Muhammad Amīn Khān, Mīr Bakhshī, and other nobles, and in company with the prince made a minute inspection of the fort. Amānullah, the Qal'adār of the fort, having paid his respects, Aurangzib gave him verbal instructions regarding the arrangements to be made in the citadel. On his way back to the gardens of Faiz Bakhsh, Aurangzib said the prayers in the mosque of Wazīr Khān with the congregation, and, towards evening, reached the gardens. Fāhīlullah Khān was appointed viceroy of the Panjāb, and, as a reward for the services rendered by him, the emperor was pleased to confer on him a *mahal* or estate, assessed at one *karor* of *dāms*. On the 30th Muharram, 1069 A.H. (October 28, 1658 A.D.) Aurangzib marched to Shāhjahanābād, the capital.⁴

(4) MUHYI'UD DĪN AURANGZĪB 'ĀLAMGĪR (1068—1118 A.H.)
(1658—1707 A.D.)

While he was chasing Dārā Shukoh, who had escaped to Lahore, Aurangzib on the 1st Zu'lqā'da, 1068 A.H. (August 30, 1658 A.D.), after saying his prayers, and at an auspicious time, took his seat on the throne of the Empire of Hindustān, in Dehli, without even troubling himself about placing his name on the coinage or having it repeated in the *khutba*. Such matters as titles, the *khutba*, the coinage, and the sending of presents to

1. Munshī Muhammad Kāzīm, 'Ālamgirnāma, 203.

2. *Ibid.*, 208.

3. *Ibid.*, 209.

4. *Ibid.*, 214—6.

other sovereigns, were all deferred to his second taking possession of the throne.¹

On the 18th Jumāda II, 1072 A.H., (February 8, 1662 A.D.), Khalilullah Khān, the viceroy of the Panjāb, became very ill on his way to Dehli, as he went to see the emperor 'Ālamgir. He was ordered to take rest at his residence in Dehli and Taqqarub Khān and other state physicians were appointed to treat him. Khalilullah Khān, having become very weak, did not survive his illness and died on the 2nd Rajab, 1072 A.H. (February 21, 1662 A.D.). The emperor himself went to sympathise with the family of the deceased and honoured his sons and son-in-law with *khila'ats*. An allowance of fifty thousand rupees was settled for the daughter and the widow of the deceased, Hamida Bāno Begum, who was daughter of Malika Bāno, the sister of Mumtāzuz Zamāni Begam, called the Tāj Mahal, wife of Shāhjahān.² Ibrāhīm Khān was appointed viceroy of the Panjāb in the place of Khalilullah Khān.³

In the next year on the 7th Jumāda I, 1073 A.H.⁴ (December 18, 1662 A.D.), the emperor of Dehli left for Lahore *en route* Kashmīr. On the 26th Jumāda I, 1073 A.H.⁵ (January 6, 1673 A.D.), as the emperor reached near Talwandī, Ibrāhīm Khān, the viceroy of the Panjāb, also arrived there to receive His Majesty. The emperor with his court reached Lahore on the 2nd Rajab, 1073 A.H.⁶ (February 10, 1663, A.D.) and put up in the gardens of Faiz Bakhsh for a week, when he decided to visit the city on the 10th Rajab, 1073 A.H. (February 18, 1663 A.D.). On this date His Majesty, sitting on the same elephant with Prince Muḥammad Mu'azzam, entered the city, two watches after sunrise.

1. Cf. Munshī Muḥammad Kāzīm, '*Ālamgirnāma*, 153 ; and Khāfi Khān, *Muntakhābul Lubāb*, II, 39.

2. Cf. Munshī Muḥammad Kāzīm, '*Ālamgirnāma*, 661—2 ; and Musta'id Khān, *Ma'aṣir e Ālamgirī*, 38.

3. Munshī Muḥammad Kāzīm, '*Ālamgirnāma*, 766.

4. *Ibid.*, 764.

5. *Ibid.*, 766.

6. *Ibid.*

He then entered the palace, on the following day, it being a Friday, the emperor said his prayers in the mosque¹ of Firūz Khān, in the outskirts of the citadel, close to the Hāthiāpol gate, in usual way; and it was ruled that on all Fridays the congregation should continue to assemble there in this way to perform their prayers. During this month also a sum of Rs. 20,000 was distributed to those who were entitled to it, through 'Ābid Khān, Ṣadrus Ṣudūr.² After staying for 2½ months in Lahore on the 25th Ramaẓān, 1073 A.H. (May 3, 1663 A.D.), the emperor started for Kashmīr and after crossing the Rāwī by a bridge on the same day halted in the Bāgh e Dilkushā, where he held a grand entertainment.³

On the emperor's return from Kashmīr on the 4th Rabi' I, 1074 A.H.⁴ (October 6, 1663 A.D.), he stayed for a few days in the garden of Dilkushā, across the Rāwī where he was met by Ibrāhīm Khān, the viceroy of the Panjāb. Aurangzīb offered Rs. 10,000⁵ at the mausoleum of his grand-father Jahāngīr. On 11th Rabi' II, 1074 A.H.⁶ (November 12, 1663 A.D.), a grand *Darbār* was held in the Shāh Burj, or the regal tower. The palace was beautifully decorated, and there was a great display of splendour and magnificence. This being the 40-sixth anniversary of the king, His Majesty was weighed against gold, silver and other metals, which were given away in alms. The *umarā* of the Court were honoured with dresses, among them being Ibrāhīm Khān, the viceroy of the Panjāb, Hājī Muḥammad Tāhir, the *Qala'dār*, Firūz Khān, Faujdār of Dipālpur, and Amīr Khān, the Governor of Kābul.⁷ Before leaving for Dehlī on the 21st Rabi' II, 1074 A.H.⁸ (November 22, 1663 A.D.) the camp was fixed for three days in the the gardens of Faiz Bakhsh.

1. The site of this mosque is not known.
2. Munshī Muḥammad Kāzīm, '*Alamgirnāma*', 767.
3. *Ibid.*, 815.
4. *Ibid.*, 840.
5. *Ibid.*, 842.
6. *Ibid.*, 842—4.
7. *Ibid.*, 846.

In compliance with an order passed by the emperor in 1078 A.H. (1667 A.D.), Muḥammad Amin Khān left Ohind on the 6th Jumāda I, 1078 A.H. (November 24, 1667 A.D.) to take over the charge of province from Ibrāhīm Khān, the viceroy of the Panjāb.¹

During the following years of the reign of Aurangzib, Lahore had but little connection with the political events of the time, as the attention of the emperor was chiefly directed to quelling the rising power of the Mahrattas in the Deccan, and the rebellion of the tribes of Rājputāna. In the contemporary books of history we find Lahore being mentioned only on occasions when the viceroys of Lahore are posted, honoured or admitted to the royal presence.

Muḥammad Amin Khān relinquished the governorship of the Panjāb on the 27th Zulhijja, 1080 A.H.² (May 18, 1670 A.D.), when he was appointed the governor of Kābul. For the next six years it is not mentioned who held the reins of the government in the Panjāb and we find that on 29 Jumāda II, 1086 A.H.³ (September 20, 1675 A.D.) Amānat Khān (Sayyid Aḥmad Khān) takes over the the government of the Panjāb. After about 1½ years Amānat Khān, leaving the Panjāb, takes over the government of Ajmer. On the 14th Zulhijja, 1087 A.H.⁴ (February 18, 1677 A.D.) Qawāmud Dīn Khān was appointed the viceroy of the Panjāb on 17th Rabi' II, 1089 A.H.⁵ (May 9, 1678 A.D.) in the post vacated by Amānat Khān.

On the 11th Sha'bān, 1089 A.H.⁶ (September 28, 1678 A.D.), news was conveyed to the emperor that Lahore was facing a shortage of foodstuffs and the prices had gone up. His Majesty ordered that an additional allowance of Rs. 20 a day be given to *Balghurkhāna* (Grain-storage).

1. Munshi Muḥammad Kāzīm, 'Alamgirnāma, 1058 and 1060.

2. Musta'id Khān, *Ma'āzīr-e-Ālamgīrī*, 104.

3. *Ibid.*, 143.

4. *Ibid.*, 150.

5. *Ibid.*, 166.

6. *Ibid.*, 169.

In the end of the year 1091 A.H. (1680 A.D.) it was reported to His Majesty that Sayyid 'Alī Akbar, the Qāzi of Lahore, who was an honest and straightforward man, had died during the disturbance caused by the quarrel of his nephew, Sayyid Fāzil on one side and Qawāmud Dīn Khān, the viceroy of the Panjāb and Nizāmud Dīn, the *kotwāl* of Lahore, on the other. Nizāmud Dīn, the *kotwāl*, was punished with the sentence of death in Lahore, while Qawāmud Dīn Khān, the viceroy of the Panjāb, was sent for by His Majesty to Ajmer and Prince Muḥammad A'zam was posted in his place in Lahore.¹

Mukarram Khān succeeded Prince Muḥammad A'zam as viceroy of the Panjāb, from whom Sipāhdār Khān, the son of Khān Jahān Bahādur took over on the 15th Zulhijja, 1097 A.H.² (November 2, 1686 A.D.). The agents of Prince Muḥammad A'zam managed the affairs of the Panjāb for some time after Sipāhdār Khān was removed from this post. On 22nd Rajab, 1102 A.H.³ (April 21, 1691 A.D.) Khān Jahān Bahādur was appointed the governor of the province and was dismissed from his post sometimes in 1105 A.H.⁴ (1693 A.D.), when Mahābat Khān Ibrāhīm was appointed the governor. In 1108 A.H.⁵ (1696 A.D.) two governors, viz., Mukarram Khān and Abū Naṣr Khān quickly succeeded Mahābat Khān in a short span of one year. Prince Muḥammad Mu'azzam was given the charge of the province on 20th Sha'bān, 1111 A.H.⁶ (February 10, 1700 A.D.) by posting away Ibrāhīm Khān the governor. Zabardast Khān succeeded Prince Muḥammad Mu'azzam and the agents of Prince Muḥammad Mu'azzam continued to rule over the Panjāb till the end of Aurangzib's rule after taking over the government from Zabardast Khān on Jumāda II, 1116 A.H.⁷ (August 31, 1704 A.D.). During

1. Musta'id Khān, *Ma'āṣir-e-Ālamgiri*, 188.

2. *Ibid.*, 283.

3. *Ibid.*, 338.

4. *Ibid.*, 360.

5. *Ibid.*, 383.

6. *Ibid.*, 423.

7. *Ibid.*, 496.

this period (1116—1118 A.H./1704—1707 A.D.) Mun'im Khān, the *Diwān* of Kābul, also acted as Deputy Governor of the Panjāb.¹

On Friday, the 28th Zulqa'da, in the fifty-first year of the reign, corresponding with 1118 A.H. (March 3, 1707 A.D.), after performing morning prayers, at about one watch of the day, the emperor departed this life. He was ninety-one years and thirteen days old, and had reigned fifty years two months and twenty-seven days. He was buried near Daulatābād by the tombs of Shaikh Zainud Dīn and other religious worthies, and some districts of Burhānpur were assigned for the maintenance of his tomb.²

1. Musta'id Khān, *Ma'āz-e-Alamgiri*, 497 and 519.

2. *Ibid.*, 521—3.

CHAPTER NINE

LATER MUGHULS (1119—1173 A.H.) (1708—1759 A.D.)

(1) MUHAMMAD MU'AZZAM (SHĀH 'ĀLAM

BAHĀDUR SHĀH) (1119—1124 A.H.)
(1708—1712 A.D.)

As has been mentioned before the late emperor, some time before his death, had appointed Mun'im Khān, a very able man of business, to be *diwān* of Kābul. He had shown great devotion and fidelity to Prince Muhammad Mu'azzam, who was governor of Kābul, so that the prince placed in his hands the management of his *jāgirs* in the province of Lahore, and had recommended him for the Deputy-Governorship of the province to the emperor who appointed him to that office. When Mun'im Khān received intelligence of the continued illness of the emperor, in his faithfulness to Muhammad Mu'azzam (Shāh 'Ālam), he busied himself in making preparations in the countries lying between Lahore and Peshāwar, finding means of transport, collecting camels and bullocks, and providing things necessary for carrying on a campaign, so as to be ready at the time of need.¹

On the 7th Zulhijja, 1118 A.H. (March 12, 1707 A.D.) the news of Aurangzib's death reached Peshāwar, and the prince immediately prepared to set out. Next day a letter came from Mun'im Khān, offering congratulations upon the prince's accession to royalty, and urging him to come quickly. Orders were given for march and next day the prince started, making no delay, accompanied by his nobles.²

1. Cf. Khāfi Khān, *Muntakhabul Lubāb*, II, 573; and Irādāt Khān, *Tārīkh e Irādāt Khān* (Tr. in E. and D. VII, 547—8).

2. Cf. Khāfi Khān, *Muntakhabul Lubāb*, II, and Irādāt Khān, *Tārīkh e Irādāt Khān* (Tr. in E. and D., VII., 548—9).

Shāh 'Ālam proceeded by regular marches to Lahore. Mun'im Khān came forth to meet him, paid his homage, offered forty lakhs of rupees, and presented the soldiers, artillery and equipments that he had busied himself in collecting directly he had heard of the death of Aurangzib. Shāh 'Ālam appointed him *vazīr*. Till the end of Muḥarram. 1119 A.H. (May 3, 1707 A.D.), the prince encamped at Lahore. There he remained over the new moon of Ṣafar, and gave orders for the coining of money and reading *khutbah* in his name. The nobles in his retinue presented their offerings and paid their homage. Directions were given that the new rupee should be increased half a *māsha* in weight, and lakhs of rupees were accordingly coined of that weight, but as in the payment of salaries, and in commercial transactions, it was received at only the old rate, the new rupee was discontinued.¹ Shāh 'Ālam then started for Dehli, where he reached by the end of Ṣafar.

From the death of Aurangzib to the accession of Ranjit Singh, the fate of Lahore was singularly unfortunate. As the capital of an outlying province, it was naturally the first to suffer from the weakness of the decaying Mughul empire. Ruled over by governors inadequately supported, it became the *point d'appui* of Sikh insurrections, and, like a second Ariminum the *inter ad bella* of every invader from the West.

Almost immediately after the death of Aurangzib, the Sikhs, who had been kept under subjection during his energetic rule, broke out into insurrection under their leader Banda, a follower of Gurū Gobind Singh. They laid waste the country of Sirhind and Sahāranpur, and at length seriously threatened Lahore. In 1129 A.H. (1708-9 A.D.) a great alarm was felt in Lahore and all around. Sayyid Aslam Khān, the Prince Mu'izzud Dīn Jahāndār Shāh's *diwān*, and Deputy Governor of Lahore, in concert with Kaẓim Khān, the royal *diwān*, and other officials, after setting in order the fortification of the city, went out with a large muster of Muslims and Hindūs, and encamped four or

1. Khāfi Khān, *Muntakhbatul Labāb*. II, 573-4.

five *kos* from the city, where he busied himself in cutting off the patrolling parties of the enemy. The people in Lahore were safe from danger to life and property, but the outskirts upto the garden of Shālāmār, which is situated two *kos* from the city, were very much ravaged.¹

For eight or nine months, and from two or three days' march of Dehli to the environs of Lahore, all the towns and places of note were pillaged by the Sikhs, trodden under foot and destroyed. Men in countless numbers were slain, the whole country was wasted, and mosques and tombs were razed. After leaving Lahore, they returned to the towns and villages of Sādhaura and Karnāl, the *faujdār* of which place was slain after resisting to the best of his ability. Now especially great havoc was made. A hundred or two hundred Hindūs and Muslims who had been made prisoners were made to sit down in one place, and were slaughtered. The revolt and the ravages of the Sikhs were brought under the notice of His Majesty, and greatly troubled him; but he did not deem its suppression so urgent as the putting down of the Rājput rebellion, so the royal armies were not sent against them at this time.²

After having settled the affairs of Rājputs Shāh 'Ālam Bahādar Shāh started for Lahore, in great anxiety, on the 18th Zulhijja, 1121 A.H.³ (February 18, 1710 A.D.). Near the end of the third year of the reign His Majesty had given an order that the word وصى (*wasī-heir*)⁴ should be inserted in the *khutbah* among the attributes of 'Alī, the fourth Khalifa in succession after the Holy Prophet. When this order reached Lahore, Jān Muḥammad and Hājī Yār Muḥammad, the most eminent learned men in that city, in accord with many other learned

1. Khāfi Khān, *Muntakhabul Lubāb*, II, 660.

2. *Ibid.*, 660—1.

3. *Ibid.*, 662.

4. The royal decree ordered that after the *kalima*, or Muslim confession of faith, the expression و علی ولی الله و وصی رسول الله (And 'Alī is the friend of God and heir of the Prophet of God) should be read in *khutbah*. This was in accordance with the faith of Shī'a sect of Muslims.

men, went in a crowd to the houses of the Qāzi and the Ṣadr, to forbid the reading of the word *ومى* in the *khutbah*.¹ Consequently the order remained a dead letter. When the king reached Lahore an order was given that these religious men should be brought into the royal presence. Hājī Yār Maḥammad, Muḥammad Murād Khān, and three or four other learned men of repute, waited upon His Majesty in the oratory. They were told to be seated. The emperor, and some learned men whom he had to support him, brought forward proofs that the word *ومى* should be used. After much disputation Hājī Yār Muḥammad grew warm in replying to the emperor, and spoke in a presumptuous, unseemly manner. The emperor got angry, and asked him, if he was not afraid to speak in this bold and unmannerly way in the audience of a king. The Hājī replied, "I hope for four things from my bounteous Creator : 1. Acquisition of knowledge²; 2. Preservation of the Word of God³; 3. The Pilgrimage⁴; and 4. Martyrdom⁵. Thanks be to God that of his bounty I enjoy the first three. Martyrdom remains, and I am hopeful that by the kindness of the just king I may obtain that." The disputation went on for several days. A great many of the inhabitants of the city, in agreement with a party of Afghāns, formed a league of more than a hundred-thousand persons, who secretly supported Hājī Yār Muḥammad. Prince 'Aẓīmush Shān also secretly gave his countenance to this party. At the end of Shawwāl, 1122 A.H. (December, 1710 A.D.), the Ṣadr presented a petition on the subject of the *khutbah*, and on this His Majesty wrote with his own hand that the *khutbah* should be read in the form during the reign of Aurangzīb. After this concession the agitation ceased.⁶

1. Khāfī Khān, *Muntāḥabul Lubāb*, II, 663.

2. تحصیل علم

3. حفظ کلام اللہ

4. حج

5. شہادت

6. Khāfī Khān, *Muntāḥabul Lubāb*, II, 681—2

The fifth festival of His Majesty's accession was celebrated as usual on the 18th Zulhijja, 1122 A.H. (February 7, 1711 A.D.). About the 20th Muharram, 1123 A.H.¹ (March 10, 1711 A.D.), when the emperor had passed his seventieth lunar year, there was a great change perceptible in him, and in twenty-four hours it was evident that he was marked for death. On the night of the 8th¹ of the month (?) the emperor died, and was buried near the tomb of Qutbud Dīn, four or five *kos* from Dehli. He reigned four years and two months.

2. JAHĀNDĀR SHĀH (1124—1124 A.H.) (1712—1713 A.D.)

By Bahādur Shāh's death the whole camp was thrown into confusion. The emperor had hardly breathed his last, before his four sons ranged against each other in contest for empire. Great confusion prevailed in the city of Lahore. According to Khāfi Khān, 'one week after the death of Bahādur Shāh was passed in amicable communications and correspondance between the four brothers about the division of the kingdom and property..... It was settled that the Dakan should fall to Prince Jahān Shāh; Multān, Thatta, and Kashmir to Prince Rafī'ush Shān; and that Prince 'Azīmush Shān and Prince Jahāndār Shāh should divide the remaining *subahs* of Hindustān between them. But the agreement about the division of the kingdom and treasure all turned into discord, and the partition of the realm was never effected.² The three brothers agreed together, in opposition of 'Azīmush Shān. All three, in accord with each other, mounted their horses, and for four or five days selected positions from which to fire guns and rockets upon the army of 'Azīmush Shān. About the 20th Ṣafar, 1124 A.H. (March 28, 1712 A.D.), the sound of battle rose high on

1. Khāfi Khān, *Muntakhabul Lubāb*, II, 683. There is obviously some mistake somewhere. The *Siyarul Muta'āhhirin* (II, 381) makes it 1124 A.H. while Irādat Khān (*Tārīkh e Irādat Khān*, Tr. in E. & D., VI, 556) and Kāmwar Khān (*Tazkira e Chaghātsai*, Tr. in E. & D., VIII, 19), gives 21st Muharram, 1124 A.H. (February 29, 1712 A.D.), as the date of death of Bahādur Shāh, thus giving him a reign of one more year. Irvine (*Later Mughals*, I, 133) prefers the latter date.

2. Khāfi Khān, *Muntakhabul Lubāb*, II, 685.

every side, and the fight was begun. 'Azīmush Shāh, who was mounted on an elephant, disappeared. The three princes caused the drums of victory to be beaten.¹

Next day many messages passed between Jahāndār Shāh and Jahān Shāh respecting peace proposals, but without any result, and the course of affairs tended to the shedding of each other's blood. A battle followed between the armies of the two brothers, and raged from the beginning of the day to the third watch. In the end Jahān Shāh was defeated and was later killed by a cannon ball.²

There remained Prince Rafī'ush Shāh, with whom also Jahāndār proposed friendly negotiations about the division of the kingdom. Having put the prince off his guard, Jahāndār sent a detachment of horse against him by night. Rafī'ush Shāh fought desperately, but he and several of his companions were killed.³

Jahāndār Shāh, being thus freed from his three brothers, became the monarch of Hindustān, and proceeded at once to carry out his formal enthronement and proclamation. Tents were erected on the battle-field outside Lahore, and on the 21st Šafar 1124 A.H. (March 29, 1712 A.D.), the day after the defeat of Rafī'ush Shāh, the usual ceremonies were observed. Jahāndār Shāh was at the time fifty-two (lunar) years of age. His titles were Abul Fath Muhammad Mu'izud Dīn Jahāndār Shāh.⁴

The usual re-distribution of the great offices of the State followed the coronation. 'Ināyatullah Khān Kashmīrī was sent off to the šubah of Kashmīr, which he already held, and Zabardast Khān (with the new title of 'Alī Mardān Khān) was appointed to Lahore.⁵

1. Khāfi Khān, *Muntakhabul Lubāb*, II, 686.

2. *Ibid.*, 687.

3. *Ibid.*, 688.

4. Nūrud Dīn Fārūqī, *Jahāndār-nāma*, 66.

5. Wārid, Muhammad Shāfi', *Mirāt e Wāridat*, 79; and Qāsim Lāhorī, *Ibrat-nāma*, f. 79 b.

The Court now started from Lahore on its return to Dehli. Jahāndār Shāh left the banks of the Rāvi in the first week of Rabi' II, 1124 A.H. (June 22, 1712 A.D.).¹ During the march news was brought that Farrukh Siyar, the second son of the late 'Azimush Shān, was at Patna preparing for war, and that he was strongly supported by the Sayyids of Bāraha. The emperor sent against them his son A'azzud Dīn Khān, with 5,000 horse and he deputed with him Khwāja Hasan Khān, Khān e Daurān, under whom he placed the prince and the army and all the artillery and military equipments. Muhammad Farrukh Siyar, supported by Sayyid 'Abdullah Khān, and other experienced warriors, was marching onwards. A'azzud Dīn arrived at the town of Khwāja, and there he obtained intelligence of approach of Farrukh Siyar. Although there was a distance of thirteen or fourteen *kos* between them, he was frightened. Towards the end of Shawwāl, 1124 A.H. (November, 1712 A.D.) he halted at Khwāja, and ordered entrenchments to be thrown up and lines to be drawn around his tents and his position. When the banners of Farrukh Siyar's advanced force were seen at the distance of two *kos* a great panic fell upon his whole army. At a watch before day-break Khān e Daurān and A'azzud Dīn, with some trusted companions, took horse and fled. The men also lost all heart and vied with each other in running away to save their lives.²

In the beginning of the month of Zulq'ada (December, 1712 A.D.) messengers brought to Jahāndār Shāh at Dehli, unwelcome news of A'azzud Dīn's flight from Khwāja. It was at once decided to march from the capital to meet the danger. Strenuous efforts were made to put matters into order and to collect army. About the middle of Zulq'ada Jahāndār Shāh left Dehli. On the 16th Zulhijja, 1124 A.H. (January 13, 1713 A.D.) the armies confronted each other near Āgra, and the battle began by Sayyid 'Abdullah Khān attacking Jahāndār's army. The fierce attack of Bārah Sayyids threw Jahāndār's army into confusion and he was so

1. Khāfi Khān, *Mutakhkhabul Lubāb*, II, 691.

2. *Ibid.*, 697--706.

disheartened that he mounted an elephant, and, towards the end of the day, moved off, with the intention of flying to Āgra. Thinking that Āgra would not be a safe retreat he started towards Dehli, where he reached 2 days later. There he proceeded straight to the house of Āṣafud Daula Asad Khān, to seek his counsel and assistance. Āṣafud Daula perceived that no help could be given to Jahāndār Shāh at that time and that he was not fit to reign. So he thought the best course was to send Jahāndār to the fort, and keep him under restraint. He could then use this act as a means for reconciliation with Farrukh Siyar. Having thus decided on his course of action, Asad Khān sent Jahāndār to the fort as a prisoner, where he was executed on 17th Muḥarram, 1125 A.H. (February 13, 1713 A.D.) by the order of Farrukh Siyar.¹

According to Khāfi Khān, 'in the brief reign of Jahāndār, violence and debauchery had full sway. It was a fine time for minstrels and singers and all the tribes of dancers and actors. There seemed to be a likelihood of that Qāzis would turn toss-pots, and Muftis become tipplers. All the brothers and relatives, close and distant, of La'l Kunwar (a courtesan of Jahāndār), received *manṣabs* of four or five thousand, presents of elephants, drums and jewels and were raised to dignity in their tribe. Worthy, talented and learned men now were driven away, and bold impudent wits and tellers of facetious anecdotes gathered round.'²

(3) FARRUKH SIYAR (1125—1131 A.H.) (1713—1719 A.D.)

After the victory, Farrukh Siyar sent Sayyid 'Abdullah Khān, Luṭfullah Khān Ṣādiq, and other *āmirs* to arrange matters at Dehli. He himself, after a week's rest, started for that city, and encamped in the environs on the 14th Muḥarram, 1125 A.H. (February 10, 1713 A.D.)³. He entered the city and fort on the

1. Khāfi Khān, *Muntakhabul Lubāb*, II, 700—34.

2. *Ibid.*, 688.

3. *Ibid.*, 727.

17th, Muharram, 1125 A.H. (February 13, 1714 A.D.), and gave orders that, in retaliation for violent acts against his brothers and the *amirs*, the head of Jahāndār Shāh be stuck upon a spear, and carried round the city on an elephant, with the carcase lying in the *howdah*.¹ An order was made that the reign of Jahādār Shāh should be considered as an adverse possession, and that the reign of Muhammad Farrukh Siyar should date from the 1st Rabi' I, 1124 A.H. (April 8, 1712 A.D.).²

On the way from Āgra to Dehlī, and after arrival at Dehlī, many new appointments were made and new titles conferred. Zabardast Khān, entitled 'Alī Mardān Khān, died at Lahore before he could be removed; he was replaced by 'Abduṣ Ṣamad Khān Bahādar.³

The violence of the Sikhs had passed all bounds by this time. The injuries and indignities they inflicted on Muslims, and the destruction of mosques and tombs, were looked upon by them as righteous and meritorious acts. They had built a fort at Gurdāspur in the Panjāb ten or twelve days' journey from Dehlī, and extended its limits so that fifty or sixty thousand horse and foot could find protection. They strengthened the towers and walls of the place, took possession of all the cultivated land around, and ravaged the country from Lahore to Sirhind.⁴

In the year 1127 A.H. (1715 A.D.), that is in the second year of Farrukh Siyar's reign a bloody action happened in the plains of the Panjāb, between the Sikhs and the Imperialists, in which the latter commanded by 'Abduṣ Ṣamad Khān, the viceroy of the Panjāb, gave those inhuman freebooters a great defeat in which their General, Banda, fell into the victor's hands.⁵ The Sikhs on several occasions showed the greatest boldness and daring, and made nocturnal attacks upon the Imperial forces.

1. Khāfi Khān, *Muntakh̄abul Lubāb*, II, 734.

2. *Ibid.*, 737.

3. *Ibid.*, 762.

4. *Ibid.*, 761.

5. Ghulām Husain Khān, *Siyarul Muta'akhkhirin*, II, 400.

'Abduş Şamad Khān, Daler Jang, while lying in front of their poor fortress, was obliged to throw up an entrenchment for the defence of his forces. He raised batteries, and pushed forward his approaches. The siege lasted a long time, and the enemy exhibited great courage and daring. They frequently made sallies into the trenches, and killed many of the besiegers. The Royal army in course of time succeeded in cutting off from the enemy his supplies of corn and fodder, and the stores in the fort were exhausted.¹

Being reduced to the last extremity, and despairing of life, the offered to surrender on condition of their lives being

Daler Jang at first refused to grant quarter; but at length he advised them to beg pardon of their crimes and offences from the emperor. Banda, with his son of seven or eight years old, his *dīwān*, and three or four thousand persons became prisoners, and received the predestined recompense for their deeds. 'Abduş Şamad had three or four thousand of them put to the sword, and he filled that extensive plain with blood as if it had been a dish. Their heads were stuffed with hay and stuck upon spears. Those who escaped the sword were sent in collars and chains to the emperor. 'Abduş Şamad sent nearly two thousand heads stuffed with hay and a thousand persons bound with iron chains in charge of his son, Zakariyā Khān, and his brother-in-law, Qamarud Dīn Khān, to the emperor.²

In the month of Muḥarram, 1127 A.H. (January, 1715, A.D.) the prisoners and the stuffed heads arrived at Dehli. The *Bakhshī* E'timādud Daula Muḥammad Amin Khān received orders to go out of the city, to blacken the faces and put wooden caps on the heads of the prisoners; to ride himself upon an elephant, place the prisoners on camels, and the heads on spears, and thus enter the city, to give a warning to all spectators. After they had entered the city, and passed before emperor, orders were given for confining Gurrā Banda, his son and two or

1. Khāfi Khān, *Muntakhabu'l Lubāb*, II, 761.

2. *Ibid.*

three principal companions in the fort. As to the rest of the prisoners, it was ordered that two or three hundred of them should be put to death every day before the *kotwāl's* office and in the streets of the *bāzār*. The men of the *khatri* caste, who were secretly members of the sect, and followers of the Gurū, sought by the offer of large sums of money to Muḥammad Amin *Khēn* and other mediators to save the life of the Gurū, but they were unsuccessful. After all the Gurū's companion had been killed, an order was given that the boy should be slain in his presence, or rather that the boy should be killed by his own hands, in requital of the cruelty which he had shown in the slaughter of the sons of the others. Afterwards, he himself was killed.¹

On the 9th Rabi' II, 1131 A.H. (February 28, 1719 A.D.), some conspirators deposed and blinded Farrukh Siyar in the palace at Dehlī. During the confusion that followed, on the same day, Shamsud Dīn Abul Barakāt Rafī'ud Darajāt, younger son of Rafī'ush Shān, and grandson of Bahādar Shāh, was made emperor.²

(4) RAFI'UD DARAJĀT (1131 A.H.) (1719 A.D.)

From the deposition of Farrukh Siyar (February 28, 1719 A.D.) to the accession of Muḥanimad Shāh (September 24, 1719 A.D.), three princes were raised to the throne. Rafī'ud Darajāt was twenty years of age when he was brought out of confinement, and the noise and confusion was so great and general, inside and outside the palace, that there was not even time to send him to the bath, or change his clothes. In the same garments he was wearing, with only a pearl necklace thrown upon his neck for ornament, he was placed upon the throne. His accession and a general amnesty were proclaimed to stay the tumult.³

1. *Khāfi Khān, Muntahabul Lubab*, II, 765—6.

2. *Ibid.*, 815—16.

3. *Ibid.*, 816.

(5) NĪKŪ SIYAR ^(1131 A.H.)
(1719 A.D.)

On the 29th Jumāda II, 1131 A.H. (May 19, 1719 A.D.), the soldiers at Āgra brought out of confinement in the fort, and raised to sovereignty, a person named Nīkū Siyar, a son of Prince Muḥammad Akbar, and grandson of Aurangzīb. His accession was announced by peals of cannon, and coins of gold and silver were struck in his name.

(6) RAFĪ'UD DAULAH ^(1131 A.H.)
(1719 A.D.)

On the 20th Rajab, 1131 A.H. (June 8, 1719 A.D.), Rafī'ud Daulah, who was one year and a half older than his brother, Rafī'ud Darajāt, was raised to the throne with the title of *Shāhjahān the second*.² Three days after Rafī'ud Daula ascended the throne, Rafī'ud Darajāt died. He had reigned six months and ten days.³

(7) MUḤAMMAD SHĀH ^(1131—1132 A.H.)
(1719—1720 A.D.)

On the 11th Zulqā'da, 1131 (September 25, 1719 A.D.), a week after the death of Rafī'ud Daulah, Muḥammad Shāh ascended the throne. Rafī'ud Daulah had reigned only three months and two days.⁴ Muḥammad Shāh had hardly been a year on the throne, when differences arose between him and the Sayyids of Bārha. Sayyid Husain 'Alī Khān Bārha was murdered on the 6th Zulhijja, 1132 A.H.⁵ (October 9, 1720 A.D.), and the news of it reached his elder brother, Sayyid 'Abdullah Khān, only eighteen hours later.⁶ Though 'Abdullah Khān moved cautiously

1. *Khāfi Khān, Murat al Lubab*, II, 827.

2. *Ibid.*, 831.

3. *Ibid.*, 829.

4. *Ibid.*, 839.

5. *Ibid.*, 903—4.

6. *Ibid.*, 911.

in the matter, he made up his mind to replace Muḥammad Shāh, if possible, by another prince.¹

(8) MUḤAMMAD IBRĀHĪM (1132—1133 A.H.)
(1720—1720 A.D.)

On the 9th Zuhijja, 1132 A.H., Sulṭān Muḥammad Ibrāhīm was raised to the throne with the title of Abul Faṭḥ Zahirud Dīn Muḥammad Ibrāhīm. Two days afterwards Sayyid ‘Abdullah arrived and paid his homage. He received the title of Ghāzlud Dīn Ghālib Jang, the position of *Amīrul Umarā* with the duties of Mīr Bakshī, and a *manṣab* of 8,000.²

On the 12th Muḥarram 1133 A.H. (November 13, 1720 A.D.), Muḥammad Shāh pitched his tents twenty *kos* from Dehli to give battle to Sulṭān Muḥammad Ibrāhīm. Next day the battle began and lasted from morn to night. On the following day Muḥammad Shāh’s troops charged the rebels, ‘Abdullah Khān was captured, and Ibrāhīm, who had fled from the field was brought back a prisoner.³

In the third week of Rabī ‘I, 1133 A.H. (January, 1721 A.D.), a grand audience was held in the *Diwān e Khāss* by Muḥammad Shāh in the Dehli palace. On this occasion among others, ‘Abduṣ Ṣamad Khān Daler Jang, the viceroy of the Panjāb, paid homage to the emperor and presented a *nagr* of one *lakh* of rupees.⁴

At this point it is necessary to stop the narrative of events and look at the condition of the provinces forming the north-western frontier of the Mughul empire, which included Lahore. Afghānistan had been a precarious possession and source of weakness to the successors of Bābur, but they had succeeded in occupying the country and keeping the passes from India open. But this position had been constantly deteriorating till during the

1. Khāfi Khān, *Muntakhabul Lubab*, II, 911—14.

2. *Ibid.*, 914.

3. *Ibid.*, 933.

4. *Ibid.*, 937—8.

reign of Muḥammad Shāh 'the valleys and defiles of the province were left unguarded both by the governor (of Kābul), who did not mind them, and by the Minister (at Court), who did not think them of so much importance, as to trouble his head with them. Hence the guards being ill-paid, abandoned their posts, and the garrisons being utterly neglected, invited the invaders; and the report of the Ministers' inattention, and of the weakness of Government, being rumoured everywhere everyone without fear of control or examination, thought only of cutting for himself without minding any consequences. The roads and passes being neglected, everyone passed and repassed, unobserved; no intelligence was forwarded to Court of what was happening; and neither emperor nor minister ever asked why no intelligence of that kind ever reached their ears'.¹

The result is best described in the words of Ghulām Husain: "It was impossible for Nāṣir Khān (the governor of Kābul) to prevent Nādir Shāh's entrance into India. The Government was rotten, the emperor was powerless. No money was sent to maintain the administration of Afghānistān. The *ṣūbehdār*, therefore, sought his own comfort and lived at Peshāwar, entrusting the fort of Kābul to a *qala'dār* with orders to control and watch the passes leading into India."²

Equally neglected and defenceless was the next gateway of India, the province of the Panjāb. Zakariya Khān, who succeeded his father, 'Abduṣ Ṣamad Khān as governor of Multān and Lahore, in 1150 A.H.³ (1737 A.D.), tried to resist the progress of the invader but he did not succeed in it.

After conquering Ghaznīn and Kābul, Nādir Shāh resumed his march towards India on the 4th Shā'ban 1151 A.H. (November 17, 1738 A.D.). A vanguard of 12,000 picked cavalry proceeded ahead,

1. Ghulām Husain Khān, *Siyarul Muṭṭahhirin*, II, 479.

2. *Ibid.*, II, 480.

3. Cf. Ghulām Husain Khān, *Siyarul Muṭṭahhirin*, II, 477; Beale, T.W., *An Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, 426; and Muḥammad 'Alī, *Tārīkh e Muḡaffarī*, f. 73.

followed by another body of 6,000 men to guard the royal tents.¹ Nādir entered Peshāwar without opposition and occupied the governor's palace. Having settled the affairs of Peshāwar, he marched on the 25th Ramazān, 1151 A.H. (January 6, 1739 A.D.), towards Attock, where he encamped on the fifth day.²

Zakariyā Khān, the governor of Lahore, though unsupported by his master, had made what defensive arrangements he could with his own limited resources. Some five thousand of his men, under Qalandar Khān, held the fort of Kāchhā Mirza on the other side of the river of Wazirābād as an advanced post, while the governor himself formed his camp on the banks of the Rāwl on the 17th Ramazān 1151 A.H. (December 29, 1738 A.D.). The Persian vanguard took the fort, killed Qalandar Khān and drove his troops away. At the news of it, Zakariyā Khān fell back on Lahore, where he gave battle to Nādir Shāh. A large force of Indians under the Zamīndar of Ādina Nagar were coming to reinforce Zakariyā Khān, when they were overtaken by the Persian skirmishers at Malikpur, 6 kos from Lahore and dispersed, losing some captives.³

Zakariyā Khān, found resistance in vain. No aid could come from Dehli. So, after 2 days, he sent Kifāyat Khān, his agent, to Nādir's camp to offer submission and beg for safety. Next day he himself went to the victor, and presented 20 lakhs of rupees, some elephants and other costly presents. He was received by Nādir Shāh with every mark of distinction and courtesy and was presented with a gold embroidered saddle and costly trappings, and jewelled sword and dagger, and retained in the governorship of Lahore.⁴ Nādir Shāh then left Lahore for Shāhjahānābād on Friday the 26th Shawwāl, 1151 A.H. (February 6, 1739 A.D.).⁵

1. Muḥammad Mahdī, *Jahānkushā e Nādirī*, 341.

2. Cf. Muḥammad Mahdī, *Jahānkushā e Nādirī*, 342; and Ānand Rām Mukhlīṣ, *Taḡkira*, (E. & D., VIII, 79).

3. Cf. Muḥammad Mahdī, *Jahānkushā e Nādirī*, 343—44; and Ānand Rām Mukhlīṣ, *Taḡkira*, (E. & D., VIII, 79).

4. Cf. Muḥammad Mahdī, *Jahānkushā e Nādirī*, 344; and Ghulam Husain Khān, *Siyarul Muta'āhh khirīn*, II, 182.

5. Muḥammad Mahdī, *Jahānkushā e Nādirī*, 346.

During the vigorous rule of 'Abduṣ Ṣamad Khān and his son Zakariyā Khān, the Sikhs behaved themselves as peaceful subjects and lived in harmony in their villages, or lurked in woods and valleys with a view to obtaining a livelihood by robbery. The commotions which followed the invasion of Nādir Shāh, and the confusion into which the province of Lahore was thrown, were favourable to the Sikhs, who, impoverished by repression and extortion, took again to rapine and plunder. They occupied the whole country between the Rāvi and the Beas, as well as the Mājha jungles, harassed the routes of communication, and moving about in small bands, plundered villages. One Jassā Singh Kalāl¹ (or distiller) who had fled, with the other Sikh chiefs, to take refuge in Muktesar (in the Ferozepur district) during the invasion of Nādir Shāh, appeared again after the Shāh's return and built the fort of Dalhwāl² on the bank of the Rāvi, where he established his headquarters.³ Zakariyā Khān was made aware of the proceedings of the Sikhs and thus he believed that the Sikhs were the principal source of danger to the peace and progress of the country. He, therefore, organised moving columns of light cavalry and put them in motion in pursuit of the Sikhs. Their fort of Dalhwāl was plundered and razed to the ground. Large numbers of them were shot down while many others were brought in chains to Lahore where they were executed at a place called Ghorā Nakhās or (the horse-market), outside the Dehli Gate, which afterwards came to be called Shahid Ganj, or place of martyrs, in memory of the event.⁴

1. Jassā Singh Kalāl was born in 1718 A.D. (Latif, *Panjab*, 314) and was the first man of note in the Ahluwālīa Miṣl (M'gregar, *The History of the Sikhs*, 146). Most of the leading chiefs of the time were converted to Sikhism by him. He claimed descent from the Rājputs of Jassalmer, and became the founder of the Kapūrthala ruling family (Kanhayā La'l, *Tārīkh e Panjāb*, 102).

2. Dalhwāl was conveniently situated in the centre of a dense forest in the North-West of Amritsar and commanded a rich and fertile tract of land called 'Riaṭkr'.

3. Cf. Sohan La'l, *'Umdatut Tawārīkh*, I, 102; and Khazān Singh, *The Sikh Religion*, I, 241 & 282.

4. Ganesh Dās, *Risāla e Ṣahib Nama*, 198.

Nawāb Zakariyā Khān, the viceroy of the Panjāb, died at Lahore on Monday the 12th Jumāda II, 1158 A.H. (July 12, A.D.)¹. The news was conveyed to the Dehli court on Monday the 19th Jumāda II, 1158 A.H. (July 19, 1745 A.D.) and was kept secret by Qamarud Dīn Khān, the Wazīr. He quietly sought permission from the emperor on the same day for Yahyā Khān, the eldest son of Zakariyā Khān, to leave for Lahore to see his father. Yahyā Khān was the son of Wazīr's sister and was married to his daughter. Yahyā Khān left for Lahore on the next day and took charge of the seat of government vacated by his father. On the 22nd Jumāda II, 1158 A.H. (July 22, 1745 A.D.) the news was released in the capital and Wazīr, after lamenting the death of his brother-in-law for four days, attended the court on the 26th Jumāda II, 1158 A.H. (July 26, 1745 A.D.). Shāhnawāz Khān, the younger son of Zakariyā Khān, also arrived at Lahore soon after and demanded complete division of his patrimony. He marched from Multān to Lahore with a considerable force and encamped in the neighbourhood of Shālāmār. Negotiations were set on foot through Diwān Surat Singh. On the 'Īd festival, the brothers attended the 'Idgāh for divine service. After the service, an altercation occurred between the brothers, resulting in a rupture. An engagement followed in which Yahyā Khān's followers were slain, and he was himself taken prisoner by Shāhnawāz Khān, who, proceeding to Lahore, took possession of all his deceased father's estates, and proclaimed himself viceroy, without waiting for orders from the Imperial Government at Dehli.²

Shortly afterwards Yahyā Khān made good his escape, with the help of his aunt, and presented himself before the emperor at Dehli, laying his grievances before His Majesty, through his father-in-law and uncle Qamarud Dīn.³

1. Ghulām Husain Khān, *Siyarul Muta'āhhikhirin*, III, 856.

2. Cf. Ghulām Husain Khān, *Siyarul Muta'āhhikhirin*, III, 856 ; Sohan La'ī, *'Umdatul Tawārikh*, I, 114 ; Muḥammad 'Alī, *Tārikh e Muḥaffarī*, f. 73 b. ; Kanhayyā La'ī, *Tārikh e Panjāb*, 69 ; and 'Alrud Dīn, *Ibratnāma*, f. 106.

3. Cf. Muḥammad 'Alī, *Tārikh e Muḥaffarī*, f. 73b ; Ghulām Husain Khān, *Siyarul Muta'āhhikhirin*, III, 857 ; and Sohan La'ī, *'Umdatul Tawārikh*, I, 114

The new viceroy conferred the office of prime minister on Kaurā Mall¹ and gave the governorship of the Bist Jālandhar to Ādina Beg Khān,² who began to undermine his master's power. He advised Shāhnawāz Khān to invite the rising Ahmad Shāh Abdālī to his aid saying: 'You are no more than a nephew to Wazīr Qamarud Dīn Khān, but your elder brother, Yahyā Khān, is his son-in-law besides; and he is gone to carry complaints against you to Court. Rest assured, then that neither emperor nor Wazīr will allow you peaceful enjoyment of government. You have, however, one resource, and it is this: Join Ahmad Shāh Abdālī's party—a powerful and successful man, who, openly aspires to the Crown, and will look upon you as a valuable accession to his party and jolly good luck'.³ This speech had its full effect; Shāhnawāz Khān opened correspondence with Ahmad Shāh Abdālī; and immediately terms of agreement were drawn up and signed between them. It was proposed that Ahmad Shāh would get the crown and the ministership would go to Shāhnawāz Khān.⁴

This scheme having worked to his satisfaction, Ādina Beg Khān followed it up with another. He wrote to Qamarud Dīn Khān, the Minister, that his nephew had conceived chimerical schemes in his mind, affected independence, and had opened correspondence with Ahmad Shāh Abdālī. He added that the remonstrances of his best servants had so far proved fruitless, although they

1. Kaurā Mal was the son of Dalū Mal Khatri of Multān whose father and grand-father had been in service of the governor of Multān (Cf. Shah Yūsuf, *Hālāt e Multān*, f. 55a; 'Abdul Karīm Kashmirī, 'Ibrat Miqāl, II, f. 55a; 'Alīud Dīn, 'Ibrat Nama, f. 106b; and Khushwaqt Rae, *Kitāb e Tarikh e Panjāb*, f. 76).

2. Ādina Beg Khān was by caste an Arātn. He was the son of Channu, an inhabitant of Sharqpur in Lahore Tehsil. He was born at Paṭṭī, near Lahore, and was brought up in a Mughul family. Starting his career as a Paṭwārī he rose to the position of the viceroy of the Panjāb. (Cf. *Aḥwāl e Ādina Beg Khān*, f. 510; and my monograph on this viceroy published in the proceedings of the *Idāra e Ma'ārif e Islāmīa* of 1936).

3. Cf. Ghulam Husain Khān, *Siyarul Muta'āhhahirin*, III, 861; and 'Alīud Dīn, *Ibrat-nāma*, f. 106b.

4. Cf. Ghulam Husain Khān, *Siyarul Muta'āhhahirin*, III, 861; 'Alīud Dīn, *Ibrat-nāma*, f. 107.

were ready to renew their efforts if the Minister was prepared to lend them his moral support. The Minister, astonished at the intelligence, immediately wrote in his own hand a very, affectionate letter to his nephew. The purport was, 'that their family, at all times devoted to the emperors of India, had never been guilty of ingratitude or treason. Beware of such a crime ; beware of thinking that a traitor can thrive. It is a pity that a man like you should wish for the honour of obeying Ahmad Shāh Abdālī, the *yasāwal*,¹ rather than for that of driving such a fellow from the frontiers of India. Would not the five provinces of Khābul, Kashmīr, Thatta, Lahore and Multān, fall into your hands if you succeeded in the latter, and would not your good uncle exert himself supporting you with all the power of the empire ?'

This letter produced the desired effect, and Shāhnawāz Khān, ashamed of his conduct, returned to the path of duty and allegiance ; but Ādina Beg Khān had already gone far in the negotiations with Ahmad Shāh and the latter marched to Lahore in 1160 A.H. (1747 A.D.).³

Before actually reaching Lahore Ahmad Shāh sent his domestic priest, Pirzāda Šabir Shāh,⁴ as his envoy to Shāhnawāz Khān to confirm his allegiance towards him (Ahmad Shāh). Shāhnawāz Khān received the priest in open *darbār* with due courtesy, but, finding him insolent, executed him. This insult brought Ahmad Shāh Durrānī immediately to Lahore. Shāhnawāz Khān came out with a numerous army, and a battle was joined, in which Shāhnawāz Khān was defeated and he fled to Dehli in the course

1. A servant of parade carrying a silver and gold staff.

2. Ghulam Husain Khān, *Siyarul Muta'ahhahin*, III, 861—2.

3. Muhammad 'Alī, *Tarikh e Muzaffari*, f. 74.

4. According to *Tārīkh e Muzaffari* (f. 74), he sent his son Shaikh 'Umar, who was at first imprisoned and then executed by Shāhnawāz Khān. 'Alud Dīn records (*Ibrānāma*, f. 107) that Ahmad Shāh at first sent Bughrā Khān Durrānī Popalzār along with Muhammad Na'im Khān to Lahore, but Shāhnawāz got annoyed with Bughrā Khān on account of his insulting behaviour and dismissed him in disgrace.

of the same night. The next morning the Abdālīs entered the city without the least opposition and plundered the outer portions of the capital, particularly Mughulpura, the richest part of the town but spared the city for ransom of 30 lakhs. The whole baggage of Shāhnawāz Khān, consisting of camp equipage, artillery, elephants, camels and horses, fell into the conqueror's hands and considerably augmented his military resources. Aḥmad Shāh, before leaving Lahore, appointed Jumla Khān, an Afghān of Kasūr, as viceroy of Lahore in the beginning of the year 1161 A.H. (January, 1748 A.D.).¹

Having reduced Lahore, Aḥmad Shāh Abdālī advanced towards Dehlī, and crossing the Beās and the Sutlej without opposition, approached Sirhind. Here he met Prince Aḥmad, the heir-apparent, and the Wazīr Qamarud Dīn Khān, who were sent from Dehlī to check the advance. Various skirmishes took place between the two armies, but nothing decisive occurred for about a month. The Mughul Wazīr was killed by a cannon-ball, but his army, under the charge of his son Mir Mannū, continued to repel the Durrānīs, and totally repulsed and defeated them compelling them to march off homewards. The Panjāb was thus recovered for the emperor Muḥammad Shāh, and the government of Lahore and Multān was conferred by the Dehlī court on Mir Mannū, with the title of Mu'īn-ul Mulk, in acknowledgement of his services on this important occasion.²

The new viceroy of Lahore took charge of his government by the middle of April. 1748 A.D., appointed Kaurā Mal as

1. Cf. Ghulam Husain Khān, *Siyarul Muta'ākhkhirin*, III, 862—3; 'Alīud Dīn, *Ibratnāma*, f. 107—8; Muḥammad 'Alī, *Tārīkh e Muḥaffarī*, f. 74; Abdūl Karīm Kashmīrī, *Bayān e Wāq'a*, f. 163—4; *Tārīkh e Aḥmad Shāhi*, f. 6.; Sayyid Imāmud Dīn Husainī, *Tārīkh e Husain Shāhi*, f. 20.

2. Cf. Ghulam Husain Khān, *Siyarul Muta'ākhkhirin*, III, 864; 'Alīud Dīn, *Ibratnāma*, f. 109; Muḥammad 'Alī, *Tārīkh e Muḥaffarī*, f. 75; Rāc Chatarman, *Chahar Gulshan*, 16a; Ghulam Muḥīud Dīn, *Zafarnāma*, f. 4b.—12a; Bilgrāmī, *Khazāna e 'Amīra*, 97; Shiva Parābhād, *Tārīkh e Farāq Bahāsh*, f. 14; Harcharandās, *Chahar Gulzār*, Amānūl Haq, *Irshādul Mustaqīm*, f. 298; Aḥmad Yādgar, *Tārīkh e Salāṭīn e Afghānan*, f. 148; and Abdūl Karīm 'Alvī, *Tārīkh e Aḥmad*, 7—8.

Ahmad Shāh, on hearing the news of the death of the emperor Muhammad Shāh countermanded the retreat of his army, and with his usual expedition, marched against Lahore again in 1161 A.H. (1748 A.D.). Mir Mannū, whose spirit and intelligence had rolled back the first Durrānī invasion, having moved out of Lahore, intrenched himself at Kopra (modern Sodhra), south of Chenāb, and the bold front displayed by him deterred the Shāh for the time from prosecuting further plans of aggrandisement. He, however, compelled the governor to cede to him in perpetuity the revenue of the four *mahāls* (districts) of Lahore, namely, Siālkoṭ, Emanābād, Pasrūr, and Aurangābād, which had formerly belonged to the ruler of Kābul. Nāsir Khān was appointed to manage the four *mahāls* and send the yearly revenue to Kābul. Ahmad Shāh, being perfectly satisfied with this arrangement, quitted the Panjāb for Kābul and Muʿīn-ul Mulk returned to Lahore.¹

The conciliatory policy of Diwān Kaurā Mal brought peace to the relations of the government and the Sikhs for a short-while. Muʿīn-ul Mulk, on his part, did not neglect to provide against the danger from the Sikhs. He organised a troop of 900 gunners and added them to the army of Lahore. And yet as Mir Mannū went out of Lahore to stop Ahmad Shāh the Sikhs plundered the town during his absence.²

Mir Mannū, as might have been expected, failed to yield the tribute which had been exacted from him by Ahmad Shāh under duress. This brought the Durrānī on him for the third time in 1165 A.H. (1751 A.D.). Ahmad Shāh came by forced marches to Lahore, and began to devastate the country. Mir Mannū called to his aid Ādina Beg Khān and Diwān Kaurā Mal. The viceroy of Lahore, then, went out to meet the invader half-way, and not only resisted his attacks for four months, but several times came out and drove him to a distance, but as the Durrānī troops, breaking up their quarters suddenly, moved eastward, Mir Mannū marched

1. Cf. *Tārīkh-e Ahmad Shāhi*, (E. & D. VIII), 115; 'Alīud Dīn 'Ibratnāma, f. 111; and Muḥammad Aslam, *Farḥatun Nāḡirān*, f. 19.

2. Cf. 'Alīud Dīn, 'Ibratnāma, f. 111 and Miskin, *Tagkira*, f. 67—8.

back in alarm to the city, barricaded all the streets, and strengthened the interior defences. Everyday there were skirmishes, till at last the supply of provisions was closed on all sides. There was such a dearth of corn and grass that with utmost difficulty two seers of wheat flour could be had for a rupee, to say nothing of rice. To procure for horses other forage than rushes or house-thatch was next to an impossibility. This obliged Mir Mannu and his army to take the field. A council was then convened, consisting of Diwān Kaurā Mal, Ādina Beg Khān and other nobles. Ādina Beg Khān was of the opinion that it was time to quit the intrenchment and to meet the enemy on open ground. Kaurā Mal differed on the ground that Indian troops were no match in the field for the hardy Afghāns and that it would be madness to run the risk of such an unequal combat. He further held that after three or four days the Durrānis wanting provisions, and already tired of so bloody and fruitless an expedition, would retire of their own accord. But the viceroy, prompted by his ardour, listened to the importunities of Ādina Beg Khān, and coming out of his post on the 12th April, 1752 A.D. took up his position in the elevation of an old brick kiln near village of Mahmūd Bhattī.¹ The armies moved into action, and a heavy cannonade followed. Diwān Kaurā Mal was killed in the field. Ādina Beg Khān scarcely exerted himself and withdrew. Mir Mannū saw that a prolonged contest would be ruinous; he retired to the citadel, and gave in his adhesion to the conqueror. Ahmad Shāh being satisfied with the annexation of Lahore and Multān to his dominions, continued Mir Mannū as his delegate in the new acquisition, and himself retired to his native country.²

After the departure of the Abdālī invader, the Panjāb remained in a distracted condition. A war extending over a period of half a year, carried by a stranger into the heart of the province, had necessarily enfeebled the administration, and the Sikhs were not slow to take advantage of this state of things. They extended

1. It is now called Mahmūd Būtt.

2. Cf. *Aḥwāl e Ādina Beg Khān*, ff. 53 and 54; Muḥammad 'Alī, *Tarīkh e Muḥaffarī*, f. 85; Ghulām Husain Khān, *Siyarul Muta'āḥḥḥirīn*, III, 889; Muḥammad Aslam, *Farkatun Naḡirīn*, f. 101 and Miskin, *Tazkira*, ff. 67—68.

their depredations in all directions and laid waste the country lying between Amritsar and the hills. The viceroy of Lahore ordered Ādina Beg Khān, whose inaction at Lahore was not altogether above suspicion, to inflict on the seditious Sikhs a severe chastisement. Ādina Beg Khān also hailed this opportunity, in order to wash away the suspicions of treachery attached to him. During a festival at Mākhowāl, a holy place of worship, while thousands of Sikhs had repaired thither on a pilgrimage, he suddenly fell upon them and defeated them. He was, however, careful to desist from wholly extirpating them. They finally dispersed in all directions.¹

Mīr Mannū, however, did not give up the pursuit of the Sikhs. After the return of Ādina Beg Khān another force under Mīr Momin Khān was despatched in the direction of the Lakhī jungle where the Sikhs were reported to have taken shelter. The Muslim troops were harassed by the Sikhs and consequently Mīr Momin was recalled. A fresh expedition was sent under Husain Khān. This officer challenged them to an open fight rather than resorting to guerilla tactics. The Sikhs were inveigled into the trap, and a fight took place in the *bet* (island) of the Sutlej near Kot Buddhā Gāon. Ultimately the Sikhs were defeated and made to leave the field.²

In the winter of 1753 A.D. the Sikhs renewed their raids with greater vigour and infested the very environs of Lahore. Mīr Mannū undertook an expedition in person and marching out of Lahore to a distance of 7 *kos* encamped near village Tilakpur,³ situated on the bank of the Rāwī. The Sikhs on getting this intelligence, dispersed in all directions, but they were chased by the officers of Mīr Mannū and many of them were killed by being beaten with wooden mallets. At times Ādina Beg Khān sent 40 or

1. Cf. Forster, *Journey from Bengal to England*, I, 314; and Bakht Mal, *Khālṣa Nama*, ff. 71—2.

2. Cf. Ratan Singh, *Prāchin Panth Parkāsh*, 307—10; and Gyan Singh, *Paṇṇ Parkāsh*, 701—705.

3. Mālikpur according to *Tārīkh e Ahmad Shāh*, f. 282.

50 Sikh captive from the Doāb District ; they were as a rule killed with wooden hammers¹.

Mir Mannū did not long survive these events ; he was killed by a fall from his horse in Muḥarram 1167 A.H.² (1753 A.D.), whereupon his widow, Murād Begam, also called Mughlānī Begam, proclaimed her minor son, Aminud Dīn, a child three years old, viceroy of Lahore under her own guardianship.³

(10) 'ĀLAMGĪR II (1167—1173 A.H.)
(1754—1759 A.D.)

The administration of the central government by this time had grown very weak and degraded ; the pillars of the state were daily shaken ; the emperor never inquired about the realm, the soldiery, or the treasury—the three foundations of an empire. He became so absorbed in pleasure that a whole *koshk* was turned into a women's preserve by excluding all males from it, and there the emperor used to disport himself in female company. When Ghāzīud Dīn set himself up as the *wazīr* he convened a meeting of the nobles from which he contrived to obtain as a vote of the cabinet what was doubtless the suggestion of his own ambition. 'This emperor', said the assembled nobles, 'has shown his unfitness for rule. He is unable to cope with the Mahrattas : he is false and fickle towards his friends. Let him be deposed and a worthier son of Tīmūr raised to the throne.' This resolution was immediately acted upon, the unfortunate monarch was blinded and consigned to the State prison of Salīmgarh, adjoining the palace ; and a son of Jahāndār Shāh, the competitor of Farrukh Siyar, proclaimed

1. Cf. Miskīn, *Tazkira*, f. 84 ; and *Tārīkh e Aḥmad Shāhi*, f. 282.

2. He was buried near Shāhīdganj, in the mansion of 'Abdul Rahīm Khān, son-in-law of 'Abdus Samad Khān. During the reign of Sher Singh, the Sikhs in a moment of mad frenzy, dismantled the building, dug out the remains of Mir Mannū and scattered them to winds. (*Khushwaqt Rāe*, f. 88).

3. Cf. *Aḥwāl e Ād na Beg Khān*, f. 54 ; Muḥammad 'Alī, *Tārīkh e Muḥaffarī*, f. 89 ; Forster, *Journey from Bengal to England*, I. 315 ; Ghulām Husain Khān, *Siyarul Muta' khkhīr*, III, 895 ; and 'Alīud Dīn, *Ibratnāma*, ff. 112b and 113a.

emperor under the title 'Ālamgīre Ṣānī (II) on the 10th Shā'bān, 1167 A.H. (June 2, 1754 A.D.).¹

Mughlānī Begam, the widow of Mir Mannu, endeavoured to stand equally well with the court of Dehli and with the Durrānī king, and she betrothed her daughter to Ghāziud Dīn, the Dehli Wazīr.² But the Wazīr wished to recover a province for his sovereign, as well as to obtain a bride for himself. Under the advice of Ādina Beg Khān, in the beginning of 1169 A.H. (1755 A.D.), he sent from Ludhiāna a force, which accomplished the march of forty or fifty *kos* in one day and night, and reached Lahore in two days. Mughlānī Begam was asleep in her dwelling, and awoke to find herself a prisoner. She was carried to the camp of 'Imādul Mulk, who upon her arrival, waited upon her, and begged to be excused for what he had done. Having consoled her, he gave the province of Lahore to Ādina Beg Khān for a tribute of thirty *lakhs* of rupees. This done, the *wazīr* returned to Dehli.³

Aḥmad Shāh, on hearing this aggression, and occupation of Lahore by the Dehli Government, planned for the fourth time to invade Lahore. He was prompted in taking this decision by Mughlānī Begam, who promised him her full support. The Begam wrote, "In Shāhjahānābād goods and cash worth *karores* of rupees lie buried to my knowledge in the palace of my [late] father-in-law, besides heaps of gold and silver are stored inside the joins of the ceiling. A perfect disagreement exists among the Emperor 'Ālamgīr II, his amirs and other nobles. If Your Majesty invades the Panjāb and India this time, the Indian Empire, with all its riches of *karores*, will fall into your hands without any obstruction."⁴

1. Cf. Muhammad 'Alī, *Tārīkh e Muḡaffarī*, ff. 91b ; 'Alīud Dīn, 'Ibratnāma, f. 112b ; and Ghulam Husain Khān, *Siyarul Muta'āhhhhirīn*, III, 894.

2. Ghāziud Dīn Khān, Amīrul Umārā, styled 'Imādul Mulk, was the son of Ghāziud Dīn Firūz Jang. His original name was Shihābud Dīn and was appointed minister by the Emperor Aḥmad Shāh in 1165 A.H. (1752 A.D.), after the death of his father (Beale, 143).

3. Cf. Muhammad 'Alī, *Tārīkh e Muḡaffarī*, 98b and 100b ; and *Tārīkh e Aḥmad Shāhi*, f. 282—3.

4. 'Alīud Dīn, 'Ibratnāma, f. 114b.

LATER MUGHRULS

Durrāni king started from Qandhār sometimes in 1170 A.H. (1756 A.D.), crossed the Indus, and drove Ādina Beg Khān Lahore, who, being unable to resist, fled towards the less desert of Hānsi and Hissār.²

On his return from Dehli in the same year Aḥmad Shāh took the administration of Lahore into his own hands, and appointed his son, Timūr Shāh, in the charge of Government of Multān and Lahore, with the General Jahān Khān, for his adviser. Satisfied with these arrangements, he marched for Qandhār.³

Ādina Beg Khān, who had assisted the Dehli Minister in recovering Lahore and also had fled on the appearance of Aḥmad Shāh to Hissār, now appeared again on the scene. Opposed to the Afghān interests, he established himself in the Jālandhar Doāb, and began to enlist the Sikhs in his service. His forbearance and connivance encouraged the Sikhs to create fresh disturbances and gave renewed trouble to the government. The General Jahān Khān, sensible of his own inexperience in government and revenue matters, and convinced of Ādina Beg Khān's extensive knowledge and ripe experience resolved to avail himself of that man's abilities. He wrote him several letters endeavouring to conciliate him. At last he invested him with the supreme control of the territory of the Doāb, and sent him a khil'at of immense value at Lakki, where he had taken up his residence. Ādina Beg Khān esteeming this attention and favour as a mark of good fortune, applied himself sedulously to the proper administration of the Doāb. The Prince and the General, now fully convinced of his abilities invited him to Lahore. But this invitation was not relished by Ādina Beg Khān. He mistrusted their intention and sent Shihāb Khān Begowālā, Chaudhri Sāhib Khān

1. He reached Shāhjahanābad on Friday the 7th Junāda I, 1170 A.H. (January 26, 1751 A.D.). Cf. *Siyar*, III, 898; and *Tārīkh e Muḡaffarī*, f. 101.
2. Ghulām Husain Khān, *Siyar ul Muta'akhkhirin*, III, 898; and *Muḥammad 'Alī, Tarīkh e Muḡaffarī*, f. 101.
3. Cf. *'Alud Dīn*, 'Ibramāna, ff. 115b and 116; *Muḥammad 'Alī, Tarīkh e Muḡaffarī*, f. 101b; and *Aḥwāl e Ādina Beg Khān*, f. 54b.

Naushahria, Dharam Dās Narinjanya, Chaudhri Jodha and Rāe Ibrāhīm Kapurthala, as his representatives, with presents and apologies for non-compliance with the order. Not satisfied with his excuses, the Abdālī Prince a detachment of troops under Murād Khān to punish the and take possession of the Doāb. Ādina Beg Khān, who was retired into the hills leaving the Doāb for Murād Khān, advanced to give battle to Murād Khān, two Afghān generals. A by Sarbuland Khān, and Sarfrāz Khān, who was accompanied fight ensued in which the Lahore troops sustained a signal defeat. Sarbuland Khān, being slain on the field of action, Murād Khān and Sarfrāz Khān, seeing no recourse left them but flight, retraced their steps to Lahore with the remnants of their troops.¹

After this flight the Sikhs desolated the whole province of the Jālandhar Doāb, chiefly at the instigation of Ādina Beg Khān. The Wazīr Jahān Khān, on hearing this news, marched in person from Lahore, at the head of a considerable army, to inflict chastisement on the insurrectionary chieftain. Ādina Beg Khān, on hearing of his approach retired into the northern hills, his usual place of shelter. The young Afghān Prince and his Wazīr Jahān Khān, remained engaged for a while in punishing the increasing audacity of the Sikhs. Meanwhile Ādina Beg Khān reinforced his army by freely recruiting Sikhs and invited the Mahrattas, who, led by Raghūnāth Rāo and Malhār Rāo Hulkar, were now in camp at Dehli. He requested them to come to his assistance in the Panjab, and promised a cash payment of a lakh of rupees for a march and fifty thousand for a halt. The Mahrattas, tired of camp life, and panting for action, jumped at the opportunity to distinguish themselves. They lost no time in marching up to Lahore. On the way, they met 'Abduṣ Ṣamad Khān, Ahmad Shāh Abdālī's General, in command of Sirhind,

1. Cf. Muḥammad 'Alī, *Tārīkh e Muḡallān*, f. 102; *Aḥwāl e Ādina Beg Khān*, ff. 54 and 55; Buṭte Shāh, *Tārīkh e Panjab*, f. 174; 'Abdul Karīm, *Tārīkh e Ahmad*, 10; and Ghulām Husain Khān, *Siyaṭul Muta'ākhirin*, III, 908-909.

and inflicted on him a bloody defeat, taking him prisoner. Thence they pushed on to Lahore and entered the city in 1171 A.H. (1758 A.D.).¹

In the meantime Jahān Khān had decided on vacating Lahore. He set up his camp at Shāhdara across the Rāwī and conveyed there Timūr's mother and his own women and relations first of all. The other Durrānī chiefs and all the troops carried their baggage and property in carts by repeated trips day and night. As the news was received that the invaders had crossed the Beās and that their advance-guard under Ādina Beg Khān lay encamped six *kos* from Lahore, Timūr Shāh crossed the river, followed by his Wazīr. Their troops set fire to the goods in Lahore which they could not carry away. The eunachs then mounted the women of Timūr and Jahān Khān on litters on camels and horses, and the whole Afghān camp moved towards Kābul. On this day the masterless city was in a state of utter confusion and terror, and robbers and marauders of the town and its neighbourhood were busy in plundering the defenceless people of their money and property.²

The following morning Mahrattā troops along with Ādina Beg's troops entered Lahore. After the fall of the city, the Mahrattās speedily overran the country and in a few days their runners met those of Jahān Khān's. The latter, with Prince Timūr Shāh, had pitched his tents at Kachchī Serāe, where, taking up an intrenched position, he prepared for action. A battle ensued, in which the Durrānīs were defeated, and Jahān Khān sought safety in flight along with his master. Accordingly, in the month of Shā'bān 1171 A.H. (April, 1758 A.D.), he pursued the road to Kābul with the utmost speed, accompanied by Timūr Shāh, and made a present to the enemy of heavy baggage and

1. Cf. *Aḥwāl e Ādina Beg Khān*, 50; Būte Shāh, *Tārīkh e Panjāb*, f. 174b; Muḥammad Ali, *Tārīkh e Muḡaffarī*, f. 102; Ghulām Husain Khān, *Siyar ul Muta'ahhkhīrīn*, III, 909; Alī Ibrāhīm Khān, *Tārīkh e Ibrāhīm Khān* (E & D. VIII), 267; 'Abdul Karīm, *Tārīkh e Aḥmad*, 10; Khazān Singh, *The Sikh Religion*, I, 250; and Ghulām 'Alī Khān, *Shāh 'Ālam Nāma*, 54—5.

2. Miskīn, *Taḡkira*, ff. 171—78.

Ādina Beg Khān had hardly settled in Lahore when Aḥmad Shāh came back to India to avenge the defeat sustained by his son. Ādina Beg Khān was encamping at Jalālābād near the bank of the Beās, when he received the information that Jahān Khān was coming to seize him unawares by the route of Baṭāla and Aḥmad Shāh was himself marching towards Kalānaur. Ādina Beg Khān immediately crossed the river by means of boats and fled to the hills for security. Jahān Khān sent trust-worthy messengers to induce him to see him, but he did not agree. Being disappointed Jahān Khān joined the main army and marched onward. Just after the departure of Aḥmad Shāh from India, Ādina Beg Khān retraced his steps and re-established himself in the Doāb.²

Nothing in the shape of order or discipline prevailed in the Panjāb after the departure of Ahmad Shāh. The Rohillas mutinied against Ādina Beg Khān under one Qutb Shāh, and the Afghāns of Malerkotla joined them under their chief Jamāl Khān. The insurgent forces collected in large numbers at Bahlolpur, in the neighbourhood of Phillaur, where Ādina Beg Khān gave them battle. The engagement was a sanguinary one. The Afghāns

1. Cf. *Aḥwal e Adina Beg Khān*, f. 55 ; Muḥammad 'Alī, *Tārīkh e Muḥaffari*, f. 102 ; *Ghulām Husain Khān, Siyarul Muta'ahhah*, III, 909 ; 'Alī Ibrāhīm Khān, *Tārīkh e Ibrāhīm Khān*, (E. & D. VIII) 267 ; 'Alrud Dīn, *Ibratnāma*, f. 117-8 ; *Ghulām 'Alī Khān, Shāh 'Ālam Nāma*, 57 ; and Buṭe Shāh *Tārīkh e Panjāb*, f. 174 b.

2. This incident is not mentioned by any chronicler except Būte Shāh (*Tārīkh e Panjab*, ff. 174b and 176b).

and Rohillas greatly out-numbered the viceroy's forces, whose loss in killed and wounded was great. Desertion had commenced in the viceroy's army, when a little incident turned the scales. Jamāl Khān's elephant happened to come so close to the viceroy's, that Muḥammad Taufiq, Ādina Beg Khān's *mahāvat*, aimed a deadly shot at the former, and brought him down. No sooner had Jamāl Khān fallen, than the insurgent troops, struck with panic, fled, leaving a large number of horses and elephants with the enemy.¹

The victory over the insurgent tribes tended greatly to strengthen the position of Ādina Beg Khān in the Panjāb, and spread terror throughout the whole province. As he did not like to stay in Lahore, the old Capital of the province, he fixed his headquarters at Baṭāla, and appointed his own governors for the provinces of Multān, Ṭhaṭṭa, and Lahore. Khawāja Mirzā Khān was appointed to the government of Lahore. The hill Rājas tendered their allegiance to Ādina Beg Khān; the *Zamindārs* made their submission; and so did Rāja Saif 'Alī Khān of Kāngra. The Dehlī Court conferred upon him the title of Zafar Jang Bahādūr, treating him as an independent chieftain.²

A few months later Ādina Beg Khān was attacked with colic in his palace, in the town of Baṭāla and died on the 11th of Muḥarrām 1172 A.H. (September 15, 1758 A.D.). His body was according to his wishes, conveyed to Khānpur,³ in the neighbourhood of Jālandhar, and interred there.⁴

In Lahore Khawāja Mirzā Khān, was busy settling the government affairs, but the Sikhs were such rebels and robbers that the

1. Cf. Būte Shāh, *Tārīkh e Panjab*, f. 167b.; and *Aḥwal*, f. 56.

2. Cf. Muḥammad Aslam, *Farḥatun Nāẓirīn* f. 90; Būte Shāh, *Tārīkh e Panjab*, f. 176b.

3. The town of Khānpur is situated 1½ miles north-west of Hoshiarpur—Tānda Road and contained 3,200 inhabitants according to the census of 1910. *Hoshiarpur District Gazetteer*, 1904, Part A, p. 224.

4. Cf. *Aḥwal*, f. 61b.; Muḥammad 'Alī, *Tārīkh e Muḡaffarī* f. 108; Būte Shāh, *Tārīkh e Panjab*, f. 177. In the *Hoshiarpur District Gazetteer*, 1904, it is mentioned that the tomb of Ādina Beg Khān is at Naloyāu in the Hoshiarpur District (p. 17).

governor could not cope with them.¹ Khawāja Mirzā Khān's position with regard to his own troops was also not very secure. The Qizilbāsh chiefs he had seized from Timūr Shāh's army united with the Mahrattas. They invited Mahrattas to Lahore tempting them with money, and placed Nawab Khawāja Mirzā Khān in confinement. They then sent their troops cleverly into the city of Lahore to seize it and also imprisoned Khawāja Sa'id Khān, the brother of Khawāja Mirzā Khān.² Jankūji, the Mahratta leader, entrusted the government of the province of Lahore to a Mahratta, called Sāmā, whom he despatched thither. He also appointed Siddiq Beg Khān, one of Ādīna Beg Khān's followers, to the administration of Sirhind and gave the management of the Doāb to Ādīna Beg Khān's widow. Sāmā, after reaching Lahore, applied himself to the task of government, and pushed on his troops as far as the river Attock.³

AHMAD SHAH ABDĀLĪ (1173—1182 A.H.)
(1759—1768 A.D.)

In the beginning of the year 1173 A.H. (August, 1759 A.D.) Aḥmad Shāh crossed the Indus with a large force to attack India. Finding themselves incapable of fighting the Afghān troops Sāmā Mahratta, Siddiq Beg Khān and widow of Ādīna Beg Khān all took to flight.⁴ Lahore was without a ruler. On entering in it in Ṣafar 1173 A.H.⁵ (September, 1759 A.D.) Abdālī appointed Hājī Karīm Dād Khān, the nephew of his prime minister, Shāh Walī Khān, the governor of Lahore.

With his enormous hordes the Durrānī marched on to Sirhind, leaving Hājī Karīm Dād Khān in Lahore. In Sirhind he was met by Nawāb Sarbuland Khān, who came to receive him from India. The Durrānī king conferred the governorship of Lahore

1. *Tārīkh e 'Ālamgare Aḡānī*, 359-60.
2. *Miskīn, Taḡkīra*, 194.
3. Cf. Ghulām Husain Khān, *Siyarul Muta'āhhḥirīn*, III, 909; and 'Alī Ibrāhīm Khān, *Tārīkh e Ibrāhīm Khān* (E. & D., VIII), 264—86.
4. Ghulām Husain Khān, *Siyarul Muta'āhhḥirīn*, III, 909.
5. Muḥammad 'Alī, *Tārīkh e Muḡaffarī*, f. 110 b.
6. 'Alīud Dīn, *Ibratnāma*, f. 119. b.

on him and told him that the territory lying between Sirhind and the river *Sindh* would be in his charge. He was also asked to leave for Lahore. Sarbuland *Khān* represented that he had to settle his affairs in *Shāhjahānābād* before leaving for Lahore. He was permitted to do so and it took him nearly five months to reach the Panjāb. In the meantime *Hājī Karīm Dād Khān*, the governor of Lahore, was summoned by *Aḥmad Shāh* to his presence in India, who on leaving Lahore handed over the charge of the city to *Diwān Śūrat Singh*, in accordance with the instructions received from his successor Sarbuland *Khān*. When Sarbuland *Khān* reached the *Doāba* he wrote to *Diwān Śūrat Singh* that he was staying in the *Doāba* to look after the administration of that territory and that he (*Śūrat Singh*) should be always on the alert in Lahore. *Śūrat Singh* wrote back that he could not very safely look after Lahore and it was advisable that another deputy be appointed in his place. *Nawāb Sarbuland Khān* sent *Amīr Muḥammad Khān*, the son of *Mīr Momin Khān*, with a force of 500 foot and horse, to Lahore to take over the charge of the city from *Diwān Śūrat Singh*.¹

The Sikhs at this time felt very happy on account of the imperfect hold of the *Afghāns* over the Panjāb and the absence of the Panjāb force on expedition to India with *Aḥmad Shāh*. No sooner had *Amīr Muḥammad Khān* taken charge of Lahore than the Sikhs started planning to attack Lahore. They gathered at *Amritsar* to celebrate the festival of *Besākhi* and after that fell on the city of Lahore. They burnt all the houses which were outside the city-walls, and then sent a message to the deputy-governor that if he agreed to pay an offering they might leave the city in peace. *Amīr Muḥammad Khān* managed to send them Rs. 30,000 out of the revenues of *Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī* and the Sikhs retired.²

Aḥmad Shāh after his conquests started from India for *Qandhār* on the 16th *Shā'bān*, 1174 A.H.³ (March 13, 1761 A.D.)

1. 'Alrud Dīn, *Ibratnāma*, ff. 120—121.

2. *Ibid.*, ff. 121—122.

3. Muḥammad 'Alī. *Tārīkh e Muṣaffarī*. f. 113 b.

On reaching Lahore he was very much annoyed to learn that 30,000 rupees out of the revenues had been paid to the Sikhs. He asked Sarbuland Khān to make good this loss of money, but later on excused him. Before leaving the Panjāb, he appointed Sarbuland Khān to the *ṣubahdārī* of Multān and Khwāja 'Ubaid Khān to that of Lahore.¹

Soon After the departure of Aḥmad Shāh the Sikhs infested the very neighbourhood of Lahore. Their violence increased so much that the collection of the revenues stopped at every place. Khwāja 'Ubaid Khān in view of these difficulties recruited an army of 9 to 10 thousand horse and foot. He also enlisted 4 or 5 hundred Sikhs under Ṣāhib Singh Gurbast and planned first to punish Bhīm Singh and Sarūp Singh of Mānka, who carried on their predatory excursions mostly in the environs of Lahore. Afterwards he wanted to turn his attention towards Sardār Charāt Singh, who held Gujrānwāla and had built a fortress, wherefrom he started on his plundering raids.²

The Khwāja moved out of Lahore with his army and ten to twelve pieces of cannon. Collecting revenue from Sharqpur and other places he arrived near Gujrānwāla. Charāt Singh entrenched himself in the fortress and Jassā Singh Ahluwāliā, Hari Singh Bhangī, Gujjar Singh and a few other Sikh chiefs with a force of 500 horse encamped at a distance of 3 *kos* from the governor's army. Unfortunately during the night a wave of disappointment spread amongst soldiers of Khwāja 'Ubaid Khān and they feared lest they might be attacked by the Sikhs during the night. Ṣāhib Singh Gurbast added to this panic by deserting his master with his forces and joining his co-religionists. The Afghān troops eventually got so much terrified that they took to flight without striking a blow. The Sikhs, on becoming aware of the situation, fell upon the fleeing army and killing a number of them obtained a rich booty. Khwāja 'Ubaid Khān, with a few attendants, fled in

1. 'Aljūd Dīn, *'Ibratnāma*, f. 122.

2. *Ibid.* f. 122. b. and 123.

the night to Jaukālān. Then accompanied by 500 horse and foot of Chaudhari Mian Khān Chattha and Isma'īl Khān Kharal, he reached Sharqpur, wherefrom he was conveyed to Lahore attended by Jamāl Arā'n and other *Zamīndārs* of the place. Khwāja 'Ubaid Khān, after this, passed one year within the walled city in fear and constant struggle with the Sikhs.¹

The Sikhs continued to plunder the country for some time and then decided to punish their inveterate enemy Gūrū 'Āqil Dās of Jandīāla, who on coming to know their designs wrote to Ahmad Shāh asking for help against the impending danger. This Gūrū had always sided with the Lahore governors against the Sikhs, and had made submission to Ahmad Shāh. The Abdālī had already started for India for the seventh time. He met the envoys of Gūrū 'Āqil Dās at Rohtās, who informed him of the atrocities committed by the Sikhs in Lahore and also told him that his deputy Khwāja 'Ubaid Khān, the governor of Lahore, was murdered by the Sikhs and that Jassā Singh Kalāl had struck coins in his own name. On hearing their tale of woe he quickened his speed and by forced marches reached Lahore in four days on the 7th Sha'bān, 1175 A.H.² (March 3, 1762 A.D.). Ahmad Shāh attacked the Sikhs during the night. Many were killed and the rest of them fled for their lives. Intelligence was brought to the Durrānī a few days later in Lahore that all the Sikhs from the Panjāb had gathered in Gujjarwāl near Rāepur. The Durrānī marched on them immediately on receiving the news and put to sword nearly 30,000 of them. The battle is called Ghallughārā (bloody carnage) in the language of the Panjābis. After this successful expedition Ahmad Shāh returned to Lahore and brought with him Ālha Singh of Patīāla in chains.³

Ahmad Shāh led several expeditions against the Sikhs during his stay in the Panjāb, but could not subdue them finally. At last

1: 'Alrud Dīn, *'Ibratnāma*, f. 13.

2. Muḥammad 'Alī, *Tārīkh e Muḥaffarī*, f. 122.

3: Cf. 'Alrud Dīn, *'Ibratnāma*, f. 124; Muḥammad 'Alī, *Tārīkh e Muḥaffarī*, f. 122; and Ghulām Ḥusain, *Siyarul Muta'āhhahīrīn*, III, 919.

he left Lahore in 1177 A.H.¹ (1763 A.D.) for Qandhār appointing Kābuli Mal as governor of Lahore.²

Soon after the departure of Ahmad Shāh the Sikhs appeared again on the scene, and created disturbance everywhere. Forster, who visited the Panjāb twenty years later records : 'Soon after the march of Ahmad Shah, the Siques were seen descending from their various holds on the Punjab, which they rapidly laid waste and after several desultory actions, in which the Afghans were defeated, they besieged, and what seems extraordinary, they took the city of Lahore ; where wildly indulging the enmity that had ceased to inflame them against these severe scourges of their nation, they committed violent outrages. The mosques that had been ever rebuilt or restored to use by the Mohamedans, were demolished with every mark of contempt and indignation ; and the Afghans, in chains, washed the foundations with the blood of hogs.'³

Gradually Kābuli Mal lost control over the *parganas* of Lahore. In 1179 A.H. (1765 A.D.) Harī Singh Bhangī and other Sikh chiefs demanded the immediate death of all the cow-killing butchers of the city and to stop this practice in future. Kābuli Mal begged to be excused, saying, 'I am a servant of a Muslim king and such a course will involve me in the royal wrath.' But finding himself in danger, he cut off the noses, and hands of 2 or 3 butchers. He also sent for and employed Tek Chand Khatri, a representative of Harī Singh Bhangī, in his service on Rs. 10 per day.⁴

In the meantime Jahān Khān, the Commander-in-Chief of Afghān forces marched from Gujrāt with 10,000 horse and after investing Rohtās descended on Gujrānwāla. Sardār Charat Singh who was holding this town, received the intelligence four *gharis* in advance, and fled from Gujrānwāla. Jahān Khān occupied the town, without opposition, and then nominated Dāūd Khān as governor of Lahore in place of Kābuli Mal, who was appointed

1. *Siyarul Muta'āhhikhrin*, III, 920 and 'Alīud Dīn, 'Ibratnāma, f. 126.

2. Cf. *Siyarul Muta'āhhikhrin*, III, 920.

3. Forster, G. *Journey from Bengal to England*, I, 321.

4. 'Alīud Dīn, 'Ibratnāma, ff. 126—27.

deputy-governor to Dāūd Khān. After this Jahān Khān moved to Siālkot.¹

When Dāūd Khān showed his appointment order to Kābuli Mal, he felt annoyed and gave battle to Dāūd Khān. Dāūd Khān defeated Kābuli Mal, who, through the intervention of a few Muslims got excused for his misdeeds. A day after the truce Dāūd Khān called on Diwān Kābuli Mal and instead of being treated nicely he was imprisoned by the treacherous Diwan. The Diwān then wrote to the Sikhs, encamped in Kot Ghulām Muhyud Dīn, 'you are resting there in peace, while your enemy has reached Siālkot.' On receiving this letter the Sikhs held consultations among themselves and attacked Jahān Khān. Jahān Khān was defeated in this battle and fled to Rohtās leaving his entire camp into the hands of the victors.²

In the same year 1179 A.H. (1764 A.D.) Aḥmad Shāh marched from Qandhār and met his defeated General Jahān Khān in Rohtās, who gave him the details of his defeat and the treachery of Kābuli Mal. Aḥmad Shāh investigated the matter, but as it happened, Kābuli Mal succeeded in persuading and inducing some eminent Muslims to speak to Aḥmad Shāh in his favour. One of them Qaṣī Idrīs remarked, 'Diwan Kābuli Mal is an intelligent and wise person and it is only he who has succeeded in saving the town from the destruction of the foolish Sikhs. God forbidding, if they had succeeded in capturing Lahore they would have wrought a havoc with murder and arson.' Aḥmad Shāh felt very much convinced by this argument and restored Kābuli Mal to the governorship of Lahore.³

Aḥmad Shāh then advanced to Kalānaur and returned from there after a few days. He put to sword about 1500 Sikhs in the village Bulāqī Chak and then returned to Afghānistān.

1. 'Aliud Dīn, 'Ibratnāma, f. 127.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Ibid.*, f. 128.

4. *Ibid.*

Aḥmad Shāh had not gone far when the Sikhs came to Lahore, frightened Kābuli Mal and replanted their military post there.¹

In the end of the same year 1764 A.D. Aḥmad Shāh marched once again to invade India at the head of 18,000 Afghāns, and arrived at Aimanabād, where he was joined by Naṣīr Khān Balūch with 12,000 strong. The united forces then marched to Lahore where information was collected as to the whereabouts of the Sikhs. Intelligence was received that the Sikhs had gone into the Lakhi jungle, about 150 miles distant from Lahore. Aḥmad Shāh decided to chase the Sikhs there. When he was still in Lahore, a patrol party of Afghāns was attacked by the Sikhs. The news of this sudden flare up was conveyed to the Shāh, who at once ordered his troops to march to reinforce the scouts. The Afghāns attacked the Sikhs vehemently and drove them away from Lahore after inflicting a heavy defeat on them. The Durrāni continued to chase them till they reached Gurd Chak (Amritsar), where he again routed them and destroyed their buildings. Then he returned to Lahore.²

Aḥmad Shāh not being satisfied with his achievements against the Sikhs now planned, after holding a council of war, to march towards Sirhind. He arrived upto Kunjpura, when he decided to return.³ He finally left India for Qandhār in the beginning of the year 1765 A.D.⁴

Some times after the departure of Aḥmad Shāh, in 1180 A.H. (1766 A.D.), Lahnā Singh and Gujjar Singh, both of the Bhangi Misal, who had their headquarters at Ranghruinke⁵ near Lahore, marched at the head of 2,000 troops and encamped near Bāghbānpura. Kābuli Mal, the governor of Lahore, was away in the train of his master, and his nephew Amīr Singh, an experienced youngman, was officiating for his uncle. Taking advantage of this opportunity they opened negotiations with the *purabiās* employed in the fort of Lahore. These, however, declined to play the part of traitors, although there was no

1. Aḥmad Shāh, *Tārīkh e Panjab*, 895—96.

2. Nūr Muḥammad Qāzī, *Jangnāmāh*, 77—107.

3. Nūr Muḥammad Qāzī, *Jangnāmāh*, ff. 131—3.

4. *Ibid.*, ff. 186—90.

5. In the original MS. (*‘Ibratnāma*, f. 128b) this reads as

رنکھروینی کے
رنکھروینی کے

love lost between them and Kābulī Mal. After this Gujjar Singh and Lahna Singh managed to bribe and win over Nuqra Jāt, Mehr Sulṭān, Ghulām Rasūl, Ashraf, Channūn and Bāqir of Bāghbānpura, who were all employed as gardeners in the fort. After gratification they undertook to lead the Sikhs into the fort by breaking in a hole in the wall of the fort. After sunset Gujjar Singh said to Lahna Singh, 'you wait here and I will go in the fort first after the wall is broken. As I reach inside the fort I will set on fire the high edifice of wooden pavilion erected by Ahmad Shāh of Iran. As soon as you see the fire you can also rush in'. Having thus planned Gujjar Singh, with selected troops, entered the fort through Akbarī Aiwān (pavilions), near Qālinkhāna, where the traitors had opened the wall for him. After laying open the Hathiāpor Gate he set the pavilion on fire and Lahna Singh followed him through the gate on seeing the signal. Thus the fort fell into the hands of the Sikhs without much resistance. Early next morning Amar Singh Bakhshī marched with 5,000 riflemen towards the fort. He also arranged, with the permission of the Qāzi, to cannonade the fort by a canon mounted on the city wall near the Mastī Gate. In the meantime Tārā Singh of Mozang entered the town with 25 horse. The followers of Amar Singh were mostly weavers and menials who were employed on 2 or 3 rupees. Without actually facing Tārā Singh they fled and Amar Singh was taken prisoner by Tārā Singh who detained him in Mozang. In the afternoon Sobhā Singh of Niāzbeg joined the Bhangī chiefs at the head of 200 soldiers, and put up in the mansion of Menghrāj Khatri, the nephew of Diwān Lakhpat Rāc. The troops of the three chiefs on entering the city began to plunder. The *zamīndārs* of the neighbouring villages also began to sack it. Chaudhari Rūpa, Lālā Bishan Singh and Mahraj Singh, the grandsons of Diwān Surāt Singh, Mīr Nathū Shāh, Hafīz Qādir Bakhsh, Mīān Muḥammad 'Ashiq and other grandees of the city, after holding a conference, led a deputation into the fort, and in the course of an interview with Gujjar Singh and Lahna Singh said, 'This city is called Koṭhā Gurī (House of Gurū). If you look after it, you will also prosper, but if you ruin and destroy it, you too will derive no benefit and advantage'.²

1. The fourth Sikh Gurū Rāmdās was born and brought up in Lahore.

2. 'Alfud Dīn, 'Ibratnāma. f. 128—9.

The Sikh chiefs accordingly shut all the city gates and issued a proclamation that whosoever oppressed the public would be punished. After that both the chiefs rode into the town with sticks in their hands and beat the plunderer whom they found in a street. Then they offered one-third of the city to Sobhā Singh and sought his co-operation in protecting the town.¹

The three chiefs then parcelled-out the city and its suburbs among themselves. The southern part of Lahore as far as Niāzbeg, including Mozang, Kot 'Abdullah Shāh, Ichhra, and Chauburj fell to the share of Sobhā Singh who had his stronghold in the garden of Zebinda Begam which he turned into a fort known as Nawānkot. Gujjar Singh got the eastern part of the city from Kābulmal's mansion to the Shālāmār Gardens, in the centre of which he built an unwallled fort which was called Qal'a Gujjar Singh and the site is still known by the same name. Lahnā Singh obtained the central part of the city including the fort with the Roshnāl, Kashmīri, Khizri and Masti Gates.²

No sooner did Charat Singh Sukarchakīā hear of the fall of Lahore than he came to the city and demanded a share in the spoil. The three Sikh chiefs did not like to antagonise such a powerful chief and with a view to outwitting him offered him the Zamzama gun which was then lying on the Shāhburj on the west of Lahore. Charat Singh was made to believe that the gun was the best part of the spoils, believing that he would be unable to carry it away for lack of bullocks. Charat Singh, however, finding that he could not extort anything else from the victors, called his troops numbering 2,000 and dragged the gun first to his camp and then across the Rāvi to his fort in Gujranwāla.³

Ahmad Shāh Durrānī came to India once more in 1181 A.H. (1764 A.D.). As he reached Lahore Sardār Lahnā Singh and other rulers of Lahore fled towards Mālwa and the Kāngra hills. Some of the city fathers waited upon the Durrānī and told him that Lahnā Singh was a good and sympathetic ruler. In spite of his power he made no distinc-

1. 'Alrud Dīn 'Ibratnāma, f. 129.

2. Cf. Sohan La'l. 'Umdatut Tawārikh, I, 163; and Khuṣṣwaqt Rāc, Kitāb e Tārikh e Panjāb, f. 129.

3. Cf. Sohan La'l 'Umdatut Tawārikh II, 12; and Buṭe Shāh, Tārikh e Panjāb, f. 309.

tion between Hindūs and Muslims. On the auspicious day of 'Idul Aghā he bestowed turbans on the *qāzīs*, *muftīs* and the *imāms* of mosques, and treated all the citizens with great regard. Ahmad Shāh thought such a person could be very usefully employed and addressed Lahṇā Singh a letter offering him the governorship of Lahore. The latter sent Rahmatullah Beg of village Moḍah declining the invitation on the ground that in obeying him he would fall in the eyes of the Sikhs. After one week Ahmad Shāh appointed Dādan Khān, brother of Maulavī 'Abdullah, the governor of Lahore, with Rahmat Khān Rohilla as his assistant at the head of 1,500 horse and foot, and himself marched towards Sirhind.¹

After leading the expedition for the last time² into India Ahmad Shāh returned to his native place. No sooner had he crossed the borders of the Panjāb than the Sikhs occupied Lahore and other places. In 1182 A.H. (1768 A.D.) they returned from Mālwa and the hills and resettled in their places. Gujjar Singh, Lahṇā Singh and Sobhā Singh, the rulers of Lahore, also came to Lahore and encamped in the Shālāmār Gardens. They sent a message to Dādan Khān, the governor of Lahore, to vacate Lahore or prepare for war. Dādan Khān held a council of his advisors and invited the grandees of the city such as Miān Muhammad 'Ashiq, Mir Nathu Shāh, Hāfiz Qadir Bakhsh Tajir, and Lāla Mahārāj, son of Diwān Suraj Singh, etc. All of them unanimously advised him, 'The people are very glad and satisfied with the rule of the Sikhs. They might open the city gates in the night or break holes in the city-walls and thus admit them into the town. You will in that case fall a victim to their wrath. In our opinion, therefore, you should have an interview with them and after having settled something for yourself by way of allowance or jāgir should entrust the town to them.'³ Dādan Khān agreed and went to the Sikhs, who treated him with great consideration and respect, granted him a daily allowance of Rs. 20 and then occupied the town.³

1. Cf. *Khushwaqt Rāe, Kitāb e Tarikh e Panjāb* f. 129; and 'Aliud Drn, 'Ibratnāma, ff. 129—30.

2. Ahmad Shāh tried to invade India once more in 1184 A.H. (1769—70 A.D.); but after encamping at village Jaukālian at 12 miles from Rasūlnagar he retired to his country ('Aliud Drn, 'Ibratnāma, f. 130b.).

3. 'Aliud Drn, 'Ibratnāma, ff. 130 and 144.

CHAPTER TEN

SIKHS (1182—1265 A.H.) (1768—1849 A.D.)

LAHNA Singh, the triumvir, died and was succeeded by his son Chet Singh in 1798 A.D. Sobhā Singh continued to rule over a part of Lahore till 1797 A.D., when he was succeeded by his son Muhr Singh. Gujjar Singh died in 1791 A.D.¹ and was succeeded by his son Šāhib Singh. Thus for nearly thirty years after the return of Aḥmad Shāh to Kābul, the three Sikh chiefs and their respective sons ruled over Lahore without any interruption from an outsider.

Shāh Zamān, the son of Timūr Shāh, and the grandson of the celebrated Abdālī, succeeded to the throne of Kābul in the year 1793 A.D., and his mind was always full of hopes of conquering India. In the end of 1795 A.D. he moved to Hasan Abdāl, and sent forward a party which recovered the fort of Rohtās; but the exposed state of his western dominion induced him to return to Kābul.

In the next year 1796 A.D. the news of the invasion of Shāh Zamān was received by the Sikhs of the Panjāb with great alarm. They despatched their precious belongings and families to the hills and themselves remained on their posts. Shāh Zamān entered Lahore in the beginning of 1797 A.D., and he endeavoured to conciliate the Sikhs and to render his visionary supremacy an agreeable burden through his wazīr Sher Muhammad Khān. Several chiefs joined him, but the insurrection of his brother, Mahmūd Shāh, recalled him to Kābul before he had time to make any progress in settling the country, even had the Sikhs been disposed to submit without a struggle.² Shāh Zamān renewed his invasion in 1798 A.D. The rulers of Lahore, Lahnā Singh, Chet Singh and Šāhib Singh left the town and Shāh Zamān entered Lahore without opposition. He also renewed his measures of mixed

1. *‘Altud Dīn ‘Ibratnāma*, f. 144b.

2. *‘Altud Dīn ‘Ibratnāma*, ff. 216—17.

SIKHS

Mahā Singh

1. Ranjit Singh
1799—1839

4. Chand Kaur =
1840—1841

2. Kharak Singh
1839—1840

5. Sher Singh
Reputed
1841—1843

Tārā Singh
Reputed

3. Naunihāl Singh
1840

Kashmirā Singh
*Reputed or
adopted*

Peshāurā Singh

6. Dalip Singh
Reputed
1843—1849

conciliation and threat. For one month he stayed in Lahore while his *wazirs* Sher Muhammad Khān and Wafādār Khān argued over the treatment to be meted out to the Sikhs. Wafādār Khān was of the opinion that the Sikhs should be completely annihilated, while Sher Muhammad Khān thought that the leaders of the Sikhs should be encouraged to maintain their position. During his stay in Lahore Shah Zamān also found an able leader, but doubtful partisan, in Nizāmud Dīn Khān a Pathān of Qasūr, who had acquired a high local reputation. Shāh Zamān was advised by his nobles to hand over the Government of Lahore to Nizāmud Dīn Khān, but before this order could be actually signed Shāh Zāman was again forced to withdraw from Lahore in the beginning of 1799 A.D. to quell the insurrection of Mahmūd Shāh, who had obtained the support of Bābā Khān Qāchār of Irān.

During this invasion the character of Ranjit Singh, son of Mahā Singh of the Sukerchaklā Misl, seems to have impressed itself, not only on the other Sikh leaders, but on the Durrāni king. Ranjit Singh coveted Lahore, which was associated in the minds of men with the possession of power, and, as the king was unable to cross his heavy artillery over the flooded Jhelum, he made it known to the aspiring chief that their transmission would be an acceptable service. In return for the services rendered by him to the Durrāni sovereign, the principal of which was the recovery and despatch to Kābul of eight out of twelve guns which had sunk in the Jhelum, Ranjit Singh obtained, from the retiring monarch, a royal investiture of the capital of the Panjab.²

RANJIT SINGH (1214—1255 A.H.)
(1799—1839 A.D.)

The gift of Lahore was only nominal, as Ranjit Singh had to acquire the chiefship of the ancient city for himself ; yet it served the purpose of securing friendship and support of a powerful neighbouring country. Thenceforward the history of the Sikhs gradually centres in their Mahārāja.

Chet Singh, Muhr Singh and the deputies of Ṣahib Singh, son of Gujjar Singh, who were the rulers of Lahore at this time, planned to

1. 'Alīud Dīn 'Ibratnāma, f. 218.

2. *Ibid.*, 218.



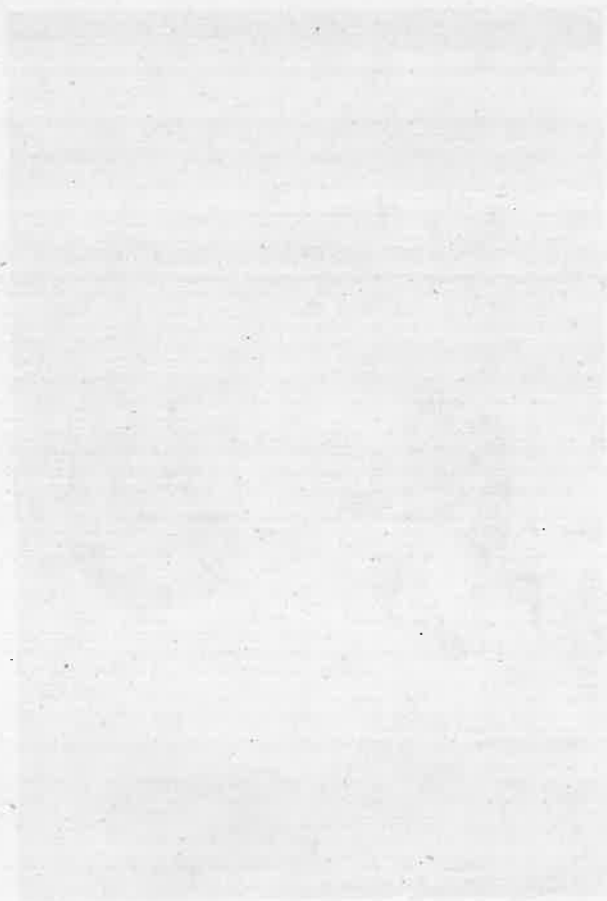
QĀI'D E A'ZAM MOḤAMMAD ALI JINNAH
(*First Pākistānī Governor-General of Pākistān*)



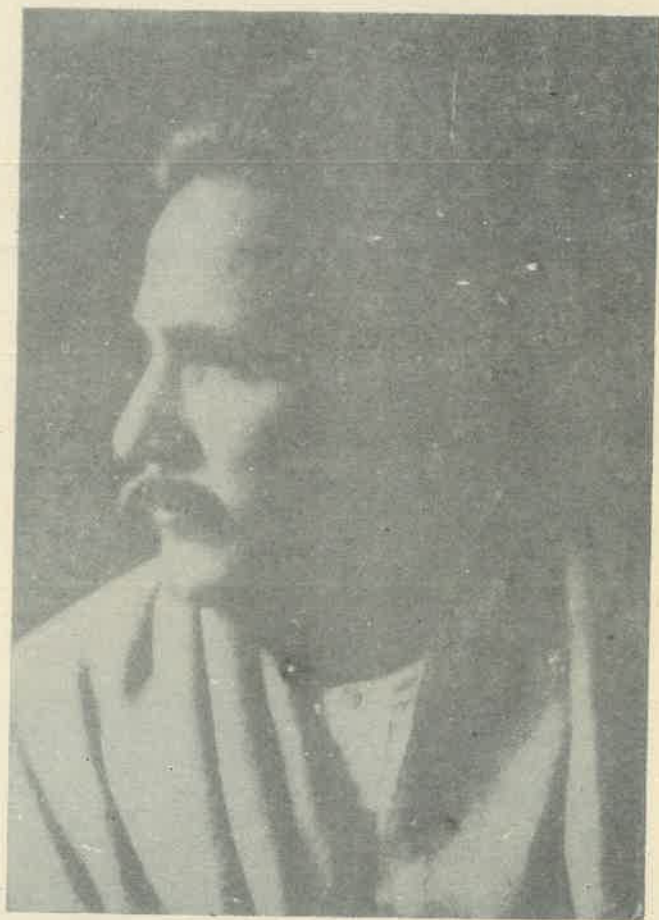
MIR MANNU



ĀDINA BEG KHAN



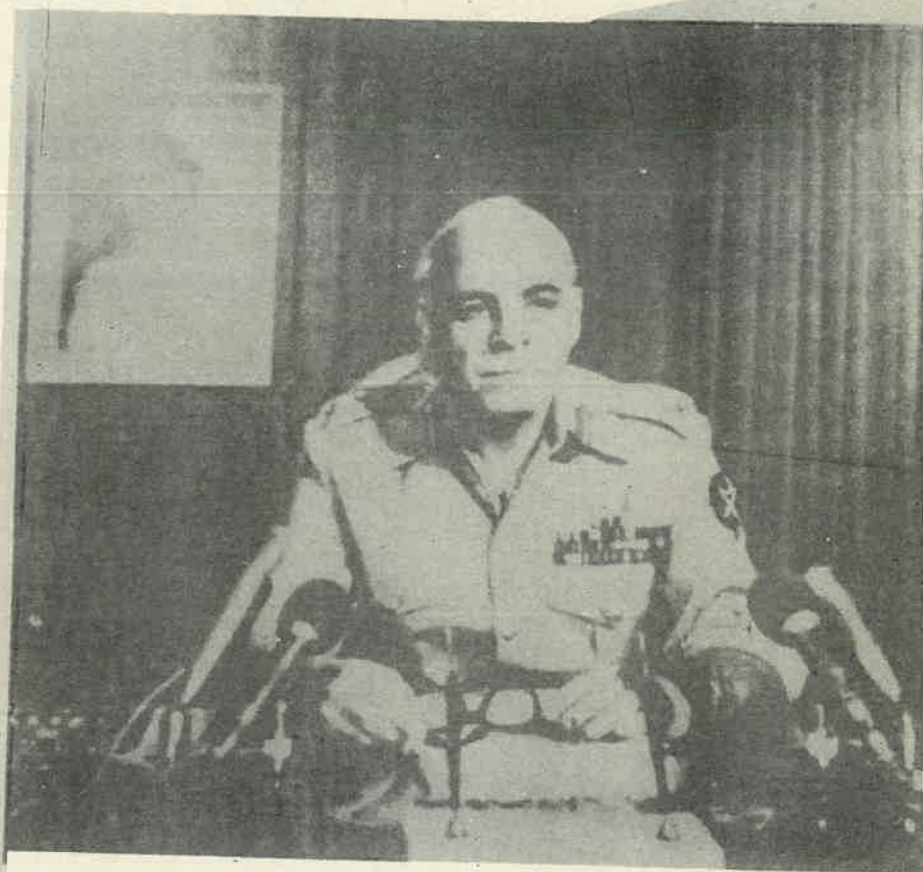
THE END OF THE WORLD



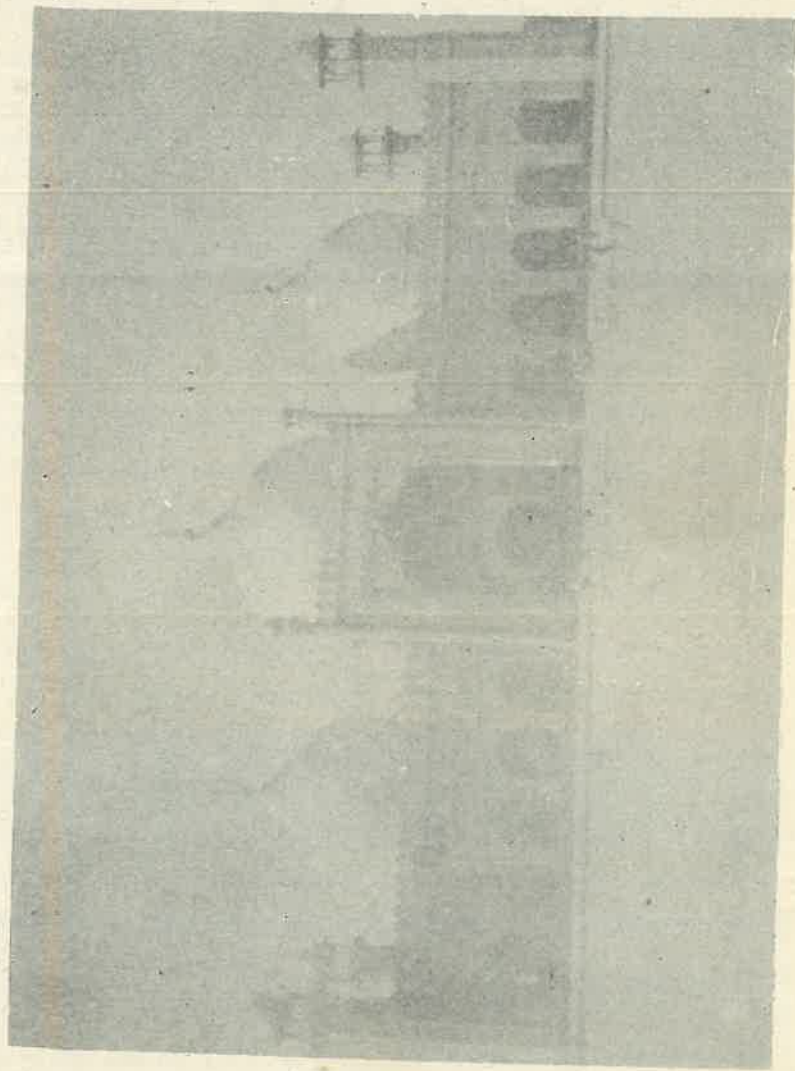
‘ALLĀMA IQBĀL



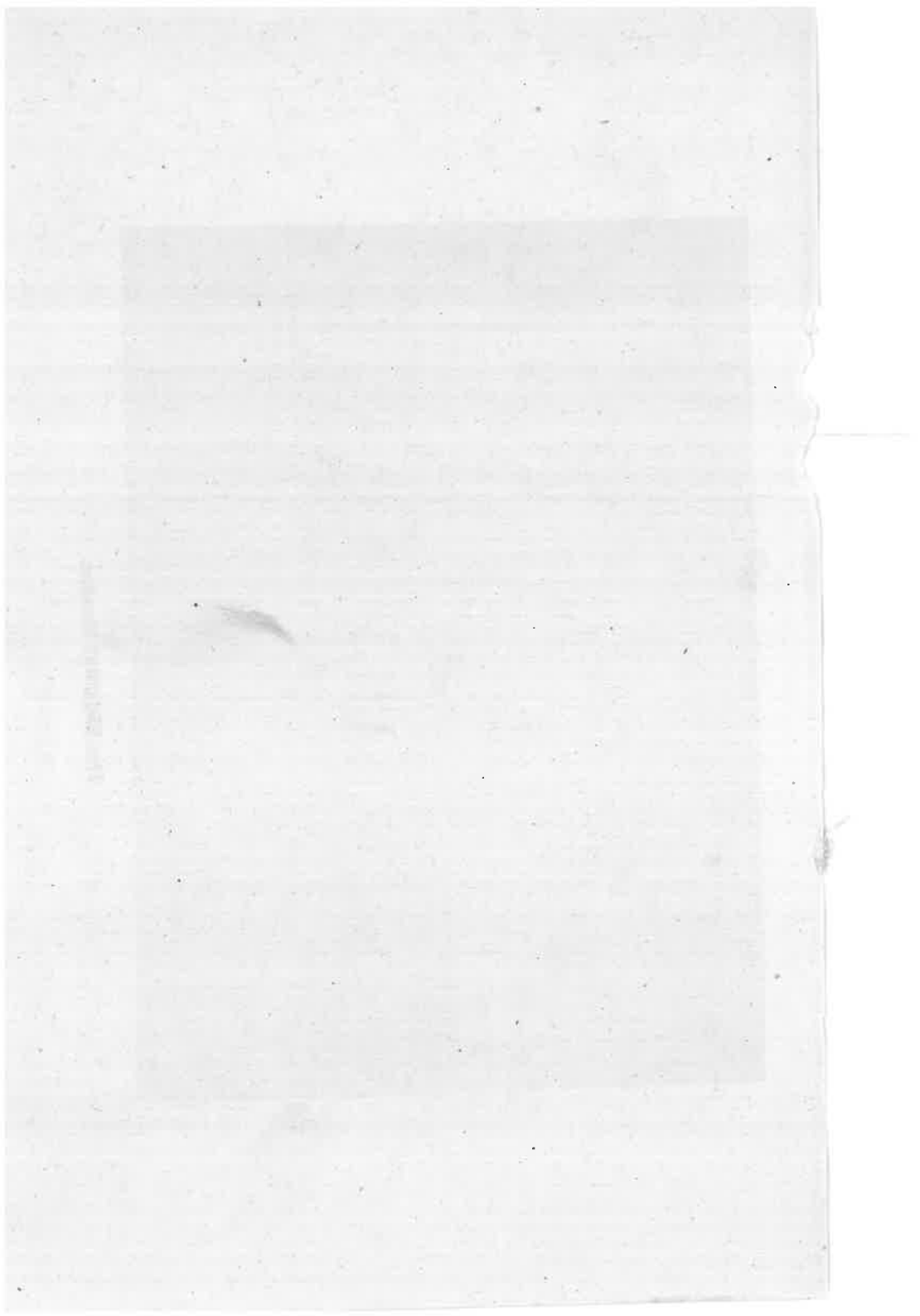
General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq, Chief of the Army Staff and Chief Martial Law Administrator, being sworn in as President of Pakistan by the Chief Justice of Pakistan, Sh. Anwar-ul Haq, on September 16, 1978.

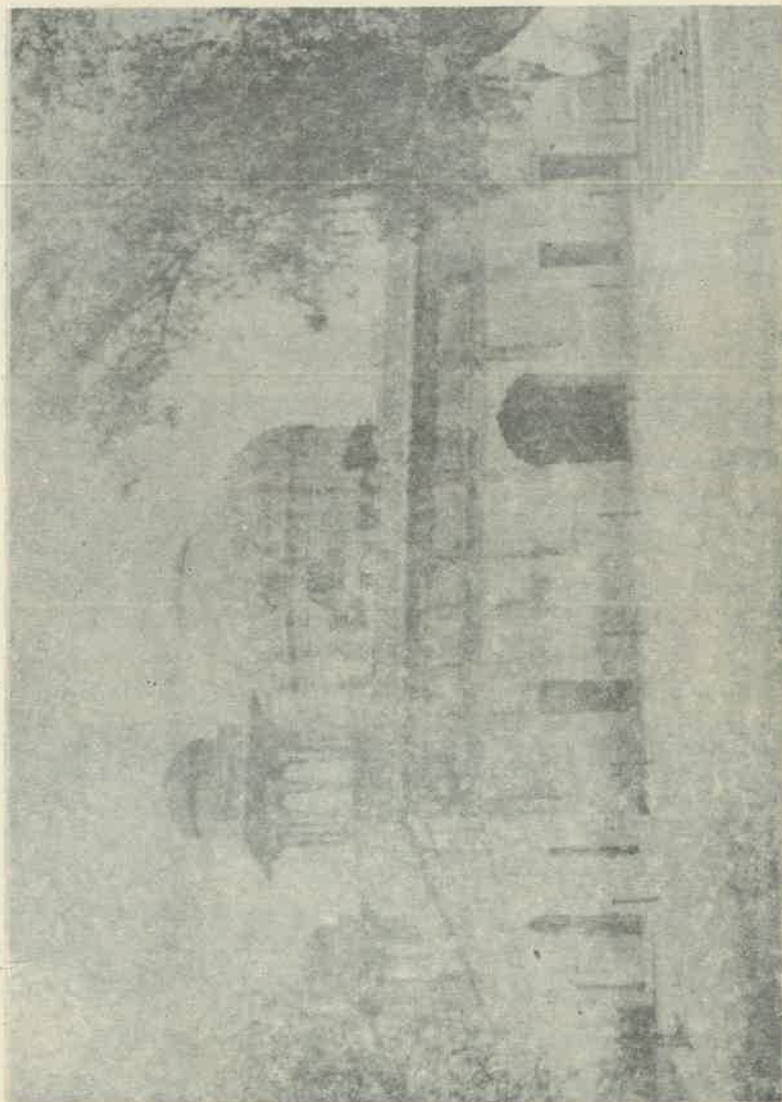


Lt.. General Ghulam Jilani Khan
Governor of the Punjab

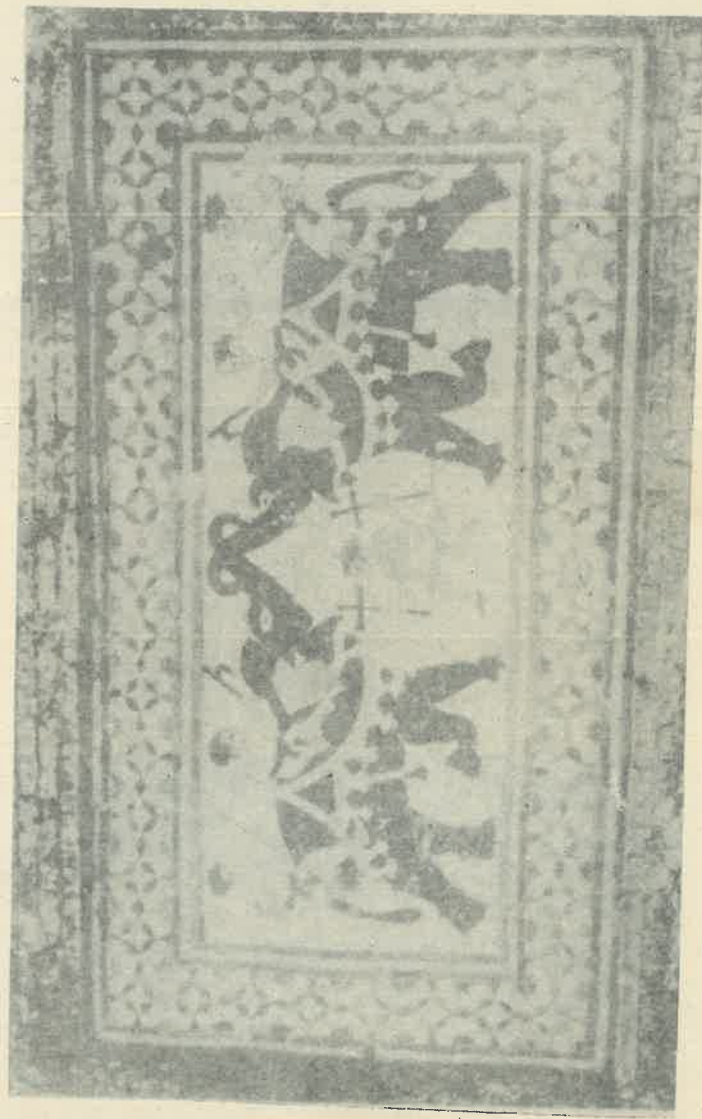


The Bādsnāhī Mosque

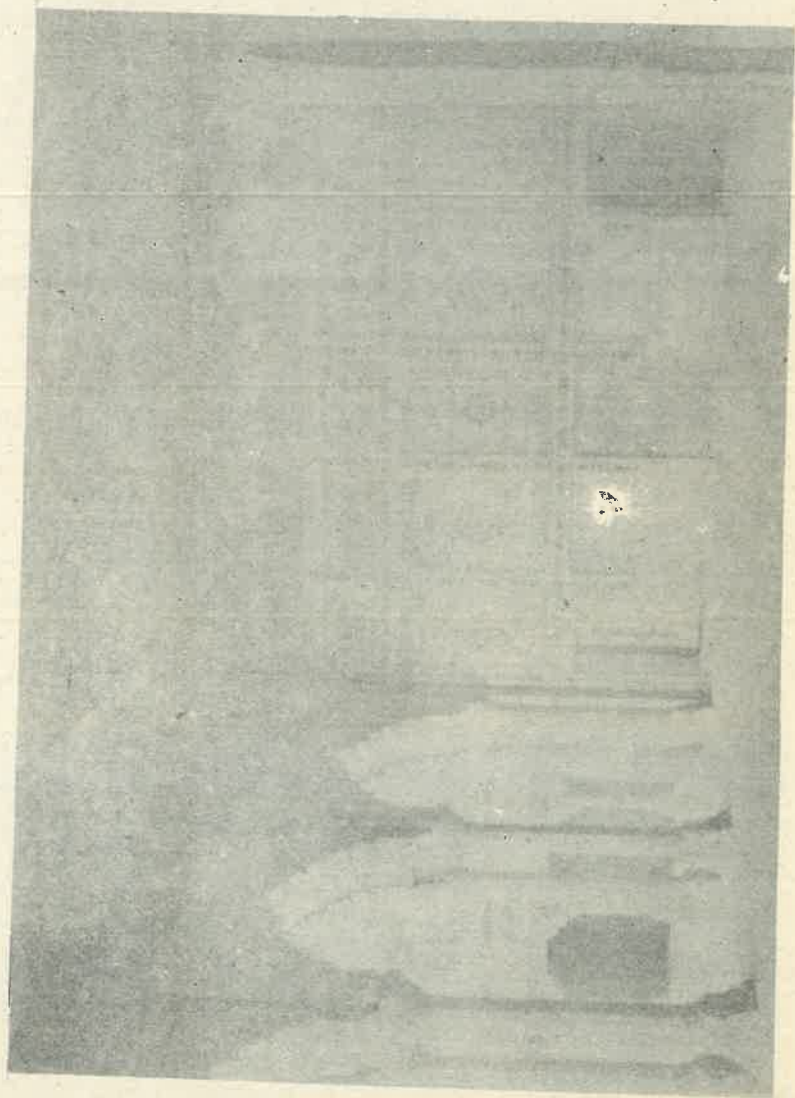




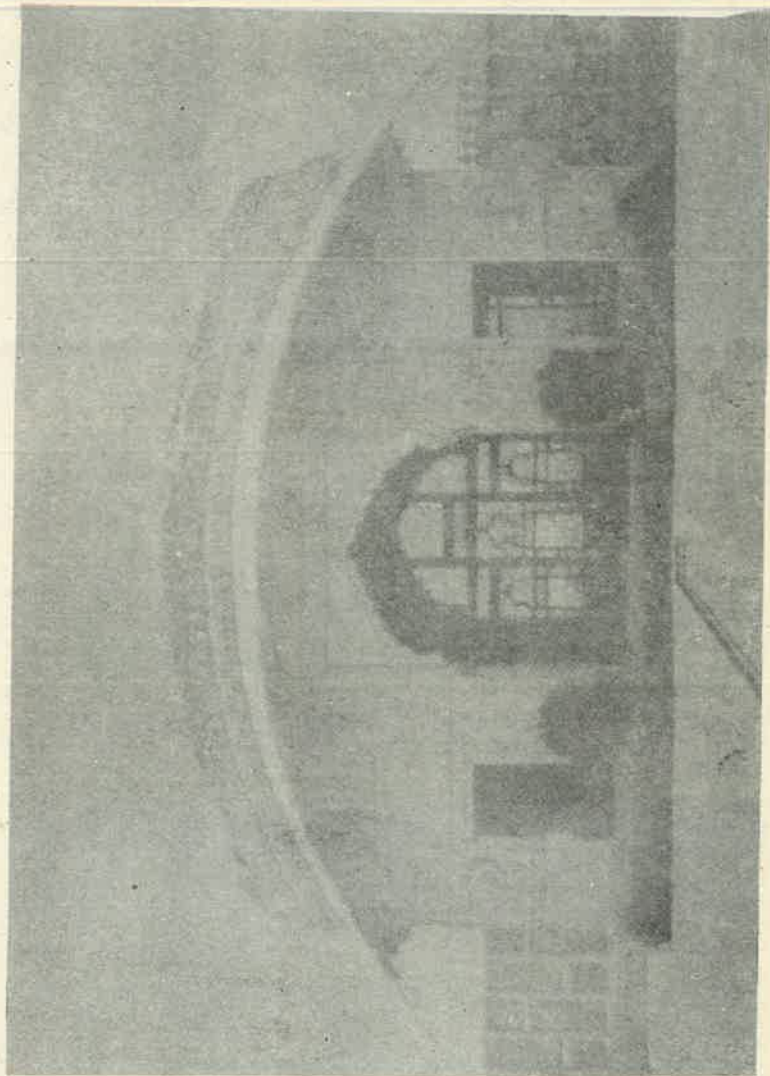
Dal Angah's Tomb



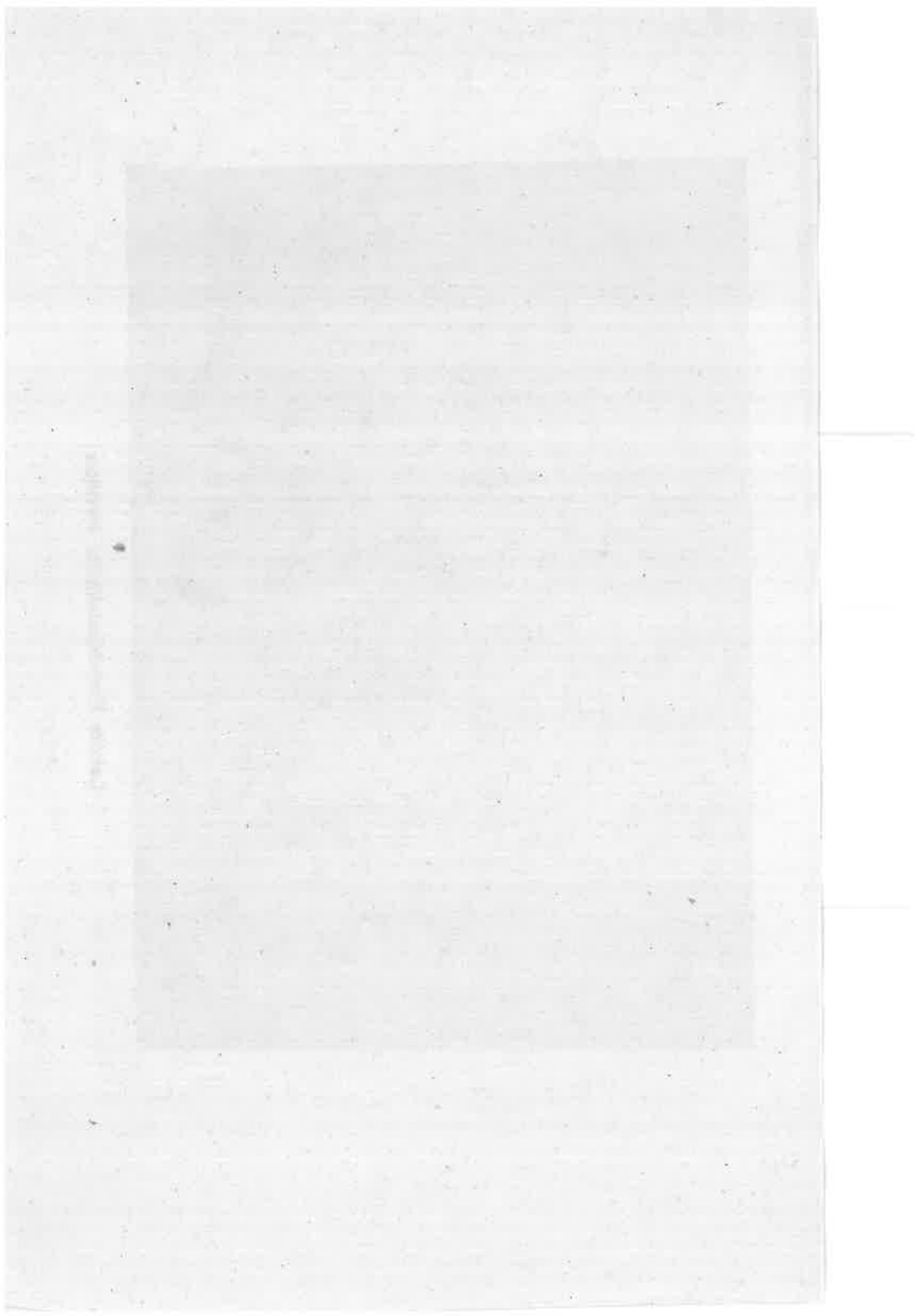
Lahore Fort-Glazed Tiles' Mosaic

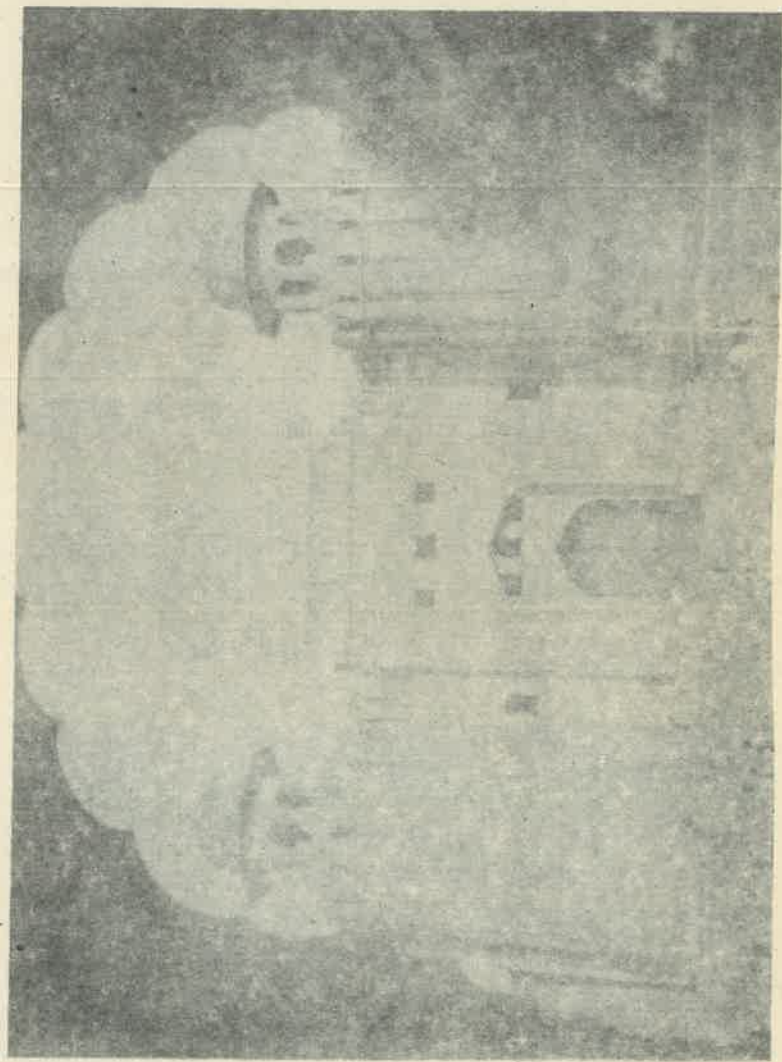


Lahore Fort-Hall of Mirrors

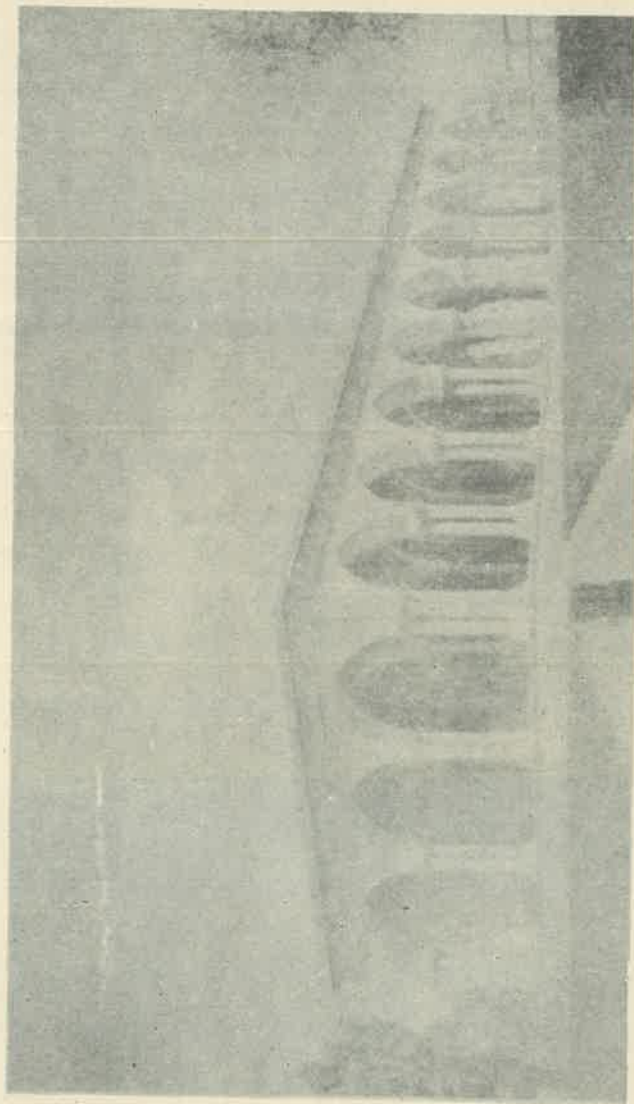


Lahore Fort-Naulakha Pavilion

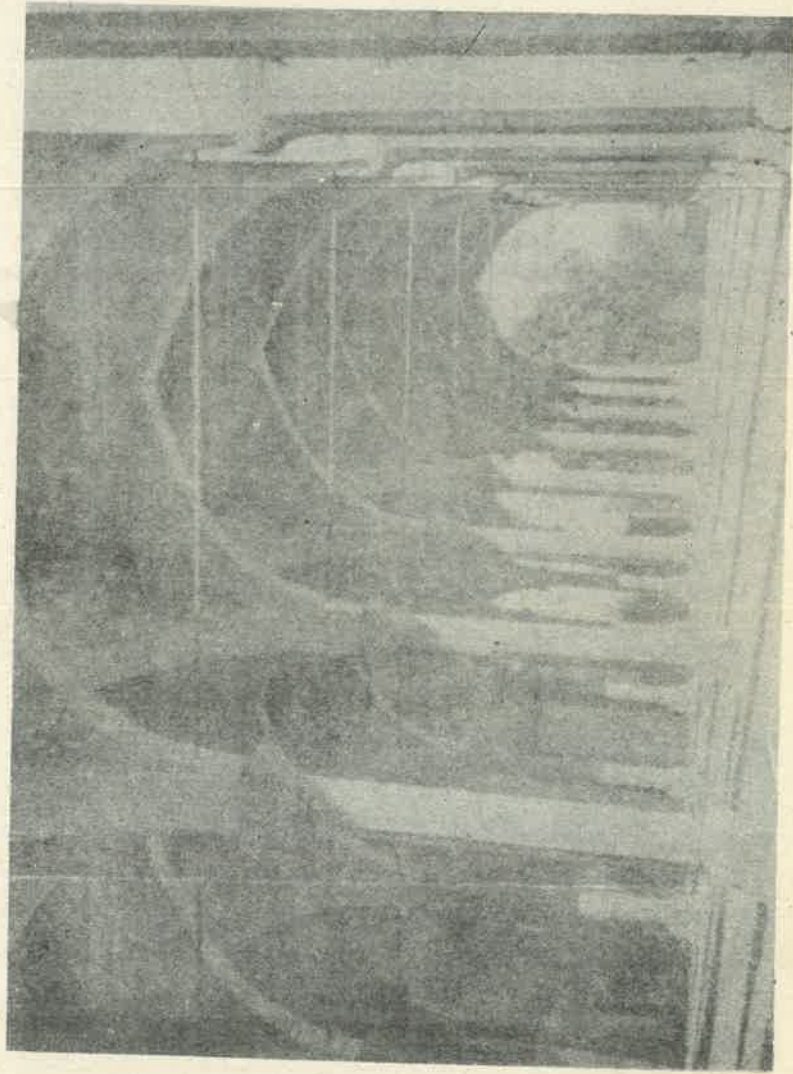




The 'Alamgiri' Gate (Lahore Fort)



The Diwān-e-Ām Interior (Lahore Fort)

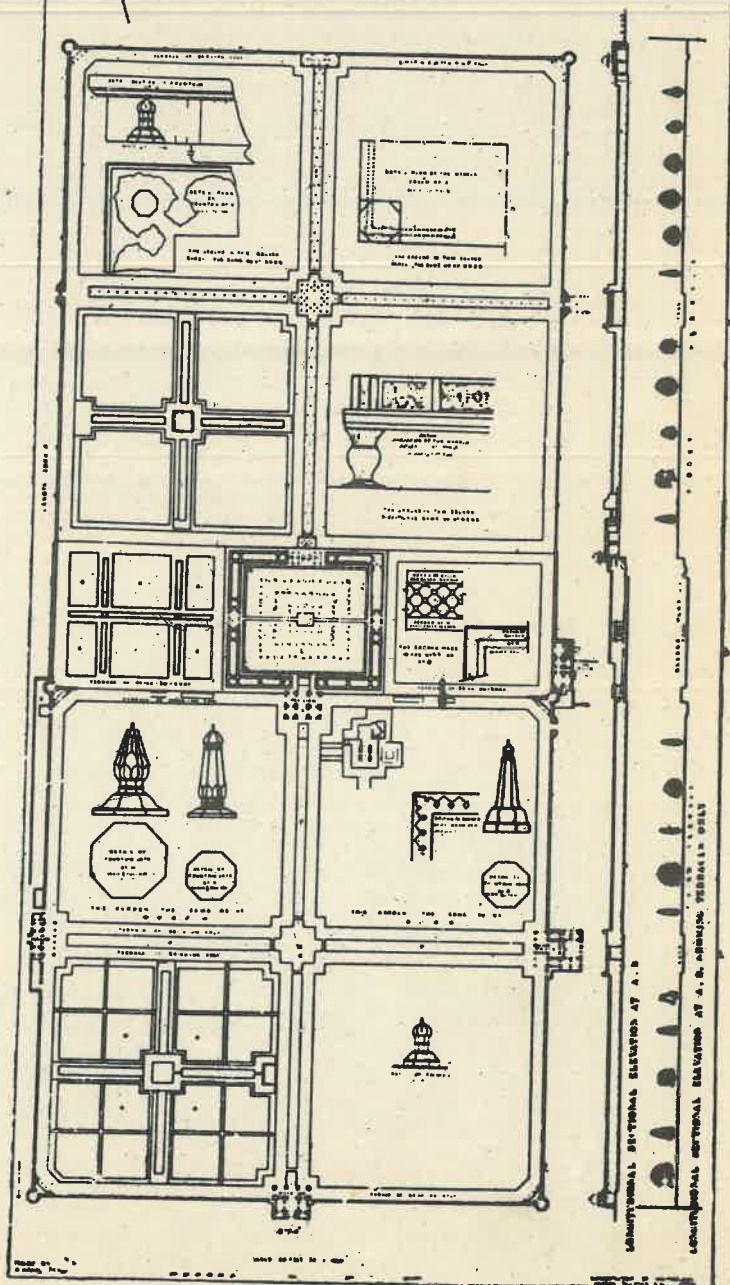


The Diwān-e-'Ām Interior (Lahore Fort,



ALÌ MARDAN KHAN

2.
A





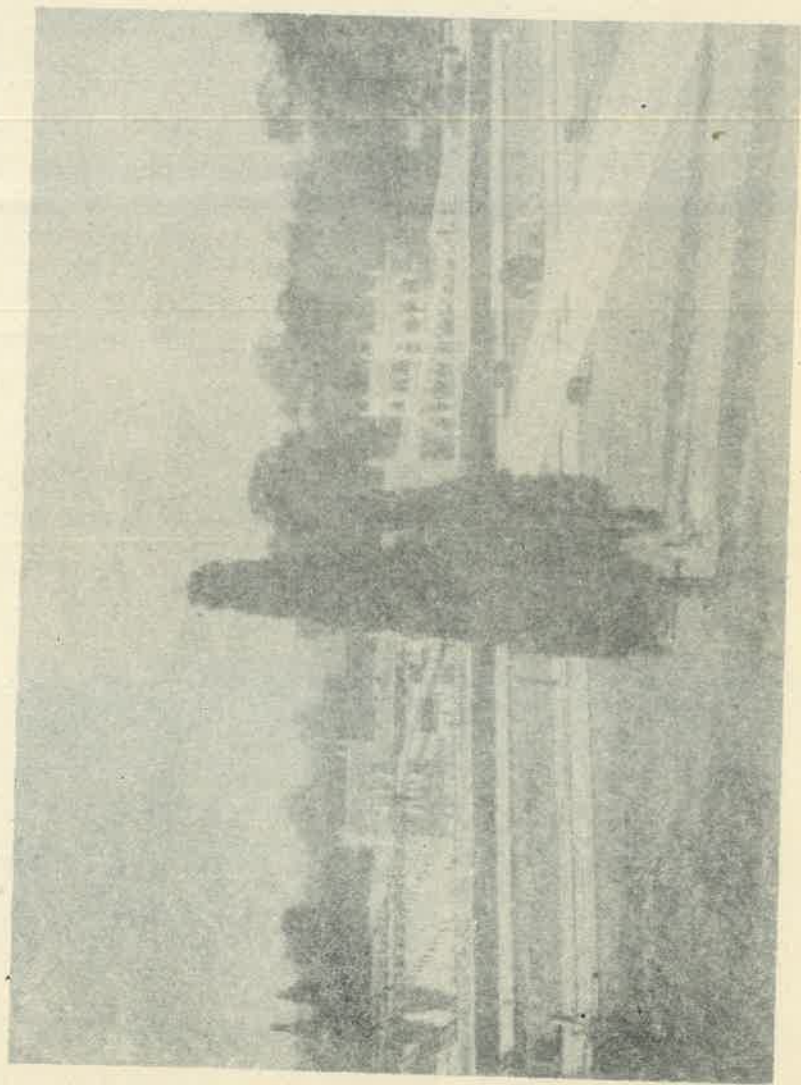
(a)



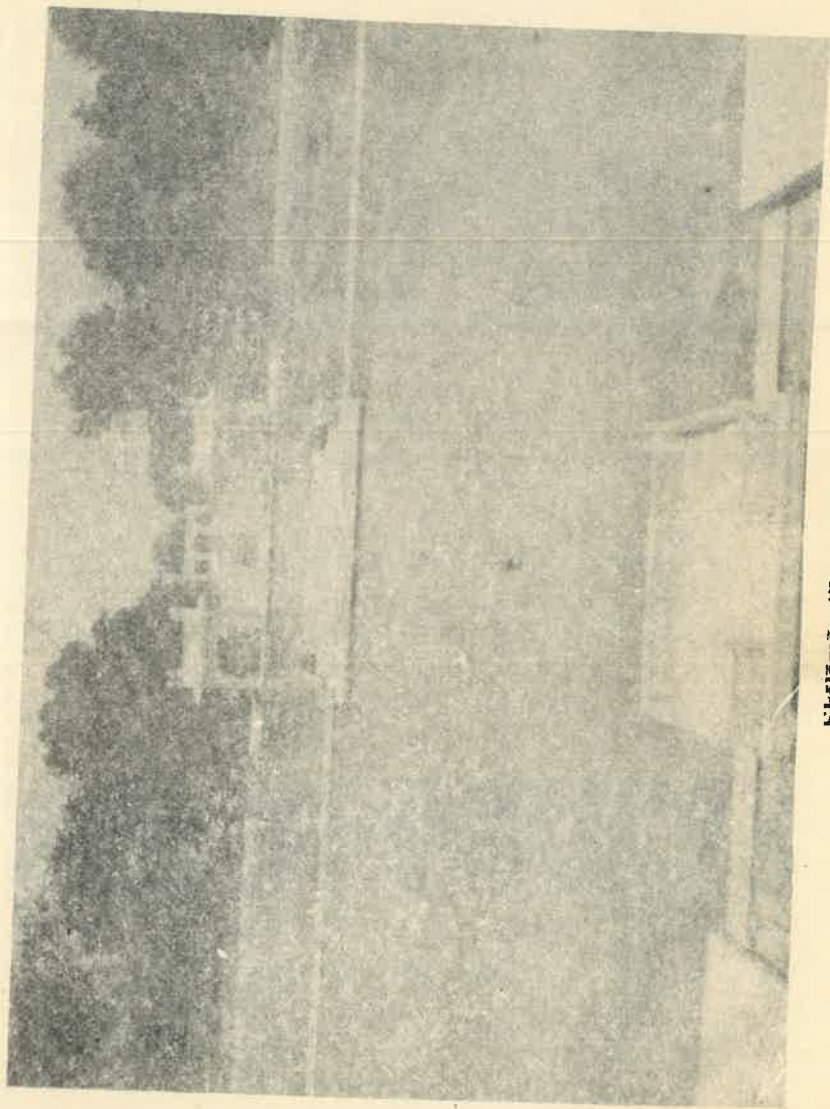
(b)

(a) Stone parterre (The Tāj Mahal, Agra)

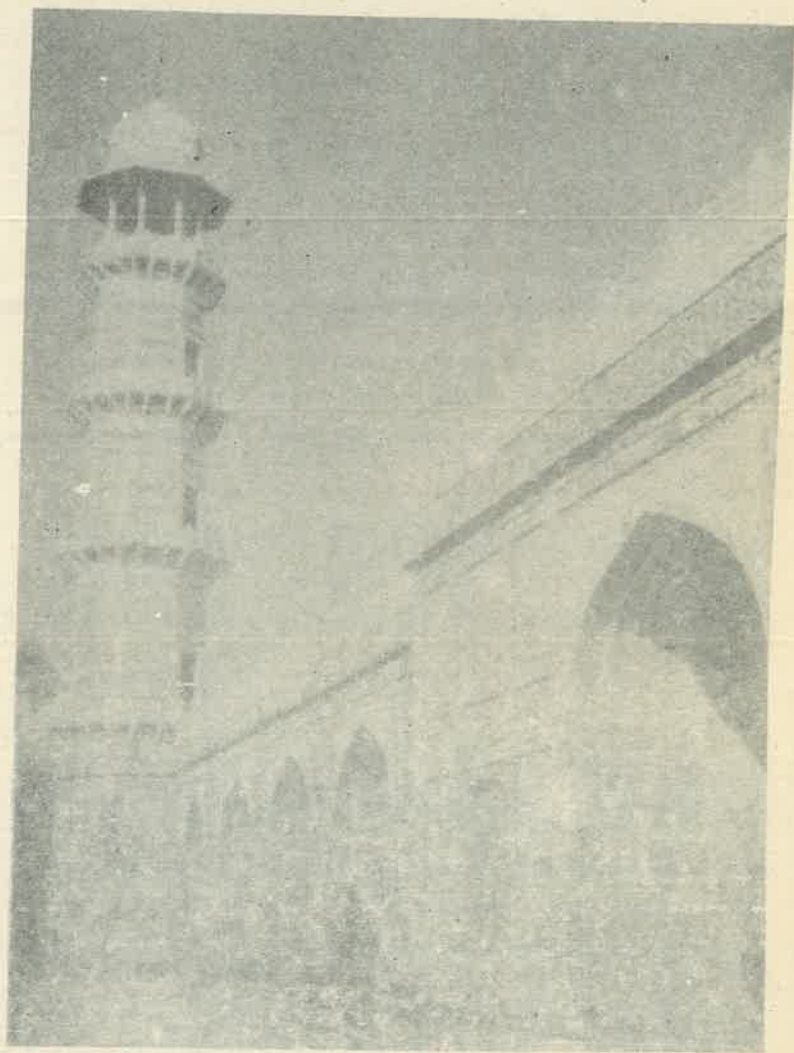
(b) Brick parterre (The Shalamar, Lahore)



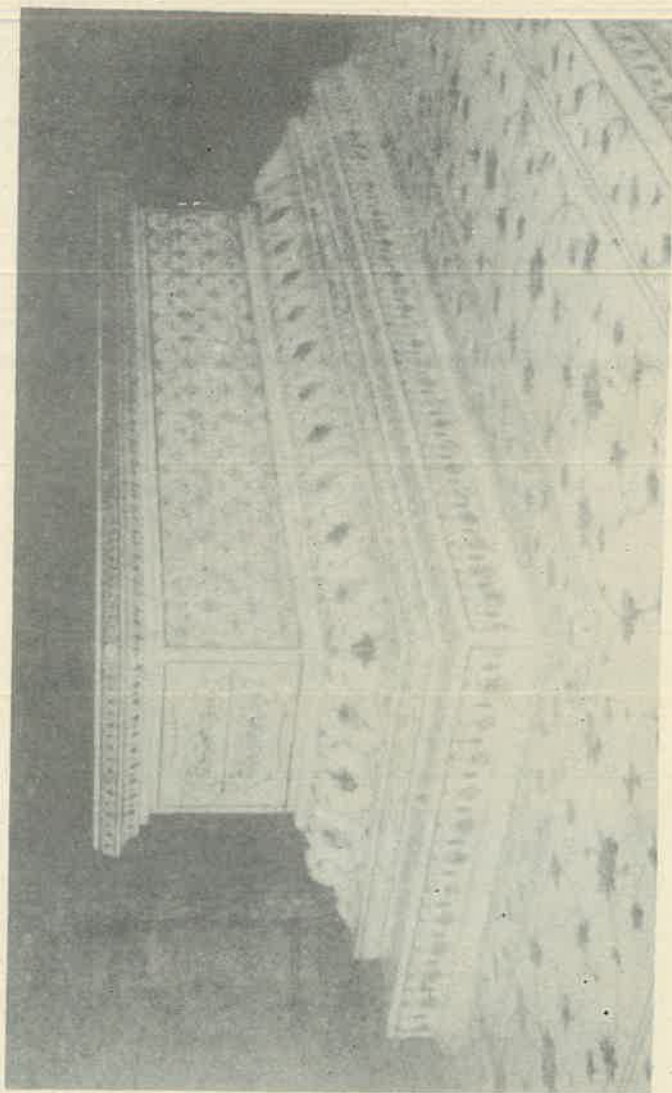
Shalāmār (General View)



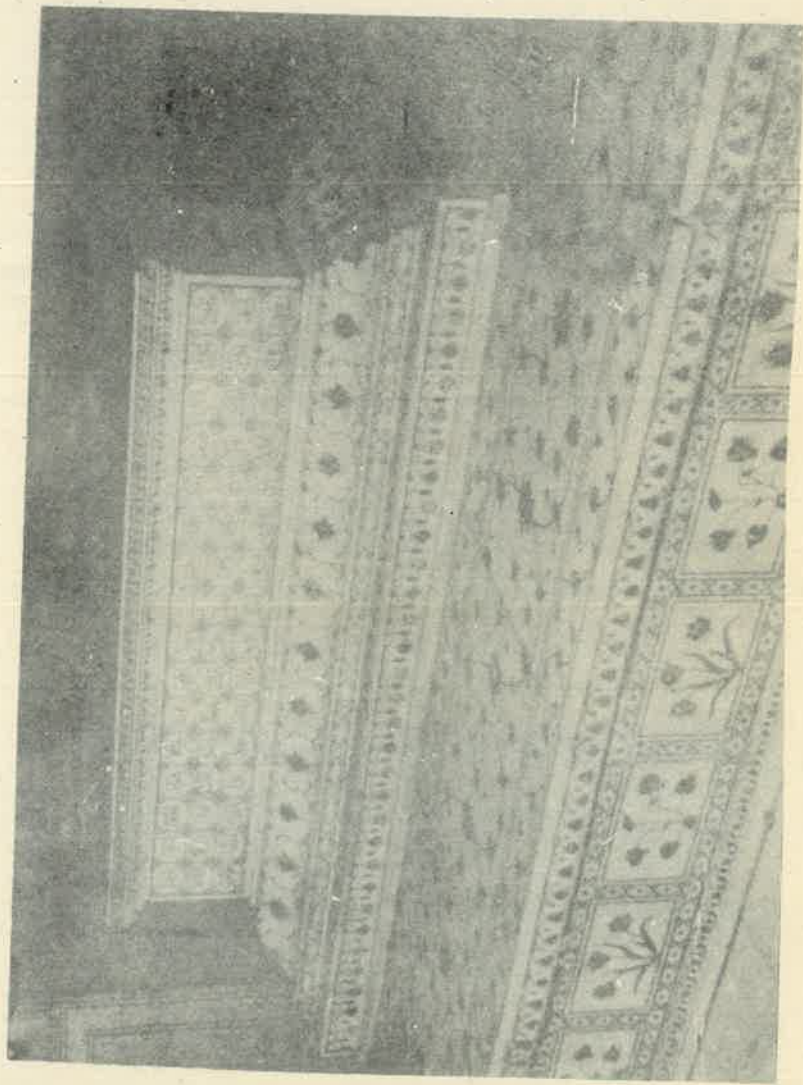
Shialāmār (Second terrace)



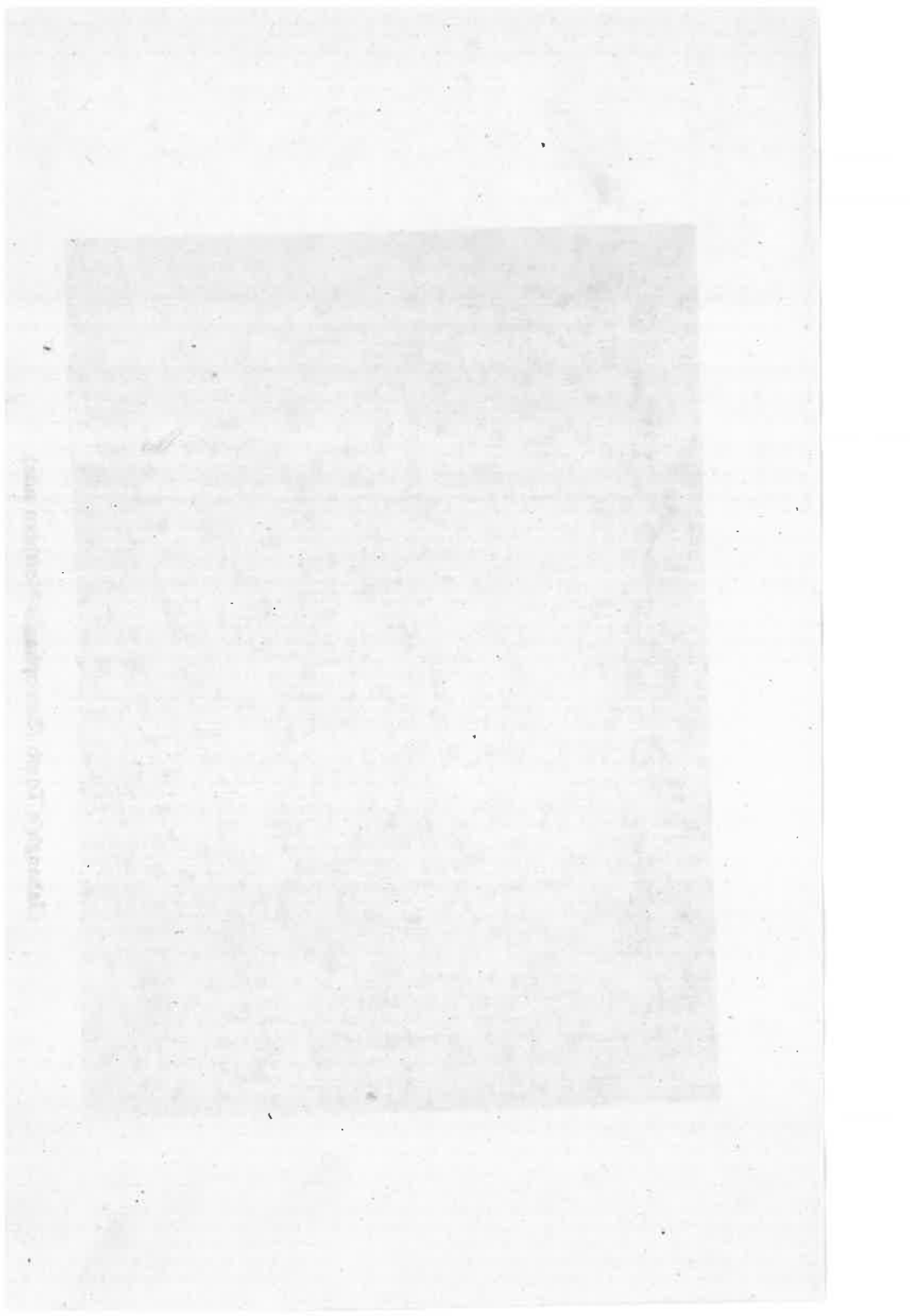
Jahāngīr's Tomb (Entrance)

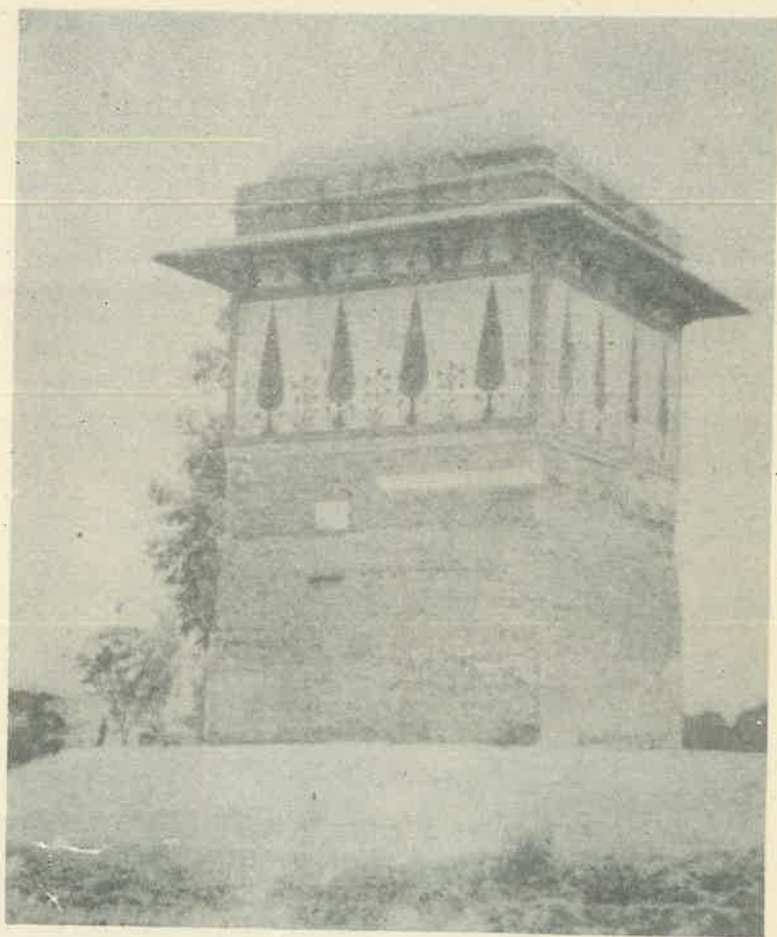


Jahāngīr's Tomb (Sarcophagus-Southern side)

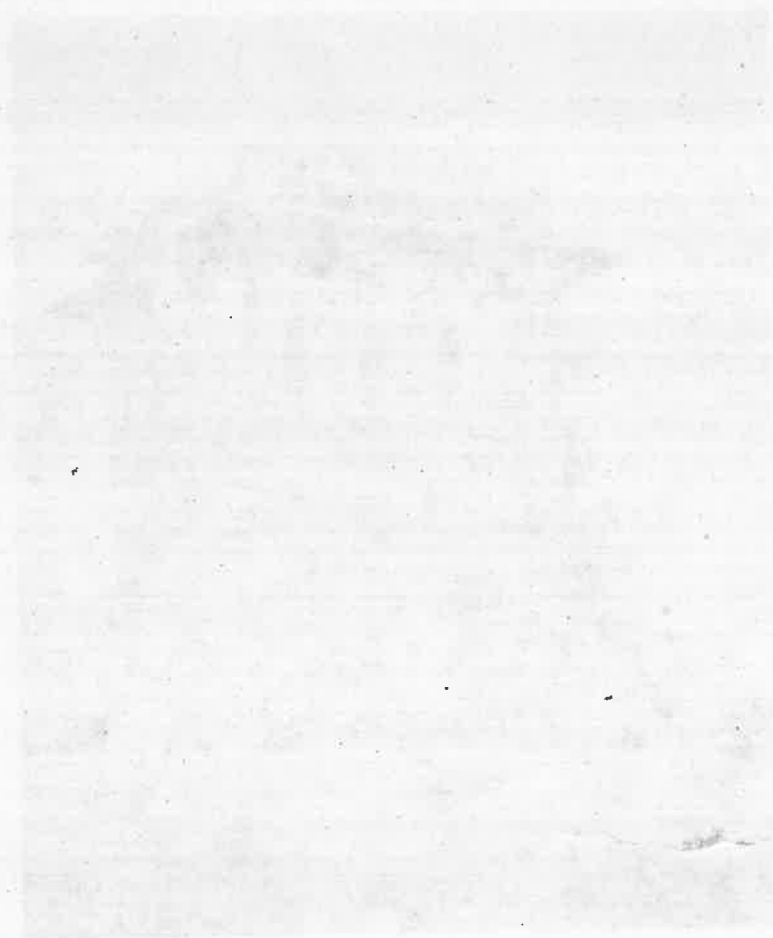


-Jahangir's Tomb (Sarcophagus-Northern side)

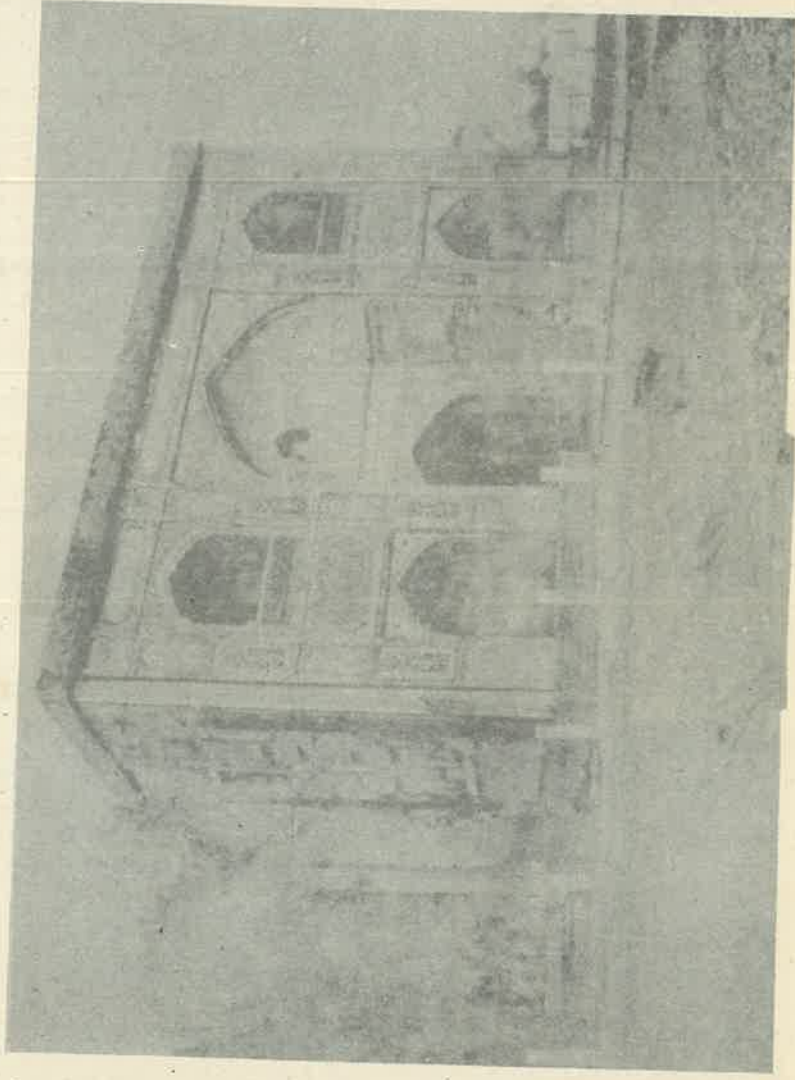




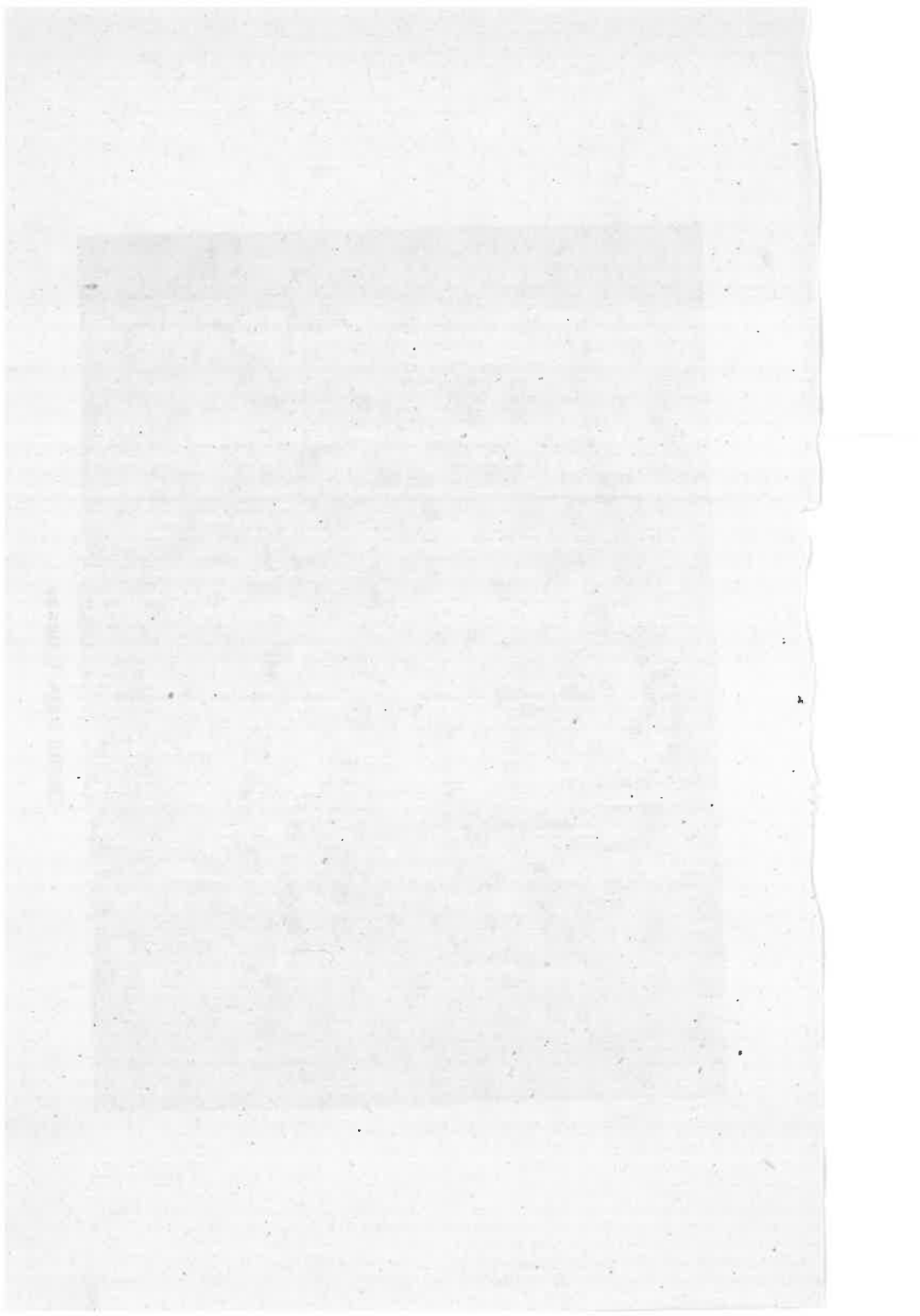
Tomb of Sharaf-un-Nisā Begum

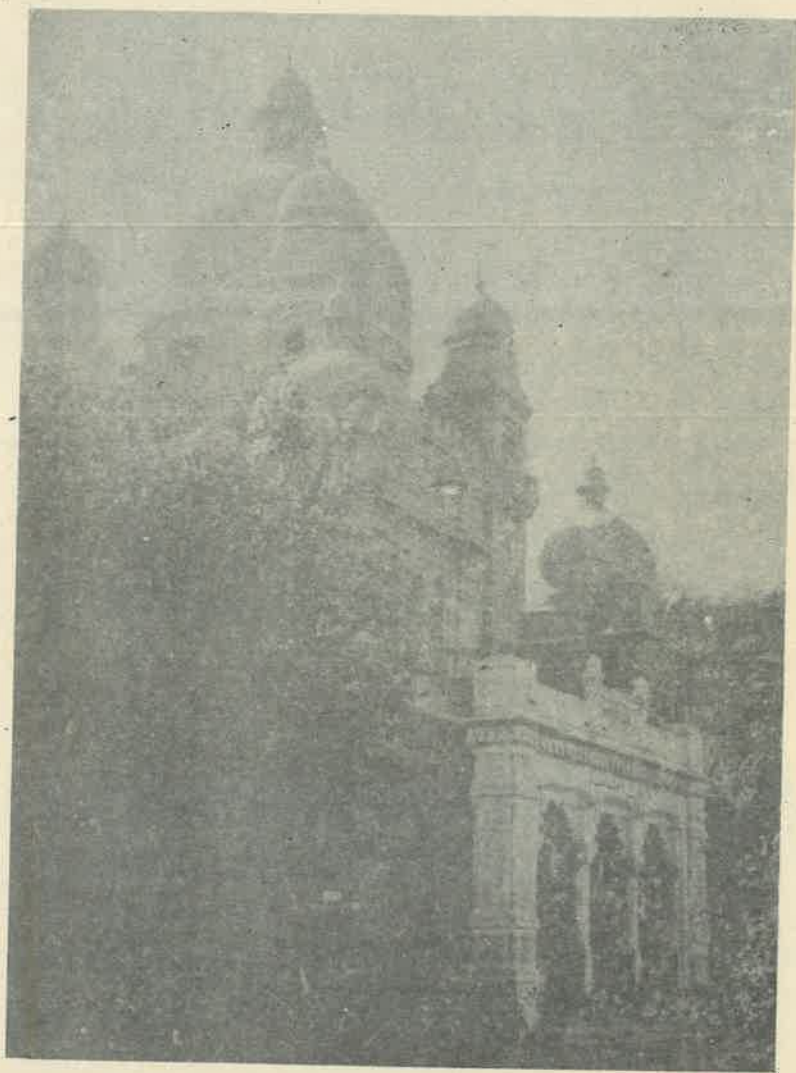


THE END OF THE WORLD

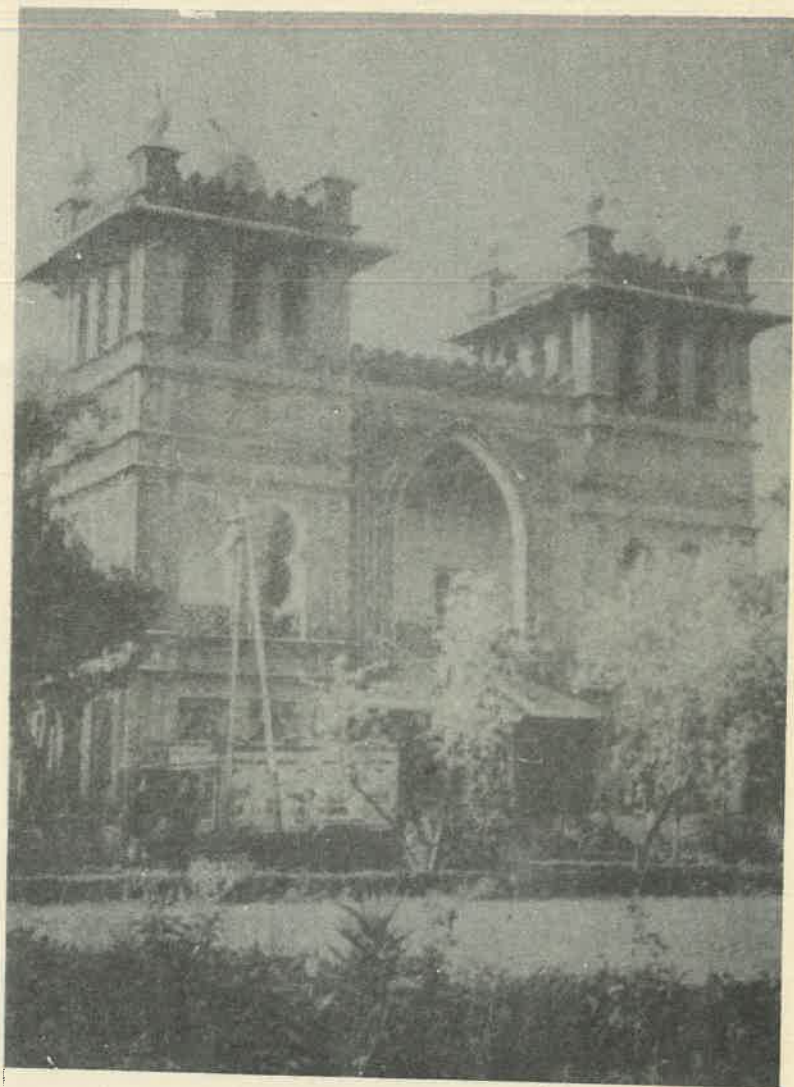


Gulābi Bāgh Gateway

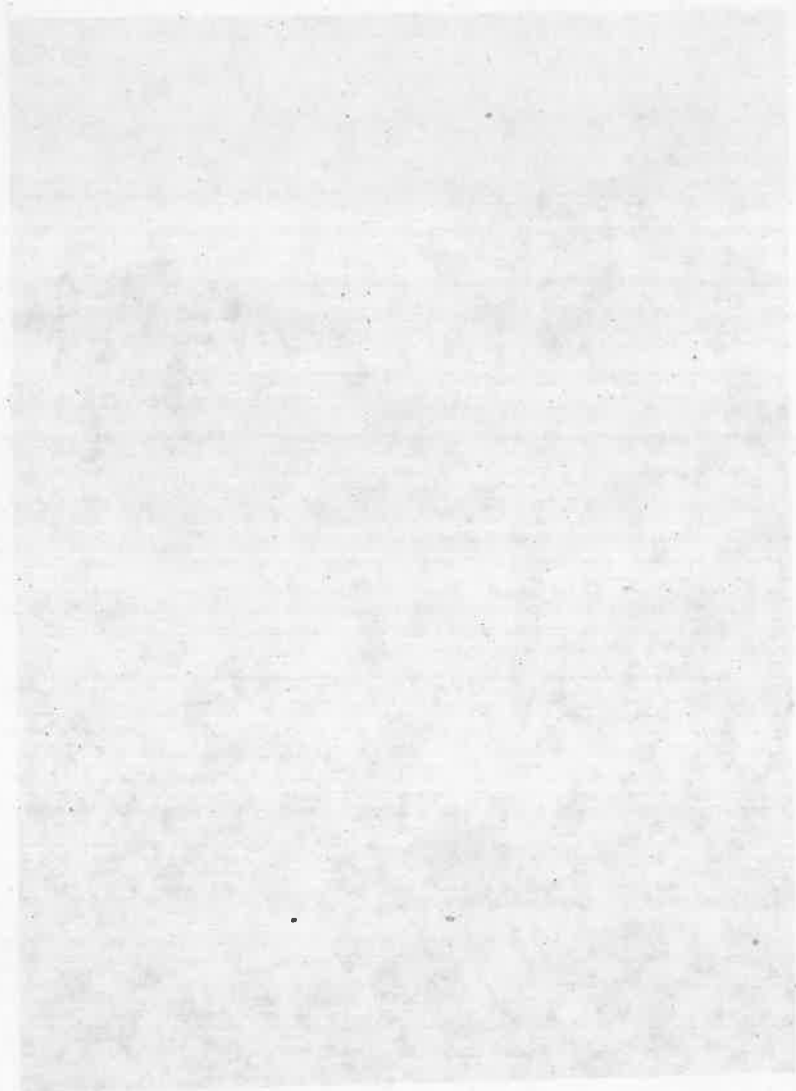




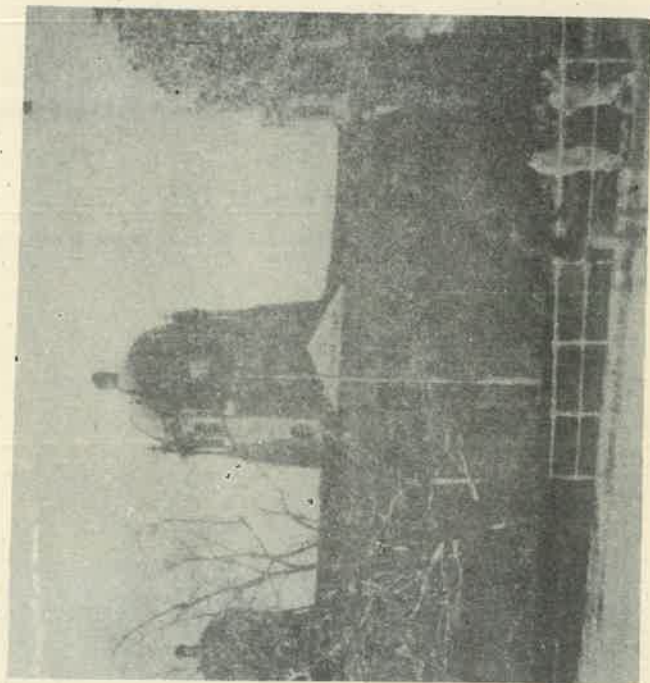
Lahore Museum



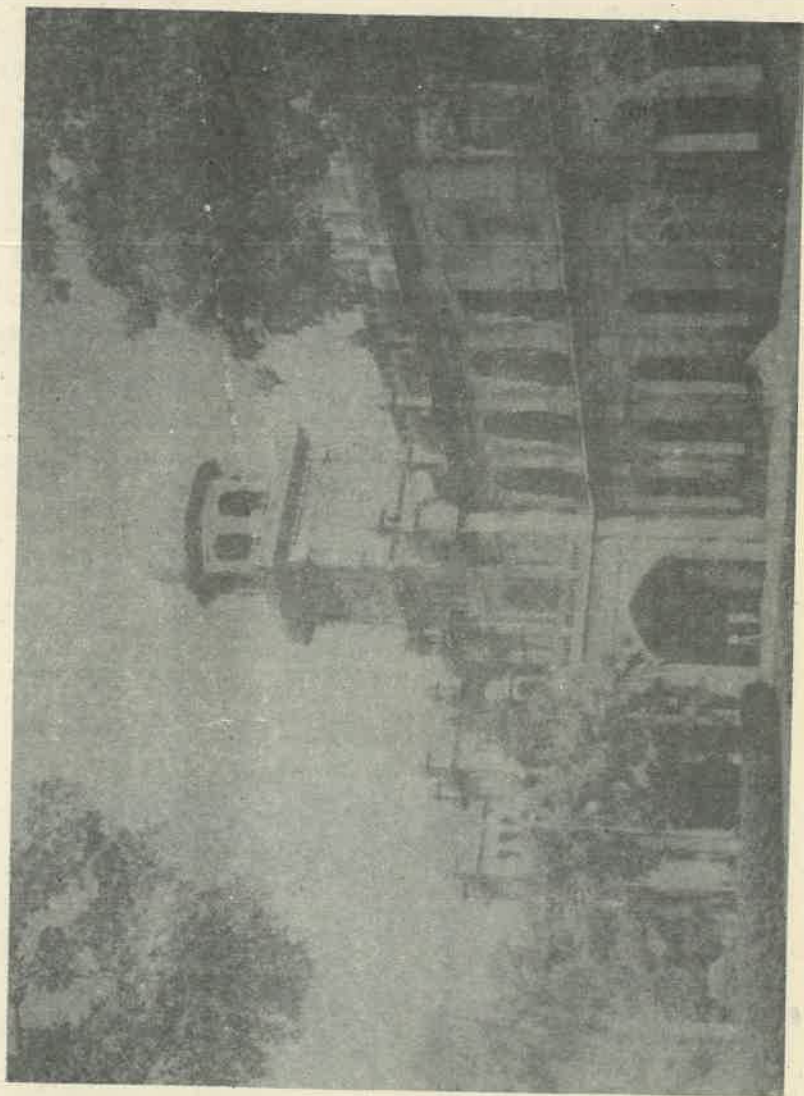
Lahore Corporation Hall



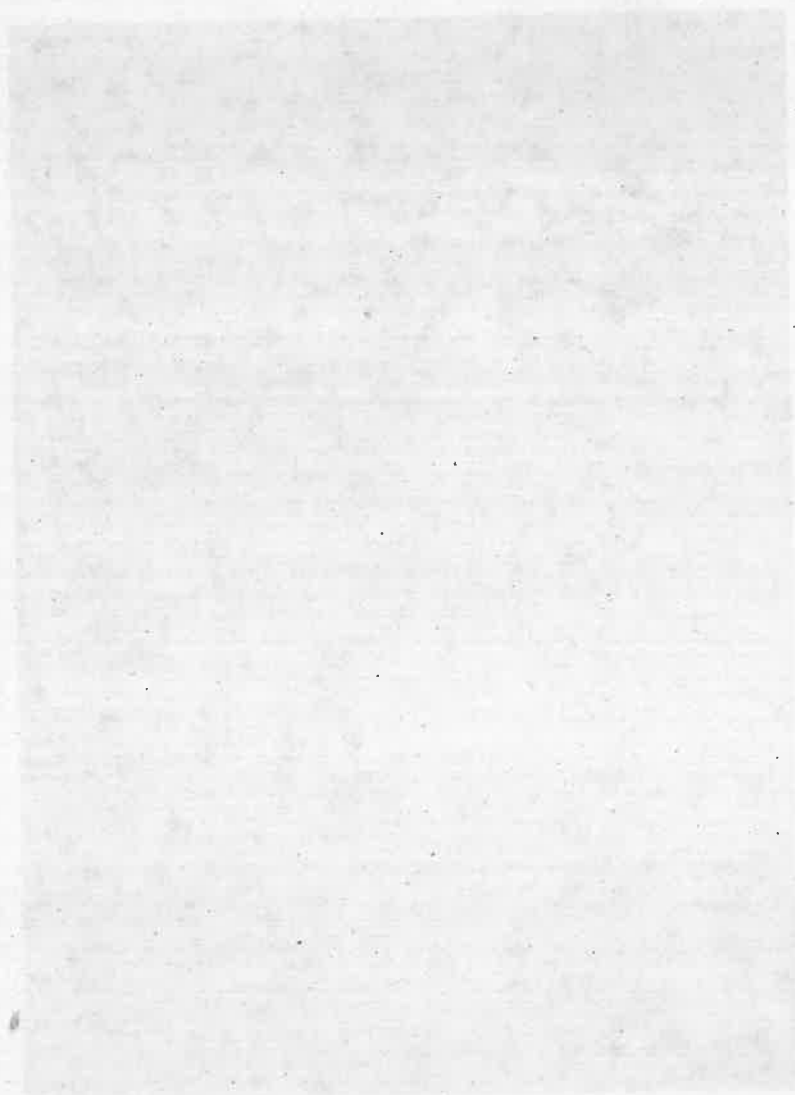
Library of Congress

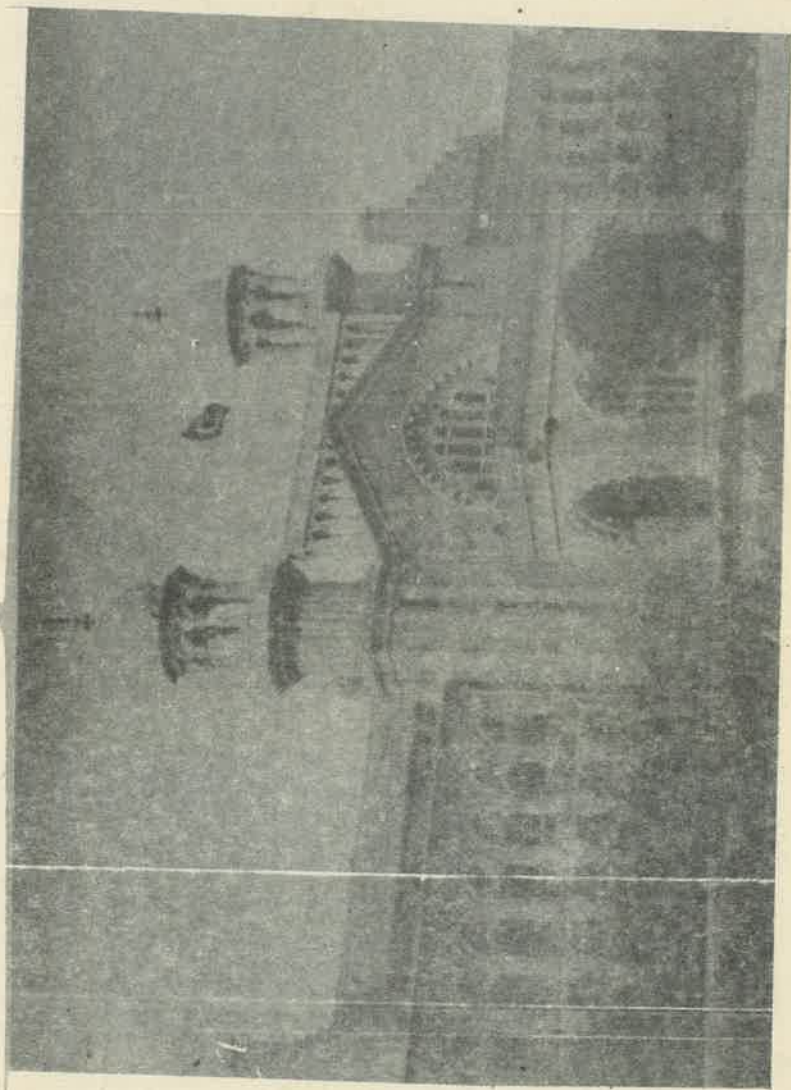


General Post Office

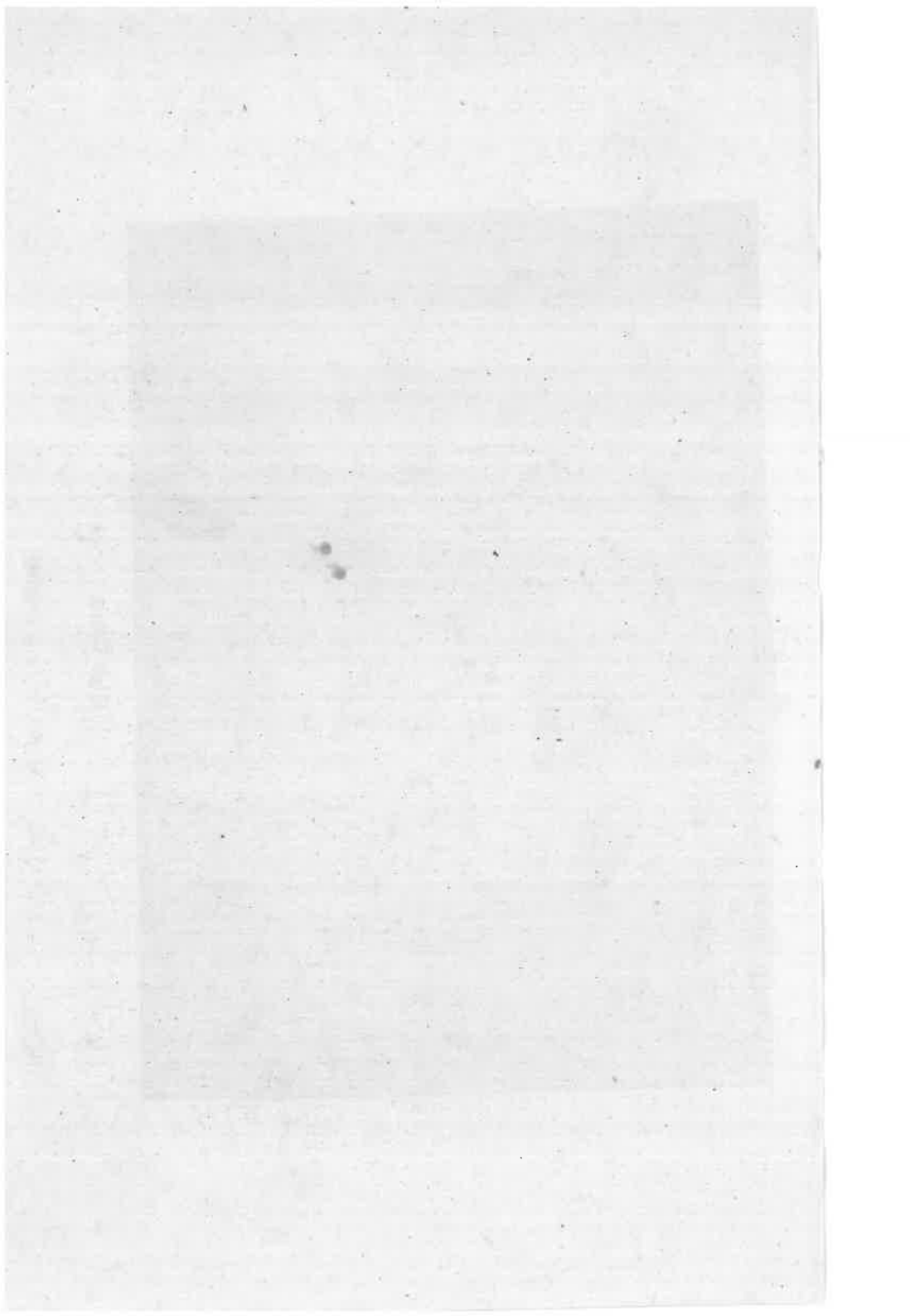


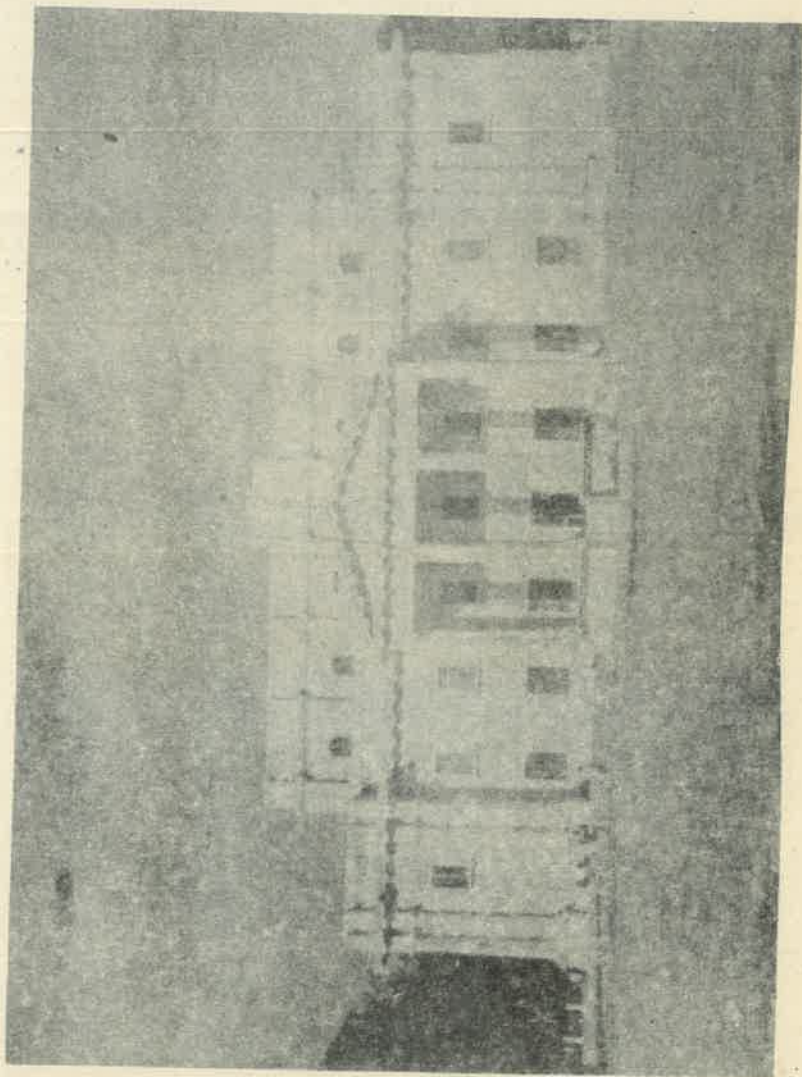
Panjab University Hall



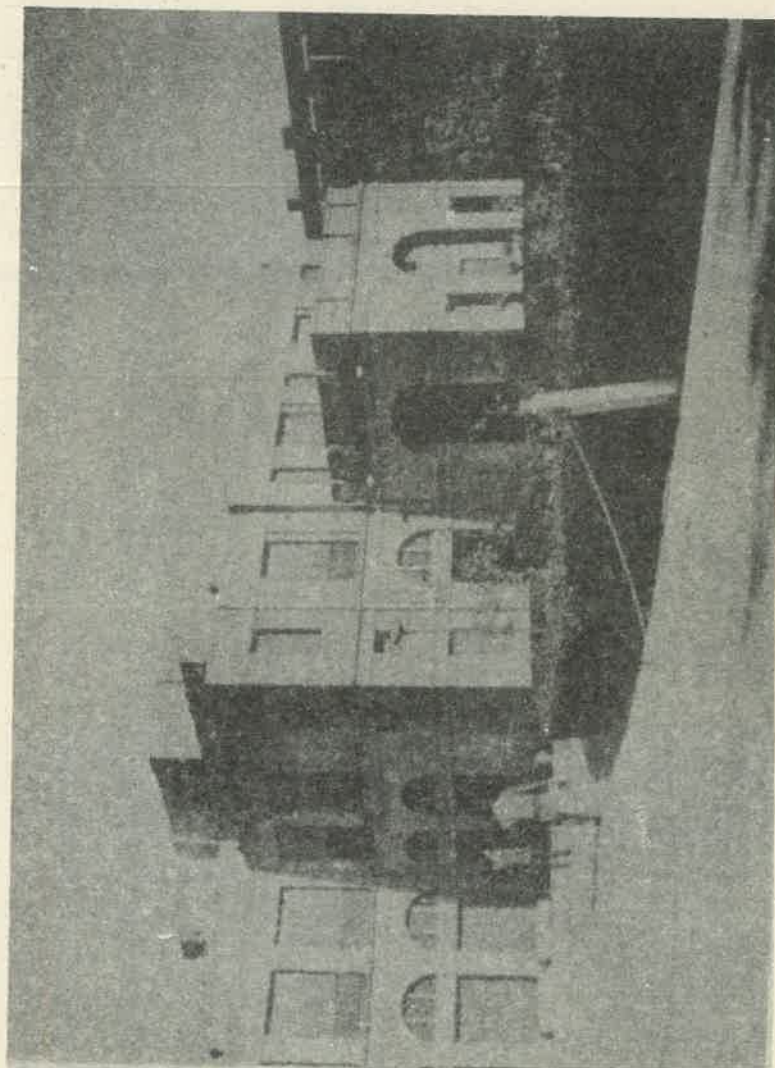


High Court

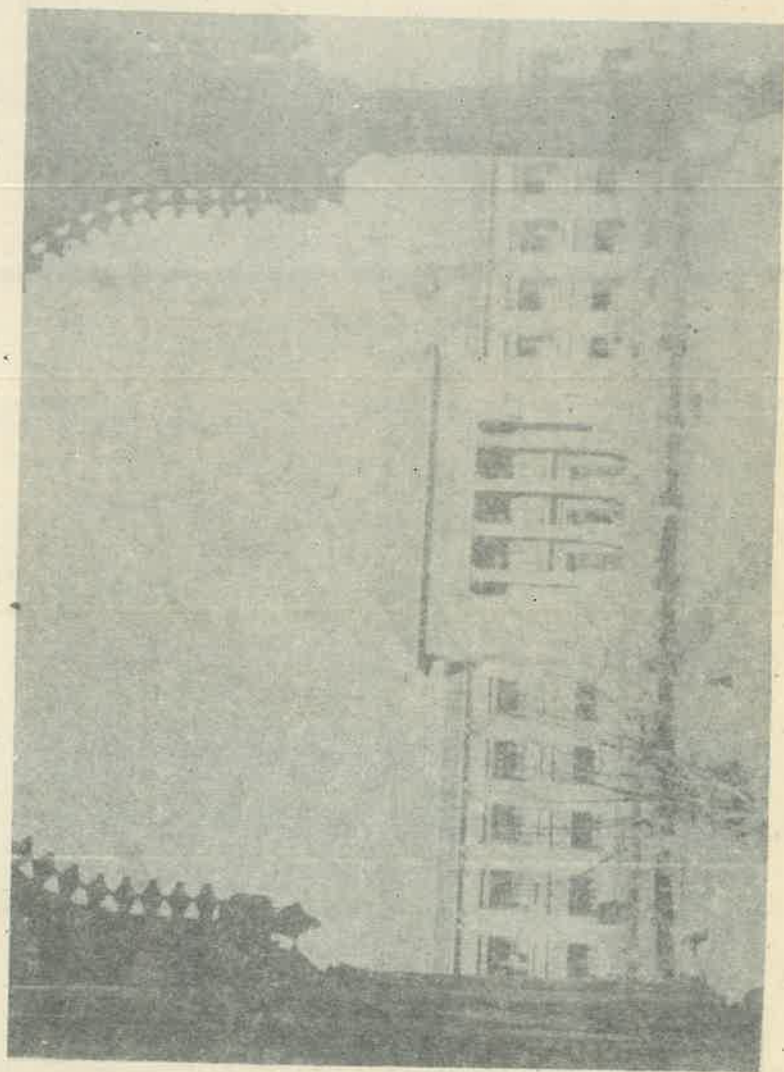




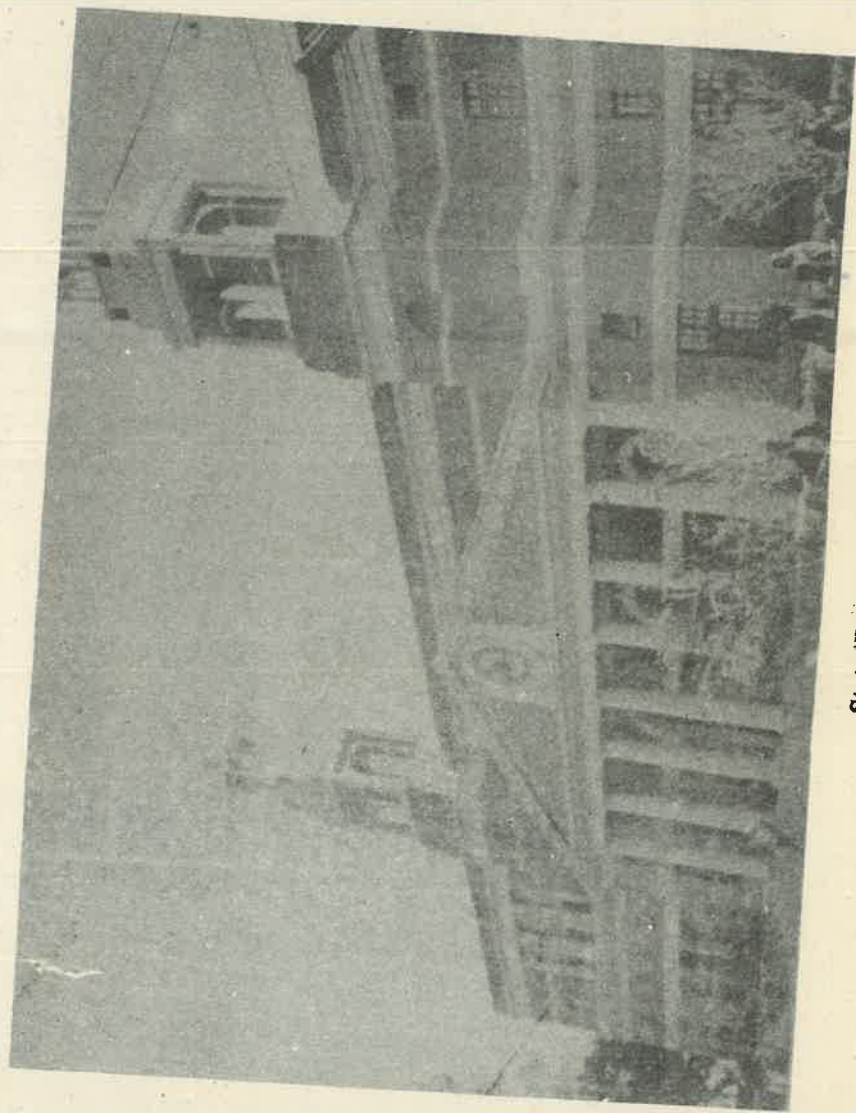
Montgomery Hall (Jinnah Gardens)



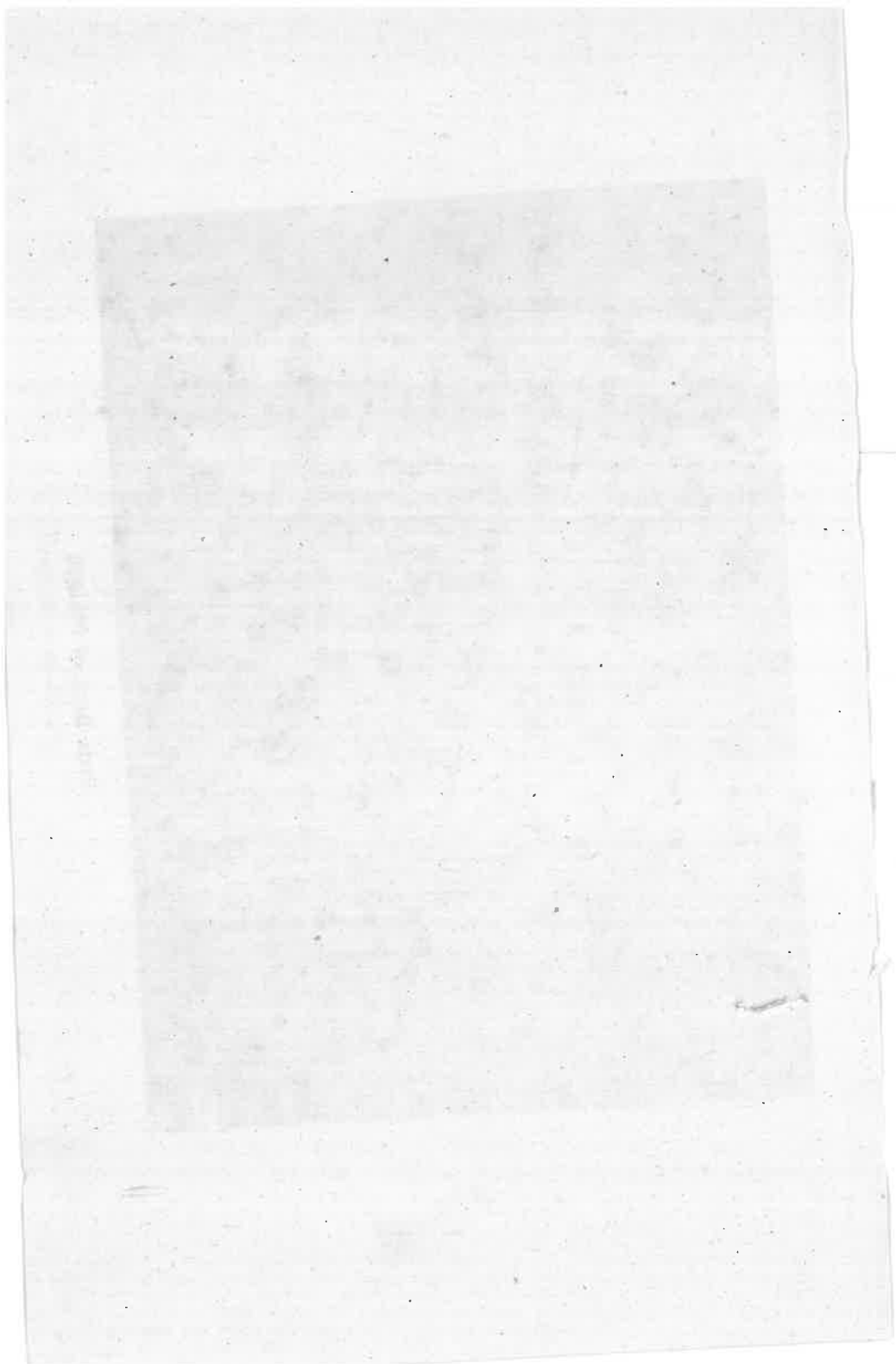
Lady Willingdon Hospital

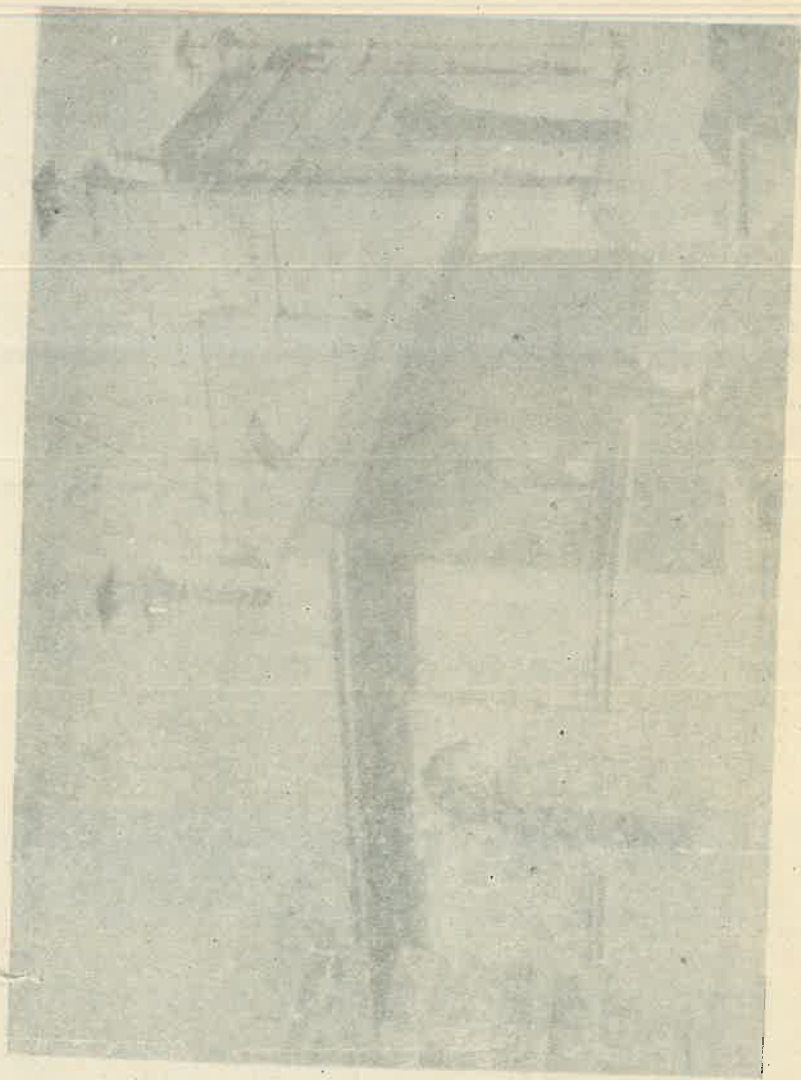


Assembly Chamber

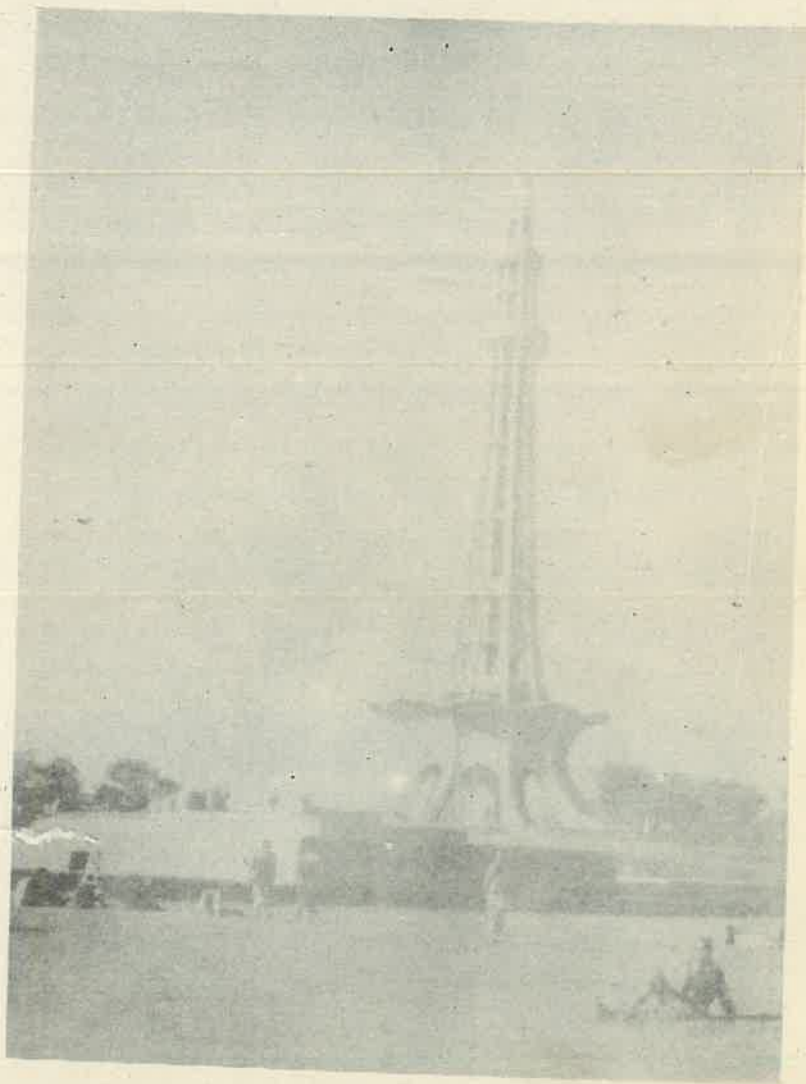


State Bank of Pakistan

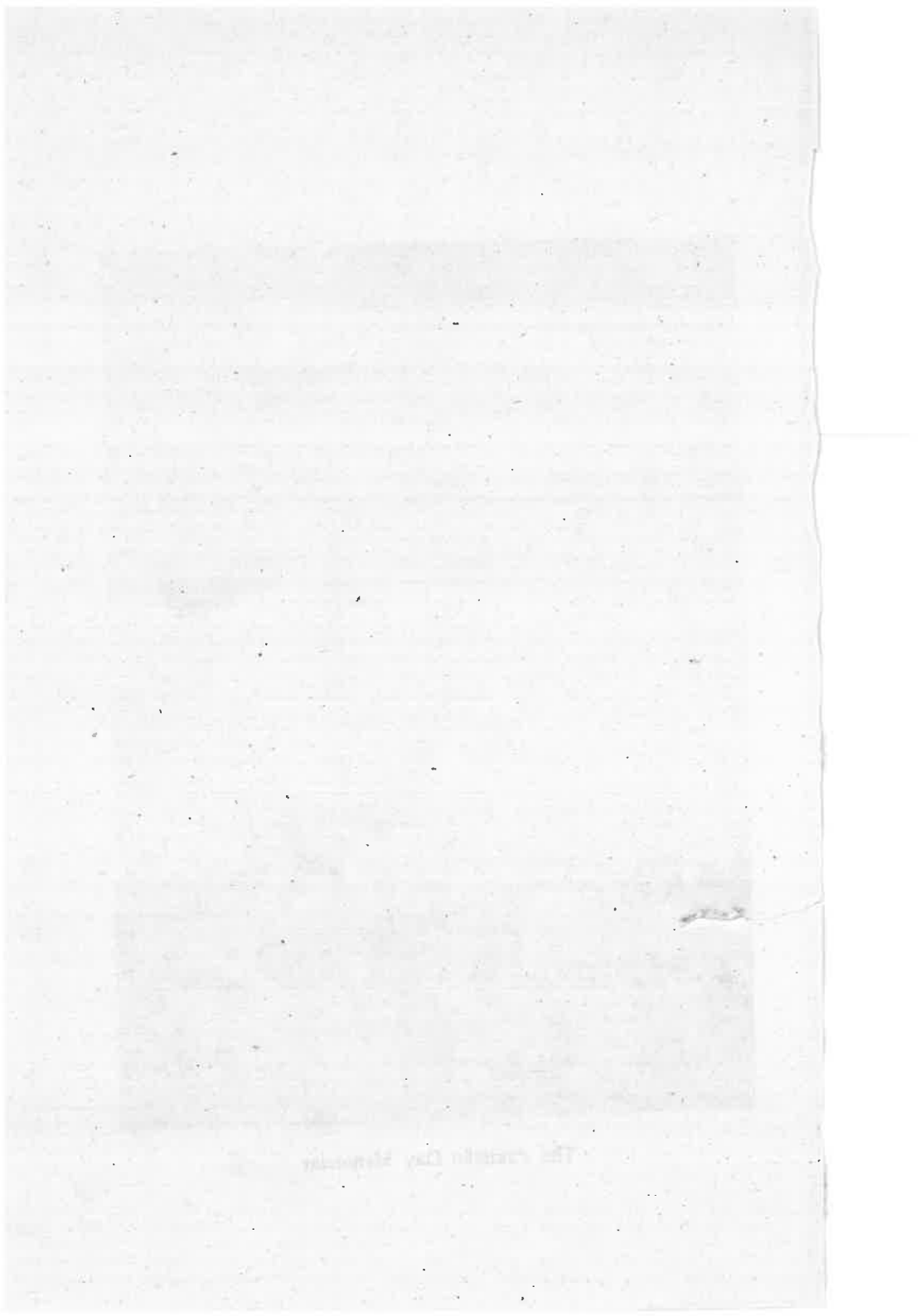




Mausoleum of Iqbal

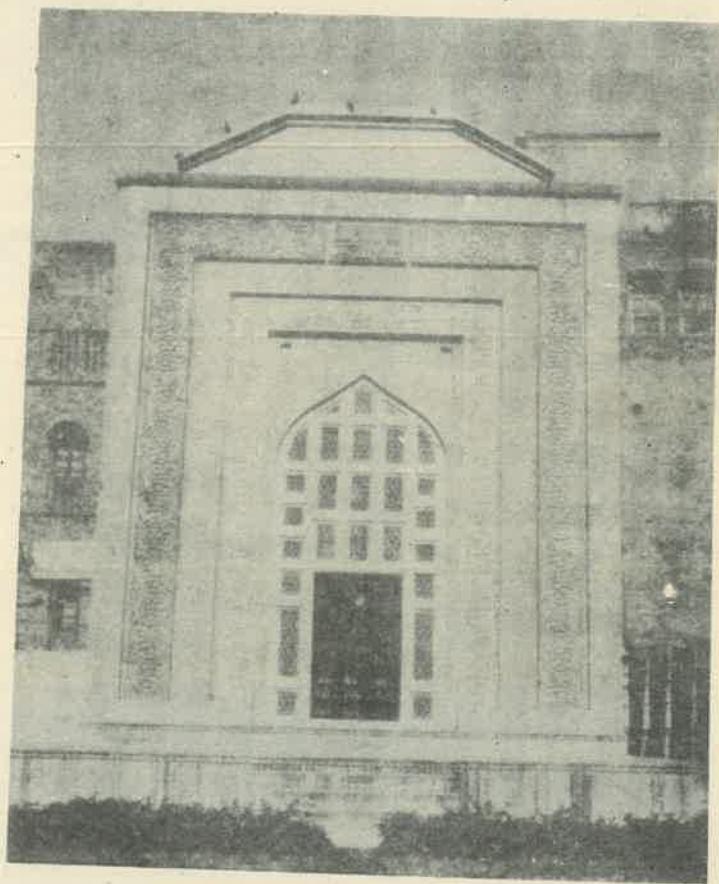


The Pākistān Day Memorial

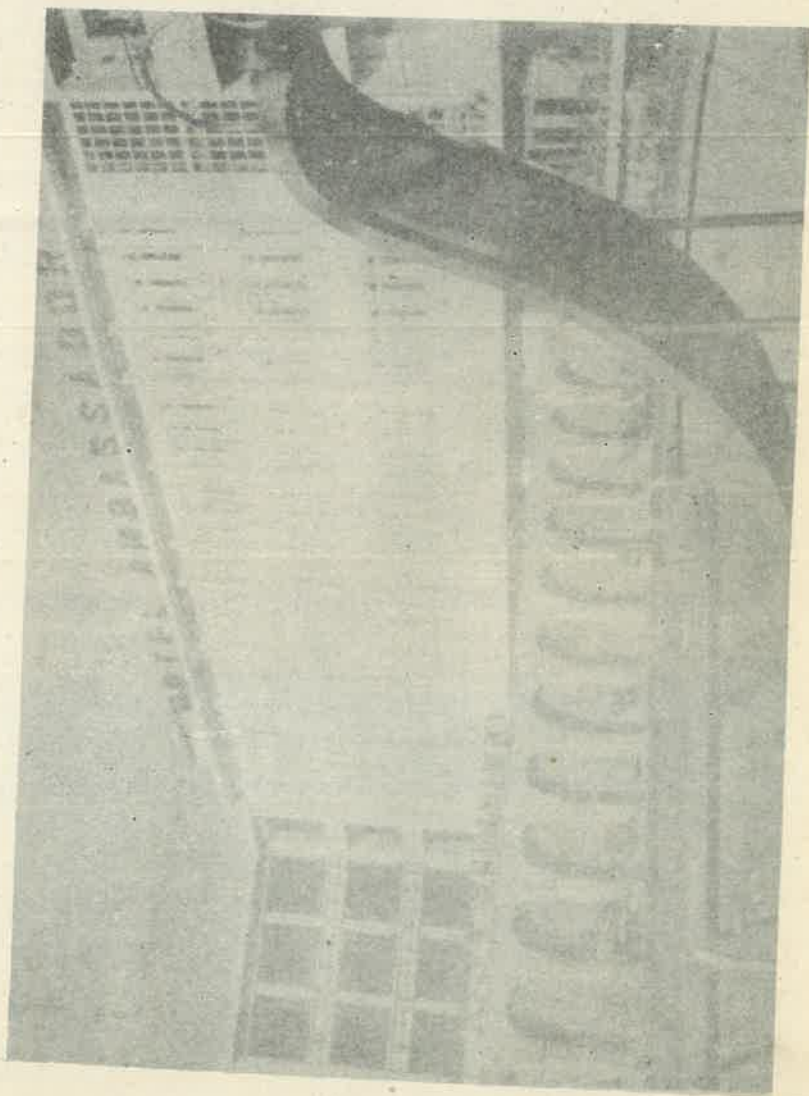




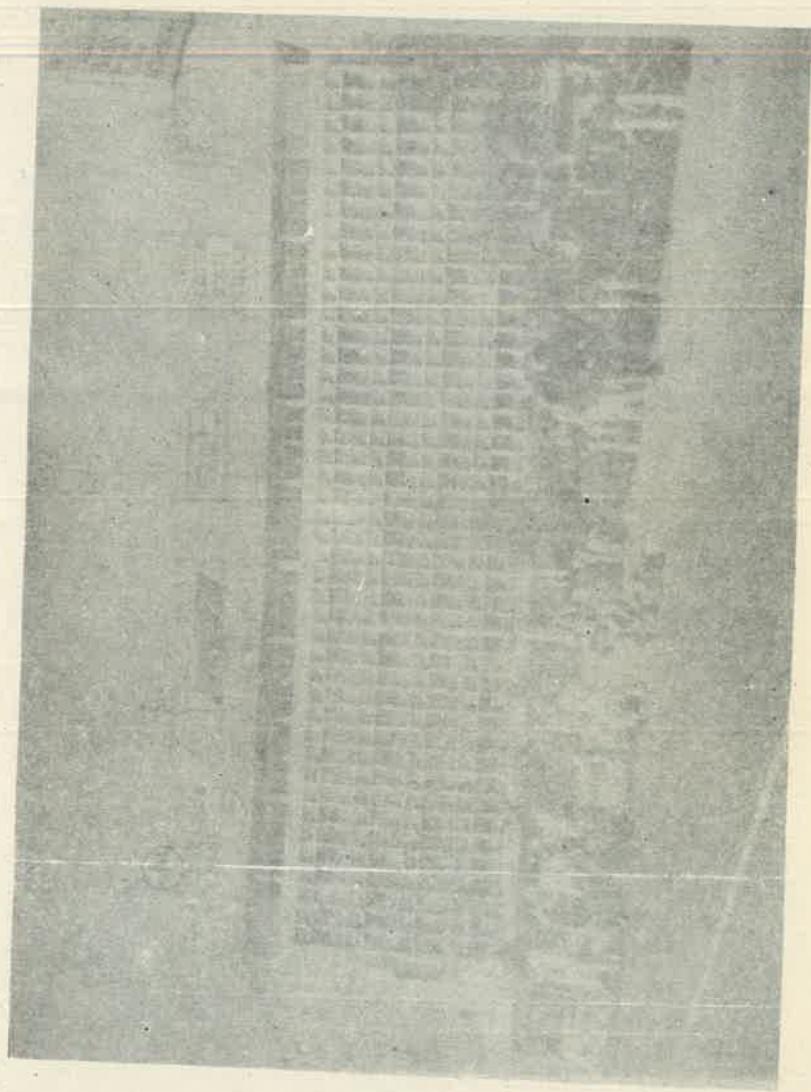
The Chauburji Monument.



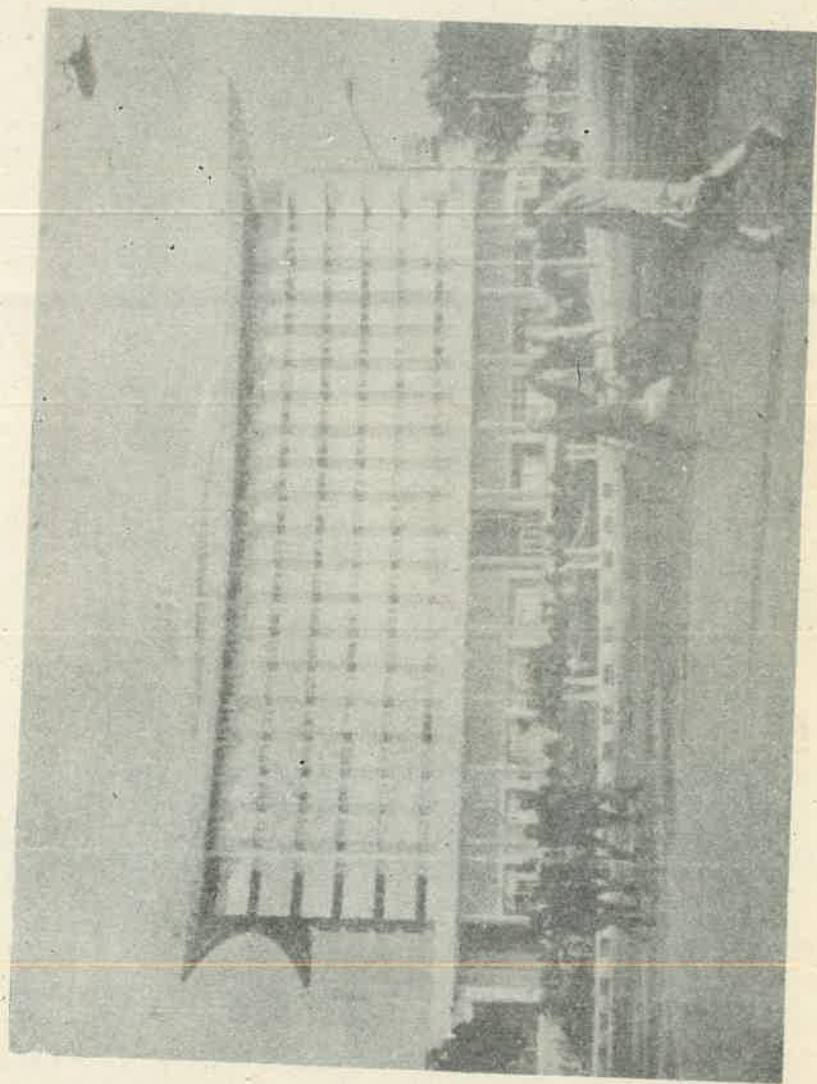
Qutbuddin Aybak's Tomb.



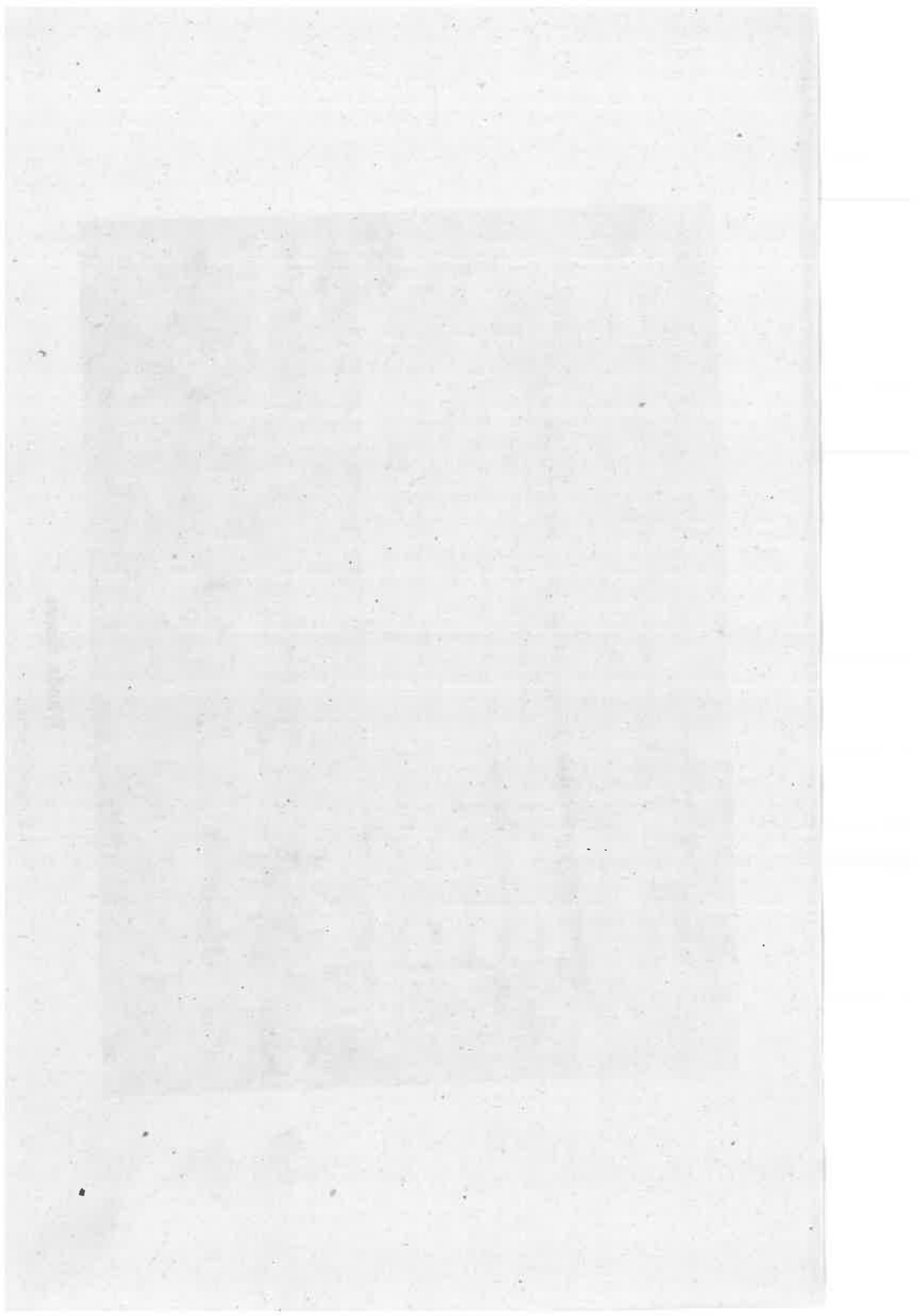
Hotel Ambassador

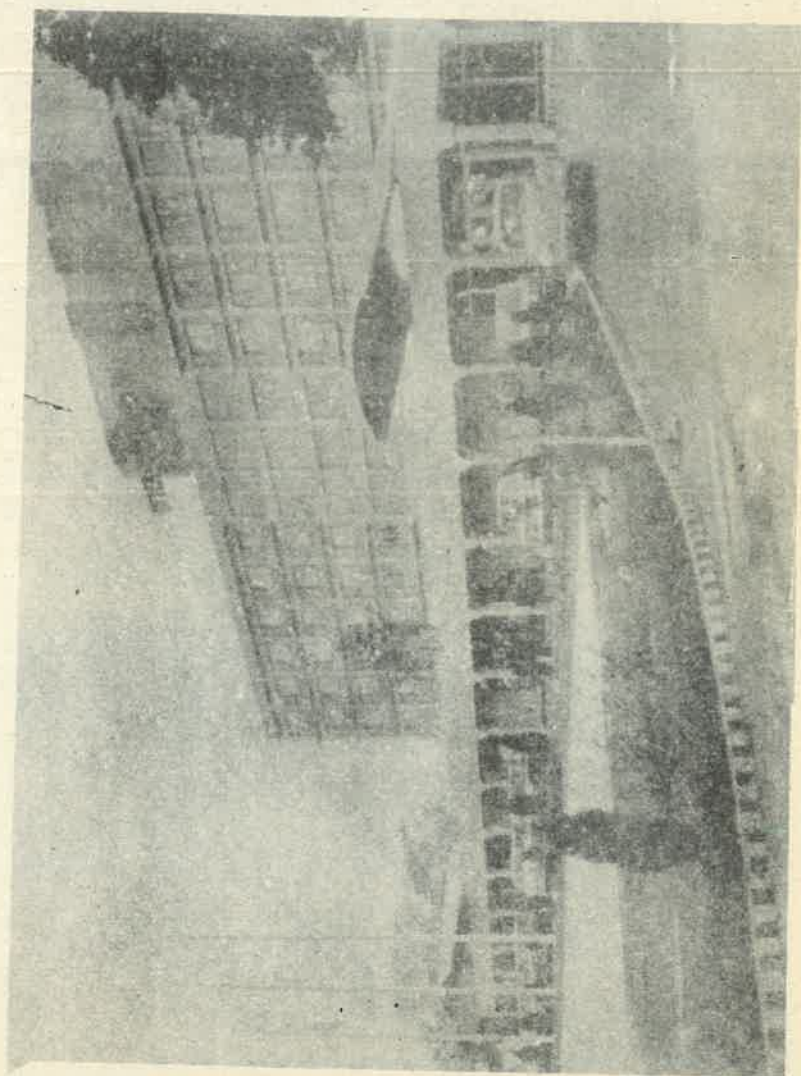


The Alfalah



Wapda House





Hotel Inter-Continental

plunder Mahr Muḥkam and other *Zamindars* of Lahore. Somebody informed them, and Mahr Muḥkam and other *Zamindars* decided to get rid of the governors of Lahore. At first they contacted Nizāmud Dīn Khān of Qasūr and invited him to invade the city of Lahore on a night when they would keep an entrance open for him. The Khān agreed to it, but when he attempted to execute the plan he was repulsed by the troops of the Sikh governors, who got the news of the approach of Nizāmud Dīn Khān in time.

The *Arāins* of Lahore then approached Ranjīt Singh at Rasūlnagar and invited him to capture Lahore. Ranjīt Singh sent Kāzī Khān Ghulām to check up the state of affairs prevailing in Lahore and to contact the *Arāins*. He brought back the news that only with the help of the *Arāins* Lahore could not be captured. Ranjīt Singh then sent for Qāzī 'Abdul Rahmān of Rasūlnagar and told him to contact the important persons of Lahore and to prepare ground for the conquest of the city with their help. The Qāzī contacted in Lahore Mīān Muḥammad 'Ashiq, Mahr Muḥkam of Kot Nau, 'Abid Khān of Aṭārī, Muḥammad 'Azīm, Hāfiz Muḥammad of Bāghbānpura, Mahr Shādī Kaṭārband, Aḥmad Khān Bhandar of Lahore, and Mīān Jān Muḥammad of village Laverān, who was also the *murshid* of Morān, a keep of Ranjīt Singh. As they were all fed up with the rule and administration of the three Sikh rulers of Lahore they readily agreed to help Ranjīt Singh. Soon after the return of the Qāzī to Ranjīt Singh, they sent Muḥammad 'Azīm Bāghbān to inform him that they would keep Lohārī (Lahori) Gate open for the Sikh chief and he could march in the town with his armies through this entrance. But after sending this messenger they changed the plan and decided to let Ranjīt Singh enter the town through a break in the city-wall at a place between the Khizri and Kashmīrī Gates. This information was also sent to Ranjīt Singh who in the meantime had moved out of Rasūlnagar and could not be contacted by the second messenger. The result was that when Ranjīt Singh advanced towards Lohārī Gate he was attacked from this Gate as well as from Shāh'ālamī Gate. Many of his troops were lost in this combat and he retraced his step to Chāh Mirān. The intriguers felt that the things had not worked out according to plan. So they sent a word to Ranjīt Singh that if he attacked on the following night they would open Lohārī

Gate for him. This time he succeeded in entering the gate and took possession of the city.¹

Muhr Singh, son of Sobhā Singh, who lived in Lāla Lakhpat Rāe *Haveli*, was driven out of Lahore by Ranjit Singh. The fort was occupied by Chet Singh, the son of Lahnā Singh. He also fled from Lahore on the approach of Ranjit Singh to the fort. Mahr Muḥkam and other intriguers were properly rewarded by Ranjit Singh, who also bestowed the title of Harf Bābā (Message sender) on Mahr Muḥkam. Mahr Muḥkam was also appointed *Madārul Mahām* (Chief Administrator) of Lahore. Ranjit Singh started living in the house of his keep Morān instead of the fort and always rode in front of her on the same horse when he came out. After some time the title of Harf Bābā was withdrawn from Mahr Muḥkam, who was also fined Rs. 10,000 and put into prison for not being able to pay this fine on the spot. Later on he was released and after he had paid the fine he was allowed to settle on his land. His other companions also disappeared from the scene and the Government of Lahore was almost entrusted to Morān. She had found so much favour with Ranjit Singh that the symbol of her *arsi*² was stamped on the coins issued by Ranjit Singh.³ These coins were known as Morān Shāhi, and according to Latif, 'rupees bearing her inscription are to this day kept as curiosities.'⁴

In a very short time, Ranjit Singh gained much strength, and his power became predominant amongst most of the confederacies whose leaders contracted alliance. On the 1st Baisākh, Samvat 1858 (April 1801 A.D.) he convened a *Darbār* at Lahore to which all the chiefs and leading men of his dominion were invited. He then formally assumed the title of 'Sarkār', signifying 'State', and established a mint. In 1802 A.D. he exchanged at Amritsar his turban with Sardār Fateh Singh, Ahlūwāliā, as a sign of love and brotherhood. In 1806 A.D. he crossed the Sutlej and took Ludhiāna; the following year he conquered Qasūr. In the beginning of 1808 A.D. various places in the Upper Panjāb were taken from their independent Sikh proprietors and brought

1. 'Aliud Dīn, *'Ibratnāma*, ff. 220—21.

2. A ring with a mirror.

3. 'Aliud Dīn, *'Ibratnāma*, f. 221.

4. Latif, I, *Lahore*, 224.

under the direct management of the new kingdom of Lahore, and Muhkam Chand; the Dīwān, was at the same time employed in effecting a settlement of the territories which had been seized on the left bank of the Sutlej.¹

At this stage to the British in India the designs or the desires of Napoleon appeared to render a defensive alliance with the Afghāns and with the Sikhs imperative; Elphinstone was deputed to the court of Shāh Shuja'; and in September 1808 A.D. Metcalfe was sent on a mission to Ranjit Singh for the purpose of bringing about the desired confederation. Metcalfe was received by Mirān 'Azizud Dīn, on behalf of Ranjit Singh on the bank of the Sutlej, and had conference with Ranjit Singh. During these conferences the Sikh chief affected to consider himself as the head of the whole of the Sikh people, and to regard the possession of Lahore as giving him an additional claim to the supremacy over Sirhind. He suddenly broke off negotiations, and made his inroad to the south of the Sutlej. He seized Faridkot and Ambāla, levied exactions in Mālerkotla and Thānesar, and entered into an alliance with the Rāja of Patāla. The British envoy remonstrated against these virtual acts of hostility and he remained on the banks of the Sutlej until Ranjit Singh recrossed that river.² Metcalfe was then brought to Lahore where he stayed for seven or eight days in a house on the bank of the Old Ravi.³

In the meantime Ranjit Singh received a letter from Nand Singh, through Diwān Muhkam Chand, that the Sikh chiefs from the Eastern bank of the Sutlej have written to Shāhjahanābād that Ranjit Singh, having become very powerful, had a design in view to seize from them the land that they had inherited from their ancestors. It was also reported that he was planning to move towards Shāhjahanābād after annexing that territory. A request was made to stop him in return for which loyalty and submission to the British rule was promised. Now all this correspondence from Shāhjahanābād was re-directed to Calcutta.

1. Cf. 'Alrud Dīn, *'Ibratnāma*, ff. 224—27; Khazān Singh, *The Sikh Religion*, 303—306; and Cunningham, J. D., *A History of the Sikhs*, 130—37.

2. 'Alrud Dīn, *'Ibratnāma*, f. 227.

3. *Ibid.*, f. 228.

This correspondence determined the Governor-General, if doubtful before, to advance a detachment of troops to the Sutlej. Provisions would also be thus made for possible warlike operations of a more extensive character, and the British frontier would be covered by a confederacy of friendly Sikh chiefs on the left bank of the Sutlej, instead of being threatened by a hostile military government. Four platoons were accordingly moved across the Jumuna in January 1809 A.D., under the command of Sir David Ochterlony. The General advanced towards Ludhiāna, where he was welcomed by Sirhind chiefs. Ranjit Singh on receiving this intelligence started collecting his troops and although outwardly looked very much unconcerned yet on account of the fear of the near presence of British force felt like a wall of sand, which was constantly disintegrating. At this stage it was made known to Ranjit Singh that the object of the British was to keep under their control the country lying on the left bank of the Sutlej and free from the encroachments of Ranjit Singh. He was told to withdraw his troops to the right bank. Not being in a position to fight the British, the Sikh chief agreed to their proposals and the British commander, to remove all cause of suspicion, returned to Ludhiāna with the troops. On the 23rd Zulhijja, 1223 A.H., (February 9, 1809 A.D.), Sir David Ochterlony issued a proclamation declaring the Cis-Sutlej states to be under British protection, and that any aggression of the Chief of Lahore would be resisted with arms.¹ Ranjit Singh then perceived that the British were in earnest, and the fear struck him that the still independent leaders of the Panjāb might likewise tender their allegiance and have it accepted. All chances of empire would thus be lost, and he prudently made up his mind without further delay. After withdrawing his troops as required, he relinquished his last acquisition, and at Amritsar, on the 25th April, 1809 A.D., the now single chief of Lahore signed a treaty which left him the master of the tracts he had originally occupied to the south of the Sutlej, but confined his ambition for the future to the north and westward of that river.²

1. Cf. 'Alud Dīn, *'Ibratnāma*, f. 228—9; and Sir David Ochterlony's *Proclamation*, Appendix III.

2. See the treaty itself (Appendix IV), and 'Alud Dīn, *'Ibratnāma*, f. 229.

In the year 1810 A.D. Shāh Shujā' was driven out of his kingdom of Kābul by his brother, whom he had himself supplanted. Ranjit Singh was at Wazīrābad, when he heard of Shāh Shujā's progress to the eastward with vague hopes of procuring assistance from one friendly power or another. Ranjit Singh met Shāh Shujā' at Sāhiwāl and after this interview Shāh Shujā' proceeded towards Attock. He crossed the Indus and made himself master of Peshāwar. He did not rule over Peshāwar for a long time and after having seen some difficult times, and an imprisonment in Kashmīr extending over a year, he finally came to Lahore in 1813 A.D.¹ Ranjit Singh was also very desirous of detaining Shāh Shujā' in Lahore and of securing the great diamond which had adorned the throne of the Mughuls. 'Altud Dīn, a contemporary chronicler, has recorded the story of the ignominious acquisition of Koh e Nūr from Shāh Shujā' in the following words: 'After covering the journey as the camp of the Shāh and the Diwān [Muḥkam Chānd] reached at the Jahāngīr's tomb Kunwar Kharak Singh [a son of Ranjit Singh] went to receive the Shāh and brought him to Lahore. He was put up in Havelī Dilārām, a small house without a courtyard, and was not allowed to see his people [who had moved to Lahore in advance]. After two or three days the Mahārāja [Ranjit Singh] asked for the Koh e Nūr diamond, which is a unique stone in the whole world. On the murder of Nādir Shāh by some of his treacherous servants the diamond eventually passed on to Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī. At this time when Shāh Shujā' had reached in the capital of the Mahārāja to take refuge as a guest and to enjoy his hospitality depending on the promises held out to him, the Mahārāja, on account of avaricious greed, violated the time-honoured custom. In response to the demand of the Mahārāja the Shāh replied that he had pawned the diamond in Qandhār for 3 lakhs of rupees. The Mahārāja did not believe it and after guarding the Havelī of the Shāh with troops imprisoned separately Mīr Abul Hasan Khān and Mulla Ja'far, the two companions of the Shāh. For four months he tried to negotiate for the acquisition of the diamond through dependable messengers, but he did not succeed in it. At last Bhāiyā Ram Singh sought permission from the Mahārāja to obtain the diamond by any means he considered best. This permission

1 'Altud Dīn 'Ibratnāma ff 238-40

was granted. He at first politely made a request for the diamond, but when it did not work he used force. He posted guards on the Shāh and on all his servants and did not allow them to eat or smoke. The Commandant Dhaukal Singh in accordance with the order of Bhālyā seated the Shāh under a chair and himself sat on this chair. Nobody was allowed in the presence of the Shāh, till he felt that the Mahārāja would not leave the diamond with him. He then promised to hand over the diamond to the Mahārāja if he came personally to collect it from him. The Mahārāja, on getting this message, rode to the Shāh. The Shāh requested for financial help to defray his expenses. The Mahārāja agreed to pay Rs. 1,50,000 in cash and to grant the *parganas* of Jhang and Kot Kamālta as a *jāgīr* to the Shāh. Accordingly he sent for Rs. 1,00,000 from the treasury and paid this amount to the Shāh with an order to the managers of the *parganas* to hand over the districts to him. He also promised to pay Rs. 50,000 later on. The Shāh then handed over the diamond to the Mahārāja. The promise made by Ranjīt Singh to the Shāh, it need hardly be said, was never fulfilled nor the Shāh ever got possession of the *parganas*.¹

In 1818 A.D.² Ranjīt Singh captured Multān ; towards the end of the same year he crossed the Indus and entered Peshāwar ; in 1819 A. D., his army, under Khaṛak Singh, conquered Kashmīr ; in 1819—20 A.D. the Derajāt of the Indus were annexed by him.

SUCCESSORS OF RANJĪT SINGH (1839—1849 A.D.).

Ranjīt Singh died on the 11th Asārh, 1896³ Bikramī (June 27, 1839), at the age of fifty-nine and was succeeded by his son, Khaṛak Singh, an imbecile monarch, who also died on the 17th Kārtak, 1897 Bikramī (November 5, 1840 A.D.), after a brief rule of one year and four months.⁴ His son Naunihāl Singh became a monarch in name as well as in power ; but the same day dazzled him with a crown and deprived him of life. He had performed the last rites at the funeral pyre of his father, and he was passing under the archway leading to Huṛūrī

1. 'Allud Dīn, 'Ibraatnāma ff. 240—41.

2. *Ibid.*, f. 248.

3. *Ibid.*, f. 280.

Bagh, with Udham Singh, the eldest son of Gulab Singh by his side, when a portion of the structure fell, and so seriously injured the prince that he became senseless at the time, and expired during the night.¹

When Kharak Singh died and his son was killed, Dhīān Singh sent for Sher Singh, a reputed son of Ranjīt Singh, from Baṛāla to assume power. But Sher Singh's paternity was more than doubtful; he possessed no commanding and few popular qualities; and thus Chand Kaur, the widow of Kharak Singh, and the mother of the slain prince, assumed to herself the functions of regent or ruler, somewhat unexpectedly indeed, but still un-opposed at the moment by those whom she had surprised. She started functioning the government with the help and co-operation of Gulāb Singh, Bhāī Rām Singh, Sardār 'Atar Singh and Ajit Singh Sindhanwalla.² Sher Singh withdrew from the scene on seeing this state of affairs.³

As Dhīān Singh supported the claim of Sher Singh to the throne Chand Kaur did not like him. He secretly assured Sher Singh of his support at a fitting time. Sher Singh in the meantime gained over some divisions of the army, and he believed that all would declare for him if he boldly put himself at their head. The eagerness of the prince somewhat precipitated measures; and when he suddenly appeared at Lahore on the 14th January, 1841 A.D., he found Dhīān Singh had not arrived from Jammu. But Sher Singh was no longer his own master, and the impetuous soldiery after encamping at Budhū's Kiln, outside Lahore, proceeded to breach the citadel. The siege lasted for some days and plenty of men and ammunition were wasted without any result. Sher Singh then sent for Dhīān Singh, who, on arriving at Lahore advised Sher Singh that if war could not bring any results recourse had to be taken to some other means. On this advice Sher Singh completely surrendered all his powers to Dhīān Singh who ordered for a cease fire and sent a dependable messenger for negotiations, to Gulab Singh, who was fighting on the side of Chand Kaur. A compromise took place and Sher Singh

1. 'Alfud Dīn, 'Ibratnāma j. 281.

2. Ibid., j. 281.

was proclaimed the Mahārāja of Lahore on the 5th Māgh 1898 Bikramī (January 18, 1841). Chand Kaur was outwardly treated with every honour, and large estates were conferred upon her. Dhlān Singh was made the *Madārul Mahām* (Minister).¹

To Sardār Lahnā Singh and his nephew Ajit Singh, the Sindhānwāliās, were restored their *jāgīrs* by Sher Singh, but as they were ambitious of power they designed a plot for the destruction of Sher Singh. On the 1st Asuj, 1900 Bikramī (September 15, 1843 A.D.) Ajit Singh induced Sher Singh to inspect some levies he had newly raised; he approached, as if to make an offering of a choice carbine, and to receive the commendations usual on such occasions, but he raised the weapon and shot his sovereign dead. The remorseless Lahnā Singh, took the life of the boy prince Partāb Singh. The conspirators then proceeded to the citadel to proclaim a new king. There they murdered Dhlān Singh whom they found alone. The death of Dhlān Singh was avenged by his youthful son Hīrā Singh, who besieged Lahore and assaulted the citadel. Lahnā Singh was at once slain; and Ajit Singh, in attempting to boldly escape over the lofty walls, fell and was also killed. Dalp Singh, a reputed son of Ranjit Singh, was proclaimed Mahārāja and Hīrā Singh was raised to the high and fatal office of Wazīr.²

The new minister was all powerful for the moment; the Sindhānwāliā possessions were confiscated, and their dwellings were razed to the ground. Two of the chief enemies of Hīrā Singh's rule were Suchet Singh, his uncle, and 'Atar Singh Sindhānwāliā. A large army marched against the former, and put his little band of followers to flight, and Suchet Singh died fighting to the last near the tomb of Miān Waḡḡā, in the vicinity of Lahore. 'Atar Singh Sindhānwāliā, who had been residing at Thānesar, made an ill-judged attempt to gain over the army, and to expel Hīrā Singh. He crossed the Sutlej on the 2nd May, 1844 A.D. but instead of moving to a distance so as to avoid premature collisions, and to enable him to appeal to the feelings of the Sikhs, he at once joined Bhāl Bīr

1. *Ibid.*, f. 282.

2. 'Alīud Dīn, 'Ibratnāma ff 282-3

Singh, whose religious repute attracted numbers of agricultural population, and took of a position almost opposite Ferozpur. The disaffected Kashmira Singh, a reputed son of Ranjit Singh, also joined the chief, but Hira Singh roused the feelings of the troops by reminding them that the Sindhianwalas looked to the English for support. A large force promptly marched from Lahore and attacked Atar Singh and his companions, who were all killed. Hira Singh was thus successful against two main enemies of his rule¹.

Hirā Singh, in his acts and successes, surpassed the general expectations, and the manner in which affairs were carried on seemed to argue unlooked for abilities of a high order ; but Hirā Singh himself had little more than a noble and a conciliatory address to recommend him, and the person who directed every measure was a Brahman tutor, named Jalla, the family priest and the tutor of Dhian Singh's sons. This crafty and ambitious man retained all the influence over his boyish pupil. He showed vigour and capacity in all he did, but he proceeded too hastily in some matters, and he attempted too much at one time. The Pandit, in his arrogance, had also ventured to use some expressions of impatience and disrespect towards the mother of Mahārāja Dalip Singh, and he had habitually treated Jawāhir Singh, her brother, with neglect and contempt. The impulsive soldiery was wrought upon by the incensed women and ambitious men, and Hira Singh and Pandit Jalla perceived that their rule was at an end. On the 21st December, 1844 A.D., they endeavoured to avoid the wrath of the Sikh soldiery by a sudden flight from the capital, but they were overtaken and slain, before they could reach Jammū. After the death of Hirā Singh, La'l Singh, the favourite of the Rāni and her brother, Jawāhir Singh, formed the most influential members of administration. Jawāhir Singh was formally appointed Wazir on the 14th May, 1845 A.D., but he incurred the displeasure of the Sikh army, and was condemned and put to death on 21st September, 1845 A.D.²

After the death of Jawāhir Singh, La'l Singh was nominated wazir, and Teja Singh was reconfirmed in his office of Commander-in-Chief.

1. 'Alud Din, *Ibratnāma* ff. 284—86.

2. Cf. 'Alud Din, *Ibratnāma*, ff. 286—8 ; Cunningham, J. D., *History of the Sikhs*, pp. 266, 268 & 272 ; and Khazan Singh, *The Sikh Religion*, I, 318.

The Sikhs, at this stage, came to the conclusion that they were being threatened by the English. Many circumstances gave strength to this conviction. In 1844 A.D. and 1845 A.D. the facts were known that the English were preparing boats at Bombay to make bridges across the Sutlej, and that troops in Sind were being equipped for a march on Multān. The collection of ordnance and ammunition at Sakhkhar for the equipment of a force of five thousand men was a subject of ordinary official correspondence in 1144—45 A.D., between the Military Board in Calcutta and the officers of departments under its control. Up to 1838 A.D. the troops on the British frontier amounted to one regiment at Sabāthū, and two at Ludhiāna, with six pieces of artillery, equalling in all little more than 2,500 men. Lord Auckland, the governor-general of occupied India (1836—42 A.D.), made the total about 8,000, by increasing Ludhiāna and creating Ferozpur. Lord Ellenborough (1842—44 A.D.) formed further new stations at Ambāla, Kasauli and Simla, and placed in all about 14,000 men and 48 field guns on the frontier. Lord Hardinge (1844—48 A.D.) increased the aggregate force to about 32,000 men, with 68 field guns, besides having 10,000 men with artillery at Mirāth. None of these things were communicated to the Sikh government, but they were nevertheless known and were held to denote a campaign, not of defence, but aggression. The Sikhs fully realised that the fixed policy of the English was territorial aggrandizement, and that the immediate object of their ambition was the conquest of Lahore.¹

The Sikh army was now all powerful, a fact which was not very much liked by the queen-mother, who was still sore on account of the murder of her brother and wanted to avenge upon the soldiery. She contrived a novel but workable plan. She addressed the soldiery and told them that the English wanted to occupy the Sikh territory on the left bank of the Sutlej and something had to be done to stop them from doing so. The soldiery answered, 'we think that the disease is daily on the increase and it can only be checked by a war with the English. But we cannot resort to war without your permission.' The Rānī told them to go ahead with it and advised them to move

1. Cf. Cunningham, J. D., *History of the Sikhs*, pp. 278—79 : and Khazan Singh, *The Sikh Religion*, I, 319.

to Ferozpur for this purpose. Little comprehending the design of the Rānī the Sikhs prepared to march to Ferozpur and announced their plan to conquer Dehlī. As the Sikhs reached the boundary of Lahore, Major Broadfoot, who was the Commissioner of Ambāla, Ludhiāna and Ferozpur, and the British Agent to Governor-General, sent a report to his government that 'If the State of Lahore was somehow or other prevailed upon either to exchange with English territory or to let out to the British, territory lying on these sides (left banks) of the Sutlej and the Beās, the entry of the Sikhs to the British territory could be completely stopped.' The governor-general, agreeing with Major Broadfoot's suggestion, wrote to the Lahore court 'you can either take some other British territory in exchange for this territory or can demand annual revenue from us, which does not exceed Rs. 500,000.' Rānī Chand Kaur, mother of the late Nāunihāl Singh, wrote in response, 'I am quite willing to give the territories mentioned in your letter to settle the dispute and to maintain the good relations which have existed between the two governments since the time of the late Mahārāja Ranjit Singh, so that you can manage the territories according to your sweet will, provided the Sikh army agrees to it, as without its agreement I have no power to interfere in any matter. In the meantime Lord Hardinge, the governor-general of India and Lord Gough, the Commander-in-Chief, of British army, had arrived in the camp to inspect the cantonments of Ambāla, Ludhiāna and Ferozpur, and to make bridges across the Sutlej. This news confirmed the apprehensions of the Sikhs and as they were already worked up by the queen-mother, who wanted to annihilate the soldiery, they virtually declared war with the English on the 17th November, 1845 A.D. A few days afterwards the Sikh troops numbering 21,000 with heavy guns crossed the Sutlej near Harike, and took up a position near Ferozpur. On the 19th December, 1845 A.D., the hostilities were opened at Mudki, twenty miles from Ferozpur. La'l Singh headed the attack, but in accordance with his original design, he involved his followers in an engagement, and then left them to fight as their undirected valour might prompt. The Sikhs were repulsed in one attack with a huge loss of life and equipment. The success of the English was not so complete as should have been achieved by the

victors. An advanced wing of the Sikh army was encamped around the village of Phirushahr, about ten miles both from Mudki and from Ferozepur. This was reinforced by Tejā Singh, but nothing helped the Sikhs at this stage and they were defeated by the English on 22nd December, 1845 A. D. Following this defeat the skirmish of Baddowāl (21st January, 1846 A.D.), the battles of 'Aliwāl (28th January, 1846 A.D.), and Sobrāon (10th February, 1846 A.D.), resulted in the total defeat of the Sikhs. During these defeats some of the Sikhs planned to reach Lahore and kill Rānī and her son, Dalip Singh, in order to have a new leader in their place, but this plan did not mature. Soon after Lahore was occupied by the British troops, who arrived at the Sikh capital on the 20th February, 1846 A.D. and garrisoned the citadel.¹ A convention² was entered into on the 9th March, 1846 A.D. for the administration of the government by a council at Lahore, under British superintendence, during the minority of Dalip Singh.³

The Sikh army, not being satisfied with the agreements their leaders had entered into with the English, once again openly revolted against the British: Lord Gough being put at the head of the English army, the bloody battle of Chelānwāla was fought on the 13th January, 1849 A.D. This was the last great effort of the Sikh army to recover their country, and it was followed by the battle of Gujrat on 21st February, 1849 A.D., when Lord Gough, advancing with his whole army, utterly routed the Sikhs. Dalip Singh was formally deposed on the 29th March, 1849 A.D., and the kingdom of Lahore having come to an end, the country was annexed to the British India, according to the following proclamation issued at camp Ferozepur on the 29th March, 1849 A.D. by governor-general (Earl of Dalhousie):

1. 'Alud Din, *Ibratnāma*, f. 289—99.

2. See Appendix V.

3. Alud Din *Ibratnāma*, f. 299—302.

اِشتِهَار نواب گورنر جنرل لارڈ ڈلهوزی بهادر مرقومہ ۲۹ مارچ ۱۸۴۹ عیسوی از کمپ فیروزپور

چون بعد فوت مہاراجہ رنجیت سنگھ، والی لاہور متوفی کہ دوست سرکار انگریزی بود و عہدنامہ با سرکار موصوف داشت، سپاہ خالصہ و اکالیان و سنگھان ملازم دربار لاہور بر ملک سرکار انگریزی کہ این طرف دریای ستلج بود یورش کرد، و در مقابلہ سرکار مذکور شکست ہای متواتر یافتہ بسیاری ازان مقتول گردیدند و افواج سرکار بعد از گریزانیدن ایشان را در جنگ آخر آن طرف ستلج عبور نمودہ قصد لاہور کرد، مہاراجہ دلیپ سنگھ معہ سرداران لاہور عذر تقصیرات نمودہ اطاعت سرکار را قبول کرد، گورنر جنرل فرمانروائی ہندوستان از راہ کرم و نوازش قصور افواج خالصہ را معاف نمودہ دست از ملک لاہور باز داشت، و عہد نامہ ہای جدید فیما بین سرکار لاہور و سرکار انگریزی نوشتہ شد۔ چنانچہ اہالیان سرکار انگریزی بران ہمہ قول و قرار مندرجہ عہد نامہ ہا تعمیل نمودند، مگر سنگھان و سرداران ایشان عہد شکنی کردہ شرایط عہد نامہ ہا را بجا نیاوردند۔ حتیٰ کہ سالیانہ نعلبندی کہ دران مندرج بود ادا نکردند و نیز قرضی کہ گورنمنٹ ہندوستان ایشان را دادہ بود ندادند، و علاوہ سکھان و سرداران ایشان اطاعت و فرمانبرداری سرکار را کہ بنامہ خود اختیار کردہ بودند بہ عمل نیاوردہ برای قتال و جدال برخواستند۔ و بعضی صاحبان را کہ برای انتظام امور دربار لاہور مقرر شدہ بودند بی وجہ قتل نمودند و بعضی را بفریب قید کردند و بعضی سرداران آنجا را کہ بر عہد نامہ دستخط کردہ بودند شریک خود در فساد ساختند۔ بلکہ یکی از ارباب کونسل لاہور در فساد بغاوت راہ بری ایشان کرد، و تمامی سکھان بدین ارادہ کہ سلطنت انگریزان را تباہ و برباد کنند بغاوت و سرکشی نمودند۔ و گورنر فرمانروای ہندوستان سابق در اِشتہار خود نوشتہ بود کہ سرکار انگریزی را گرفتن و تسخیر نمودن ملک غیر بلا سبب ہرگز نہ کور

خاطر نیست - چنانچه دلیل صداقت کلام شان دست برداشتن سرکار مذکور از ملک پنجاب ظاهر و هویداست - لیکن اکنون برای حفظ ملک و رعایا ضرور افتاد که تدبیری باید کرد تا بدان سرکشان آنجا را که از سرداران خود نمی ترسند مطیع و منقاد خود سازند - بنابراین نواب گورنر جنرل لارڈ ڈلهوزی بهادر ارشاد میکند که اکنون حکومت سنگهان از ملک پنجاب ختم شد و تمامی ملک مهاراجه دلیپ سنگه داخل و شامل ملک هندوستان گردید - و سرکار انگریزی مدام نسبت مهاراجه موصوف بعزت و تعظیم پیش خواهند آمد و مال و جاگیر معدودی سرداران سنگهان که با سرکار نجاتگیدند برقرار خواهد ماند - و واضح باد که سرکار انگریزی با مذهب رعایای ملک پنجاب خواه مسلمان باشند خواه هندو و سکه علاقه و سروکاری نخواهد داشت - و لیکن احدی را اجازت نخواهد شد که یکی از مذهب دیگری و یا در امری که در مذهب او فرض باشد تعرض و مزاحمت رساند - و سرداران که با سرکار انگریزی جنگیده اند جاگیر و مال و اسباب ایشان بالکل ضبط خواهد گردید - و تمامی قلعه های که در ملک پنجاب اند مسمار و منهدم کرده خواهد شد - بلکه آهنگان تدبیری بعمل خواهد آمد که باز مردم ملک پنجاب را قدرت بر جنگ و فساد با سرکار انگریزی نباشد - و گورنر جنرل بهادر بمردم رعایای پنجاب اطلاع می دهند که بلا حجت و تکرار اطاعت سرکار انگریزی را قبول کنند - و کسانی که مطیع و منقاد سرکار مذکور خواهند ماند بر ایشان مهربانی و یملائت حکمرانی خواهد شد - و احياناً اگر احدی از رعایای این ملک بنا بر فتنه و فساد یا مقابله با قسر سرکاری خواهد کرد درین صورت باز توقع رحم و مهربانی این سرکار در حق خود ندارد و به سزای سنگین خواهد رسید -

"Proclamation by Lord Dalhousie the governor-general, issued on the 29th March, 1849 A.D. from the Ferozepur Camp.

When, after the death of Mahārāja Ranjit Singh, the ruler of Lahore, who was a friend of the British, and had entered into agreement with them, the Khālṣa army, the Akālīs, and the Sikhs of the court of Lahore, invaded the British territories on this side of the river Sutlej, they were defeated again and again in these encounters, and many of them were killed. After the last war, when the armies of the [British] government, having driven them away, had crossed the Sutlej and intended to capture Lahore, Mahārāja Dalīp Singh tendered to the government the submission of himself and his chiefs and solicited clemency. The governor-general of Hindūstān, very generously, extended his clemency to the Khālṣa armies and withdrew his claim on the country of Lahore. Fresh treaties were formed between the governments of Lahore and the British government. The officials of the British government have faithfully kept their word, and have scrupulously observed every obligation imposed by the treaties. But the Sikhs and their chiefs, having violated their promises, have not conformed to the conditions of the treaties. So much so that they have neither paid their annual tribute nor the loans advanced to them by the government of Hindūstān. Besides the control of the [British] government to which the Sikhs and their chiefs had voluntarily submitted, has been resisted by them by arms ; and peace has been cast aside. Some Britishers have been murdered without any reason, when they were helping the court of Lahore ; others have been thrown into captivity with guile. The whole of the Sikh people, joined by many of their chiefs, who signed the treaties, and led by a member of the council [of Regency] itself, have risen in arms for the proclaimed purpose of destroying the British government. The former governor-general of Hindūstān had declared that the British government had no desire to capture and conquer the country belonging to others without any reason, and he proved the sincerity of this profession by withdrawing from the Panjāb. But in order to protect the State and its subjects, it has now become necessary to devise ways and means to subjugate the rebels, who cannot be controlled

by their own chiefs. Wherefore Lord Dalhousie, the Governor-General hereby proclaims that the rule of the Sikhs in the Panjāb has come to an end; and that all the territories of Mahārāja Dalip Singh are now and henceforth a portion of Hindūstān. The Mahārāja shall be always treated with consideration and honour by the British government. The few Sikh chiefs who have not engaged in hostilities against the [British] government shall retain their property and *jāgirs*. May it be known that the British government shall leave to all the people of the Panjāb, whether Muslims or Hindūs or Sikhs, the free exercise of their own religions, but it will not permit any man to interfere with others in the observance of such forms and customs as their respective religions may either enjoin or permit. The *jāgirs* and all the property of the chiefs, who have been in arms against the British government shall be confiscated. The defences of every fortified place in the Panjāb shall be totally destroyed, and effectual measures shall be taken to deprive the people of the Panjāb of the means of renewing either tumult or war against the British government. The governor-general calls upon all the inhabitants of the Panjāb to submit themselves peaceably to the authority of the British government. Over those who shall live as obedient and peaceful subjects of the State, the government will rule with mildness and beneficence. But if any subject of this State attempts to renew violence and turbulence or offers resistance to constituted authority, then he should not expect any leniency or kindness from the government and he shall be punished with rigorous severity."

CHAPTER ELEVEN

THE BRITISH (1849—1947 A.D.)

Maharaja Dalip Singh, who was to come of age in 1854 A.D., was given an allowance of £ 50,000 a year, on which he lived as an English country gentleman in Norfolk for many years.¹ A Board of Administration was established in Lahore, with powers to communicate directly with the Governor-General. The first seat at the Board was given to Colonel, afterwards Sir Henry Lawrence. His colleagues on the Board were his brother, Mr. John, afterwards Lord, Lawrence, an officer of the East India Company's Civil Service, and Mr. (afterwards Sir) Robert Montgomery also a civilian.² The functions of the Board were divided into Political, Revenue and Judicial, and the members had each special charge of one of these departments, though all worked jointly when any question of more than ordinary importance arose. In February, 1853, A.D. the Board of Administration was abolished, and Sir John Lawrence was appointed the first Chief Commissioner of the Panjāb.

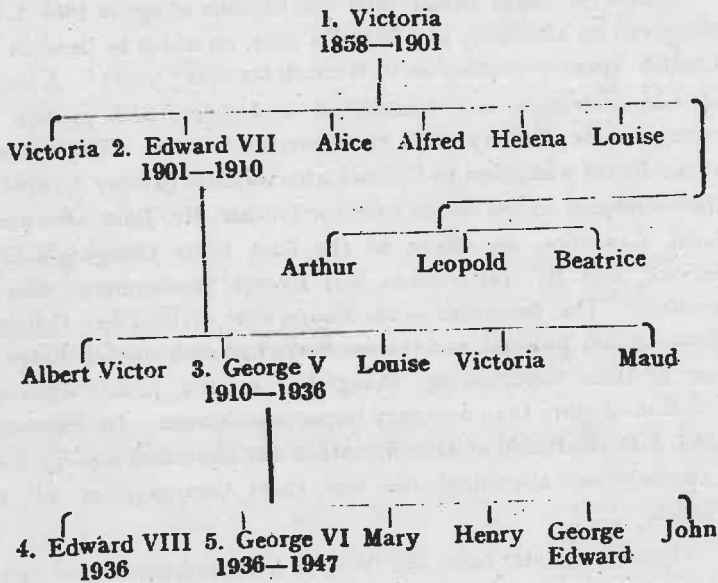
Four years later came the 'War of Independence' waged by the Indians against the British, styled as 'Mutiny' by the rulers. An extract, succinctly describing the events at Lahore and the district of 1857 A.D., from the Panjāb Mutiny Report, is given below.

'The Lahore Division is the chief Division of the Punjab. In it there lie the two largest commercial cities of this province of which one is also the capital. The country side is studded with the seats of the native nobility who under the Sikh rule coveted grants in land in these districts as being near the metropolis

1. *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, II, 505.

2. Grant, James, *History of India*, II, 179.

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and affording conveniences for their constant attendance at Court. The population of the Division amounts to one-third of the population of the whole Punjab. It is watered by four of the five rivers that give their name to the province. Its value as regards the preservation of British rule in India could not be overrated. These several circumstances greatly increased the labours and anxieties of the officers on whom the responsibility of preserving peace in it lay.

The important move which gave us a foothold in North India when the empire seemed well nigh overwhelmed by the flood of mutiny which had burst forth so uncontrollably in the North-Western Provinces, was the disarming of the troops at Mian Mir. The danger on the morning of May 13th was far greater than had been conceived. A plot had been laid for the simultaneous seizure of the fort and the outbreak of the troops in cantonments. To understand the importance of this move it must be borne in mind that the fort commands the city of Lahore; that it contains the treasury and the arsenal; that at Ferozepore, 50 miles distant, there is another arsenal, the largest in this part of India; and had these two fallen the North-Western Provinces and the Punjab must have been, for the time, irrevocably lost, the lives of all Europeans in these regions sacrificed, Delhi could not have been taken and India must have been *ab initio*, re-conquered. The designs of the conspirators were frustrated. By 5 A.M. of the 13th three companies of Her Majesty's 81st Foot marched into the fort and relieved the Native Infantry guard; while the ringing of the ramrods, as the remaining companies of that regiment on the parade-ground at Mian Mir obeyed the order to load, sounded the knell of sepoy power in the Punjab. The three regiments of Native Infantry and one of light cavalry were cowed by that stirring sound and by the sight of twelve Horse Artillery guns charged with destruction to them should they resist. The infantry piled arms and marched off with silent and angry astonishment. The cavalry unbuckled their swords and threw them on the ground and the capital of the Punjab was saved. The next night, May 14th, at 10 P.M., Mr. Roberts, the Commissioner, accompanied

by one Military and two Civil Officers, brought Mr. Montgomery a paper, in the Persian character, which had just reached him with an injunction of secrecy from the writer. He writes: "It was a report from a Police Officer stationed on the Sutlej, giving a confused account of the attack on the Ferozepore entrenchment that afternoon by the 45th Native Infantry. It gave not any account of the result of the action. We conjectured that my express of the previous day to Brigadier Innes had failed of its design, that the sepoys had gained the arsenal, had crossed the bridge-of-boats, and were in full march on Lahore. In the earnest deliberation which ensued other circumstances occurred to our minds which seemed to make our position in Lahore critical to the last degree. A Punjab police corps, the only one we had to carry on the civil duties, and which furnished personal guards to all the Civil Officers at the station, was reputed to be disaffected (Happily this turned out to be quite false.) Lieutenant Gulliver, volunteered to ride off to cantonments to acquaint the Brigadier with what we had just learnt, and beg him to do what he could to defend himself. Messrs. Egerton, Deputy Commissioner, and Elliott, Assistant Commissioner, went round the station to take note of what might be going on. They returned reporting all quiet. Shortly afterwards, Lieutenant Gulliver also came back, bearing from Brigadier Corbett the joyful news of the repulse of the outbreak and the comparative safety of Ferozepore, the Brigadier having received a despatch direct from Brigadier Innes. There could be no doubt that there had been a plot arranged between the Lahore and Ferozepore brigades; for on that same forenoon (May 14th) I received two hasty notes from Brigadier Corbett saying that all the troops in Mian Mir were preparing to desert bodily. This caused a panic among the residents of Anarkali, and a rendezvous of all male residents took place at the General Jail. The guns and Her Majestys 81st Regiment were however, so quickly got ready that the natives retired into their lines. Some who did escape were seized by the villagers of the tract called the *Mujha*, and taken to Mr. Thomas, Assistant Commissioner at Kasur, the chief town of that part of the *Majha*

which lies in the Lahore District, and on the direct route to Ferozepore. Mr. Thomas sent them into Lahore. The stalwart Sikhs who form the population of the Majha were wholly on our side throughout. Many villages have been almost decimated by the number of recruits who have flocked to form our new regiments in memory of the bygone days when they bravely fought against us under the banners of the Khalsa.

Defensive measures were at once adopted in Anarkali as follows: The fort was provisioned for six months for 4,000 men and every gate blocked up but one. All men of the various Punjab regiments who happened to be on leave at their homes in this neighbourhood were called in and collected under the command of Captain Travers. They furnished picquets for guard all round the Central Jail and at other places where danger seemed to threaten. A company of volunteers from the European residents of Anarkali was raised in 36 hours to the number of 130 men, and for some days Anarkali was guarded only by them, a half company of Subhan Khan's Police Battalion, and a few ordinary police. A rendezvous was appointed, and danger signals arranged. A chain of mounted police was thrown out along the roads leading to cantonments, which for a length of time were partolled during the night by the junior Civil and Military Officers of the Station. The usual precautions in regard to ferries, sepoys' letters, etc., were vigorously observed. On the 26th and 27th the Guide Corps passed through on their famous march to Delhi, and about a week afterwards the movable column under Brigadier Neville Chamberlain arrived. On June 9th two men of the 35th Native Infantry, which was one of the regiments composing the column, were blown from guns on the Anarkali parade-ground, by sentence of a drum-head court-martial, for sedition and intended mutiny.

Various petty events occurred showing the excited state of men's minds. A trooper of the disarmed 10th Irregulars, on his way down with his regiment, seized a sword, and made a feint of attacking several persons, but gave up his weapon quietly at last. He was punished with five years imprisonment. A man

armed with a sword rushed out from one of the city gates, cut down the sentry and was eventually shot by a mounted policeman while making for the bridge of boats. Many persons fell under suspicion from the discovery of papers which to say the least, were of very questionable loyalty, and several trials of such parties were held. The enigmatical way in which the papers were sometimes worded or the care with which the real treason had been concealed, had the effect the criminal desired. No proof could be found and in several cases it was found needful to release on security men whose characters were by no means immaculate. Those who could not give security were detained in jail. On the 23rd May the native newspapers were placed under a strict censorship, which was vigorously enforced, for some time after all disturbance had ceased. On the 23rd and 24th July restrictions were placed on the sale of lead, sulphur percussion caps, etc. The Hindustani population including Civil Officials and domestic servants had been disarmed on the 29th June; and on the 23rd August a census of all unemployed Hindustanis was taken with a view to their expulsion. The Superintendence of this compulsory exodus and the arrest and deportation of numbers of vagrants formed no small part of the Deputy Commissioner's work. Bi-weekly *kafilas* were formed of Hindustanis. They were sent down to Harike ferry under guards of police, with lists signed by a District Officer, and duly checked at certain stations. As many as 2,536 Hindustanis were thus sent home during the siege and in the few weeks immediately succeeding the capture of Delhi.

On the 30th July the 26th Native Infantry mutinied at Mian Mir, and murdering Major Spencer, their commanding officer, one non-commissioned European, and two Native officers, fled. They escaped during a heavy-dust-storm which concealed them from observation and kept us in ignorance of their route. They were destroyed by Mr. Cooper, Deputy Commissioner of Amritsar, on the banks of the Ravi. This event showed the necessity for some means of tracking any future body of deserters, especially as the loyalty of the remaining regiments was very doubtful. Four strong police posts were established in villages which lie beyond the

plain upon which the cantonment is built, and the men were instructed to throw out chains of sentries and to watch narrowly all passers-by. On the 17th September Mr. R. E. Egerton Officiating Deputy Commissioner, was called suddenly down to the south-west part of this district in order to prevent the taint of the Kharral insurrection from reaching the Musalman population of that part of the country. Mr. Perkins, Assistant Commissioner was also for a few days stationed at a remote police post into the boundaries of which emissaries from the insurgents were known to have come. The appearance, with Mr. Egerton of half a regiment of Wale's Horse, and other demonstrations, deterred the Kharrals of the District from joining their rebellious kinsmen. Mr. Egerton was out on another occasion for three or four weeks in company with the Commissioner, Mr. Roberts, in the Gugera district on similar duty. The civil charge of this important station was confided on these occasions to Mr. R. Berkeley, Extra Assistant Commissioner.

In the two jails at Lahore there were confined on the 11th May, 2,379 prisoners. It was not unreasonable to suppose that, should the native troops mutiny, they would release all these desperadoes, as they did at Agra and else-where. It was also likely that the troops themselves would have to be put in jail. Both these considerations pointed to the propriety of emptying the jails as far as possible. With this view, the Commissioner and Deputy Commissioner was authorised to release, on payment of a fine or even in some cases unconditionally, all such men as were ill, disabled or had nearly served out their terms. Obedience to this order reduced the numbers considerably. Instructions were also issued to judicial officers to punish by fine and flogging as far as possible rather than by imprisonment. The jails were fortified, the draw-bridges removed, the guards strengthened, and a supply of blue-lights and rockets sent in to serve as signals in case of attack by night.¹

In 1858 A.D. an act was passed, by the British Parliament, transferring the Government of India from the Company to the

1. Walker, G. C. *Gazetteer of the Lahore District, 1893-94*, 42-44.

Crown. This Act made no important change in the administration in India, but the governor-general as representing the Crown became known as the 'viceroy'. He was appointed by Royal Warrant, and usually held office for a term of five years. The designation 'viceroy', although it was the most frequently used in ordinary parlance, had no statutory authority, and had never been employed by the British Parliament. The salary of the viceroy was fixed at 2,50,000 rupees per annum. The Governor-General in Council was responsible for the entire administration of British Occupied India. The actual work of administration was, however, divided between the Government of India and the Local Governments of provinces. From the 1st of January, 1859 A.D., the Panjāb and its dependencies were constituted a Lieutenant-Governorship. Sir John Lawrence, who had hitherto held the office of Chief Commissioner, was appointed the first Lieutenant-Governor, with his headquarters at Lahore. He was however, compelled by ill health to vacate his office at the end of February, and to leave for England.

Sir Robert Montgomery succeeded Sir John Lawrence on the 26th February, 1859 A.D. as Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjāb. It was in his time that the beautiful gardens which now surround the city of Lahore, were planted, and the canal which flows on its margin was excavated.

Sir Robert Montgomery resigned his office on the 10th of January, 1865 A.D., and was succeeded in the office of Lieutenant-Governor by Sir Donald McLeod, who had played an important part in the administration of the Panjāb ever since it became a British province. After the departure of Sir Robert Montgomery to England, the Chiefs of the Panjāb raised a magnificent memorial in his honour, which took the form of the Montgomery Hall, now standing by the side of that which bears the name of Sir John Lawrence.

In the year 1865 A.D., the office of the Judicial Commissioner was abolished, and a Chief Court, consisting of two judges, was created in Lahore with final appellate authority in civil and criminal cases. The first civilian judge was Mr. H. A. Roberts,

who had been Judicial Commissioner, and a Barrister-Judge, Mr. Charles Roulnois.

In 1858, the Panjāb Government submitted a proposals to the Supreme Government to establish a University at Lahore. After a considerable correspondence, the Supreme Government was pleased to sanction the establishment of an institution, to be styled the Lahore University College, with a governing body or Senate, consisting of the Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjāb President, certain ex-officio members appointed by the Government and members nominated by the Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjāb on the ground of their being eminent benefactors and original promoters of the institution, or persons distinguished for attainments in Literature or Science. The Senate so constituted was empowered to expend the income at its disposal in the foundation of fellowships and scholarship; in making grants in aid to educational institution conducted in accordance with the principles of the movement; granting rewards for vernacular translation of European standard works, and for the encouragement of enlightened study of Oriental Literature; to grant certificates of proficiency after examination to be conducted under rules framed by the Senate on certain accepted principles, the general object of which was to encourage the diffusion of Western literature, as far as possible, through the medium of the vernacular, but where this was not possible, through the medium of English. Further, the Senate was to be, with the educational officers of Government, the "Council of Education", or consulting body, in matters relating to education for the province. In support of the institution, Government granted an equivalent to the income from subscriptions and endowments up to Rs. 21,000 per annum. Lastly, while disallowing, for the present, the title of "University" and declining to grant power to confer degrees, the Supreme Government intimated its readiness to re-consider this portion of its decision, should the institution prove itself worth of the superior status of a University. The idea of the improvement and extension of vernacular literature generally, and of the encouragement of the enlightened study of Eastern classical languages and literature

originated with Sir Donald McLeod, who addressed the Director of Public Instruction on the subject, fully expressing his view as to the development of the scheme. These were communicated by the Director of the Anjuman-i-Panjab, a society established at Lahore for the diffusion of useful knowledge under the presidency of Dr. Leitner. That body and its learned president took up the subject warmly, and at many busy meetings which were held by the members, European and native, and with which are associated many distinguished names (such as Sir Charles Aitchison and Sir James Lyall) the scheme of Sir Donald McLeod developed itself into a University movement, and hence it has been rightly said that the University in the Panjab owes its origin to the Anjuman-i-Panjab.

To carry out the policy of the University College, the Senate established an Oriental School and College at Lahore, endowed lectureships, literary fellowships and scholarships and held public examination in the various subjects of study which it was desired to encourage.

On the 9th February 1870 A.D., Duke of Edinburgh, the second son of Queen Victoria, visited Lahore, and was received by the lieutenant-governor, the civil and military authorities and the principal feudatories and chief of the province. There was a review of troops at Miānmīr, a provincial ball at the Montgomery Hall, and a *coversazione* at Government House. The Duke left for Amritsar on the 12th February.

In January, 1810 A.D., the five years term of Sir Donald McLeod having expired, he was asked to remain for a further period of six months. At the conclusion of this period he resigned office on the 1st of June. Sir Henry Marion Durand, succeeded Sir Donald McLeod, but he met with a fatal accident in Tank seven months afterwards and died. His successor was Sir Henry Davies.

On the 1st January, 1876 A.D., Prince of Wales visited Lahore. He was received on the platform of the Railway Station by the lieutenant-governor, the chief civil and military officials,

and Europeans. The Prince drove round the city and visited the Lahore fort. In the armoury, at the fort, the Prince saw the weapons employed by the Sikhs. His attention was attracted by a tiny cannon, mounted on a revolving frame, which was said to have been used as a toy by Dalip Singh, when he was a little boy. At the desire of the Prince the toy was sent to England.

On the 1st January, 1877 A.D. Queen Victoria assumed the title of 'Empress of India'.

On the 2nd April, 1877 A.D., Sir Robert Eyles Egerton succeeded Sir Robert Henry Davies as lieutenant-governor of the Panjāb. At the close of the year 1881 A.D., an Exhibition of Industrial Arts was held at Lahore, with the twofold object of ascertaining the progress made in this respect since the last Exhibit.on in 1864 A.D., and of encouraging the production of genuine local work of original oriental designs. Specimens of indigenous art and industry, and works chiefly of domestic characters bearing the mark of the individuality which only hand labour can bestow, from the tissue wrought by the peasant's needle to the jewelled ornament were brought together. The Exhibition was formally inaugurated by Sir Robert Egerton on 24th December, 1881 A.D.

Sir Charles Umpherston Aitchison assumed the office of Lieutenant-governor of the province on 2nd April, 1882 A.D. The Panjāb University Act was passed in the same year, and, in accordance therewith, the University of the Panjāb came into existence on the 14th October. The Governor-General of India consented to become the patron of the institution, the lieutenant-governor was appointed Chancellor, and the members of the Senate were designated Fellows.

The building of the Mayo School of Arts was completed in the spring of 1882 A.D., and was constructed from funds raised by a subscription for founding a memorial to the late Lord Mayo. A Veterinary School was established in Lahore in May 1882 A.D. for improvement of horse breeding and instruction in that subject. The Panjāb Public Library was opened by Sir Charles

Aitchison, its founder, on 31st December, 1885 A.D. The library bequeathed to the Local Government by the late Mr. T.W.H. Tolbort, and the library of the Director of Public Instruction, were incorporated in the new library. The Panjāb Chiefs' College (Aitchison College) was established at Lahore in 1886 A.D. only for the education of the sons of ruling chiefs, of titular and other prominent men, and of minors under Court of Wards, and in the new institution the Ward's Schools of Ambāla, was incorporated.

Lady Aitchison Hospital for Women was founded in Lahore on the 15th February, 1887 A.D. the building was completed in 1889 A.D.

On the 16th February, 1887 A.D. the Jubilee of the Queen Victoria was celebrated in Lahore. The lieutenant-governor laid the foundation stone, which was of Naushera marble, of the Victoria Jubilee Hall at Lahore and received congratulatory addresses from fifteen societies and local bodies, including the Panjāb University, the Khālṣa Diwān, the Indian Association and the Muḥammadan Association. At a meeting held at Lahore to commemorate the Queen's Jubilee, it was resolved to establish a "Technical Institute" in the city. The Institute was to be established in connection with the School of Arts. The Government granted a central site, close to the Panjāb Public Library and the School of Arts for the Institute.

Sir Charles was succeeded by Sir James Broadwood Lyall, on 2nd April, 1887 A.D. Towards the middle of November, 1888 A.D., Lahore was visited by Lord Dufferin, the governor-general of India. On the 15th November, 1888 A.D. Lord Dufferin was presented with an address by the Anjuman e Islāmīa, Panjāb, Lahore and he replied to this address in Persian. The same day the Lady Aitchison Hospital was formally opened by Lady Dufferin.

Marquis of Landsdowne, the successor of Lord Dufferin, paid a visit to Lahore on 23rd November, 1889 A.D. On the 25th he formally declared open the buildings of the Lahore Mission College.

At noon the following day, convocation of the Panjāb University was held in the Government College Hall, Lahore, which was attended by the governor-general and the lieutenant-governor.

Prince Albert Victor of Wales, visited Lahore on 25th January, 1890 A.D. The Prince, accompanied by the lieutenant-governor, visited the city, mounted on elephants. On Monday, the 3rd February, 1890 A.D., the Prince laid the foundation stone of the New Jubilee Museum and Technical Institute in Anārkali, Lahore. The Prince then proceeded to the new Victoria Jubilee Hall, where the Municipal address having been read to him, he declared the Hall open. A brilliant garden party at Shālāmār was given to the Prince by Sir James Lyall.

The subsequent history of Lahore, during the British period, is more social than political, till the political conscience of the country re-awakened and different political movements started in the country in which Lahore played an important part. With the growth and popularity of English education, which primarily intended to produce clerks, Indians came in touch with current western thought. The impact of western ideas on India had its first effect on Hinduism. By the end of the nineteenth century a religious reform movement was started in Lahore. Its founder was Dayānanda Saraswati. Later on a society was started, called the *Ārya Samāj*. Its cry was 'Back to Vedas'. Although it was a reforming movement influenced by Muslim and Western thoughts, it was in essence an aggressive militant movement. And so it happened, curiously, that the *Ārya Samāj*, which, of many Hindu sects, probably came nearest to Islām, became a rival and opponent of Islām. It was an attempt to convert the defensive and static Hinduism into an aggressive missionary religion. It was meant to revive Hinduism and to impose it on Muslims. It was, indeed, Hindu nationalism raising its head. It gradually spread all over the Panjāb.

With the development of industries in the country, when the power of Hindu capital grew, the new *bourgeoise* determined to start an organisation to plead their cause in the political sphere

of the country. Thus was the Indian National Congress founded in 1885 A.D. This organisation gradually became great and powerful. To start with the Muslims also co-operated with the Hindus wholeheartedly in this movement. They took part in all its activities and helped the movement as much as they could. But with the advent of the 20th century the feeling grew among them that their interests were not properly represented by the Congress. The Congress, to all appearances, had always clung to a national basis, but in effect it was predominantly a Hindu organisation, because of the overwhelming majority of Hindus in it. The result was that men like Nawāb Muḥsinul Mulk and others felt the need of creating an independent Muslim organisation to represent the Muslims in the political life of the country. Consequently, in 1906 A.D., the All-India Muslim League was formed.

The Congress and the League continued to function as separate bodies up to the year 1916 A.D., when they compromised on the terms stipulated in the Lucknow or the League-Congress Pact. This Pact laid down, among other things, the proportion of seats to be reserved for the Muslim minorities. This Congress-League Scheme then became the joint programme which was accepted as the country's demand. It represented the views of the *bourgeoisie* who were the only politically minded people at that time.

The callousness with which the Turks were treated by the British during the World War I exasperated the Muslims of India. Because of sympathy for Turkey and a vigorous expression of it, Muslim leaders, all over India had been interned early in the war. This raised an uproar which for a time threw all other political programmes into oblivion. The Muslims of India rose to a man. Khilāfat movement was organised and led by Muhammad 'Alī. It gradually went into the fold of the Congress under the influence of Gāndhī. Innocent Muslim masses little knew that they were marching to their doom. The programme of Satyagraha and non-co-operation was put into action. Muslim employees left off their work, lawyers and litigants boycotted

the courts, students and teachers stayed away from their educational institutions. And then came the most tragic part of the episode. Eighteen thousand Muslims sold away their properties and belongings and migrated to Afghanistan. In 1922 A.D. the non-co-operation campaign ended without achieving any results. The Muslims of India were the worst hit party. They had badly estranged the British government. The Khilāfat had been done away with by the Turks themselves. The extremist element amongst Hindus had evolved a new ideology which dictated 'India was the Holy Land of the Hindus, and that the political goal of the Hindus was Hindu Rāj'. In the words of Jawahar Lal Nehru, 'The unemployed middle-class Muslims felt that the Hindus monopolised all the jobs and stood in their way. The Hindus were on the whole the better-off community. Having taken to English education earlier, they had got most of the government jobs. They were richer also. The village financier or banker was the *bania* who exploited the small landholders and tenants and gradually reduced them to beggary and took possession of the land. The *bania* exploited Hindu and Muslim tenants and land-holders alike, but his exploitation of the Muslims took a communal turn, especially in provinces where the agriculturists were mainly Muslims. The spread of machine-made goods probably hit the Muslims harder than the Hindus. All these factors went to increase the bitterness between the two major communities of India and to strengthen Muslim nationalism.' The fiasco into which the Khilāfat movement ended opened the eyes of the Muslim leaders like Muḥammad 'Alī. Reviewing the past events he realised the great mistake which came up before his eyes in thousands of forlorn homes whose inmates had migrated from India never to return, in lakhs of paupers who had left off their means of sustenance and in the complete frustration of the hopes of Muslims.

In December, 1928, A.D. a British Commission, under the Chairmanship of Simon, came to India, and was generally boycotted. '*Simon go back*' became a familiar cry all over the country. In

1. Nehru, Jawaharlal, *Glimpses of World History*, 721.

Lahore Lājpat Rāe was beaten by the police when he was demonstrating against the commission. Some months later Lājpat Rāe died and it was considered probable that the police beating had hastened his death.

In December 1929 A.D. annual session of the Congress was held in Lahore and passed a resolution in favour of independence and a struggle to attain it.

In 1934 A.D. Muḥammad 'Alī Jinnah returned from England and rejoined the Muslim League with redoubled vigour. Like all the Muslim leaders of India he had previously been a staunch supporter of Hindu-Muslim unity and had preached it from the Congress platform. But after the Round Table Conferences held in London in 1930—33 A.D. to deliberate on the future of India he had to admit his failure. He said, 'Many efforts have been made since 1924 till the Round Table Conference to settle the Hindu—Muslim question. At that time there was no pride in me and I used to beg from the Congress. I worked so incessantly to bring about a *rapprochement* that a newspaper remarked that "Mr. Jinnah is never tired of Hindu—Muslim unity." But I received the shock of my life at the meetings of the Round Table Conference. In the face of danger, the Hindu sentiment, the Hindu mind, the Hindu attitude led me to the conclusion that there was no hope of unity.'

This was a straw showing which way the wind was blowing. The Muslims by this time had started seriously thinking if they could have common truck with the Hindus. The first great Muslim thinker who voiced the necessity of a separate home for Muslims in India was the late Dr. Sir Muḥammad Iqbal. In December, 1930, A.D. the Muslim League held its annual session at Allahabād. On this memorable occasion he remarked, 'India is a continent of human groups belonging to different races, speaking different languages and professing different religions. Their behaviour is not at all determined by a common race-consciousness. Even the Hindus do not form a homogeneous group. The principle of European democracy cannot be applied to India without

recognising the fact of communal groups. The Muslim demand for the creation of a Muslim India within India is, therefore, perfectly justified. And I have no doubt that this House will emphatically endorse the Muslim demands embodied in this resolution. Personally, I would go further than the demand embodied in it. I would like to see the Panjāb, North-West Frontier Province, Sind and Baluchistān amalgamated into a single state. Self-Government within the British Empire, or without the British Empire, the formation of a consolidated North-West Indian Muslim state appears to me to be the final destiny of the Muslims at least of North-West India.' This was the first scheme of a sovereign Muslim State, which was flouted by the Hindu Press as a vague dream of a poet. But the idea gained ground amongst the Muslims and three years later gave birth to the ideology of Pakistān. Chaudhri Rahmat 'Alī founded the Pakistān National Movement in 1933 A.D. in England. The Pakistān National Movement had its propaganda centres all over Pakistān. Apart from pamphlets, tracts, handbills and other literature issued regularly by the Provincial centres a weekly newspaper under the title of Pakistān was published in England to propogate the ideals of the Movement. Explaining the origin of the Pakistān National Movement to Halidē Edib in 1937 A.D., Chaudhri Rahmat 'Alī remarked, 'There is a point—a very important point—in connection with the Indian Muslems which is not clearly understood abroad. First the Muslems had their homelands in Pakistan; that is, Panjab, North-West Frontier Province (also called Afghan Province), Kashmir, Sind, and Baluchistan. The name Pakistan I derived from the names of these five Provinces. The Muslems have lived there as a nation for over twelve hundred years, and possess a history, a civilization, and a culture of their own. The area is separated from India proper (Hindustan) by the Jumna; and it is not a part of India. Although twelve hundred years ago there were Hindus and a Hindu Empire, since 712, for over a thousand years, they (the Hindus) have been a minority community there.'

1. Halidē Edib, *Inside India*, 352—3.

Two years later on September 2, 1939 A.D. the Second World War broke out and while the Congress made efforts to coerce the British into conceding their demands of self-government in India, the Muslim League, under the leadership of Jinnah, warned the Muslims not to associate themselves with any movement which the Congress might launch. On the 24th March 1940 A.D. at the annual session of the All-India Muslim League, held at Lahore, the following historic resolution was unanimously passed :

"That it is the considered view of this Session of the All-India Muslim League that no constitutional plan would be workable in this country or acceptable to the Muslim unless it is designed on the following basic principles, viz. that geographically contiguous units are demarcated into regions which should be so constituted with such territorial readjustments as may be necessary, that the areas in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority, as in the North-Western and Eastern Zones of India, should be grouped to constitute 'Independent States' in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign."

After this resolution was passed in Lahore the ideal of achieving Pakistan grew popular among the Muslims at a very quick speed. The Hindu Press tried in vain to blackpaint Jinnah and the League, and the Congress indulged in a lavish waste of money to sow the seeds of discord among the Muslim ranks. In Lahore, the Unionists, at first under Sikandar Hayat and later their leader Khizar Hayat, were offered every kind of support by the Panjab Hindus and Sikhs to form a strong bulwark against the Muslim League. But inspite of all these efforts in the Panjab the League returned 78 Muslim League members in a house of 175 during the elections to provincial assembly at the end of 1945 A.D. The total Muslim seats in the assembly were 90. But Khizar Hayat, who had been expelled from the League in June 1944 A.D. by Jinnah for want of faith, reviving the old Unionist Party with a strength of 13 Muslim members, joined hands with the Congress and Akali Sikhs in Lahore, and formed a Coalition Ministry with the support of 95 members, thus becoming the Premier of the province himself.

The hollowness of the Khizar Ministry being too well-known to the public, the Muslim masses protested that there was no justification for the ministry to continue in office. As a step against the growing League popularity in the province, the Khizar Ministry took up strong repressive measures against the League. On the 24th January, 1947, seven members of the Panjāb Muslim League High Command, viz., Iftikhār Husain Khān of Mamdot, Mumtāz Daultāna, Iftikhārud Dīn, Begam Shāh Nawāz, Shaukat Hayāt Khān, Firozkhān Noon and Amir Husain Shāh, were arrested in Lahore following their opposition to police which had come to search the League office in Lahore. On the 25th January, the League campaign against the ministry became more pronounced among the masses. In Lahore 63 persons, including 16 League Members of the Legislative Assembly were arrested on that day. There was a lavish use of tear gas and *lathi* by the police over peaceful processionists resulting in considerable casualties, particularly in case of Muslim women and girls.

The Khizar Congress Coalition was shaken to its foundation by the first impact of the League's movement, for on the next day all League leaders were released by the government. On 27th January the League leaders again addressed a gathering outside the *Mochi Gate* to show their determination to fight the unrepresentative ministry with all their resources. The police, thereupon arrested at midnight all top ranking League leaders including the Khān of Mamdot, Firozkhān Noon, Mumtāz Daultāna, Iftikhārud Dīn, Shaukat Hayāt, Begam Shāh Nawāz, Ghulam Mohtud Dīn Qasūrī, Dr. Omar Hayāt Malik, Nūrullah and Amirud Dīn.

Thus the League campaign spread like wild fire over the land of the five rivers. Muslim masses struggled against the Khizar ministry ceaselessly for a period of 34 days in Lahore and other places, untill at last on the 25th February the Panjāb Government was compelled to make peace with the Muslim League. On February 26, 1947 A.D. the League leaders were released from different jails in the Panjāb.

In the meantime the British Government had declared that 'power will be transferred in some areas to the existing provincial

Government or in some such other way as may seem most reasonable'.¹ This declaration while on one side gave further impetus to the determination of the Panjāb League to wrest power from the Khizar-Congress Coalition, on the other side it inflamed the Sikhs with a passion to press for a homeland in the Panjāb. Master Tara Singh, one of the leaders of the Sikhs, remarked, 'We Sikhs cannot co-operate with the League unless we are assured that there will be proper safeguards for the minorities. Unless there is an equitable settlement, we will proceed with the idea of partition of the Panjāb. Our *minimum* demand is that in the Panjāb, as it stands to-day, the Sikhs and Hindus should each be given 30 per cent representation in the Legislatures and in the services. Forty per cent should go to the Muslims.'

With the declaration of the British Government that the power would be transferred to India by June, 1948² at the latest, things started moving very swiftly in Lahore. The League campaign grew more intense and the Sikhs began organising regiments of their own. The *Hindustan Times*, a Congress organ issued from Delhi, revealed, 'Before the fateful June of 1947 comes and the British pack up and go, the Panjāb will have private armies ready to take the present controversy between the various "stans" (i.e. proposed independent sovereign states) to the arbitration of arms.'³ While the Sikhs organised their *Akali Fauj* the Hindus strengthened their secret organisation, the *Raghriya Swayām Sewak Sangh*. The *Sangh* had 3,200 regular and 8,000 temporary members in the Panjāb. It had 10 paid propagandists and Jammu was their centre for the Panjāb. They planned to launch attacks on the life and property of the Muslims with arms and ammunition, brickbats and acids in an organised way as soon as they got an opportunity. The following were the Hindu Government officials of the Panjāb who organised the movement in Lahore.

1. See para 10 of Appendix VI.

2. Appendix VI.

3. *The Hindustan Times*, February 23, 1947.

K.—from the Government Printing Press Panjāb, Lahore.

M.—from the N. W. Railway Loco Workshops, Mughalpura, Lahore.

K. L. K.—from the Government Telegraph Office, Lahore.

R. R. S. K.—from the Controller Military Accounts, Lahore.

B. D.—from the Military Accounts Officers Revenue Section.

I. K.—from the General Post Office, Lahore.¹

Finding, at last, that he had lost all hold over the Muslim masses and that it was well nigh impossible for him to hold the fort of the ministry against the onslaughts of the League, Khizār Hayāt tendered the resignation of his cabinet to the governor on the 2nd March, 1947 A.D. This action further infuriated the Sikhs and Master Tara Singh issued a statement next day in Lahore saying, 'Let the Khālṣa Panth now realise the gravity of the situation. I expect every Sikh to do his duty. We shall live or die, but not submit to Muslim domination. Oh Khālṣa rise and gird up your loins. The momentous hour has approached May God be our guide and guard us'. On March 4, 1947 A.D. he came out of the Assembly Party Meeting Room, shouting '*Pakistān Mardād*' (Death unto Pākistān), and '*Sat Sri Akāl*' (Long Live Sikhism), and brandished his sword on the steps of the Assembly Chamber. He also declared, 'The time has come when the might of the sword alone shall rule. The Sikhs are ready. We have to bring the Muslims to their senses.' The other Sikh and Hindu leaders in Lahore joined him and on the same day, i.e., March 4, 1947 A.D. in public meetings held in Lahore remarked as follows:

Gayānī Kartār Singh: 'This day the Crusade starts. One hundred years from to-day our yellow flags were flying on the Fort of Lahore. The same flag shall fly again. Our battle-axe shall decide if the Muslims shall rule. Sikhs shall never disgrace the name of Guru Gobind Singh.

1. Extracts from a secret report of the Panjāb Government Criminal Intelligence Department, published in the *Dawn* Delhi, January 29, 1947. Initials of the names are only reported by the press.

Chauhdri Lehri Singh : 'I am a Jāt, and the Jāts embraced the Sikh cult to put an end to Muslim rule, and the same Jāts will once again fight with their lives.'

Dr. Gopi Chand Bhargava : 'During these days, stage such demonstrations that the renegades amongst us may find it impossible to reach settlement whatever with the Muslim League.'

As a result of this inflammatory propaganda Hindus and Sikhs suddenly burst forth into violent incendiarism. Disturbances started in Lahore and spread all over the province. On the 5th March, 1947 A.D. in Lahore alone 18 persons were killed and injured. The trouble in Lahore originated with the taking out by Hindus and Sikhs of a procession through Anārkali *bāzār* at 10 a.m.. Some 200 or 300 Hindus and Sikhs walked through the *bāzār* shouting '*Pakistan Murdabad*' and forcibly hauling down Muslim League flags from Muslim shops. Thus when the Muslims of Lahore were driven to the wall they also started paying the Hindus and Sikhs in their own coins. Large scale murder and arson started with city, as a result of which many lives were lost and property was destroyed. Lahore became a city of murders and fires. Out of the 82,000 houses in the Lahore Corporation area 6,000 houses were burnt down during these disturbances.¹

Lahore's fires were still smouldering when the last British Governor-General of India, Lord Louis Mountbatten, announced the plan of the transfer of power to Indians, on June 3, 1947 A.D. The main features of the plan were :

1. Partition of India and of the provinces of the Panjāb, Bengal and Āssam if the people concerned so desire. The plan did not preclude negotiations between communities for a United India.

2: In the case of partition, a constituent Assembly was to be set up for the representatives of the areas which decided not to

1. *The Civil & Military Gazette*, Lahore's report dated the 17th February, 1950.

participate in the Constituent Assembly of India which had already been set up to frame the constitution of a free India.

3. India as a whole or the two separate States were to be given Dominion Status within the next few months. The Constituent Assemblies of both parts or either part of India could decide to be independent or remain within the British Commonwealth.

4. The details of the partition of the Panjāb, Bengāl and Āssām were to be worked out by separate Boundary Commissions on the basis of 'Contiguous majority areas of Muslims and non-Muslims, and not on the basis of the existing district, *tehsil*, or *thāna* administrative units.

The plan was agreed to by all the communities of India, and was accepted by Qā'id e A'zam Muḥammad 'Alī Jinnāh on behalf of the Muslim nation in India. This Plan finally conceded the Muslim demand for Pakistān, although it provided for the notional partition of Bengāl, the Panjāb and Āssām. After the agreement of the different communities of India to the plan, the British Government passed the Indian Independence Act on 18th July, 1947 A.D. to make provision for the setting up in India of two Independent Dominions and 15th August, 1947 A.D. was fixed as the last date for setting up these Dominions. Thus Pakistān actually came into being on 15th August, 1947 A.D. and Lahore became a part of Pakistān, when Radcliffe Boundary Commission (named after Sir C Cyril Radcliffe, Chairman) for the partition of the Panjāb gave its award on 17th August, 1947 A.D.

CHAPTER TWELVE

PAKISTAN (1947 A.D.)

SIR Francis Mudie, previously a governor of Sind during the British regime, was the first governor of the Panjāb, appointed to this office by Qa'id e A'zam Muḥammad 'Alī Jinnāh, the first Pakistani governor-general of Pakistān. Sir Robert Francis Mudie took the oath of his office on 15th August, 1947 A.D. and remained in office till 1949 A.D., when Sardār 'Abdur Rab Nishtar, the first Pakistani governor replaced him. During the regime of Sir Francis Mudie nothing happened in Lahore of any historical importance except that the legislative assembly of the province was suspended by the Central government of Pakistān on January 24, 1949 and governor's rule was introduced in the province under section 92-A of the amended Government of India Act as applicable in Pakistān, by the order of Khwaja Nazimud Din, the governor-general of Pakistān, who succeeded the Qa'id e A'zam after his death on September 11, 1948 A.D. Lahore, still remains the capital of the divided Panjab as it is included in Pakistan. Lahore felt very jubilant on the appointment of the first Pakistani governor, namely Sardār 'Abdur Rab Nishtar. With the dissolution of the provincial assembly a sentiment grew in the province in favour of the appointment of advisors to the governor, who could form a link between the public and the constituted authority. This demand was met by the Central Government of Pakistān in the appointment of the following advisors to Sardār 'Abdur Rab Nishtar in 1949 A.D. :

- (1) Malik Muḥammad Anwar, Advisor for Law, Order and General Administration.
- (2) Shāh Sadiq Hasan, Advisor for Finance and Industries.
- (3) Nasim Hasan, Advisor for Education, Health and Resettlement.

(4) Muhammad Khān Leghārī, Advisor for Public Works Department and Transport.

(5) Sayyid Mir Ahmad Shāh, Advisor for Revenue and Agriculture.

The advisors were selected from amongst the public men and the list submitted by the Panjab Provincial Muslim League, which still remains the largest representative body of the Muslims of the province.

H. I. M. KING MUHAMMAD REZĀ IN LAHORE.

Lahore witnessed a 'red letter day' on Thursday the 9th March, 1950 A.D., when this town, the nerve Centre of the country, feted His Imperial Majesty, King Muhammad Rezā Pehalvi, Shāh of Irān, to glimpses of Pākistan's military might, artistic talent, musical aptitude, educational enterprise, the grandeur of Emperor Shāhjahān's Shālamār Gardens, state banquet and an after-dinner reception, on the 9th and 10th March, 1950.

Mr. Liaqat 'Ali Khan, Prime Minister of Pakistan, arrived in Lahore from Karachi by air, on Tuesday the 7th March, 1950, to receive the Shah of Iran, who reached Lahore on the 8th March.

RĀVĪ FLOODS

For the first time in living memory the waters of the river Rāvi passed over the railway track, cutting off Lahore from the north, when it rose over six feet within 24 hours on Tuesday the 5th September, 1950 A.D. The water level of the river was three feet higher than the highest over recorded at Lahore.

The railway tracks beyond Shāhdara railway station were submerged. The Railway authorities had consequently to suspend the traffic to and from Peshāwar and other branch lines. All the trains coming from Peshāwar on Tuesday night were sent back to Wazirabad. The Trains for Karachi from Lahore were, however, run during the night.

The district authorities, Red Cross Society and other philanthropic organisations made frantic efforts to evacuate

the marooned population of Shāhdara which looked like a vast sheet of water.

In the small hours of Tuesday morning the river showed signs of flood and by 5 p.m. it overflowed its embankments at various points. The Deputy Commissioner of Lahore on receipt of an urgent message from Shāhdara rushed to the scene accompanied by the Engineers of the N.W.R., P.W.D., District Board and Lahore Corporation.

The Deputy Commissioner held a conference with the G.O.C. of Lahore area and chalked out a plan for the evacuation of the people stranded in the flood area of Shāhdara and Bādāmī Bagh. Boats were sent to Bāghbānpura and Shālamār in view of the seven breaches made in the six-mile long Mahmūd Būti bund near Shāhdara. Military personnel were sent to Shāhdara with the material required for repairing the breaches.

By 6 p.m. the flood water had inundated Qila Lachhman Singh and Ravi Road, which became impassable after sunset as it was under water at many places.

Scores of people, with their paltry belongings, were seen sleeping on the pavements of the Ravi Road.

The Shāhdara Power House was affected by high pressure of water and the major part of Lahore was plunged into darkness. The authorities, however, managed to keep the Power House functioning despite the fact that it was under water.

At 1-30 a.m. (Wednesday) there were signs of a fall in the water level. At 3 a.m. on Wednesday the water started flowing towards the City of Lahore and reached Bābu Mahalla in Sant Nagar, Sānda Kalan. Sānda Khurd and Islāmābād in Bilal Ganj.

The flood water of the Ravi that had submerged by Wednesday afternoon an area of over 50 square miles round about Lahore receded about three to four feet at a place 15 miles upstream. An appreciable change for the better in the situation in the suburban area of the city by Thursday afternoon was forecast late on Wednesday night by the Chief Engineer, Irrigation.

It was also decided at the conference to issue orders to shoot at persons found indulging in looting. The decision was necessitated following reports of cases of looting in the flood-affected areas.

In the suburbs under water thousands of families remained stranded throughout the day. The residents of these areas wherever possible abandoned their ground floors and shifted to the second storeys of their houses or to the roof-tops. A large number of families living on the ground floors were obliged to

abandon their houses and move to the safer parts of the city. By afternoon a camp had been opened and the evacuees were shifted there.

Three persons were killed as a result of a landslide caused by erosion in Fārūq Gunj near the railway bridge. The supporting walls on both sides collapsed and the victims were buried under the debris.

The Railway authorities who suspended all direct traffic on the main Peshāwar line on Tuesday night were all day fighting the floods which had seriously affected the railway tracks north of Lahore.

Postal, telegraph and telephone services in Lahore were seriously affected on account of the floods. The Postmaster-General, Panjab and N.W.F.P. Circle ordered the suspension of the first delivery of the General Post Office due to shortage of staff. The mails were delivered only once in the day. Eight sub-post offices in the city were inaccessible to their staff and the public.

With over 15,000 cusecs of water discharged through the four main breaches in the Shalāmār escape bund which is considered vital for the life of the city, most of the suburbs were found under water on Wednesday morning.

By afternoon in many places the water level had risen to three to four feet. The worst affected of the suburbs were Misri Shah, Fārūq Gunj, Santnagar, Krishannagar and the adjoining areas. All families who lived on ground floors abandoned their houses and poured into the city taking shelter with their friends or relatives. Those who had no place to shift to put their belongings on the Circular Road which by evening was littered with evacuees.

Except for a solitary tonga or a cycle no vehicular traffic was seen plying in these localities. Many residents of the areas who had come away in the morning to attend their offices found their houses inaccessible in the afternoon and were consequently obliged to stay away.

Three-fourths of the city was deprived of its water supply as all the main power stations had been submerged by flood waters resulting in complete electric failure. The city's milk supply was also seriously affected as all road traffic from Shahdara had been suspended since Tuesday night.

Most of the petrol pumps in the city had exhausted their supplies by afternoon and had to disappoint customers. The Burnah Shell Company premises in the Bādāmi Bāgh area were submerged and no supplies could be made available in the city.

Local cinemas also remained closed on Wednesday following failure of electric supply.

Pakistan Army engineers were engaged all day in rescue operations and repairing the main breaches in the Shahdara bund and Shalāmār escape bund. The 12 boats engaged in rescue work were found to be inadequate and more boats and amphibious craft of the Army were ordered to move into the flooded area to speed up rescue and repair operations.

Troops were also posted at four badly affected areas—Baghbanpura, Bādāmi Bāgh, Shahdara and the Multan Road.

The sense of grave danger had overwhelmed the citizens of Lahore by late Wednesday night when the tense atmosphere was broken by resonant voices of the people saying *azān* from the roof-tops.

Only 14 days after the first flood had subsided, Lahore was inundated again with a flood.

The rising floodwaters of the Rāvi which passed the peak point of 15.2 feet at the Shāhdara bridge gauge—the highest rise attained during the last flood—had by the 20th September, 1950 on Wednesday night, completely submerged all low-lying suburbs of Lahore which stood in three to four feet deep water. Over 2,00,000 people were affected in the inundated localities of Baghbānpura, Misri Shāh, Faiz Bāgh, Badāmi Bāgh, Mohni Road, Santnagar, Rām Nagar, Krishannagar and Rajgaṛh. The maximum height reached by the river at Shāhdara late on Wednesday night was 15.6 feet.

These low-lying localities which had retained large quantities of water from the last flood—further augmented by the incessant rain during the three days—suffered greater damage than on the last occasion. The water late on Wednesday night was steadily creeping on to the high-level Multān Road which was completely unaffected by the last flood.

Over two dozen houses collapsed in various parts of the city on Wednesday as a result of which four persons were reported to have been killed, including two children.

Over 10,000 people in Lahore had taken shelter in the five relief camps opened by the authorities by Wednesday evening. The camp in the Fort had the largest population. Though food supplies were sufficient in each of the five camps yet the lack of warm clothes to cover the shivering inmates considerably worried the officers in charge. The front portion of the M. A. O. College building which harbours the second largest evacuee population had been virtually turned into a cattle shed with over 100 buffaloes, cows and bullocks herded there.

Five thousand blankets costing Rs 20,000 had been purchased by the Central Relief Committee in Lahore on Wednesday to be distributed among the distressed.

The Panj b Governor, Sardār 'Atdur Rab Nightar, arrived in Lahore by air from Rāwalpindī to study the situation arising out of the new floods. He was closeted with high military and civil officers immediately after his arrival for more than an hour.

The water-level of the flooded Ravi registered a fall on Thursday afternoon when the maximum discharge was recorded at 1,55,000 cusecs after it had remained steady for nearly 30 hours. The floodwaters, however, continued to spread in the inundated suburbs of Lahore and reached by evening points never before touched in the flood history of the city. The water-level of the Shāhdara gauge stood at 15 feet at midnight.

Over 20,000 victims from the flooded suburbs of Lahore and surrounding villages sought protection either in the Government-run relief centres or in school buildings or on footpaths. Besides these, there were thousands of others who took shelter with their friends and relatives living in unaffected localities of the city.

About 4,000 people from Nawankot and surrounding villages collected by Thursday afternoon in the Yatimkhana on the Lahore-Multān road. The local population of the area and the Governmental agencies made arrangements for their food but they complained of acute scarcity of fodder for their cattle.

Following a breach in the right bank of the canal, water started rushing into the Muslim Town area.

The Royal Pakistan Air Force dropped supplies over isolated and marooned areas on Thursday afternoon. They continued to make sorties thrice daily. The R.P.A.F. were able to drop about 30,000 maunds of foodstuffs and considerable quantities of medicines and drugs.

Numerous evacuee centres sprung up all over Lahore during these two days. Except for the four regular camps run by the Government in co-ordination with public charity all other centres

were provided with food supplies and other requirements by the local population in each area. In the Roman Catholic Church in Anarkali over 850 Christians from a number of villages in the Sheikhupura district took shelter.

The exposure to weather of a large number of persons in the flood-affected areas caused grave concern to the health authorities. The incidence of malaria and dysentery among the flood victims was mounting daily despite all the precautions taken.

Many houses either partly or wholly collapsed in various localities of the city.

FIRST ADULT FRANCHISE ELECTIONS

After the creation of Pakistan first adult franchise elections were held in the Panjab in March, 1951. For the first time in the history of this sub-continent, a large number of candidates entered the arena. For 197 seats, not less than 930 candidates remained in the field. In the Muslim Male Constituency No. 4 of Lahore, twenty-nine candidates fought the elections.

The elections were over by the end of March, 1951 and the total number of votes secured by various parties were as follows :

Muslim League	... 28,70,000 or 49%
Jinnah-Awami Muslim League	... 13,00,000 or 22%
Independents	... 12,60,000 or 22%
Jama'at e Islam	... 2,43,000 or 4.24%
Azad Pakistan Party	... 1,56,000 or 2.6%
Opposition	... 29,11,000 or 51%

After the election the final party position stood as follows :

Muslim League	... 141
Jinnah-Awami League	... 32
Independents	... 17
Jama'at e Islami	... 1

Āzād Pākistān Party ... 1

Minorities ... 5

The new Panjāb Legislative Assembly had six women members five elected from constituencies reserved for them and one returned from the Lahore Shāhdara constituency for Anglo-Pākistānī and Pākistānī Christians.

Three seats were declared vacant as three members had been returned from two constituencies each. The number of candidates whose nomination papers were accepted was 930.

Of the 197 members of the Assembly at least 30 were members of the previous legislature, which was dissolved by the Governor-General in 1949.

CESSATION OF SECTION 92-A IN THE PANJĀB

The Panjāb ceased to be governed under Sec. 92-A of the Government of India Act, 1935 from the day on which the first Ministers chosen and summoned by the Governor of the province took upon themselves the execution of their office.

This was announced in a proclamation by the Governor-General, which was published on April 2, 1951, in a Gazette (extraordinary).

The text of the proclamation read :

“Whereas the Governor-General had by proclamation dated January 24, 1949, issued under Sec. 92-A of the Government of India Act, 1935 (hereinafter referred to as the ‘said Act’) and published with Central Government notification No. 18 (1)-cord/49, dated January 25, 1949, directed the Governor of West Panjāb (now called ‘the Panjāb’) to assume on his behalf all powers vested in or exercisable by the provincial legislature, and made incidental and consequential provisions such as appeared to be necessary or desirable for giving effect to the objects of the said proclamation, and had thereafter, from time to time, varied the said proclamation in the manner provided by the aforesaid Sec. 92-A :

"And whereas the Governor-General is now satisfied that conditions have been restored in which the Government of the Panjab can be carried on in accordance with the provisions of the said Act.

"Now, therefore, the Governor-General is pleased by this proclamation to direct that the aforesaid proclamation of January 24, 1949, as varied from time to time, shall stand revoked from the commencement of the day on which the first Ministers chosen and summoned by the Governor of the Panjab shall take upon themselves the execution of their office."

LORD LAWRENCE'S STATUE REMOVED

The six-ton bronze statue of the British Conqueror of the Panjab, Lord Lawrence, and perhaps the most notorious of the relics left behind by the British, was removed from the Lahore Mall, on the night of Saturday the 25th August, 1951 A.D. and added to a host of other relics of the past in the Lahore Fort.

The statue of the soldier-administrator, Lord Lawrence, who was also the first Lieutenant-Governor of the Province under the British regime, carried a sword in its left hand and a pea in the right. The words "You shall be ruled by the pen or the sword" were inscribed on the pedestal, but were obliterated some time before the partition.

A few weeks later the statue of Queen Victoria from Charing Cross was also removed to the Central Museum Lahore.

DOUBLE-DECKER OMNIBUSES

The first fleet of six Double-Decker Omnibuses assembled for a preview in front of the Assembly Chambers in Lahore on Saturday the 2nd September, 1951 A.D. They started playing on Sunday. Their introduction in Lahore aroused considerable public interest.

NEW PUNJAB GOVERNOR SWORN IN

Mr. I. I. Chundrigar was sworn in as Governor of the Panjab on Monday the 26th November, 1951 A.D. The oath of allegiance and office was administered by the Chief Justice, Mr. Muhammad Munir.

DUSK-TO-DAWN CURFEW CLAMPED ON LAHORE

Anti-Qadiani Agitation

The situation in the Punjab in connection with the Anti-Qadiani agitation deteriorated considerably on the night of Wednesday March 4, 1953, when Section 144 was defied in several towns. Curfew was clamped on Lahore and Sialkot which had also been placed under army control.

Four persons were killed and several others injured in Sialkot as a result of firing on a mob.

In Lahore the situation became very grave after the D.S.P. City, Mr. Firdaus Shah, was shot dead and a Head Constable and two foot-constables were seriously injured when a hostile crowd near Wazir Khan Mosque mobbed a Police party late in the afternoon. A dusk-to-dawn curfew was imposed for a week later.

One person was killed and a number of others were injured seriously as a result of Police firing in Bhati Gate in the evening and lathi charges on processionists defying Section 144 near Chowk Dalgaran and Golbagh.

A large number of steel-helmeted troops parading the highways in bren-carriers and armoured cars assisted the Police in maintaining law and order in Lahore during the day.

Large groups of people gathered at various places in defiance of the curfew and kept shouting till late in the night. 140 people were arrested by the Police.

Crowds numbering several thousand defied Section 144 in Lyalpur also. There were no incidents though the situation in the city was very tense.

The Panjab Chief Minister, Mian Mumtaz Muhammad Khan Daultana, declared that night that the law and order of the country

be preserved. In an interview Mian Mumtaz Daultana said that certain disruptive elements were out with sinister intentions to undermine the solidarity of the country at a critical time when Pakistan was confronted with several difficulties. He appealed to the people to respect law and order and not to play into the hands of the disruptionists.

The situation in Lahore took a very grave turn on Thursday, March 5, 1953 when the Police had to open fire to disperse the demonstrators on a number of occasions. The casualties were reportedly heavy. The day-long demonstrations in violation of Section 144, Cr. P. C. and the Curfew Order, except for a brief lull in the afternoon, continued unabated till late in the night.

Two post offices of Rangmahal and Hiramandi were set on fire by the demonstrators and eight omni-buses were completely burnt. Seventy-eight persons injured by firing were admitted in the Mayo Hospital where six of them succumbed to their wounds. Seven of the injured were in precarious condition. The exact number of injured and dead by firing since Wednesday night could not be ascertained as several of them were taken away by the citizens. The official sources put the number of dead ten. About 150 persons were arrested. Thirtyseven persons who received minor injuries were dressed and sent home.

Complete 'hartal' was observed in the city and the omnibus service remained suspended. All the main markets in Lahore were closed. For a couple of hours in the morning after the lifting of the curfew the city remained calm, but then suddenly a number of processions appeared in various localities and headed towards the main thoroughfares. The crowd emerging from Rangmahal area set on fire the omnibuses plying in the locality and wended its way towards the Mayo Hospital. Another omnibus was set on fire in front of the Mayo Hospital gate.

A heavy contingent of armed police reached the spot and had to open fire to disperse the crowd. The crowd made several attempts to reorganise itself but ultimately had to disperse in face of the police firing. Several persons were injured by the firing. A large

procession, including students of various colleges, was stopped near Tollinton Market by the police who opened fire resulting in the death of some and injuries to others. By that time the overall situation had considerably worsened and the police had to open fire in various localities to break up the demonstrations.

BRIEF LULL

At about 1 p.m. the city became comparatively calm. In view of the decision to impose curfew from 3-30 p.m. all the Government offices were closed. The schools and colleges closed earlier.

The brief lull was, however, broken at about 4-30 p.m. when the crowds of demonstrators reappeared in several localities. The police again had to open fire at a number of places to disperse them. A procession of the Loco workers, who struck work, was first lathi-charged and then fired at by the police and dispersed. The situation remained unchanged till late in the night.

Two Down trains were held up by the crowds at Badami Bagh Station and reached Lahore late. A couple of trains had to be cancelled during the day. A few dead bodies were taken to the Wazir Khan Mosque and buried later on. The body of a young boy was lying unidentified in the Wazir Khan Mosque, till late at night. Most of the busy thoroughfares in Lahore presented a deserted appearance with hardly a passer-by breaking the silence. The only traffic in such localities were the speeding police vans or a solitary spectator crossing from one lane to another.

The Panjab Governor, Mr. I. I. Chundrigar, called a meeting at the Government House which was attended by the whole of the Punjab Cabinet, the Khan of Mamdot, Maulana Maudoodi, Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din, Sardar Shaukat Hayat Khan, M.C.A., Khalifa Shujaud Din, Speaker, Panjab Assembly, Begum Shahnawaz, Sheikh Qamar Din of Islam League and members of political parties, lawyers, businessmen and newspaper editors. The different aspects of the current situation in Lahore were discussed and various suggestions made for restoring peaceful conditions in the city. A citizens'

meeting, held in Wazir Khan's Mosque at night, was addressed by a number of speakers.

Martial Law was declared in Lahore at 1-30 p.m. on Friday, March 6, 1953 and Maj. Gen. Mohammad Azam Khan took over as Chief Administrator of Martial Law. Hafiz Abdul Majid, Chief Secretary to Government, Panjab was appointed Deputy Chief Administrator.

An Order of the Day issued by Gen. Azam Khan, stated that all people should abstain from appearing on any road, street, lane, by-lane, thoroughfare and any public place between the hours of 5 p.m. and 6 a.m.

The situation in Lahore on Monday, March 9, 1953 returned almost completely to normal. Shops were open throughout the city including the Walled area. All Government and private offices were open in accordance with the orders of the Chief Martial Law Administrator. The Chief Martial Law Administrator had earlier ordered that the curfew was from 6 p.m.

A 24-hour curfew was imposed in the Wazir Khan Mosque area on Monday morning by the local Sector Commander to round up anti-social elements. The 24-hour curfew was within the radius of 500 yards, Wazir Khan Mosque being the centre. In the rest of the city the curfew was from 6 p.m. to 6 a.m.

FRUIT MARKET SHIFTED TO NEW PREMISES

The fruit market of Lahore shifted on Sunday, the 4th April, 1953 to its new premises outside Domoriapul on Circular Road which had been constructed by the Corporation at a cost of Rs. 6,50,000. The fruit market had been located on Fleming Road for the last 30 years.

AMIN-UD-DIN SWORN IN AS GOVERNOR

Mian Amin-ud-Din was sworn-in as the Governor of the Punjab at a solemn ceremony in the Government House on the morning of Saturday the 2nd May, 1953.

EXHIBITION OF CHUGHTAI'S PAINTINGS IQBAL'S VERSES ILLUSTRATED

An exhibition of 300 paintings, drawings and etchings of the veteran artist, Chughtai, was opened by the Panjab Chief Minister, Malik Firoz Khan Noon, at a colourful ceremony at 'Alhambra' on Thursday, the 11th March, 1954 in the evening. The special feature of the exhibition was the latest work of the artist, illustrating the verses of Allama Iqbal.

RS. 6,000 YEARLY PENSION FOR HAFIZ

In recognition of the services rendered by him to Urdu literature and poetry the Punjab Government decided to award a life pension of Rs. 6,000 a year to Abul Asar Hafiz Jullundri on the 11th March, 1954.

KING OF IRAQ & CROWN PRINCE VISIT LAHORE

King Faisal II of Iraq and Crown Prince Abdul Ilah arrived in Lahore in the afternoon on Thursday, the 18th March, 1954 for a two-day visit to the Punjab metropolis.

The Governor-General's Viking, bringing the Royal visitors from Rawalpindi, touched the R.P.A.F. Aerodrome at 4-50 p.m., where they were received by the Punjab Governor, Mian Amin-ud-Din. After the reception at the aerodrome the King drove in State to Government House, where he stayed.

In the evening the Royal visitors attended a State banquet at Government House.

LL.D. CONFERRED ON KING OF IRAQ & CROWN PRINCE

The Panjab University conferred the Degrees of Doctor of Laws, *honoris causa*, on King Faisal II of Iraq and Crown Prince Abdul Ilah at a special convocation on the morning of Friday the 19th March, 1954.

AMIN-UD-DIN GIVEN PUBLIC SEND-OFF

The outgoing Punjab Governor, Mian Amin-ud-Din was given a public send-off at the ceremonial platform of the Lahore Railway Station on the morning of Wednesday the 23rd June, 1954, when he left for Karachi. His appointment as Ambassador to Turkey was officially announced.

PANIC IN CITY

On Friday the 24th September, 1954, Lahore had the heaviest rain in living memory—17 inches in about 34 hours. As a result of which at least 80 persons were feared dead and over three hundred injured due to large-scale house collapses, accidents and drowning, on Friday.

Due to three to nine feet deep water that swept the entire city and its suburbs, roads sank down, there were uprooted, electricity was dislocated and Telephone system was rendered inoperative. The damage to property was estimated to run into many lakhs of Rupees. Government offices, business centres and shops remained closed. The heavy rain brought ruin to the city, which comprised mostly dilapidated evacuee houses.

Panic-stricken citizens prayed in fear, under their roofs which they apprehended might collapse any moment. The condition in lowlying areas of the city was very critical due to the difficulty in providing relief.

A large number of houses collapsed in Mozang, Muhammad Nagar, Krishan Nagar, Qila Gujjar Singh, Old Anarkali and inside the walled City. Many Corporation and other water suction apparatuses were busy till late at night pumping out water from the city.

GURMANI SWORN IN PUNJAB GOVERNOR

Mr. Mushtaq Ahmad Gurmani was sworn in as the Governor of the Panjab, on the morning of Saturday, the 27th November, 1954. The Chief Justice of the Lahore High Court, Mr. S. A. Rahman,

administered the Oath of Office to the new Governor. Habib Ibrahim Rahimtoola was the governor for the intervening period, viz., June 24, to November 26, 1954.

SECONDARY EDUCATION BILL PASSED

The Punjab Assembly on Wednesday the 29th December, 1954 passed the Punjab Secondary Education Bill.

The Education Minister, Ch. Ali Akbar, introduced the Panjab University Bill providing a new constitution for the Panjab University.

UNIVERSITY BILL PASSED

The Punjab Assembly on Saturday the 11th December, 1954 sat till mid-night for 11 hours to pass the Punjab University Bill.

BAYAR VISITS LAHORE

Mr. Celal Bayar was given a warm welcome by thousands of citizens on his arrival in Lahore on the morning of Wednesday, February 23, 1955. As the special train bringing the Turkish President and party from Peshawar steamed in at the tastefully decorated Lahore Railway Station at 9-27 a.m. a flourish of trumpets heralded its arrival. A 21 gun salute was fired in his honour as the President alighted from the train.

The Punjab Governor, Mr. Mushtaq Ahmad Gurmani, who was present at the platform to receive Mr. Celal Bayar was introduced to him by Major-General Iskander Mirza, Pakistan Minister for Interior.

At the Lahore Fort, he was entertained to tea on February 24, 1955. He asked questions about the architectural aspects and other details of the historical monuments of the Moghul ages. He laid a sheet of flowers with the help of Dr. Muhammad Baqir at Allama Iqbal's *ta'wiz* and gave Rs. 100/- to Ali Bakhsh, the veteran steward of the late Allama, when Ali Bakhsh presented a set of Allama's works to the President of the Turkish Republic.

DEGREE CONFERRED AT VARSITY CONVOCATION

President Mahmut Celal Bayar of Turkey declared in Lahore on the 25th February, 1955, that co-operation between his country and Pakistan in the field of culture was one of the most important factors for the systematic development of the bonds which join the two nations.

The President was addressing a special Convocation of the Panjab University at which the Degree of Doctor of Laws 'honoris causa' was conferred on him.

Performing the conferment ceremony in the University, the Chancellor, Mr. Mnshtaq Ahmad Gurmani, paid tributes to the honourable guest.

Mr. Celal Bayar and his party left Lahore for Karachi by air at 1-30 p m. on February 27, 1955.

KING HUSSEIN AT LAHORE

King Hussain of Jordan on Thursday the 10th, March, 1955, paid stirring tributes to the struggle for the creation of Pakistan and characterised this country as the "pride and glory of every Muslim" and the "stronghold of Islam" at a citizen's garden party held in Shalamar garden.

IQBAL'S WORKS PRESENTED TO KING HUSSEIN

A specially bound set of the works of the poet-philosopher Iqbal was presented to King Hussein of Jordan by Khwaja Abdul Rehman and Dr. Muhammad Baqir when he visited the poet's 'mazar' on Friday afternoon the March 11, 1955.

Only on Thursday the King had paid glowing tributes to Iqbal's genius while addressing a garden party at Shalimar. On Friday the King's tributes took a more traditional form. He offered 'fateha' and spread a 'chadar' over the 'mazar'.

The King was earlier introduced to members of Central Iqbal Committee.

DEPARTURE FOR KARACHI

On Saturday the 12th March, 1955 King Hussein of Jordan and the Queen Mother, Queen Zein returned to Karachi at mid-day after a two-day trip to Lahore.

WEST PAKISTAN ONE UNIT

According to Press communique issued by the Cabinet Secretariat on March 27, 1955, Lahore would become the capital of West Pakistan, when ONE UNIT came into being.

AHMADIS AND OFFICIAL INFORMATION

Government asked Departmental Heads to be Vigilant

The West Pakistan Government circulated a letter in December, 1957 to all the Secretaries, Heads of Departments and Commissioners of Divisions, bringing to their notice the activities of the intelligence staff employed by the Jama'at-e-Ahmadia, Rabwah.

The letter directed the officials concerned to take suitable measures to prevent official information from falling into the hands of the Ahmadia intelligence staff in an un-authorised manner.

REPRESENTATIONS IN REGIONAL LANGUAGES ALLOWED

Sardar Abdul Rashid, Chief Minister, West Pakistan, issued instructions to all Government Departments on Saturday the 7th December, 1957, that members of the public and Government servants should be allowed to make their representations in their regional languages if they so desired.

The Chief Minister warned officers that they should not discourage the use of local language by their subordinates or public, particularly when such attitude offended against provisions which required Government servants to qualify in regional languages examination.

NOON MINISTRY DISMISSED

The Punjab Governor, Mr. Mushtaq Ahmad Gurmani, dismissed the 25-month-old noon ministry in the Punjab on the evening of Saturday the 21st May, 1955.

Sardar Abdul Hamid Khan Dasti, Minister of Agriculture, in the Noon ministry, formed a new seven-member cabinet which was sworn in at Government House at 9-15 p.m.

ONE UNIT CAME INTO BEING ON OCTOBER 14, 1955

The province of West Pakistan came into existence on and from October 14, 1955, according to an announcement made by the Minister of Law from Karachi on October 5, 1955.

GURMANI APPOINTED ONE-UNIT GOVERNOR

A Gazette Notification (Extraordinary), issued by the Government of Pakistan, on October 6, 1955, said that Mr. Mushtaq Ahmad Gurmani, Governor of the Punjab, was appointed by the Governor-General as the Governor of the Province of West Pakistan with effect from October 14, 1955.

LAHORE PROTECTIVE BUND GIVES WAY

Vast Areas of City Inundated

Two Million People Affected

Three districts of the Punjab—Sialkot, Lahore and Sheikhupura were hit by the unprecedented flood in the Ravi. Large-scale damage to property, cattle and crops was done. At least two million people were affected.

GURMANI SWORN IN W. PAKISTAN GOVERNOR

Mr. Mushtaq Ahmad Gurmani was sworn in as the Governor of the Province of West Pakistan at an impressive ceremony held in the Darbar Hall of the Government House in Lahore on the morning of Friday the 14th October, 1955.

LAHORE BECOMES THE CAPITAL OF

West Pakistan Province

Dr. Khan Takes Charge of Law and Order

A seven-man Cabinet of West Pakistan Province, headed by Dr. Khan Sahib, was sworn in at the Government House, Lahore, on afternoon of Friday the 14th October, 1955.

The Governor of West Pakistan, Mr. Mushtaq Ahmad Gurmani, administered the oath of office to the Ministers.

The oath of office and allegiance was administered to the Governor by the Chief Justice of Pakistan, Mr. Muhammad Munir.

STREET RENAMED AFTER MOHD. HUSSAIN AZAD

46th Death Anniversary Observed in Lahore

Syed Abid Hussain, West Pakistan Minister for Local Government, on the morning of Sunday, January 23, 1956, renamed a part of Chowk Nawab Sahib, inside Mochi Gate, as Azad Bazar, in memory of the illustrious Urdu wrirer, poet and critic, Maulana Mohammad Hussain Azad.

Erlier, presenting an address of welcome, Dr. Muhammad Baqir, President of the Majlis, stated that all great nations revered the names of their great men and cherished their memories. In fact their could be no national consciousness among the people without that. All other countries took particular interest in erecting memorials and setting up museums, art rooms, libraries and other cultural centres in memory of their illustrious men, he added.

The memory of the greats, he added, served to reform the present and proved a beacon-light, for the future. Continuing Dr. Baqir said, unfortunately in Pakistan there had been no headway on the cultural front because of the preoccupation of the people with other problems.

Paying tributes to the genius of Maulana Azad, Dr. Baqir said he was a prolific writer, an eminent critic, a master of style, and a Muslim patriot.

JEHANGIR TOMB MISHAP

One of the four minarets of the historic Jehangir Tomb was badly damaged on the morning of Friday the 13th July, 1956, when the marble projection skirting the minaret on the third landing broke away from the main structure.

The falling marble slabs killed an old woman and injured five other persons of the same family who were picnicking under the minaret.

INTERNATIONAL ISLAMIC COLLOQUIUM

An International Islamic Colloquium, sponsored by the University of the Punjab, and the first gathering of its kind in an Asian country, was held in Lahore from December 29, 1957 to January 8, 1958. One hundred and seventy delegates drawn from the following countries participated :

Afghanistan, Canada, Ceylon, China, Egypt, France, Germany, Holland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Italy, Jordan, Kenya, Libya, Morocco, Norway, Pakistan, Palestine, Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Sarjah, Spain, the Sudan, Syria, Thailand, Tunisia, Turkey, the United Kingdom, the United States of America and the Union of the Socialist Soviet Republics. Of these 54 delegates belonged to Pakistan. The largest delegation from among the other countries was the Egyptian delegation consisting of 12 scholars.

Ninety-one papers were read during eight days. Among these 25 papers were contributed by Pakistani scholars, fourteen by the Egyptian scholars and four papers each participants from Syria and Tunisia. The Saudi Arabians, Afghans, Russians and the Chinese read three papers each.

LECTURE ON BEDIL BY SOVIET DELEGATE TO ISLAMIC COLLOQUIUM

Dr. I. M. Muminoy, member of the Uzbek Academy of Sciences and a delegate to the International Islamic Colloquium, speaking on the poetry of Mirza Abdul Qadir Bedil said that Bedil's ideas were permeated by an antifeudal spirit and his works to some extent absorbed the mood of the peasantry. The lecture was delivered on January 11, 1958, in the Islamia College Civil Lines, under the presidentship of Dr. Mohammad Baqir, Head of the Persian Department, University of the Punjab.

ALLAMA IQBAL'S RESIDENCE DECLARED PROTECTED MONUMENT

The house at 24-A, McLeod Road, Lahore, once the residence of the late Allama Iqbal was declared a protected monument by the Central Government, on September 19, 1958.

The house was later on occupied by displaced persons.

The Lahore Corporation, it may be recalled, had declared the house as dangerous and had proposed to demolish it. Notices were served on the occupants to vacate the premises. The proposal for demolition was opposed by the occupants on the ground that it was the residence of the great Poet of the East.

The plot attached to the house will also be preserved by the Central Government.

PAKISTAN DAY MEMORIAL Foundation-Stone Laid by Governor

The Governor of West Pakistan, Mr. Akhter Husain, at a simple ceremony, laid the foundation-stone of the Pakistan Day Memorial at Iqbal Park (Minto Park) in Lahore on Wednesday, the 23rd March, 1960.

IQBAL'S McLEOD ROAD HOUSE TO BECOME MUSEUM

It was officially declared in Lahore on May 10, 1961 that the house on McLeod Road where Allama Iqbal lived for 13 years would be converted into a museum for the preservation of his belongings and the display of his famous works and manuscripts.

The house (24-A), as evacuee property, was declared an historical monument and was acquired by the Government for Rs. 65,000.

Arrangements were being made to have it repaired and renovated suitably.

TELEVISION COMES TO LAHORE Opening by Ayub

Pakistan emerged, on the world television map with the inauguration of the television project in Lahore—the first in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent—by President Ayub Khan on the afternoon of November 25, 1964.

TROOPS' WITHDRAWAL—FINAL DOCUMENTS SIGNED IN LAHORE

A final document setting forth an agreement for the withdrawal by India and Pakistan of their armed personnel was signed on

Saturday the 29th January 1966 in Lahore, at the joint meeting of military representatives of the two countries under the auspices of Gen. Tulio Marambio, representative of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, who was assisted by Mr. Miguel A. Martin, Principal Secretary, according to a U. N. Press Release.

The representative of India was Lt-Gen. Harbakhsh Singh, GOC-in-C, Western Army Command, assisted by Lt.-Col. T.S. Padde Staff Officer, Western Command.

The representative of Pakistan was Lt.-Gen. Bakhtiar Rana, Commander. One Corps, assisted by Brig. Gul Hassan Khan, Director of Military Operations.

MUSA SWORN IN W. WING GOVERNOR

Gen. Mohammad Musa was sworn in Governor of West Pakistan at the President's House in Rawalpindi at 11 a.m. on September 18, 1966.

The oath of office was administered by the Chief Justice of West Pakistan, Mr. Inamullah Khan, who flew into Rawalpindi from Lahore.

LAHORE TELEVISION STATION BUILDING

Mr. M. Musa, the West Pakistan Governor performed the commissioning ceremony of the newly-erected 5 kw. wide-range transmitter of the Lahore Television Station and laid the foundation stone of its studio building on December 29, 1968.

EXHIBITION OF CHUGHTAI PAINTINGS ON IQBAL

President Ayub Khan on Monday, the 30th December 1968, inaugurated a solo exhibition of the paintings of the famous artist, Mr. Abdul Rahman Chughtai, on the lawns of the Pakistan Arts Council, Lahore.

This was also the occasion of the launching of the illustrated de luxe edition of rendition of Allama Iqbal's poetry by Mr. Chughtai. The President announced a donation of Rs. 2 lakh to Mr. Chughtai for his "great work".

The publishers printed 275 copies of the illustrated edition. Each copy was priced at Rs. 1,500. On the launching day, 10 copies were sold.

YUSUF HAROON GOVERNOR

Musa Given Leave Before Retirement

The President decided to appoint Mr. Haroon Governor of West Pakistan, it was officially announced in Rawalpindi on March 15, 1969. He assumed office on March 20.

The President granted two months leave to General Mohammad Musa with effect from March 20, 1969, before retirement, an official handout said.

NUR KHAN SWORN IN GOVERNOR

Air Marshal M. Nur Khan, former Commander-in-Chief of the Pakistan Air Force, was sworn in as the West Pakistan Governor in Lahore on Monday evening (September 1, 1969).

The oath of office was administered to him by the Chief Justice of the West Pakistan High Court, Mr. Justice Waheed-ud-Din Ahmad at a seven minute formal ceremony held in the Darbar Hall of the Governor's House.

ATIQ TAKES OATH AS GOVERNOR

Lt.-General M. Atiqur Rehman, on Sunday February 1, 1970 afternoon, took the oath as the new Governor of West Pakistan at a simple ceremony held in the Darbar Hall of the Governor's House, Lahore.

The Chief Justice of West Pakistan, Mr. Qadeeruddin Ahmad, administered the oath.

WEST PAKISTAN DISSOLVED

West Pakistan was split up into four provinces : Baluchistan, NWFP, Punjab and Sind and two centrally administered areas—Islamabad Capital Territory and the Tribal Areas.

According to the Province of West Pakistan (Dissolution) Order, 1970, issued by President Yahya Khan, on April 1, 1970, all the Provinces would have separate High Court and Public Service Commissions. Lt.-General Mohammad Atiqur Rahman continued to be Governor of the Punjab.

INDIAN HIJACKED PLANE BLOWN UP

An Indian hijacked aircraft was blown up by Ashraf Qureshi and Mohammad Hashim, the two Kashmiri hijackers at five minutes past eight, on Tuesday the 2nd February, 1971, in the evening. The plane had landed at the Lahore Airport 7 hours earlier, on Saturday the 30th January, 1971.

NEW GOVERNOR SWORN IN

Mr. Sadiq Hussain Qureshi was sworn in as Governor of the Punjab in the Darbar Hall of Governor's House on the morning of Monday November 12, 1973.

The oath to the new Governor was administered by the Chief Justice of the Lahore High Court, Mr. Justice Sardar Mohammad Iqbal.

P. M. UNVEILS SUMMIT MINAR PLAQUE

Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto unveiled on the afternoon of Saturday the 22nd February, 1975, the foundation-stone plaque of the monument to be constructed in Lahore to commemorate the Second Islamic Summit Conference.

To be known as Summit Minar, the monument was to be built in front of the Punjab Assembly building where the Summit was held exactly a year ago.

The simple ceremony was held on the site of the Rs. 45 lakh monument in the park facing the Assembly Hall.

Prominent among those who attended the brief ceremony were the Islamabad-based envoys of the countries which participated in the the Lahore Summit.

KHAR SWORN IN GOVERNOR

Mr. Ghulam Mustafa Khar was sworn in Governor of the Punjab on the afternoon of Friday the 14th March, 1975, at a ceremony held in the Darbar Hall of the Governors's House.

The oath of allegiance was administered by the Chief Justice of the Lahore High Court, Sardar Muhammad Iqbal.

KHAR RELINQUISHED CHARGE AND ABBASI SWORN IN GOVERNOR

Nawab Mohammad Abbas Abbasi, Amir of Bahawalpur, was sworn in Governor of the Punjab at a simple but impressive ceremony held in Darbar Hall of the Governor's House on Thursday the 31st July, 1975 in the afternoon. The Chief Justice of the Lahore High Court, Sardar Mohammad Iqbal, administered the oath of allegiance.

CHEAP FRESH ROTI

From August 14 1975 Lahoritis, for the first time, were able to deviate from the centuries old "*tandoori roti*" to buy in moisture-proof packets a machine made *roti* at Rupee One for five *rotis*.

Unromantic as it may sound, for a mere 20 paisa one will be able to buy a fermented '*roti*' containing 25 per cent *ghee*. Technically, it was something nigh '*roghni nan*' but had more to it than met the eye. Scientists say the percentage of fat in Punjabis is very high, as compared to the Pathan or the Baluch. This new '*roti*' this was expected to bring the fat men of all the four provinces on the same level percentage-wise.

BHUTTO INAUGURATES IQBAL CENTENARY YEAR

Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto on Friday, the 7th January, 1977 laid a floral wreath at the mazar of Iqbal marking the beginning of the birth centenary year of the Poet-Philosopher who gave the idea of Pakistan.

Mr. Bhutto arrived from Larkana to perform the wreath-laying ceremony and drove back to the airport and left for Rawalpindi soon afterwards.

The beautiful wreath containing a card with the inscription 'From Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, Prime Minister of Pakistan, January 7, 1977, was carried by two rangers. Behind the wreath Mr. Bhutto marched to the mausoleum and laid it on a stand near the poet's grave. Maulavi Abdul Qadir Azad, Khatib of the Badshahi Masjid, offered Fateha which was joined by the Premier.

The Prime Minister also signed Visitors' Book kept outside the mausoleum.

Before leaving for the airport Mr. Bhutto waved to the newsmen and others attending the ceremony.

Allama Iqbal's mazar was specially done up for the Iqbal Centenary Year. Roofed Posts were built in red stone in all the four corners of the mazar manned by guards provided by the Pakistan Rangers. During Friday's ceremonies the rangers manned the four posts as well as the entrance. Under the Government directive they would serve as regular guards at the mazar on permanent basis. Another striking feature of the new additions to the mazar is the golden chain running through small new pillars set up around the mazar.

EIGHT KILLED, ONE HUNDRED AND SIXTYSIX HURT IN CLASHES, RIOTING AND ARSON BY DEMONSTRATORS

Eight persons died and seventy-seven were injured in violent clashes between the police and demonstrators in Lahore on Saturday, the 9th April, 1977.

Besides, eighty-nine police officials, including one Deputy Inspector General, one Assistant Superintendent of Police, three Deputy Superintendents of Police, and twenty-five lady police staff were injured.

The clashes took place on Share'-i-Quaid-i-Azam, Beadon Road, Hall Road, Temple Road, Share'-i-Fatima Jinnah, Montgomery Road and McLeod Road. Police opened fire on a violent crowd on Share'-i-Quaid-i-Azam after it had received heavy brick-batting.

The angry demonstrators put on fire three bank branches. Habib Bank's branch on Share'-i-Quaid-i-Azam, opposite Regal Cinema, was completely gutted with all office records and furniture. The newly-opened Allied Bank branch near Cathedral School on Hall Road and another Habib Bank branch in People's Hotel building on McLeod Road were also put on fire. A wine shop on Temple Road was ransacked, looted and set afire.

Moreover, four vehicles including an omnibus, a van of Fire-Brigade Station on Share'-i-Fatima Jinnah and a private car were burnt by the violent mob.

The clashes took place as the demonstrators were prevented from proceeding towards the Assembly Chambers, where the newly elected Members were taking oath. The Assembly building had been fully guarded a strong posse of police had thrown a cordon and closed all roads leading to the Chambers for traffic.

It was a show of strength of the Pakistan National Alliance which had given a call to the people to observe strike and hold demonstrations on Saturday to dissuade the Members of the Provincial Assembly from attending the Assembly session for oath taking.

The PNA had been making large preparations for the past many days and extensive publicity campaign launched for the demonstrations on Saturday. *Lahore Chalo* (Go to Lahore) campaign was also launched by the PNA and thousands of workers had been called from all parts of the province to participate in the rallies. Posters, giving details of the programme for holding demonstrations and rallies, were pasted on the walls. Over half a dozen processions including the one of women, were taken out. The Lahore High Court Bar Association and Lahore District Bar Association also took out a joint procession from the Lahore High Court premises.

There was also a procession of the 'Ulama and students of religious *madrasas*. It was to be inaugurated by Pir of Pagaro who, however did not turn up. None of the processions was allowed to proceed towards the Assembly Chambers, Police resorted to tear-gas and lathi-charge to disperse the crowd which, in turn, hurled brick-bats at them. Mounted police was also posted near Regal Cinema.

The women's procession was taken out from the local office of the Jama'at-i-Islami on Share'-i-Fatima Jinnah which was the

main centre of operation for the demonstration. When tear-gassed and baton-charged, it diverted to Lawrence Road. On Share'-i-Quaid-i-Azam it joined the lawyers' procession near Dyal Singh building. It was also lathi-charged and tear-gassed. The lawyers again formed a procession and proceeded towards the Assembly Chambers, but were dispersed near the Al-Falah Building. Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan who had joined the procession was also hit. A local journalist, Mr. Majid Sheikh of *The Pakistan Times* was also injured on Share'-i-Fatima Jinnah.

A section of the crowd hurled brick-bats at the police from Beadon Road and Temple Road. The police used tear-gas to disperse them. Another crowd near the Regal Cinema tried to break the police cordon, and police had to open fire to disperse it.

Exchange of brick-bats and use of tear-gas continued till afternoon on Share'-i-Quaid-i-Azam which was littered with brick-bats. Traffic was resumed in the evening.

Malik Wazir Ali, PNA acting Secretary-General, who along with Maulana Jan Muhammad Abbasi, visited various hospitals in the city, told newsmen that sixteen persons had died due to police firing on PNA demonstrators and sixty persons were injured. Besides he said, about twenty-five lawyers received injuries.

A Provincial Minister's private car was also set ablaze by the crowd. Timely intervention by the neighbours saved the house of the Minister from being set on fire.

The demonstrators damaged traffic signals at many places on the Share'-i-Quaid-i-Azam. The exchange of fire resulted in a number of casualties at different places. The injured were treated in the Ganga Ram Hospital and the Mayo Hospital. Several persons were arrested by police for rioting.

The worst troubled areas in the city were near the High Court, the Faisal Chowk and the Share'-i-Fatima Jinnah. A||

the processions tried to move towards the Assembly Chambers where the swearing-in ceremony of the newly elected members was in progress.

According to the police, the miscreants, who had joined the processions from the flanks, had brick-batted the police first. Tear-gas shells were also thrown inside the Jama'at office as the police said people hiding themselves inside threw volleys of bricks on the police.

The women, wearing black burqas and black *chadars* carried black flags. Police were stoned when they checked the advancement of women towards the Assembly.

A procession was also taken out from a mosque on Nisbet Road. But soon it was stopped by police who took two truck loads of people from the spot. The crowd pelted stones on the police for some time and played hide-and seek with it.

The wholesale and retail markets in the business centres of Karachi were closed this afternoon in protest against firing in Lahore by police.

Business establishment Boulton Market, Gordhandas Market, Sarrafa Bazar, Bombay Bazar, Kaghzi Bazar and some other localities were closed.

THIRTYFOUR COPS HURT IN CLASH. PNA MEN BURN BANK AND POST OFFICE IN CITY

One bank branch, a post office and a PPP office were gutted and three bank branches and a National Savings Centre were extensively damaged by violent PNA demonstrators in Lahore on Tuesday, the 12th April, 1977.

Thirty-four police officials were injured, four of them seriously, in clashes with the demonstrators at different places in the city. They included eighteen police officials injured as a result of an explosion caused by Molotov bomb thrown at them outside

the Lohari Gate police station. Eighteen persons were also injured including some passers-by in clashes between the police and demonstrators outside Lohari Gate, Bhati Gate and Shahalam Market. After heavy brick-battling by the demonstrators the police opened fire on Circular Road near Urdu Bazar on a violent crowd, which had refused to disperse despite repeated warnings followed by tear gas and lathi charge.

The Habib Bank branch at Shahalam Market was completely burnt. About a dozen policemen were injured by heavy brick-battling of the demonstrators who put branch on fire. Other bank branches which were damaged included a UBL branch on Mela Ram Road, National Bank Branch at Shahalam Market and National Savings Centre in Bhati Gate. The post office which was reduced to ashes was the one on Ravi Road near cemetery. The PPP office in main market of Samanabad was also attacked and put on fire. A Habib Bank branch nearby was also brick-batted by a crowd.

The clashes between the police and demonstrators took place after a procession was taken out by PNA from the Muslim Mosque outside Lohari Gate. A PNA leader Rana Zafar Ullah Khan was arrested. Police used tear gas and resorted to lathi charge to disperse the procession which wanted to move to Share'-i-Quaid-i-Azam through the Anarkali Bazar.

A section of the violent crowd made its way to Bansanwala Bazar and attacked the offices of the *Pakistan Times* and *Imroze*.

Small processions were also taken out from various mosques of the city after *Isha* prayers.

Big crowds at distant places set on fire some heavy-weight tyres in all directions. They also brought some wooden articles and set them on fire on roads to prevent the attack of the police. Huge clouds of smoke were seen rising on all sides.

After an encounter of over two hours, the crowd subsided and began to disperse gradually.

The main markets of Lahore remained closed on Tuesday, in accordance with the decision of the trading community, as a mark of protest against the recent events.

The lawyers boycotted the High Court and the lower courts for the second day and appeared only in political cases.

ARMY CALLED IN TO RESTORE NORMALCY : BHUTTO RULES OUT FRESH N.A. ELECTIONS

Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in an interview with the BBC in Lahore on Wednesday, the 13th April, 1977, called on the opposition leaders for a dialogue to prevent the country from slipping into the hands of rightist and leftist extremists.

Mr. Bhutto said he would not hesitate to call in the army to restore normalcy if this proved necessary. He reiterated that fresh election could not be held and that he had done his duty and had acted in a very restrained way. Asked if it would not divide the loyalty of an ordinary Pakistani soldier, he said if one indulged in such academic debate then the game was over and an end. In such circumstances fresh election would become unnecessary.

Mr. Bhutto declared in a long and emotion-packed interview that he was prepared to call on the Opposition leaders in the larger national interest.

LAHORE ROCKED

Lahore was rocked on Wednesday, the 13th April, 1977, a short while afternoon by an earthquake of severe intensity.

Tremors swept the city at 16 minutes and 42 seconds past 12. The duration of earthquake was five seconds with epicentre lying 20 miles north-west of Lahore. It was 210 miles south-east of Peshawar. On Gutenberg-Richter scale the intensity was the order of nearly five.

People became panicky and they came out of the offices and homes and stayed in the open for quite some time.

MARTIAL LAW IMPOSED: FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS SUSPENDED, LAHORE UNDER CURFEW

The Federal Government on Thursday, the 23rd April, 1977 imposed Martial Law in the Lahore District with immediate effect.

The Provincial Government of Punjab placed the area under the control of the Armed Forces of Pakistan, who exercised exclusive jurisdiction and authority in these areas for enforcement of law and maintenance of public order.

The Federal Government exercising its constitutional powers, directed the Armed Forces of Pakistan to act in aid of civil power.

The country faced grave danger due to internal disturbances. These disturbances had assumed such proportions that they were beyond the resources of the Provincial Governments to control.

During the past several weeks, unlawful and violent agitation disrupted the public life. This caused incalculable damage. There was tragic and heavy toll of human life. Public and private property worth millions of rupees was wantonly destroyed. Trade, industry and communications were seriously affected. A crippling blow was dealt to the nation's economy. Citizens' normal pursuits were gravely affected.

The President issued a proclamation declaring that a grave emergency existed and the security of Pakistan was threatened by internal disturbances.

FAISAL TOWN SCHEME FORMALLY INAUGURATED

Mr. Shahid Hamid, Director-General of the Lahore Development Authority on Thursday, the 5th May, 1977, performed the ground breaking ceremony of the Rs. 4.62 crore Faisal Town Scheme which would provide about 2,700 plots of seven marlas to two kanals.

Located between Model Town, Lahore Township, Garden Town and the Panjab University New Campus the 372-acre scheme would provide housing facilities for about 40,000 persons.

LAHORE MAP NOT REVISED

The map of Lahore was not revised since 1954 by the Survey of Pakistan office.

Drawn originally in 1921 by the Survey of India office, it was revised every five year till 1935.

It was once drawn in 1954 by the Survey of Pakistan office and was reprinted, again and again. This map showed Ichhra and Baghbanpura as localities well outside the limits of Lahore, while places like Moghalpura, Gulberg and Shadman were not even mentioned on it. Shahdara was not included in the map, printed till 1977.

STUDENTS HAPPY TO BE BACK IN CLASSES

All schools upto secondary level opened in Lahore on Tuesday, the 24th May, 1977, after remaining closed for over three months. The schools were closed in the last week of February.

WEEKLY HOLIDAY ON FRIDAY FROM JULY 1

The Federal Government notified that Friday instead of Sunday would be a weekly closed holiday with effect from July 1, 1977.

A notification issued by the Interior Division on May 24, 1977, said: 'In pursuance of the explanation to Section 25 of the Negotiable Instrument Act, 1881 (XDVI of 1881), as amended, the Federal Government is pleased to declare Friday instead of Sunday as a weekly closed holiday with effect from July 1, 1977'.

THE END OF RACING IN LAHORE

The Lahore Race Club terminated the services of its over 300 employees on Tuesday, the 7th June, 1977 as a first step to wind up the club.

Some one hundred and sixty permanent staff members and as part-time many race-day workers were paid off at the expiry of one month's notice to mark the end of the club's fifty one years life.

Earlier, races had been suspended in Lahore in April as the club was asked to vacate its premises. But later the ban on gambling dashed the club's hopes of resuming its activities.

During the 1975-76 season the club got Rs. 5 lakh as profit, having Rs. 83 lakh as revenue against Rs. 78 lakh expenditure. About 70 per cent of club's total revenues came from bookmakers and the bulk of the Rs. 80 lakh Government taxes were also provided by the same sources. The club in turn lavishly gave away about Rs. 50 lakh as stake money which went mainly to horse owners.

Under this heavy heap of money the sport was buried alive as the place was pestered with all sorts of shady characters who believed in underhand dealings and underground methods to dupe innocent punter and to quench their lust for money. This side of races is in itself a sad story. It certainly was responsible to bring the place into disrepute and that is why the present Government wanted to shift this spot from the heart of the city.

Meanwhile, the Provincial Government has finalised its plan to build gardens at the racecourse site and the Lahore Development Authority is on it at present. The race course and pologround together spread over 100 acres of land, which once it blooms into a garden will provide the gasping citizens a breathing space and a recreation spot.

FRIDAY OBSERVED AS WEEKLY HOLIDAY

Another legacy of the British colonial rule was abolished when Friday (July 1, 1977) was observed as a weekly holiday for the first time throughout the country.

The change in weekly holiday marks the end of a colonial practice persisting for about 128 years. It was initiated in the

Sub-Continent by the British after the fall of the last Mughul Emperor, Bahadur Shah Zafar. Some Muslim princely states, however, continued to observe Friday as holiday. These included Bahawalpur, Swat, Bhopal and Hyderabad (Deccan).

The revival of the Islamic Practice symbolises Pakistan's affinities of common faith and destiny with the Muslim World.

In Lahore, the atmosphere fully reflected the ease and comfort of a holiday. Main Commercial centres including Share-i-Quaid-i-Azam, Anarkali and Shahalam Market were closed. Other Markets such as Akbari, Mandi, Chowk Jhanda, Sua Bazar, Azam Cloth Market and Kashmiri Bazar already observe holiday on Friday. In other localities, there was a partial holiday as shopkeepers were closing their shops on different days of the week for a long time. But the complete closure of the principal shopping centres marks an epoch-making development in the social life of the city. All citizens seemed to undergo a surprisingly happy experience.

MARTIAL LAW PROCLAIMED

Martial Law was proclaimed in the country on the 5th July, 1977 and General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq, the Chief of the Army Staff, took over as Chief Martial Law Administrator in an interim Government replacing the Government of Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, President Fazal Elahi Chaudhry continued as Head of State in the interim Government that also included a four-member Military Council formed to deal with important Administrative Matters and to assist the President.

While the armed forces took over the administration of the country in the early hours of 5th July, former Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, some of his Cabinet colleagues and top Pakistan National Alliance leaders were taken into temporary protective custody,

The National Assembly and the four Provincial Assemblies were dissolved and the Provincial Governors and Ministers were

removed from their offices. Chief Justices of High Courts would be Acting Provincial Governors and Provincial Martial Law Administrators would head the Provincial Executives.

The Constitution was not abrogated but the operation of some of its portions were suspended.

The Military Council consisted of the Chairman of Joint Chief of Staff Committee and the Chiefs of Staff of the Army, Navy and Air Force

As announced by the Chief Martial Law Administrator in his broadcast to the nation, all political activity would remain suspended till further order.

Gen. Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq said that the take-over operation that began under his orders at previous midnight and was completed smoothly and peacefully by the morning.

He said that while he would do his best to refrain from doing anything likely to restrict the power of the judiciary, Martial Law Orders and Regulations, not to be challenged in any court of law, would be issued under unavoidable circumstances.

Earlier a military spokesman said that the situation in the country was normal and peace and tranquility prevailed everywhere. Army troops were guarding all major sensitive and vital installations in the country.

The following is the English rendering of the address to the nation on the evening of the 5th July, 1977, by the Chief Martial Law Administrator, General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq :

"My dear countrymen !

Assalam-o-Alaikum

"I deem it a singular honour to address the great nation of this great country. I am grateful to God Almighty for this. You must have learnt by now that the Government of Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto has ceased to

exist and an Interim Government has been established in its place. This change-over has been accomplished smoothly and peacefully. This action was carried out on my orders. During this period the former Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and some of his colleagues have been taken into protective custody. Likewise, all the prominent leaders of the Pakistan National Alliance, except Begum Nasim Wali Khan, have also been taken into custody.

The reactions to this take-over have so far been very encouraging. A stream of congratulatory messages has been pouring in from different quarters. I am grateful for this to my nation as well as to the buoyant and *momentum* armed forces of Pakistan.

It is necessary to add here that some people have expressed misgivings that the Army take-over may have been at the behest of someone. Could it be that General Zia had secretly concerted with the former Prime Minister? On this I can only say that truth can never remain unexposed. In fact, such an air of distrust has been created during the past few months that even well-meaning people also get bogged down in doubts and apprehensions.

"You must have heard from the *Morning News* bulletin that the armed forces of Pakistan have taken over the administration of the country. The army take-over is never a pleasant act because the armed forces of Pakistan genuinely want that the administration of the country should remain in the hands of the representatives of the people who are its real masters. The people exercise this right through their elected representatives who are chosen in every democratic country through periodic elections.

"The elections were held in our beloved homeland on 7th March last (1977). The election results, however, were rejected by one of the contending parties. They alleged that the elections had been rigged on a large scale and demanded fresh election. They launched a movement which assumed such dimensions that people even started saying that democracy was not workable in Pakistan. But I genuinely feel that the survival of this country lies in democracy and democracy alone.

"It is mainly due to this belief that the armed forces resisted the temptation to take-over during the recent provocative circumstances in spite of diverse massive political pressures.

"The armed forces have always desired and tried for the political solution to political problems. That is why the armed forces stressed on the Government that they should reach a compromise with their political rivals without any loss of time. The Government needed time to hold these talks. The armed forces brought them this valuable period of time by maintaining law and order in the country,

"The armed forces were subjected to criticism from certain quarters for their role in aid of the civil administration, but we tolerated this criticism in the hope that it was a passing phase. We hoped that when this climate of agitational frenzy came to an end, the nation would be able to appreciate the correct and constitutional role of the armed forces and all fears would be allayed.

"I have just given you a very brief outline of the situation obtaining in the country. It must be quite clear to you now that when the political leaders failed to rescue the country out of a crisis, it is an inexcusable sin for

the armed forces to sit as silent spectators. It is primarily for this reason that the army had to intervene to save the country.

"I would like to point out here that I saw no prospects of a compromise between the People's Party and the Pakistan National Alliance because of their mutual distrust and lack of faith. It was feared that the failure of the PNA and PPP to reach a compromise would throw the country into chaos and the country would thus be plunged into a more serious crisis. This risk could not be taken in view of the larger interest of the country.

"The Army had, therefore, to act as a result of which the Government of Mr. Bhutto has ceased to exist : Martial Law has been imposed throughout the country. The National and Provincial Assemblies have been dissolved and the Provincial Governors and Ministers have been removed".

PROCLAMATION

The following is the text of the proclamation issued by Chief Martial Law Administrator, Gen. Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq on July 5, 1977.

"Whereas, I, General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq, Chief of the Army Staff, have proclaimed Martial Law throughout Pakistan and assumed the office of Chief Martial Law Administrator, hereby order and proclaim as follows :-

- (A) The Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan shall remain in abeyance.
- (B) The National Assembly, the Senate and the Provincial Assemblies shall stand dissolved.
- (C) The Prime Minister, the Federal Ministers, Ministers of State, Advisers to the Prime Minister, the Speaker and Deputy Speaker of the National Assembly and the

Provincial Assemblies, the Chairman and Deputy Chairman of the Senate, the Provincial Governors, the Provincial Chief Ministers and the Provincial Ministers shall cease to hold office.

- (D) The President of Pakistan shall continue in office and
- (E) The whole of Pakistan will come under Martial Law"

STRUCTURE OF INTERIM GOVERNMENT

Chief Martial Law Administrator General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq, in his broadcast to the nation on July 5, 1977, announced the following structure of the Interim Government that replaced the Government of Mr Zulfikar Ali Bhutto :

- (1) President Fazal Elahi Chaudhry to be the Head of State.
- (2) Important administrative functions of the country to be performed by a four-member Military Council consisting of the Chairman of Joint Chiefs of Staff Committee and Chiefs of Staff of the Army, Navy and Air Force.
- (3) The Chief Martial Law Administrator will be the Head of the Executive. The Secretary-General Defence, Mr. Ghulam Ishaq Khan, will be responsible for the coordination between all Federal Departments.
- (4) Secretaries in the Federal Government will be the Heads of their respective departments.
- (5) The Chief Justice of High Court in every province will be the Acting Governor of that Province.
- (6) Provincial Martial Law Administrators will be Heads of the Executive in their respective province, and Secretaries would continue to be incharge of Provincial departments.

GENERAL ZIA-UL-HAQ

Gen. Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq, Chief of the Army Staff and Chief Martial Law Administrator was born in 1924 and commissioned in May 1945.

After serving for 19 years in different instructional staff and command appointments, he was promoted. Lieutenant-Colonel and appointed instructor at Command and Staff College, Quetta, in 1964. From 1966 to 1968 he commanded a cavalry regiment.

In May 1968, he was promoted Colonel and posted to an armoured division as Colonel Staff.

On his promotion to the rank of Brigadier in 1969, he was given the command of an armoured brigade. Three years later, he was promoted Major-General and given the command of an armoured division. In April 1975, he was promoted Lt. General and was appointed as Corps Commander. He was promoted General and appointed Chief of the Army Staff on March 1 1976.

General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq graduated from Command and Staff College, Quetta in 1955. He also attended armour officer advance course and command and general staff officers course both in the United States of America in 1959 and 1963 respectively.

He was decorated with the award of "Kaukab and Istiqlal" by His Majesty the King of Jordan for services with Jordanian army. He has seen active service in Burma, Malaya and Indonesia during World War II and also in the two wars of 1965 and 1971.

ASLAM RIAZ SHIFTS TO GOVERNOR'S HOUSE.

The Acting Governor of the Punjab, Mr. Justice Aslam Riaz Husain, shifted to the Governor's House on Saturday, the 9th July, 1977.

His predecessor, Mr. Muhammad Abbas Abbasi, vacated the Governor's House and left for his home town Dera Nawab Sahib on Friday night.

Mr. Justice Aslam Riaz Husain, the Chief Justice of the Lahore High Court, held dual charge during the period of his gubernatorial responsibilities. He sat in the High Court from 8 a.m. to 11 a.m. on all working days and attended his executive duties in the afternoon.

APPOINTMENT OF ACTING CHIEF JUSTICES ORDER

The President promulgated a Presidential Order on July 13, 1977, titled "High Courts-Appointment of Acting Chief Justices Order, 1977 to provide for appointment of acting Chief Justices, in all the Provinces while the Chief Justice is acting as Governor."

The Order provided that on the Chief Justice ceasing to hold office as Acting Governor, he shall resume his post as the Chief Justice of the High Court. Acting Chief Justice, would in that case resume his original office.

The President also appointed the following :

1. Mr. Justice Mushtaq Hussain, acting Chief Justice Lahore High Court.
2. Mr. Justice Agha Ali Hyder, acting Chief Justice, Sindh High Court.
3. Mr. Justice Shahnawaz Khan acting Chief Justice, Peshawar High Court.
4. Mr. Justice Abdul Hayee Qureshi acting Chief Justice, Baluchistan High Court.

RAILWAY ELIMINATED THIRD CLASS

As a step towards the establishment of egalitarian society in the country, Pakistan Railway Board decided to eliminate third class from the trains with effect from August 14, 1977.

RENTS SHOOT UP IN LAHORE

House rents in Lahore shot up sky high during the last few years. According to a city's socio-economic survey, only 27 per cent of the people live in the houses of their own,

ALLAMA IQBAL'S COAT ON DISPLAY

The Lahore Museum displayed the coat of the poet of the East, Dr. Allama Iqbal on July 27, 1977, which was donated by late Mian Yaqub Tofeeq, Hony. Secretary, Iqbal Council, and

also added a sub-section in the Pakistan Movement Gallery with the combined photographs of the Quaid-i-Azam and Dr. Iqbal.

PPP, PNA LEADERS SET FREE

The PPP and PNA leaders, taken into protective custody on July 5, were set free on July 28, 1977.

The released leaders included the former Prime Minister. Mr. Z.A. Bhutto, Maulana Mufti Mahmood, Abdul Hafiz Pirzada, Air Marshal (Retd.) Asghar Khan, Prof. Ghafoor, Ahmad Maulana Kausar Niazi, Sh. Muhammad Rashid and Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan.

Before their release, Gen. M. Zia-ul-Haq, Chief of the Army Staff and Chief Martial Law Administrator, met the PPP and the PNA leaders separately at Murree.

PPP Chirman, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, arrived in Islamabad for a night stay, after being released from protective custody in Murree and left for Larkana next morning by special plane.

STATEMENT OF COMPLAINANT'S MOTHER RECORDED

The mother of Mr. Ahmed Raza Qasuri, in Lahore, on Sunday, the 31st July, 1977 recorded her statement, in the Court of Additional Sessions Judge, Sheikh Muzaffar Hussain, hearing, the murder complaint of the late Nawab Muhammad Ahmed Khan, against Mr. Z. A. Bhutto and others.

Mr. Raza Qasuri had filed the murder complaint yesterday in the Court of Additional Deputy Commissioner, Lahore, who sent the same to the Sessions Court for trial and preliminary evidence.

In his complaint filed under Sections 302, 307, 120-A and 120-B, read with S. 34, PPC, Mr. Raza Qasuri had alleged that his father, the late Nawab Muhammad Ahmed, was murdered during an attempt on his (Mr. Ahmed Raza) life at the behest of ex-Premier, Z.A. Bhutto.

The respondents in the murder complaints are Mr. Z.A. Bhutto, Mr. Masud Mahmood, former Federal Security Force

Chief Saeed Ahmed Khan, former Chief of National Security, Pakistan and Rao Rashid Ahmed, former Inspector General Police, Punjab.

In his nine-page complaint, the complainant submitted that he was a founder member of the Pakistan People's Party and had worked together with Mr. Bhutto for several years with dedication. However, being a right man, he always criticised those policies of Mr. Bhutto which were detrimental to the integrity and unity of the country.

He opposed the Chairman of the PPP in the National Assembly and in public. The accused attempted to murder complainant as a result of which his father died.

He cited Mufti Mahmood, Air Marshal (Retd.) Asghar Khan, Abdul Wali Khan, Prof. Ghafoor Ahmad, Nawab Akbar Bugti, Mian Mahmood Ali Qasuri, Ch. Zahoor Elahi and others as his witnesses. The learned Court Adjourned the case for recording further preliminary evidence.

The complainant further submitted that he stood in revolt against Mr. Bhutto, when after the elections of 1971, the latter betrayed his trust and unleashed a reign of terror. Finally, he left the PPP and joined the Tehrik-i-Istiqlal and started exposing the designs of the accused, Mr. Bhutto, within and outside the Assembly.

He said there had been several attempts on his life and that of his family members. During such an attempt in Islamabad, on December 17, 1973, a jeep of the FSF crushed Ch. Muhammad Iqbal, MNA, who was accompanying the complainant to the Government Hostel.

The complainant further said that Mr. Bhutto had been deeply annoyed and had openly threatened him (Mr. Raza) in the National Assembly on June 3, 1974, saying: "I have had enough of you...I will not tolerate your nuisance". Consequent to this threat, he was again attacked on August 24, 1974 with automatic arms on Embassy Road, Islamabad. A case was registered by the police but no action followed.

In the light of this background, the complainant submitted, he believed that the attack on his car at midnight between November 10 and 11, 1974 in Shadman Colony had been sponsored under the instructions of Mr. Bhutto and it resulted in the death of his father who was sitting in the same car.

While recording her statement before the Sessions Court, the mother of Mr. Ahmed Raza Qasuri narrated the murder incident and submitted that it was the doing of Mr. Bhutto. She submitted that their family did not have any enmity with anyone except Mr. Bhutto. She further said that her sons had registered a First Information Report (FIR) with the police in which Mr. Bhutto had been pointedly named as the accused. She added that before and even after the murder of her husband, they had been receiving constant threats on telephone.

The Court adjourned the hearing for August 25, 1977 when the evidence of Nawab Akbar Bugti would be recorded.

Mr. Muhammad Ismail Qureshi, Raja Afrasiab Khan, Mr. Sher Alam, Mr. Kareem Malik, Mr. D. M. Arabi and Mr. Ameer Sipra appeared for the complainant.

ASLAM RIAZ TAKES OATH

Mr. Justice Aslam Riaz Hussain took oath as a Judge of the Supreme Court of Pakistan, on January 13 1978.

Mr. Justice Anwarul Haq, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, administered the oath of office at a simple ceremony at the Supreme Court this morning.

Mr. Justice Aslam Riaz Hussain, who is also the acting Governor of the Punjab, will continue to function in his present appointment.

WARM WELCOME FOR DAOUD IN THE CITY

President Muhammad Daoud of Afghanistan was accorded a tumultuous welcome when he arrived in Lahore on Tuesday, March 7, 1978, morning on a day's visit to the provincial metropolis.

The Afghan President flew into the city at 11.00 a.m. He was accompanied by Chief Martial Law Administrator, Gen. Muhammad

Zia-ul-Haq, the Acting Governor. Mr. Aslam Riaz Hussain, Martial Law Administrator, Lt. Gen. Sawar Khan, MLA, Zone A, and other high ranking civil and military officers.

The Airport was profusely decorated with flags of Afghanistan and festoons. Red carpets were laid from VIP enclosure to tarmac where the specially chartered PIA Boeing carrying President Daoud and his party came to a stop. The ceremony was watched by a large number of guests seated on the lawns of the VIP lounge. Along the railings of the lounge the Aitchison College boys attired in blazer, shorts and starched turbans lined up to greet the visitors.

The Afghan President was presented a bouquet of roses by a little boy and a girl dressed in the traditional attire. He was profusely garlanded before high-ranking officers lining up on tarmac were introduced to him.

From the airport the Afghan President drove to the State Guest House on the Upper Mall. The entire route of the motorcade was decorated with flags.

Later, the Punjab Governor, Mr. Aslam Riaz Hussain hosted a luncheon in honour of President Daoud. The feast was attended by Afghan delegation accompanying the President, Chief Martial Law Administrator, Acting NWFP Governor, Mr. Justice Abdul Hakeem, NWFP Martial Law Administrator Lt.-Gen. Fazl-i-Haq, Mr. Nur Ahmad Eitemadi, Afghan Ambassador in Pakistan ; Secretary General Foreign Affairs, Agha Shahi, Mr. Ali Arshad, Pakistan Ambassador in Kabul and Secretary Foreign Affairs, Mr. Shah Nawaz Khan.

In the afternoon, President Daoud, accompanied by General Zia-ul-Haq, attended a reception given by the citizens of Lahore at the historic Shalamar Gardens.

President Daoud was given a warm send off at the end of his six hours visit to the historic city. The Punjab Governor Mr. Justice Aslam Riaz Hussain, Lt.-Gen. Sawar Khan, and other high-ranking officers bade him farewell at the airport.

FIRING AT RESIDENCE OF THREE LAHORE HIGH COURT JUDGES.

Firing around the houses of three Lahore High Court Judges, who heard the murder case against Mr. Z. A. Bhutto, was resorted to in the dead of night on Thursday, March 9, 1978, which was followed by numerous threatening calls on telephones.

Between 10.30 p.m. and 11.30 p.m. on Thursday night, a car roamed about the bungalows of Mr. Justice Aftab Hussain, Mr. Justice Zaki-ud-Din Pal and Mr. Justice Gulbaz Khan from which gun-shots were fired in the air.

Before the culprits could be apprehended, the car sped away.

On Friday morning, however, a number of telephone calls were made at the residences as these judges threatening them and stating that what had happened the previous night was only a rehearsal, and it was likely to be repeated. Another call said that the incident was just a 'salam' (a token demonstration).

A Press release issued by Lahore High Court, on Friday evening, said that shots in the air were fired from a car between 10.30 and 11.30 p.m. on Thursday night outside the bungalows of the three Judges. The matter was brought to the notice of the Police authorities.

One of the Judges was watching television with the family when a blue car was spotted near the house by an inmate. Suddenly, three shots were fired in the air and immediately after that the car sped away. Stunned, the Judge and the entire family came out of the house. By that time, however, the car had left. The incident took place in a flash with the result that the number plate of the car could not be noted. Incidentally, no guard was kept at the residence of the Judge.

One of the Judges said that ever since the Full Bench started hearing the murder case of Nawab Muhammad Ahmad Khan a large number of letters written anonymously had been received by him threatening his life. However, he had taken no notice of these letters and had continued to perform his duties.

A Judge said that precautionary measures were being taken by the police but what were these measures remained undisclosed.

The telephones at the residences of two Judges were found either out of order or disconnected by the Telephone Department.

The police had not recorded till late on Friday evening any report. Efforts made to contact various police officials and officers in the administration to find out the steps taken by the police to prevent a recurrence of such an ugly incident bore no fruit. Most of the officials were either not available or chose to remain tight lipped.

Soon after the news was broadcast on the Radio, the lawyers community expressed grave concern over such vandalistic tendencies which were calculated to interfere with the course of justice and undermine the supremacy of the rule of law. If such incidents, they said, were not curbed ruthlessly, anarchic conditions could endanger the life and honour of respectable citizens. The sophisticated gadgets, imported by the Government could easily trace out the number from which a particular call is made to a particular telephone number. The lawyers demanded that the machinery of law and order should not be allowed to be lax and a thorough probe should be made into this incident and the public kept informed of the progress in the matter. This incident took place in the wake of a number of arrests made earlier this week.

BHUTTO AND FOUR OTHERS SENTENCED TO DEATH

Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and the other four accused standing trial for the murder of Nawab Muhammad Ahmad Khan on Saturday the 18th March, 1978, were sentenced to death by a unanimous judgement of a full bench of the Lahore High Court presided over by Chief Justice Mushtaq Hussain. The Court held all the accused guilty of the offence. Mr. Bhutto and the other accused were brought to the Court under tight and strict security measures. The judgement was

announced by the Court at 8.20 a.m. No one was allowed to enter the court room except the accused and their counsel. Even the corridors of the High Court were barred to journalists and public men. The identity of persons entering the precincts of the High Court was checked. Mr. Bhutto wore a grey suit, a light blue shirt with a matching tie and handkerchief and black moccasin.

The others who were sentenced to death were Mian Muhammad Abbas, Ghulam Mustafa, Arshad Iqbal and Rana Iftikhar Ahmad. All of them held various positions in the Federal Security Force (FSF).

The 405-page judgement, which was written by Mr. Justice Sheikh Aftab Hussain and agreed to by all the other judges on the Bench, said that all the five accused should be hanged by the neck till they were dead.

The announcement of the judgement took not more than 15 minutes, after which Bhutto and others came out of the court room. Mr. Bhutto looked depressed, he took out his handkerchief from his pocket, wiped his face and fore-head and looked at the sky before getting into a blue car which took him back to Kot Lakhpat Jail.

The proceedings on Saturday, the 18th March 1978, were held in camera. Mr. Bhutto refused to receive a copy of the judgement given by the Court.

The judgement said that all the offences with which the accused were charged had been proved to the hilt by the prosecution. It had also been proved that the conspiracy to murder Ahmad Raza Khan Kasuri did not end with the death of Nawab Muhammad Ahmad Khan, but continued even thereafter.

The Court sentenced all the accused to varying punishments under different Sections of the Pakistan Penal Code in addition to the sentence of death. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was to pay a sum of Rs. 25,000 as compensation or in default to undergo rigorous imprisonment for a period of six months. The compensation amount if recovered, would be paid to the heirs of Nawab Muhammad Ahmad Khan, deceased. The Court was of the view that it had ordered only Zulfikar Ali Bhutto to pay the compensation because the offence was committed on his order.

Each accused was furnished with a certified copy of the judgement and was informed that as per Article 150 of the Limitation Act, he could file an appeal to the Supreme Court against the judgment within seven days from Saturday.

The Court devoted about six pages to the culpability of Mr. Bhutto in the murder and held that he had used the members of the FSF for personal vendetta and for satisfaction of an urge in him to avenge himself upon a person whom he considered his enemy. For his own personal ends he had turned these persons into criminals and hired assassins and thus corrupted them. The Constitution did not grant immunity from law to any one in the country, however his rank or status might be, nor did it declare any one to be above law and yet Mr. Bhutto had acted as if there was no law in the country relating to homicide or that he enjoyed complete immunity from law. His function was to eliminate law-breaking tendencies but he had tried to inculcate in his subordinates such tendencies and used them for eliminating a person whom he considered his enemy. There was no rule under which he could escape extreme penalty.

BHUTTO WANTED A DEAL WITH ARMY TO KEEP PNA OUT OF POWER

Former Prime Minister Z. A. Bhutto had no intention of transferring power to Opposition in case of latter's victory in re-election and instead wanted army to impose Martial Law under him and deny victory to the Opposition.

This interesting fact emerged from the dialogue between Mr. Bhutto and the Army Chief of Staff Gen. Zia-ul-Haq, reproduced in a Houston monthly, *Business and Energy International*, a copy of which was available, in Lahore on 12 June, 1978.

Gen. Zia himself narrated the dialogue in an exclusive interview with the American periodical's publisher, Eric Borgen, in Rawalpindi in May this year.

The following are excerpts from the interview :

QUESTION : What made you decide to take control of the country when you did, after having supported the Bhutto government throughout the period of civil disorder ?

ZIA : If I did not do it when I did, you would not be seeing the Pakistan of today. That is the honest truth. I have been a straightforward soldier all my life and have never been involved in politics at all. Against all common sense, but strictly in accordance with the military code of ethics, I and my people supported the Government from March (when the elections in questions were held and the anarchy erupted) to July. That should prove the army is not a political party and does not want to indulge in politics. It is the strong arm of the Government in maintaining law and order.

I had no inkling at the time of the inner workings of the Government. I had no interest in it. I never knew how the economy of the country was developed. All I was interested in was my own money and budget. But, towards the middle of June, this started becoming more clear. I realised that former Prime Minister, Mr. Bhutto, was not honest and that he was bringing the country to the brink of disaster.

I have no proof other than my own word. But the fact is we in the army were urging him all the time to find a political solution to the election question. We forced him to agree to elections. But that was only an alternative. He was not honest in his negotiations (with the Pakistan National Alliance party who challenged Bhutto and charged him with election rigging and interference in the electoral process). And there was no reason for an agreement between the two parties. He dropped the negotiations, blaming the PNA.

Before that, at about the 20th of June, I met with my senior officers here in this house, and we decided that it was about time for us to use our option (to take over the government), because, if the negotiations between the two parties broke down and the Prime Minister had his own way, the country would be at loggerheads and the parties would start fighting again, and that would involve the public, and we would have to control the situation, but there was a danger of a rift in the

armed forces if this happened and it could not be allowed to occur, because, since the army has been the main institution of stability in the country. We would be doomed if it, too, became divided.

For these reasons because it was not in the interest of the armed forces or the country and to have to face nationwide agitation again, I went to Bhutto towards the middle of June, and we discussed the situation amongst ourselves. I said ; We have had a meeting of the six inner Corps Commanders, and have decided that the country cannot risk another agitation. If you can bring about a political solution to the question, we will give you all our support. If you do not do this, and if the negotiations fail there is a risk of public agitation coming again, of people coming into the streets and, this time, if we start shooting the people, there will be a rift in the armed forces themselves, and we cannot have that. If there is a chance of that, then, I am afraid, the army will have to use its full option and take over the Government.

He said, "Your timing is all wrong, Zia. I promise you that this time I will solve the problem politically, and once we solve it then we will go into elections, and, if the Opposition wins in the elections then you will impose Martial Law".

I said, "Mr. Prime Minister, how can I do that" ?

Then he said, "My brains and your power, those two joined together, and we will run this country".

That was the thinking of the former Prime Minister.

Having warned him, I waited for the negotiations.

The armed forces left the decision to me, and on the afternoon of July 4th when the Opposition leaders announced another breakdown in the negotiations, I decided to take over. We did so that night, and, between midnight and the morning of the 5th all was accomplished.

QUESTION : Why were elections not held when you promised them ?

ZIA : It has been said the military regime is erratic, that it is not firm, and that decisions are changed. The fact is, we were really, honestly heading towards elections 90 days from the day I announced

them, until I found out that there was no use in it, because of the polarisation that had taken place in the country. It had developed to such an acute state by the middle of last September, that, if we had the elections in October, the results would again have been very discouraging in the sense that there would not be any stable laws. It was not even clear then whether the Prime Minister would have been able to win a majority. So, we postponed the elections and are now trying to bring some sanity to politics to clean up the muck of selfishness and individuality and lack of interest in the country that has been established here for so many years.

QUESTION : What is the degree of political awareness in the general public ?

ZIA : Today, in comparison to many Third World countries Pakistan is far better off politically. Although our literacy rate may not be high, in the last 10 years Pakistan has been tremendous political growth. The man in the street, the tradesman, cab driver, labourer, are all politically aware. They will tell you today we do not want any elections, or they will say we want elections, we could not care less. All we want is honourable living. A man wants two square meals a day, not three, and he wants security. These are the basic requirements of the country.

With this end in view, we are overseeing the running of the country, we are bringing the people in line so that, by the time we hand the country over to a political government it will be very easy to rule.

QUESTION : What are your feelings about the Bhutto case and the growth of world opinion supporting him ?

ZIA : The latter is due to a lack of information. He is supported for political reasons and out of a lack of knowledge. Just because we happen to be a military rule and that a case is going on against the former Prime Minister, a case in which he has been convicted of murder by a Court of High judges.

We accept that our public relationing has not been that strong in the world, and the truth of the situation has thus not been widespread.

He was, nevertheless, found guilty of murder by the Civil Court - not a Military Court - and is now awaiting appeal to our Supreme Court, which can either confirm the death sentence, reduce it, or acquit him completely. I will not prejudge, because, technically I am in a position as Chief Executive to either reduce the sentence or give mercy, it is not incumbent on me now to comment whether the sentence will be upheld.

I think this case and the admirable courage of the Courts should set an example for our politicians. I hope and pray that this will bring some sanity to the minds of the politicians so that they will not continue their malpractices or irresponsible politics. Indications are already evident that this is happening. And, some of those indications are coming from neighbouring countries, too. It is not for love of Mr. Bhutto, however, but is fear that in their own countries somebody might stand up and say "look here, how about you?". That's what's really worrying them; our emphasis on accountability and responsibility in the politics of the country.

QUESTION : It is often said that the only reason Pakistan remains a poor country, given its abundant human and natural resources, is the great degree of mismanagement in the country. Is that true?

ZIA : The Pakistani people have heard for 30 years that we are a poor country, but I have been saying in my last three speeches to the nation that Pakistan is one of the richest countries you can come across : 73 million people, so much land. This little part which now comprises Pakistan was the granary of the whole of India only 35 years ago. We have mineral resources, too, and are rich in water in an area where people are crying for water. So, it is only a question of harnessing these resources in the proper manner.

Unfortunately, we have not yet resolved the problem of honesty of purpose, real honesty in the total interest of the country, as a whole rather than individual interests of personality or separate regions of the country.

We can increase industrial and agricultural production by 35 per cent according to the World Bank's report by simple introduction of

management and discipline and without any extra inputs : only with present knowledge and present resources. This is where we have concentrated for the first four months, and I think it is now solved.

QUESTION : You have called for Pakistanis abroad to return and help build their country. Are very many coming back now ?

ZIA : I made the call about three months ago, while opening the new Romanian built refinery at Karachi, and I said, 'let my words be carried to the world and to those Pakistanis who will listen. Let those who can contribute not come here for good, but keep their jobs and come once a year for a month or two to help me out by solving the problems that plague us.

As a result, we have had about dozen doctors come and about thirty engineers, as well as two or three United Nations people. Most who have come are administrators, better administrators than me. There is still, however, a bit of uncertainty about me among the highly qualified persons living abroad. They still do not know whether policies will change again or not. I assure them; nevertheless that my only intention is to set Pakistan back on course toward progress and democratic institutions.

QUESTION : How do you feel about your position now, after some ten months as the Chief Executive of Pakistan ?

ZIA : It is a fascinating job that keeps me going for 18 hours a day. And it's not all that gloomy because I see the results being achieved a little, here and there a little law and order problem being solved here, prices getting a little steadier by certain actions there, getting more attention to agriculture, workers going to work on time, and with less strikes. Small indications, but enough to be satisfied that progress is being made.

What is best, I think, is that I have been lucky in many respects. It is the hand of Providence, I think, much more than my own personal achievements that have brought us the successes of the last ten months. Perhaps in many respects we have made mistakes, but the fact still remains that we are around the corner now. Our relations with our neighbours are better at any time in our history, our society is growing, and we are moving economically. All we need is time and patience.

GENERAL ZIA SWORN IN PRESIDENT

General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq Chief of the army staff and Chief Martial Law Administrator was sworn in the sixth president of Pakistan in Rawalpindi on the afternoon of September 16, 1978.

The oath of office was administered by the Chief Justice of Pakistan, Mr. Justice S. Anwar-ul-Haq, at a ceremony at the State Guest House. The outgoing President, Mr. Fazal Elahi Chaudhry, was also present on the occasion.

On the arrival of the President and the Chief Martial Law Administrator the national anthem was played. The ceremony began with recitations from the Holy Quran, after which the Chief Justice administered the oath of office to General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq as President. The oath was followed by fanfare and the national anthem, marking the conclusion of the ceremony.

The swearing-in of the new President followed relinquishment of the office by Mr. Fazal Elahi Chaudhry this afternoon.

Gen. Zia-ul-Haq, who will continue to be the Chief of the Army Staff and CMLA has assumed the office of President under the President's Succession Order issued by the outgoing President yesterday.

The order provides for the CMLA or his nominee to become President if the office falls vacant before the election of a President under the Constitution. One of the last State functions performed by the outgoing President was the receipt of credentials from the Ambassador of the Republic of Maldives this afternoon.

Gen. Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq said after being sworn in President today that he would step down as soon as another suitable man could be found.

General Zia told reporters: 'It was not my choice but the decision was made for me in all the forums (of Government). I will remain in office until the next elected President can take over.'

He added that he would continue as President only until we can find another man or unless there is a better alternative than that.

He said the President was 'really a figurehead,' and the office largely ceremonial. 'It should take up three hours of my time each week. Basically I see myself as Chief of Staff,' he added.

The new President said Mr. Chaudhry, whose term of office officially expired last month, had planned for some time to retire, largely for health reasons, and he had wanted to quit honourably.

'I never wanted to be a political candidate', he told reporters on the lawn of the Chief of Staff's residence. But technically this appointment was the least controversial course. There was no other way to fill the vacancy' he added.

He said the Chief Justice could not have taken over because he was presiding over the Supreme Court hearing of an appeal by Mr. Bhutto against the death sentence passed on him earlier this year.

COMPLETE ISLAMISATION OF SOCIETY TO BE ACHIEVED—ZIA

President Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq declared in Lahore on Wednesday the 22nd October, 1980, that the Armed Forces would fight with all strength at their command against any power which might attempt to harm the honour of the people of Pakistan.

Speaking at a civic reception held at the newly laid Mughul Garden of the Bagh-i-Jinnah by the citizens of Lahore in appreciation of his speech at the U.N. as the representative of 900 millions of the Muslims all over the world, the President said that in Pakistan sovereignty lies in Allah and His Deen and none else. There could be no un-Islamic Government in the country nor could there be the rule of persons upholding un-Islamic values. Pakistan was achieved in the name of Islam and this alone was the main force behind it.

Islam and Pakistan, he said were interlinked. Dependence of Pakistan on Islam was not a new concept. In fact it was an old

concept which formed the basis of its creation. What his Government was trying to achieve was the realisation that Islam was the pivotal force of Pakistan and in doing so "we do not adopt a posture of apology." This regime had made it clear to all, both within the country and abroad that Islam was the only mainspring of Pakistan and this was also the reflection of the feelings of 80 million people of Pakistan.

MLAS APPOINTED GOVERNORS

The Chief Martial Law Administrator appointed the Martial Law Administrators of Zone A, C, and D as Governors of Punjab, Sind and Baluchistan respectively, it was officially announced on September 16, 1978.

The Oath of Office to the new Governors will be administered on September 18, 1978. The MLA, Zone B, Lt. Gen. Fazale Haq who is outside the country on official duty will be sworn as Governor of NWFP on his return. Meanwhile, Maj. Gen. Syed Razaqat will be the Acting Governor who will be sworn on September 18, 1978. The outgoing Acting Governors will revert to their judicial career. The new provincial heads will retain their present appointments.

Chief of the Army Staff and Chief Martial Law Administrator, Gen. Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq, today hosted a lunch in honour of the outgoing Acting Governors of the provinces.

Earlier, the Chief Martial Law Administrator held a special meeting with the Acting Governors and the Martial Law Administrators and apprised them of the new arrangements. He thanked the outgoing Acting Governors for their services and cooperation during the past over one year. He paid tributes to their dedication to duty.

SAWAR IS SWORN IN GOVERNOR

Lt.-General Sawar Khan, MLA, Zone A was on Monday, September 18, 1978, sworn in Governor of the Punjab at a simple but impressive ceremony at the Governor's House.

The oath of office was administered in the Darbar Hall by Mr. Justice Mushtaq Hussain, Chief Justice, Lahore High Court.

DIRECT DIALING LAHORE LINKED WITH 33 CITIES

Lahore was linked on telephone under the nation-wide system (NWD) with 33 cities of the country, on October 15, 1978. The code number to dial any Lahore telephone number from all the 33 cities is 042.

The NWD was introduced last year but due to some mechanical hurdles, Lahore could not be put on this system.

ZIA APPROVED IQBAL COMPLEX MODEL

The President, General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq, on Friday, October 27, 1978, approved a model of Iqbal Memorial Complex, to be built in Lahore at a cost of Rs. 10 crore, out of the five models shown to him.

GEN. JILANI TO BE PUNJAB GOVERNOR.

Lt.-Gen. Ghulam Jilani Khan, Secretary-General, Ministry, of Defence, was appointed Governor, Punjab, in place of Lt.-General Sawar Khan with effect from May 1, 1980, it was officially announced on April 23, 1980.

Lieutenant-General Ghulam Jilani Khan was born at Jandiala Sheikhan (Sheikhupura) in 1925. On being commissioned in 1944, he joined the 3rd battalion of the old Second Punjab Regiment. During World War II, he saw action in Burma.

On the emergence of Pakistan, he was posted to a battalion of the Frontier Force Regiment as its Adjutant. Later, he served as an instructor at the Pakistan Military Academy. Subsequently, he held several staff and command appointments, including those of second-in-command of a Frontier Force battalion and Assistant Military Secretary at the General Headquarters.

He was promoted Lieutenant-Colonel in 1963. From 1965 to 67 he successively commanded two battalions of the Frontier Force Regiment.

He was promoted Colonel in 1967 and posted as Colonel Staff at a divisional headquarters.

In 1968, he was promoted Brigadier and given the command of an infantry brigade. On his promotion as Major-General in 1970, he became the Director-General of Inter-Services Intelligence. In 1975, he was promoted Lieutenant-General.

He was appointed Secretary, Ministry of Defence, on October 20, 1977 and elevated to the post of Secretary General Defence in July 1979.

He is a graduate of the Command and Staff College, Quetta. He has been awarded HI (m) and S. Bt.

NEW GOVERNOR SWORN IN

Lt.-Gen. Ghulam Jilani Khan took over as new Governor of the Punjab at a swearing-in ceremony held in the Darbar Hall of the Governor's House on May 1, 1980.

Chief Justice of the Lahore High Court, Mr. Justice Mushtaq Hussain, administered the oath in Urdu. The ceremony was attended by former Advisers, Judges of the High Court, Mayor of Lahore, and high civil and military officers.

Trumpeters heralded the entrance of Lt.-General Ghulam Jilani Khan to the Darbar Hall, who was accompanied by Mr. Justice Mushtaq Hussain and attended by his personal staff. After recitation from the Holy Quran by Qari Ali Hussain Siddiqui, the Punjab Chief Secretary, Mr. Masood Nabi Noor, read out the Commission of Appointment of the Governor issued by President Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq. It was followed by administration of the oath. The ceremony ended with the playing of the National Anthem and the Governor and the Chief Justice left the Darbar Hall.

CH. ZAHUR ELAHI SHOT DEAD

Chaudhri Zahur Elahi, a former Federal Minister and defunct Muslim League Leader, was killed in Lahore in a gun attack on

Friday, September 25, 1981 after-noon while he was driving in his car with Mr. Justice (Retd.) Maulavi Mushtaq Hussain, a former Chief Justice of the Lahore High Court, who was injured in the leg, and Mr. M.A. Rehman, Bar-at-Law who escaped unhurt. The chauffeur, Nasim who was also fatally wounded died instantaneously in the attack allegedly launched with automatic guns and grenades.

Ch. Zahur Elahi received head injuries. He died shortly after he was admitted to the United Christian Hospital in Gulberg.

ZAHUR'S ASSASSIN HANGED

Abdul Razaq alias Jharna, the assassin of Cbaudhry Zahur Elahi and his driver, was hanged in Kot Lakhpat Jail on Saturday, the 7th May, 1983.

LODI TAKES OATH AS ACTING PUNJAB GOVERNOR

Corps Commander Lt.-Gen. Sardar F.S. Lodi was sworn-in as the Acting Governor of the Punjab on Sunday, the 12th June, 1983.

The Acting Chief Justice of the Lahore High Court, Mr. Justice Dr. Javid Iqbal administered the oath.

Lt.- General Ghulam Jilani Khan, the Governor of the Punjab, today left for London, for medical treatment. He is expected to join his post in August, 1983.

LAHORE
PAST AND PRESENT

DESCRIPTION

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

BOUNDARIES, AREA AND GENERAL CONFIGURATION.

LAHORE is a Corporation City, the capital of the Panjāb, and the administrative head-quarters of a Division and District of the same name. The City, which has an elevation of 702 feet above sea-level, is situate on the left bank of the Rāvi about a mile from its present course and stands on the Dehli—Peshāwar grand trunk road. The city is built in the form of a parallelogram, the area of the so-called walled¹ town, inclusive of the citadel, being about 461 acres. The walled city is slightly elevated above the plain. The Civil Station now extends to lands comprised in ten adjoining land revenue estates besides the estate of Lahore itself. The Cantonments of Lahore are situated some three miles east of the Civil Station in land which once formed part of the old land revenue estate of Miān Mir. The Railway Station is the principal junction of the North-Western System.

The Rāvi (the present name means 'Sun'); the *Hydraotes* of *Arrian*, the *Paruṣṇī* of the *Vedas*, and the *Īrāvati* of classical Sanskrit authors, is the smallest of the five rivers of the Panjāb, and passes in a semi-circle to the North of Lahore after making a circuitous bend from the East. At one time it flowed by the city walls; but, its encroachments having caused alarm in 1662 A.D., the Emperor Aurangzeb had a massive embankment of bricks and mortar constructed along its bank for a distance of about four miles, which saved the city from destructions. Although not mentioned by the Court chroniclers, the fact is thus recorded by 'Allud Dīn in his '*Ibratnāma* :

1. The wall is no more there.

درس چهارم جلوس والا دریای راوی بجانب شهر رو نهاد و از صدمات آن باکثر عمارات و باغات آسیب رسید - لهذا درس مذکور برای تعمیر بند مستحکم حکم اقدس شد - انهدام عمارات عمارتش تواند بود بصدور پیوست - بمجرد حکم فرمان پذیران بدرازی دو گروه الی خانقاه حضرت شاه بلاول باستحکام تمام بند بستند - و بمحافظت شهر سد عالم گیری بسان سد سکندری بروی کار آوردند - و در اکثر جاها مانند تالاب زینه آراسته لب دریا را بمثل لب لعل خوبان دلفریب ساخته - و خوانین والا شان نشیمن های دلکشای و منازلهای فرح افزای احداث نموده زیب فرمای شهر شدند - و از ابتدا تا انتها انتظام سلطنت در هر سال ترمیم و تعمیر از سرکار بادشاهی می شد و بنای بند مذکور چنین بر نهادند که تا دیر جنبش نگیرد یعنی چاهک ها مثل چاه آبدار کلان متصل یکدیگر در زمین فرو برده بالای آن آثار بند بستند و پیشرونی از چوبهای کلان و سطر تا عمق چاهک ها در زمین دفن کرده¹

"In the fourth year of the reign [of Āurangzeb] the river Rāvi shifted its course towards the city. Many buildings and gardens were damaged on account of its encroachments. For this reason in the same year a royal order was issued to construct an embankment, which should save the buildings from destruction. To comply with this order a strong embankment, the *Sadd e Ālamgiri* ['Ālamgīr's rampart] was constructed for a distance of 2 *kos*, upto the tomb of Ḥaẓrat Shā Bilāwal,² to protect the city like the *Sadd e Sikandari* [Alexander's rampart]. In many places the embankment was decorated with the steps of tank like the ruby lips of the beloveds. The nobles also built here very pleasing and pleasant buildings. From the beginning to the end of the rule [of Āurangzeb] every year construction was carried out and modification affected by the government. The foundation of the embankment was so securely laid that it would not be damaged

1. 'Alīud Dīn, 'Ibrahīmā, 1. 34. Compare with Sujān Rāe's *Khulāṣat-i-Tawārīkh*, p. 66.

2. See Latīf, *Lahore*, 168—69.

for a long time to come. For instance the foundation of the embankment rested on the top of wells sunk in close proximity like the big water-wells. Huge and massive wood [beams] were also sunk in the ground to the depth and in front of these wells."

Portions of this huge work called the Band e 'Ālamgirī, are still to be seen to the North-East of the citadel, and the village Bhogiwāl. The river soon afterwards abandoned its old channel, and has never since returned to it.

That Lahore formerly covered a far larger area than it does at present, is at once apparent from the extent of the ruins of old buildings. Some local authorities, however, are of the opinion that at no one time was the vast extent which the remains indicate covered by an inhabited city. But that the inhabited area has greatly shrunk is evident from the fact that of 36 *gazars* or quarters into which Lahore is known to have been divided, only 9 are included within the area of the walled city, and only a few others now exist with their old names. The detail of the nine *gazars* (quarters) inside the city wall, constructed by Akbar during his residence at Lahore (1584 to 1598 A.D.), is given by Mufti Tajud Din as follows :

نام گزرہای اندرون شہر لاہور

آبادی اندرون شہر کی نو گزر پر منقسم تھی -

گزر جہجہ دیوانی - ابتدا اس کا موچی دروازہ اور منتہا اس کا رنگ محلہ، سید نظام بخاری، اور پھل وھڑ، اور حویلی میان خان اور محلہ قاضی محمد اسلم اور محلہ اخوند محمد فاضل و کوچہ ہای و شوارع چپ و راست دروازہ شاہ عالمین سی دروازہ اکبری تک اسی میں داخل تھی -

گزر مچھی ہٹہ - ابتدا اس کا دروازہ شاہ عالمین اور منتہا اس کا وہی رنگ محلہ، جملہ کوچہ ہای زمین و بسیار اسی کا ضمیمہ ہیں -

گزر وچھروالی۔ یہ گزر اوسط شہر میں ہے، وسط اوس کا جہان سردار مصر ہرچند اس نے حویلی بنوائی۔ اور جتنی کوچی اور شوارع اس کے دھنے باوین واقع ہیں۔ اسی کی شاخیں ہیں۔

گزر مباراخان۔ ابتدا اس کا کوچہ ڈوگران علاقہ شاہ عالمین دروازہ اور منٹا اس کا محلہ جوڑے موری اور لاہوری منڈی بلکہ اکثر لاہوری منڈی، اور جس قدر راستے اور کوچے اس کی متصل ہیں۔ اس کے ساتھ متصل ہیں۔ حتیٰ کہ بھائی دروازہ کی طرف شرقی اور ایک طاق دروازہ اسی میں داخل ہے۔

گزر تلوارہ۔ جس قدر عمرانات بازار بھائی دروازہ کی جانب مغرب ہیں تا چورستہ بازار ٹبی اسی میں داخل ہیں۔

گزر رڑہ۔ یہ گزر اور گزروں سے بہت بڑا ہے۔ جتنے محلے اور کوچے اور بازار اندر دروازہ دہلی و زکی اور اکثر طرق و شوارع اندرون دروازہ اکبری ہیں۔ تا چورستہ رنگ محل اسی کی شاخیں ہیں۔ ایام سلف میں بموقع کوتوالی کہ اوسط گزر مذکور ہے۔ ایک گاہن تھا۔ جس کو روہ بولتے تھے۔ جب وہ وسط شہر میں آگیا۔ وہ بستی اسی نام پر موسوم رہی۔

گزر شیخ محمد اسحاق۔ ابتدا اس کا خضری دروازہ اور منٹا اس کا چورستہ متصل حویلی جنرل الہی بخش جس قدر طرق و شوارع چپ و راست میں ہیں اس کی متعلق ہیں۔

گزر شہباز خان۔ جس قدر آبادی زیر دیوار جنوبی قلعہ بادشاہی ہے تا چورستہ جنرل الہی بخش مذکور اس کا ضمیمہ ہے۔

گزر مانک چوک۔ سید مٹھ سے لغایت فصیل دروازہ ٹنگسالی و شاہ برج ٹنگسالی،¹

1. Tājūd Dīn, Muftī, (Extracts published in the *Oriental College Magazine*, November, 1943, pp. 71—72).

"QUARTERS INSIDE THE CITY

The area inside the city was divided into nine quarters :

1. Jhajjha Diwānī Quarters : This area began from Mochī Gate and extended upto Rang [Maḥal]. It also included Sayyid Nizām Bukhārī Maḥalla, Pīpal Vehra, Havelī Mīān Khān, Qāzī Muḥammad Aslam Maḥalla, Akhwand Muḥammad Fāzil Maḥalla, and the streets and roads on the right and left from Shāh 'Ālamīn Gate to Akbarī Gate.

2. Machchhī Haṭṭa Quarters : This area begins from Shāh 'Ālamīn Gate and extends upto Rang Maḥalla. All the streets on the right and left are included in it.

3. Wachho Walī Quarters : This area is situated in the middle of the city. Its centre is located where Sardar Mīr Harcharndas has built a house. All the streets and roads on the right and left are included in it.

4. Mubārā Khān Quarters : This area begins from Kucha Dogrān in the Shāh 'Ālamīn Gate and extends upto Jauze Mori Maḥalla and Lāhorī Maṇḍī. In fact most of the Lāhorī Maṇḍī and all the adjacent streets are included in it. So much so that the eastern gate with one vault towards the Bhāpī Gate forms a part of it.

5. Talwāra Quarters. All the prosperous dwellings situated towards west in the Bhāpī Gate and upto the crossing of Tibbī Bāzār are included in it.

6. Raṛa Quarters : This is the biggest area. All the streets and bāzārs inside the Dehli, Zakī and Akbarī Gates, upto the crossing of Rang Maḥal are its branches. In early times there used to be a village by the name of Raṛa, which was situated in the middle of this area, where Kotwalī is now situated. When the village was surrounded by the city the area was called after it.

7. Shaikh Muḥammad Ishāq Quarters : It begins from Khizrī Gate and extends upto the crossing near the house of General Ilāhī Baksh. All the adjacent streets and roads are included in it.

8. Shāhbāz Khān Quarters: The whole of the area at the foot of the southern wall of the royal fort upto the crossing of General Ilāhī Bakhsh is included in it.

9. Mānak Chauk Quarters: It includes the area from Sayyid Miṭṭha to the Tangsālī Gate and Shāh Burj. On the city wall."

The other 27 *guzars*, outside the walled city, are described as follows by the same author :

نام محلہ و بستیمہائی بیرون فصیل شہر

آبادی بیرون حصار شہر ستائیس گزر پر منقسم تھی اور ہر ایک گذر مبنی چند محلہ و کوچہ و بڑی ہا و قلعہ ہا و شوارع و اسواق جو کہ بسبب نہ ملنے کسی کتاب معتبر کی مفصل حال نہیں لکھ سکتا۔ کہ کون کون گزر اور کون کون محلہ اور بستی متعلق فلان فلان گزر کی تھی۔ اس واسطے جو کچھ حال مجھ کو بملاحظہ صکوک دیرینہ معلوم ہوا۔ بموجب اس کی لکھا جاتا ہے۔

محلہ حاجی سوای۔ بیرون موجی دروازہ لغایت موقع آبادی قلعہ گوجر سنگھ، یہ قلعہ گوجر سنگھ سمت ۱۸۵۵ میں گوجر سنگھ حاکم لاہور نے تعمیر کرایا۔ پہلے یہاں حویلی گوجر مل نامی کھتری کی تھی۔ اور ہاس اس کے ایک سرائے تھی۔

محلہ طلا بخاری۔ بیرون دروازہ شاہ عالمین تھا۔ جس موقع پر چھو بھگت کا چوبارہ ہے، یہ جگہ اوسط میں تھی۔ ہاس اس کے جانب جنوب ایک چورستہ تھا۔

محلہ پیر عزیز مہزنگ۔ جو کہ بالفعل موضع مہزنگ مشہور ہے۔ پیر مہزنگ جلال الدین اکبر کے عہد میں قنیر، بابرکت اور امیر ذی عظمت تھا۔ اس نے اس موقع پر مکان سکنی معمور کیا تھا۔ اس واسطے اس بستی کا نام محلہ پیر مہزنگ مشہور ہوا۔ بعد از آنکہ آبادی بیرونی شہر ویران ہوئی۔ یہ بستی بطور موضع شہر سے علاحدہ ہو گئی۔ اور بتدریج اس کی گرد جوار میں اور

چند بستیں آباد ہوئیں۔ بموجب تفصیل ذیل :- کوٹ عبداللہ شاہ، کوٹ مہار، تاج پور، قلعہ مہر مادو، قلعہ مہرا ترکھان، مبارک پور، ہستی مہتران، محلہ نزولی، کوئی پور بھوند پور، درانخالیکہ لاہور میں تین حاکم تھے۔ یہاں بھاگ سنگھ ہای لنگ حاکم تھا۔ اور مشخصہ اس کا لاہور سے علاحدہ، مہاراجہ صاحب کے عمل میں بھی اس کا مشخصہ علاحدہ اور جمعدار خوشحال سنگھ کو تمام گانو، بطور جاگیر مرحمت تھا۔

محلہ ابو اسحاق - جانب شرق مہزنک ابواسحاق فقیر نامی نبیرہ پیر عزیز مہزنک تھا۔ اس نے بعد اکبر مرحوم ایک طرف محلہ پیر مہزنک کے حویلی بنوائی۔ اس واسطے جس قدر آبادی اس کے گرد جوار میں ہوئی۔ اسی کے نام موسوم ہوئی۔ مقبرہ اس کا ہنوز ایک گوشہ موضہ مہزنک میں موجود ہے،

کوٹ کروڑی - جنوب مشرق محلہ حاجی سوائی جس موقعہ پر مقبرہ شیخ موسیٰ لوہار کا ہے یہ جگہ درمیان محلہ مذکور کے تھی، محلہ دلا واری - گوشہ شمال و جنوب محلہ پیر مہزنک کے تھا۔ جس موقعہ پر مقبرہ سید چراغ بخاری کا ہے۔ وسط محلہ تھا۔

قطب غوری - لاہوری دروازہ سے باہر تھا۔ جس جگہ قبر قطب غوری کی ہے یہ جگہ درمیان محلہ مذکور کے تھی۔ واضح رہے کہ یہ قطب الدین وہ شخص ہے۔ جس کو اہل توارخ قطب الدین ایبک لکھتے ہیں۔ جس نے ۱۲۰۶ء میں بعد مرنے شہاب الدین محمد غوری کی تخت لاہور اور دہلی پر اجلاس فرمایا۔ جب سے وہ اس جگہ دفن کیا گیا۔ اس بستی کا نام محلہ قطب غوری قرار پایا۔

لکھی محلہ - لاہوری دروازہ کے باہر قطب غوری کی جانب مغرب تھا۔ اس جگہ ایک بازار عالیشان تھا۔ لاکھ ہتی بیٹھتے تھے۔ اسی واسطے اس بستی کو لکھی محلہ کہتے تھے۔

رسول پور - پاس مقبرہ سید شاہ چراغ بخاری کے، اس محلہ میں اکثر سید رہتے تھے۔ اور انہوں ہی نے اس بستی کو آباد کر کے رسول پور نام رکھا تھا۔

چوک دارا - شاہ برج موجی دروازہ سے جانب مشرق ایک گولی بندوق مسافت پر دارا شکوہ ابن شاہجہان نے بعد شاہجہان اپنی رہنے کو حویلی عالیشان اور بازار مربع اور درمیان میں اس کے چوک مقطع اور ایک باغ بہت عمدہ اور وسیع اور ایک کثرہ مبنی بہ بیوت متعددہ بنوایا تھا۔ اس لئے بعد اس کے اس بستی کا نام چوک دارا قرار پایا۔ اور تا وقتیکہ دارا شکوہ جیتا رہا یہ قطعہ نمونہ بہشت رہا۔ بعد ویرانی ریاست ذوی الاسلام سکھوں نے یہاں سے لاکھپا روپیہ دینہ ان لوگوں کا جو یہاں رہتے رہے پایا اور عمارات دارا شکوہ سے ہزاروں روپیہ کا ہتھر اور قسم جواہر اوتارا مہاراجہ صاحب کے عہد میں اکثر اینٹ اس کی خندق پر لگی۔ بعد اس کی کشمیریوں نے بہت فائدہ اٹھایا۔ بالہائے دراز تک اینٹ بیچتے رہے، اور جن کو قسمت نے باری دی ان کو کھنڈروں سے خزانہ ملا، اور جس موقعہ پر خاص حویلی داراشکوہ کی تھی تا خاتمہ ریاست سکھاں اس جگہ باروت سرکاری بتا رہا، اس عمل میں وہاں جیل زنانہ ہے اور جس جگہ پر باغ داراشکوہ کا تھا وہاں اب محمد سلطان نے سرائے پختہ بنوایا (کذا)، نیز ایک طرف میں چھوٹا سا باغ بنوایا۔

محلہ جواہریاں - چوک دارا شکوہ کی جانب مشرق و جنوب میں جس کی جانب غرب و شمال میں محلہ حاجی سوائے تھا۔

محلہ شاہ کا کو - دیوار شرقی مسجد مقبوضہ بھائی گنڈا سنگھ کرتھی الحال معروف شہید گنج سے محلہ نخاس تک کہ فاصلہ گولی بندوق پر کوشہ شرق و شمال میں تھا۔ شاہ کا کو ایک فقیر خدا پرست تھا جس کی قبر زیر دیوار شرقی مسجد مذکور ہے۔ اسی واسطے یہ بستی اسی کے نام پر موسوم رہی۔

نخاس - مکان سرکاری بہ شکل سرائے معمور تھا۔ چوغطوں کے دوران میں یہاں گھوڑے بکتے تھے۔ بہ سبب ناموری مکان کی بستی محلہ نخاس کہلاتی تھی۔ دروازہ نخاس کا جو کہ مانند دروازہ مسجد وزیر خان بہت عمدہ وضع پر مقطع اور برنگ آمیزی کانسی و چینی

و صنعت کاری و کلکاری موجہ تھا۔ تا خاتمہ ریاست سکھان کھڑا رہا، جب محمد سلطان نے سرائے بنوائی وہ اینٹ یہاں کار آمد ہوئی۔

محلہ حاجی نالہ۔ دروازہ دہلی سے نھاس تک، نولکھا۔ شاہ برج دروازہ کی کے مقابل جانب شمال نواب علی مردان خان نے تخمیناً دو سو بیگہ زمین پر باغ بنوایا تھا جس کا نام نولکھا رکھا، پس بہ سبب ناموری باغ جس قدر آبادی اس کے پیرامن میں تھی اس کے نام پر موسوم ہوئی اب بھی اس قطعہ زمین کو جس میں چند کوئیں زرعی ہیں نولکھا کہتے ہیں۔ مشخصہ بھی اس کا علاحدہ ہے اس باغ کی بارہ دری بھی اب تک موجود ہے جس کو سردار لہنا سنگھ جیٹھہ نے اپنی مرضی کے موافق ترمیم کر کے کوئٹی عالیشان بنوائی۔

سید سر۔ جس موقعہ پر بالفعل اسٹیشن ریلوے ہے اس کے پاس ایک تالاب تھا جس کو ایک سید نامی معروف پیر مہکا کے مریدوں نے بنوایا تھا۔ پیر مہکا فقیر آدمی تھا جس کے ہزاروں دولتمند مزید تھے اصلی نام اس کا سید عبدالخالق تھا بعد تیاری اس تالاب کے جس کو ہندی میں سر کہتے ہیں اس بستی کا نام سید سر قرار پایا۔

کھوئی میراں۔ دہلی دروازہ سے جانب شمال فاصلہ ایک کوس پر، اس جگہ پر ایک سید معروف میراں نے کھوئی لگوئی اور مکان بنوایا تھا جس کا نام کھوئی میراں مشہور ہوا۔ عمل چغتائیاں میں جب آبادی بیرون شہر اس موقعہ تک پہنچی اور متصل اس کے مکانات معمور ہو گئے تو اسی نام سے اس بستی کا نام زبان زد عوام رہا جن دنوں میں لاہور میں حکومت قین حاکموں کی تھی۔ لہنا سنگھ احد الحکام مذکورہ نے اس کو بطور دیہ آباد کیا اب بھی اس کا مشخصہ شہر سے الگ ہے۔

منٹوی شہزادہ پرویز۔ کھوئی میراں سے تھوڑے فاصلے پر جانب مشرق میں شہزادہ پرویز نے جو کسی بادشاہ چغتائی کا بیٹا

بنام خود منٹوی آباد کی تھی، اور ایک بازار مربع اور حویلی عالیشان بنوائی اور اسی جگہ دفنایا گیا، اس واسطے اس بستی کا نام منٹوی پرویز مشہور ہوا۔ چشتی اپنی کتاب میں لکھتا ہے کہ پرویز بیٹا شاہ جہان کا تھا جو کہ خورد سالی میں مر گیا،

چوہتہ سودان - کھوئی میراں سے جانب جنوب چوہتہ بازار سوداں تھا اور اس میں اکثر سود رہا کرتے تھے۔

دروازہ مندر - پاس پڑاؤہ بدھو گمہار کے جو کہ لاہور سے فاصلہ دو کوس تک جانب مشرق ہے ایک مندر ہنود کا تھا، اور اس کا دروازہ بہت عمدہ وضع پر بنا ہوا تھا جس جو بستی اس کے قرب و جوار میں تھی اسی کے نام سے معروف تھی۔

ییکم پورہ - لاہور سے فاصلہ تین میل پر جانب شرق متصل موضع باغبانپورہ و بھوگی وال والدہ نواب خان بہادر نے مکانات سکنی تعمیر کرائے اور پیرامن ان کے چار دیواری پختہ بنوائی تھی، بعد اس کے نواب خان بہادر نے لاکھوں روپیہ صرف کر کے کئی مسجدیں اور بازار اور چوک بنوائے اور چپ و راست میں اوس کے لواحق اور اقارب و ذریات نے مکانات سکنی تیار کرائے، جن دنوں میں نواب خان بہادر صوبہ لاہور تھا۔ سب بستیوں سے اس بستی میں بہت رونق اور دولت تھی۔ غناس سے ییکم پورہ تک ایک بازار تھا جس میں لاکھ بٹی بیٹھتے تھے اور پہلے اس سے جس موقع پر ییکم پورہ معمور ہوا کوچہ تیلیاں تھا اب ییکم پورہ ہے نہ کوچہ تیلیاں۔ ٹوٹے بھوٹے ہوئے چند مقبرے اور آثار مکانات ہیں اور کچھ نہیں۔

محل مشکی - درمیان ییکم پورہ اور شالامار کے ایک مشکی مراسی مقرب اکبر مرحوم تھا۔ اس نے بموقع آبادی بھوگی وال حویلی بنوائی بہ سبب ناموری اس کی اس تمام بستی کا نام محل مشکی قرار پایا۔

تیلی وھڑہ - باغبانپورہ سے مغرب کی طرف، اس میں اکثر تیلیاں تھے اب اس جگہ میں گورستان تیلیاں ہے۔

بڑھی پہلواری - جانب مغرب ٹیلی وڈہ کے، بڑھی اور ٹھٹی
اور گڑھی قلعہ کو کہتے ہیں -

محلہ گنج - متصل اسٹیشن ریلوے میانمیر، اس کی جانب شمال
و مغرب میں مقبرہ بہادر خان کا کہ ہنوز ٹوٹا پھوٹا ہوا موجود
ہے - محلہ مذکور کے درمیان میں تھا - یہی محلہ جانب مشرق
مبتدا آبادی شہر کا تھا بعد زوال ریاست چغتائیاں ویران ہو کر
بعد کئی برسوں کے ہاس اس جگہ کے جانب مشرق بہ فاصلہ مسافت
گولی بندوق از سر نو آباد ہوا - اب موضع کہلاتا ہے اور ملکیت
اس کی ارائیوں کو -

ٹھٹی ابوالخیر - الحال معروف گڑھی شاہو لاہور سے گوشہ
شرق و جنوب میں بہ فاصلہ ایک کوس، ابوالخیر قہر تھا - اس نے
اس جگہ پر سکونت اختیار کی اور کوٹھی بنوائی اس لئے اس بستی
کا نام ٹھٹی ابوالخیر پایا ایام غدر سکھاں میں لوگ اٹھ گئے اور
مکانات ویران ہو گئے - اس ویرانی کی حالت میں ایک راعی شاہو
نامی نے یہاں رہنا اختیار کیا - بعد اس کے گوجر سنگھ حاکم لاہور
نے اس ویرانہ کو بطور دیہ آباد کیا اور ملکیت دیہ کے ارائیوں
کو دی، جب سے گڑھی شاہو مشہور ہوا -

بستی میانمیر - جانب شرق و شمال و مغرب مراۓ میانمیر صاحب
مرحوم جس قدر آبادی تھی بستی میانمیر کہلاتی تھی - حال میانمیر
صاحب کا بیان مقابر میں لکھا جاوے گا انشاء اللہ تعالیٰ -

دولت آباد - جانب مشرق پیر مہزنک کے، ساتھ ساتھ محلہ
ابو اسحاق کے قلعہ دولت آباد تھا - تعمیر اور آبادی اس کی وارثان
سید عبدالقادر ثانیؒ جس کا مقبرہ درمیان بستی مذکور کے تھا کرائی
تھی - بعد اس کے بتدریج ہاس کے سادات کرام نے اور چند قلعے
آباد کئے - قلعہ میر محمودؒ - قلعہ میر ارشد خانؒ - قلعہ میر
قزاق خانؒ - زان بعد بعد حکومت نواب خان بہادر و فرزندان
نواب خان بہادر دو اور قلعہ تیار ہوئے - قلعہ میر نواب محمودؒ -

قلعہ میر اکبر - اب ان قلعوں اور بستیوں کا نام و نشان نہیں رہا۔ مگر ایک چاہ ہے جس کو چاہ میر والا کہتے ہیں۔ پہلے ان قلعوں کی اس جگہ کو محلہ و راجہ بولتے تھے۔ قلعہ میر یعقوب۔ یہ قلعہ پاس دولت آباد مشرق و جنوب میں، حاجی پور طرف جنوب قلعہ میر یعقوب، قلعہ علی پور۔ پاس تالاب کنہواں کے مغرب و جنوب میں، بڑھی شاہ پور مغرب میں پہلے پور کے۔
خوجوں کا محلہ۔ پاس محلہ ابواسحاق کی جانب شمال، بالفعل اس محلہ سے ایک مسجد ٹوٹی ہوئی ہوئی ہوئی ہے جس کو خوجوں کی مسجد بولتے ہیں۔

باغ نخلی۔ جس موقعہ پر تھانہ انارکلی اور عجائب گھر معمور ہے نواب وزیر خاں امیر شاہ جہان نے باغ بنوایا۔ جس میں ہزارہا اشجار بسر و رطب تھے اسی واسطے لوگ اس باغ کو نخلی بولتے تھے اور اسی نام سے تمام بستی موسوم رہی۔ بالفعل اس باغ سے چند درخت خرما اور ایک بارہ دری موجود ہے جس کو حکام نے کتاب گھر قرار دیا اس باغ کی جانب مغرب باغ زیب النساء تھا اب اس موقع میں موضع نواکوٹ آباد ہے۔ اس باغ کے جانب شمال باغ انارکلی تھا جس قدر آبادی ان باغوں کے گرد جوار میں تھی انہیں کے نام پر معروف تھی جانب شمال باغ انارکلی کے محلہ پیر بہاؤن تھا اب اس موقعہ پر امام ہاڑہ ہے۔

شیش محل۔ جانب شمال محلہ پیر بہاؤن۔ مزار مخدوم جھویری کی، اس محلہ کی طرف جنوب میں تھی۔ کسی بیگم نے بعد سلاطین چغتائی شیش محل بنوایا تھا۔ اس واسطے اس تمام بستی کا نام شیش محل قرار پایا۔ اب اس کا نام و نشان نہیں مگر نام رہا۔ جمع بندی اس قلعہ کی لاہور سے علیحدہ ہے۔

تل بہوگا۔ جانب مشرق شیش محل کے تا دیوار فصیل غربی لاہور دروازہ لٹکسالی تک۔

محلہ شیخ اشرف۔ بھائی دروازہ سے لغایت موقع بنائے دارالمدالت ضلع، شیخ اشرف عہد عالمگیر میں بڑا بھاری عامل تھا۔ بیرون،

بھاٹی دروازہ اس نے مسجد عالیشان اور مکانات سکنی بنوائے۔ اس لئے اس بستی کا نام محلہ شیخ اشرف مشہور ہوا۔ جب وہ مر گیا تو قبر اس کی بھی اسی جگہ ہوئی۔ مہاراجہ رنجیت سنگھ نے وقت تعمیر خندق کے اس مسجد و دیگر عمرانات شیخ اشرف کو بارود سے اڑا دیا اور نعش اس کی اس جگہ سے نکال کر میانی میں دفنائی۔

بند عالم گیری۔ مستی دروازہ سے تاحمود بوٹی واسطے روک دریا اور حفاظت شہر کے عالم گیر نے بند پختہ بنوایا تھا، اور بحکم بادشاہ ہر ایک امیر نے اس پر مکانات سیر گاہ اور عقب مکانات باغ جانفزای تعمیر کرائے اس واسطے جو عمارت اس بند پر اور متصل اس کے ہوئی بند عالمگیر مشہور ہوئی۔

محلہ فدائی خان۔ بیرون دروازہ اکبری نیچے فصیل شہر کے تا دروازہ دہلی، فدائی خان امیر عالمگیر تھا۔ جس کے اہتمام میں مسجد بادشاہی تیار ہوئی۔ اس نے اس موقع پر مکانات سکنی بنوائے تھے۔ اس لئے اس تمام بستی کا نام محلہ فدائی خان مشہور ہوا۔

پنڈڈھولان۔ جہت شرق و شمال محلہ پیر مہزنگ موقع مکان چلہ شاہ مقیم درمیان آبادی کے تھا۔

میانی۔ جہت مغرب و جنوب محلہ پیر مہزنگ جس قدر آبادی تھی میانی کہلاتی تھی۔ اگرچہ محلہ ہائے متعلقہ شہر سے الگ تھے۔ مگر بظاہر حال ضمیمہ شہر تھا۔ مفصل حال اس کا بیان مقابر و اسکنہ دیرینہ میں لکھا جائے گا، انشا اللہ تعالیٰ۔

کنبو واڑہ۔ جانب شمال آبادی شہر جس موقع پر اب کوٹھی ڈاکٹر (ڈاکٹر) ہتوی (کڈا) صاحب کی ہے۔ بالفعل اس آبادی سے اب تالاب موجود ہے جس کو تالاب کنبوواں بولتے ہیں۔ یہ آبادی بھی شہر میں داخل نہ تھی۔ مگر الگ بھی نہ تھی۔¹

1. Tejnd Din, Mufti, *Lahore & Quidm* (Extracts published in the *Oriental College Magazine*, November, 1943, pp. 72—80).

"THE QUARTERS AND SETTLEMENTS OUTSIDE THE CITY WALLS

The area outside the city wall comprised 27 quarters and every quarter included a few *maḥallas*, streets, forts, highways and bāzār. As the details are not available from an authentic book I cannot say which of the *maḥalla* and settlements were included in a particular area. I have, therefore, recorded here what I have been able to gather from old legal documents.

Hājī Siwāi Maḥalla : It extends from outside the Mochl Gate to Qala' Gujjar Singh. Qala' Gujjar Singh was constructed by Gujjar Singh the ruler of Lahore in 1855 Samvat [1798 A.D.]. Formerly there used to be the house of Gujjar Mal Khatri, here, close to which was situated a *sarāe*.

Ṭilā Bukhārī Maḥalla : It was situated outside the Shāh 'Ālamīn Gate where the *Chaubāra* of Chhajju Bhagat stands. It was centrally located and on the South of it there was a crossing.

Pir 'Aziz Mohzang Maḥalla : Now it is known as the village Mohzang. Pir Mohzang was a pious saint and a respectable noble who lived during the period of Jalālud Dīn Akbar. He built a residential house. Hence this quarters was named Pir Mohzang Maḥalla. Later on when the quarters outside the city were depopulated this *bastī* was separated as a village from the city. Gradually other quarters sprang up around it, viz., Koṭ 'Abdullah Shāh, Koṭ Mudāhar, Tājpura, Fort of Mahr Mādū, Fort of Mahrā, the Carpenter, Mubārakpura, the Sweepers Colony [Bastī Mehtrān], Nazulī Maḥalla, Kolpur, and Bhundpur. In those days Lahore was ruled by three governors. Bhāg Singh, the lame, ruled this area, which was considered a revenue estate separate from Lahore. During the time of the Maharāja [Ranjit Singh] also this was a separate revenue estate and the whole village was granted as a *jāgīr* to Jam'adār Khushhāl Singh.

Abu Ishāq Maḥalla : This area is towards the east of Mohzang. Abu Ashāq was a saint, who was a grandson of Pir 'Aziz Mohzang. During the reign of the late Akbar he built a *ḥavelī* on one side

of Pir Mohzang Mahalla. Hence this locality was named after him. His tomb is situated in a corner of the village Mohzang.

Kot Karori: It was situated on the East of Hāji Siwāi Mahalla, where there is the tomb of Shaikh Musā, the ironsmith. This was located in the middle of this locality.

Dulla Wari Mahalla: It was situated on the North and South corners (?) of Pir Mohzang Mahalla. The tomb of Sayyid Chirāgh Bukhārī was situated in the middle of it.

Qutb Ghuri: It was situated outside the Lahori Gate. The tomb of Qutb Ghuri was in the middle of it. It may be mentioned that Qutbud Din is the same person who is styled as Qutbud Din Ibak by the historians and who ascended the thrones of Lahore and Delhi in 1206 A.D. after the death of Shihabud Din Muhammad Ghuri. Since the time he was buried here this locality came to be known as Qutb Ghuri Mahalla.

Lakkhi Mahalla: It was situated outside the Lahori Gate towards the West of Qutb Ghuri. Here was a grand *bāzār* in which used to sit millionaires. Hence this locality was Lakkhi Mahalla [the street of millionaires].

Rasulpura: This is situated near the tomb of Sayyid Shāh Chirāgh Bukhārī. As it was mostly populated by the Sayyids they named it Rasulpura [the abode of prophet].

Chowk Dārā: At a distance of a gun-shot on the east of the Shāh Burj on Mochi Gate, Dārā Shikoh, the son of Shāhjahān, built, in the reign of Shāhjahān, a grand *haveli* for himself, a square *bāzār* with a beautiful crossing and a large and nice garden in between, and a *kaṭra* comprising many houses. Hence this locality was named Chowk Dārā. As long as Dārā Shikoh was alive this locality looked like a piece of paradise. After the fall of the Muslim empire the Sikhs unearthed the buried treasures of lakhs of rupees of the inhabitants who lived here. They also removed valuable stones and pearls worth thousands of rupees from the buildings of Dārā Shikoh. In the reign of the Maharāja most of the bricks were used in constructing the ditch. Then

Kashmiris took benefit of it. They sold the bricks for many years to come, and the more fortunate got treasures out of these ruins. Upto the end of the rule of the Sikhs gun-powder was manufactured at the place where the residential *haveli* of Dārā Shikoh existed. At present the women's jails is located there. In the locality where there used to be the garden of Dārā Shikoh, Muḥammad Sulṭān has now built a pucca *sarāe* and one side he has laid a small garden.

Jawāhariān Maḥalla: This was situated on the South-East of Dārā Shikoh Chowk and Hāji Siwā Maḥalla.

Shāh Kākū Maḥalla: It included the area upto Nakḥās Maḥalla situated at a distance of gun-shot on the North-East of the eastern wall of the mosque, now in possession of Bhaī Gaṇḍā Singh Garanthī, and popularly known as Shāhid Ganj. Shāh Kākū was a pious saint, whose grave is located at the foot of the eastern wall of the said mosque. Hence this locality was named after him.

Nakḥās: It was a government building used as a *sarāe*. During the reign of Chaghātāis horses were sold here. Hence this locality was called Nakḥās (Market) Maḥalla. The entrance of the market was conspicuous for its fine decoration of pointed and glazed tiles like the entrance of Waḥīr Khān mosque. This entrance remained in its position till the end of the Sikh rule. When Muḥammad Sulṭān built the *sarāe* these tiles were used there.

Hāji Nālā Maḥalla: It extended from the Dehlī Gate to Nakḥās.

Naulakkhā: Outside the Zakī Gate, and opposite the Shāh Burj towards North, Nawāb 'Alī Mardān Khān laid a garden in an area of 200 *bighas*. This garden was named Naulakkhā. Hence the surrounding locality was called Naulakkhā. Even now the locality which has some irrigating wells is styled Naulakkhā. It is a separate revenue estate. The *bāradari* of the garden is still there which has been modified by Sardār Lahnā Singh Majitha to be used as a residential place.

Sayyid Sar : A tank was situated near the place where the railway station is now located. This was constructed by the disciples of a Sayyid named Pīr Mahgā. Pīr Mahgā was a saint who had thousands of rich disciples. His real name was Sayyid 'Abdul Khāliq. After the construction of this tank the locality was styled. Sayyid Sar as in Hindi *sar* means a tank.

Khūi Mirān : It is situated at a distance of one *kos* towards North of Dehli Gate. A *sayyid* named Mirān constructed a well and a house here, which was called Khūi Mirān. During the reign of Chaghātāis when the population extended outside the city to this point and its neighbourhood became well populated the locality was named after it. When Lahore was ruled by three governors, one of the governors, namely, Lahnā Singh populated the locality as a town. Even now it forms a separate revenue estate.

Shāhzāda Parvez Mandvī. A little distance from Khūi Mirān towards the east Prince Parvez, who was the son of a Chaghātāi King, founded a *mandvī* (market) after his name. He also constructed a square *bāzār* and a grand *haveli*. He was also buried here. Hence this locality is called Mandvī Parvez. Chishtī records in his book that Parvez was a son of Shāhjahān, who died in infancy.

Chauhaṭṭa Sūdān : It was situated towards South of Khūi Mirān. Sūds used to live here.

Mandir Gate. A Hindn's temple, with a beautiful Gate, was situated near the kiln of Buddhn Ghumār, which was located at a distance of 2 *kos* from Lahore towards its east. The locality around this temple was called after it.

Begampura : At a distance of a 3 miles from Lahore, towards East and near the villages of Bāghbānpurā and Bhogtwāl, the mother of Nawāb Khān Bahādar built residential houses. Pucca four walls were built around these houses. After this Nawāb Khān Bahādar spent lakhs of rupees to build mosques, *bāzār* and squares. Adjacent to these buildings his relatives and descendants built residential quarters. This quarter was most populated

part of Lahore during the time when Nawāb Khān Bahādar was the governor of Lahore. There was a *bāzār* between Nakhas and Begampura in which millionaires used to trade. Formerly Kūcha Telian was situated at the place where Begampura was founded. Now neither Begampura nor Kūcha Telian exists. Here there are only a few ruined houses and tombs.

Maḥall e Mushki: In the locality of Bhogiwal between Begampura and Shālamār, Mushki, a Court jester of the late Akbar, built a *haveli*. On account of his fame the locality was named after him.

Teli Vehra: It was situated towards West of Bāghbānpura. Mostly *tel's* (oilmen) used to live here. Now it is a graveyard of oilmen.

Barhi Phulwāri: This locality is situated towards West of Teli Vehra. *Barhi* *ṭhaṭṭhī* and *garhi* are different names for a *fort*.

Maḥalla Ganj: This is situated near the Miān Mir Railway Station. Towards its North-West the dilapidated tomb of Bahādar Khān still stands. This was in the middle of the Maḥalla. This *maḥalla* was the beginning of this quarters towards the East of the present locality. A few years after the fall of the Chaghatai Empire it was depopulated and was re-founded towards East at a distance of a gun-shot. Now it is known as a village and is owned by Arāins.

Ṭhaṭṭhi Abulkhair: Now it is known as Garhi Shāhū: At a distance of one *kos* from Lahore towards South-East there lived a saint with the name of Abulkhair. He built a house here and the locality was called Ṭhaṭṭhi Abulkhair after him. During the Sikh riots people fled away and the houses were depopulated. During this period a *rā'i* with the name of Shāhū started living here. Then Gujjar Singh, the governor of Lahore, rehabilitated these ruins and Arāins were given the possession of the village. Since then it is known as Garhi Shāhū.

Basti Miān Mir: The quarter situated towards the East and North-West of the tomb of Mirzā Miān Mir was known as

Basti Mian Mir. The account of Mian Mir will be recorded in the chapter of tombs.

Daulatābād : Adjacent to Abū Ishāq Mahalla and towards East of Pir Mahzang Mahalla, the fort of Daulatābād was situated. It was founded and constrected by the descendents of Sayyid 'Abdul Qādir II, whose tomb existed in the middle of this locality. Later on the Sayyids constructed in this vicinity some other forts, viz, Mir Maḥmūd Fort, Mir Arshad Khān Fort, and Mir Kifāyat Khān Fort. Then during the governorships of Nawāb Khān Bahādar and his sons two more forts were added to this list, viz., Mir Nawāb Muḥammad Fort and Mir Akbar Fort. Now there does not exist a sign of these forts or this locality. There is only one well, which is known as Mirwāla well. Formerly this place was labelled as a mahalla and rāja Mir Ya'qūb Fort is situated towards South-East of Daulatābād. Hājipur was towards South of Mir Ya'qūb Fort. To the South-West of Kambohs' tank was 'Alipur Fort and the fortress of Shāhpur was towards West of Bhallapur.

Khojon ka Mahalla : It was situated to the North of Abū Ishāq Mahalla. Now there exists only a dilapidated mosque, which is known as Khojās' Mosque.

Nakhli Bāgh : It was a garden laid by Nawab Wazīr Khān, a noble of Shāhjahān, at the place where now the Anārkalī Police Station and Museum stand. It had thousands of date trees. That is why it was known as Nakhli Bāgh (Palm garden). The locality was also named after it. Now there are left only a few date trees and a bāradari out of this garden.

The bāradari has been converted into a library. To the West of this garden was Zebun Nisā Garden. Now the village of Nawā Kot is founded in this locality. Anārkalī Garden was to the North of this garden. The localities adjacent to these gardens were named after them. To the North of Anārkalī Garden was Pir Bhāwan Mahalla. Now there is Imāmbara at this place.

Shish Mahal : It was situated towards the North of Pir Bhāwan Mahalla. The tomb of Hājverī saint is to the South of

this mahalla. A princess had built a Shish mahal (glass palace) during the Mughal period. Hence this locality was called Shish Mahal. Now nothing is left of this palace. It is a separate revenue estate.

Tal Bhogā : It extended from the East of Shish Mahal on the West side of the Lahore City wall upto the Tangsālī Gate.

Shaikh Ashraf Mahalla : It extended from the Bhātī Gate to the District Courts. Shaikh Ashraf was a saint who lived during the reign of 'Ālamgīr. He built residential houses and a mosque outside Bhātī Gate. Hence this locality was named Shaikh Ashraf Mahalla. He was also buried here when he died. Mahārāja Ranjit Singh blowed up the mosque and the houses of Shaikh Ashraf with gun-powder when he was digging the trench. He buried the dead body of Shaikh Ashraf in Mīānī, after exhuming it from this locality.

Band e 'Ālamgīr : 'Ālamgīr constructed an embankment, to protect the city from the river, from Mastī Gate to village Mahmūd Butī. By the royal order, all the nobles built pleasure houses here and planted back-gardens in these houses. Hence all the houses built on this embankment were called Band e 'Ālamgīr.

Fidāī Khān Mahalla : It extended from outside the Akbarī Gate to Delhī Gate near the city wall. Fidāī Khān was a courtier of 'Ālamgīr, under whose supervision the Shāhī Masjid (Royal Mosque) was constructed. He built residential houses here. Hence this locality was called after Fidāī Khān.

Pinḍ Dholān : It was situated on the north-east of Pir Mohzang Mahalla in the midst of the locality of Shāh Muqīm Chilla.

Mīānī : The locality towards the south-west of Pir Mohzang Mahalla was known as Mīānī. Although the *mahallas* were outside the city yet these were the environs of the city. The detailed account of these will be recorded in the chapter of tombs and ancient buildings.

Kamboh Warā : It was situated towards the north of the city at the place where now stands the house of Doctor Hatvi.

Now there remains a tank out of this locality, which is known as Kambohs' tank. This locality was not included in the city, but it was not out of it either."

Immense changes have taken place since these descriptions. The walled city is situated among the *debris* and ruins of the ancient capital, which extend from east to west for a distance of five or six miles. The portion of the city outside the walled city now in certain directions consist of numerous thickly inhabited spots connected with the city by long *bazars*, while in other directions the Lahore Corporation area includes units of independents *bastis* like Model Town, which although contains 600 houses is situated at a distance of seven miles from the main city and is connected with it by a metalled road. Thornton thinks, 'upon the whole it may be considered probable that in its best days, that is during the reign of Shahjehan, the city, must have had a circuit of some 16 or 17 miles'.¹ Now the position seems to be much improved as far as the size and extent of the town are concerned as now the Lahore Corporation are extends 6 miles from East to West and 8 miles from North to South, excluding the Cantonments.

LAHORE'S POPULATION INCREASE

. With annual increase of about 18,000 adults in the local population and a large number of unsettled people entering from without the housing problem in Lahore is becoming very grave.

Before partition, the Lahore Corporation area had about 82,000 houses to accommodate a population of less than nine lakhs. Of these, about 6,000 houses were burnt down during the disturbances and another 2,000 subsequently demolished by the Improvement Trust, leaving only 74,000 houses intact, while due to the influx of refugees the population rose to about 12 lakhs during 1949.

The Corporation's engineers have revealed that the rate of building new houses has fallen down considerably and the total

1. Thornton, T.H., *Old Lahore*, p 81.

number of new houses since partition including about 320 Improvement Trust quarters, comes to 2,000 only.

Lahore health circles predict serious deterioration in the public health. The rate of breeding is not controlled.

During 1949, 29,300 births were recorded as against 12,486 deaths within the Corporation area, which, these circles maintain, means an increase of one lakh in the local population within five years and the necessity of a new township.

It will be interesting to record here a brief *resume* of the conditions of Lahore during the different periods successively on the authority of European and other travellers, and authors.

Abul Fazl, writing in the sixteenth century describes it as follows, in his celebrated work, the *Āin e Akbari*, or "the Institutes of Akbar":

لاهور بزرگ شهرست میان دوآبه باری در بزرگی وانبوهی مردم -
 درباستانی زیجات به لهاور تعبیر رود
 درین دولت ابد پوند قلعه وارک او از خشت پخته
 ساخته اند و چون چند گاه پائی تخت شد والا کاخها بر افراخته آمد و
 دلکشا باغها شادابی دیگر بخشید و گونا گون مردم بر شهر راه
 بیکاه شد و شگرف کارها بر ساختند در انبوهی و بزرگی از اندازه
 گذشت -¹

"Lahore is a large city in the Bārī Doāb. In size and population it is amongst the first. In ancient astronomical tables it is recorded Lohāwar. During the present reign the fortifications and citadel have been strengthened with brick and masonry and as it was on several occasions the seat of government, many splendid buildings have been erected and delightful gardens have lent it additional beauty. It is the resort of people of all countries whose manufactures present an astonishing display and it is beyond measure remarkable in populousness and extent."

1. Abul Fazl, *Āin e Akbari*, II 152.

William Finch, an East India Company employee, who reached Lahore on February 4, 1611, to make sale on the Company's behalf of the indigo he had purchased at Bayāna, gives the following beautiful description of Lahore and the royal palace, before it was altered by Shāhjahān :

"Lahor is one of the greatest Cities of the East, containing some 240 c in circuit by the ditch which is now casting up about it, and by the Kings command now to be inclosed with a strong wall. In the time of the Potans it was but a Village, Multan then flourishing, till Hamawn [Humāyūn] enlarged this. The Towne and Suburb is some 6 c thorow. The castle or Towne is inclosed with a strong bricke wall, having thereto twelve faire gates, nine by land and three openings to the River ; the streets faire and well paved ; the inhabitants most Baneans and handicrafts men, all white men of note lying in the suburbs. The buildings are faire and high, with bricke and much curiositie of carved windowes and doores ; most of the entiles doores of sixe or seven steps ascent and very troublesome to get up, so built for more securitie and that passengers should not see into their houses. The castle is seated on Ravee, a goodly River which falleth into Indus, downe which go many Boats, of sixtie tunne or upwards, for Tatta in Sind, after the fall of the raine, being a journey of some fortie dayes alongst by Multan, Seetpore, Buchur [Bukkur], Rauree [Rohri] etc."

"This River commeth from the East and runneth Westerly by the North side of the Citie ; upon which, within the castle, is the Kings house, passing in at the middle gate to the Riverward. Within the Citie on the lefthand you enter thorow a strong gate, and a Musket shot further another smaller, into a faire great square court, with Atescanna—for the Kings guard to watch in. On the left-hand thorow another gate you enter into an inner court, where the King keepes his Darbar, and round about which court are Atescanna's also for great men to watch in. In the midst there stands a high pole to hand a light on. From hence you go up to a faire stone jounter or small court, in the midst whereof stands a faire devonean, with two or three other retiring

rooms wherein the King sits out all the first part of the night, commonly from eight to eleven. On the wall is the King's picture, sitting cross-legged on a chaire of state; on his right hand Sultan Pervese, Sultan Caroone, and Sultan Timoret his sonnes; next these Sha Morat [Shāh Murād] and Don Sha [Daniyāl Shāh] two of his brothers (the three baptized before spoken were sonnes of this later); next them Emersee Sheiff [Mirzā Shāif] eldest brother to Caun Asom (of whom it is reported his estate to be such that, of one hundred chiefe women which he kept, he never suffred any of their clothing after their first wearing to be ever touched by any stranger, but caused them to be buried in the ground, there to rot; as also that he always had in service five hundred massalgees [Torchbearers; *mashalchī*], in so much that whensoever he went from court to his house in Agra, which was at least a corse, no man removed foote with his torch but stood all alongst his house): next this man, Emersee Rostene [Mirzā Rustām], late King of Candhar; then Can Canna which signifieth price of the Cannes; then Cuttup Caun [Qutbuddin Khān Koka], Rajaw Manisenge [Rāja Mān Singh], Caun Asom [Khān A'zam], Asoph Caun [Āsaf Khān (Ja'far Beg)], Sheck Fereed [Shāikh Farid], Kelish Caun [Kilj Khān], and Rajaw Juggonath [Rāja Jagannāth] (who at his death had seven of his friends that burned themselves with him, besides one of his sister and brothers childe). On the left hand of the King stands Rajaw Bowsing [Bhāo Singh], who beats away flies, then Rajaw Ramdas [Rām Dās], who holds his sword, Cleriff Caun, Caun John, Jemana Lege or Mawbet Caun, Mocrow Bowcan, Rajaw Bossow, Rajaw Ransing, Majo Kesso, and Lala Bersing. Note also that in this gallery, as you enter, on the right-hand of the King over the doore is the picture of our Saviour; opposite on this left-hand, of the Virgin Mary. This devoncan is very pleasantly seated, over-looking the Ravee. From hence passing thorow a small entrie to the west, you enter another small court, where is another open chounter of stone to sit in, covered with rich semianes. From hence you enter into a small gallery, at the end of which, next the river, thorow a small window the King looks forth at his dersanee to behold

the fights of wilde beasts on the meadow by the river. On the wall of this gallery is drawne the picture of the Acabar sitting in his state, and before him Sha Selim his sone standing with a hawke on his fist, and by him Sultan Cusseroom, Sultan Pervis, Sultan Coroome, his three sonnes. At the end is a small devoncan where the King useth to sit; behind which is his lodging chamber, and before it all open into a paved court, amongst the right hand whereof runneth a small moholl of two stories, each containing eight faire lodgings for severall women, with galleries and windowes looking to the river and to the court. All the doores of these chambers are to bee fastened on the out-side, and none within. In the Gallery where the King useth to sit are drawne over-head many pictures of angels, with pictures of Banian dewes, or rather divels, intermixt in most ugly shape with long hornes, staring eyes, shagge haire, great fangs, ugly pawes, long tailles, with such horrible difformity and deformity that I wonder the poore women are not frighted therewith. Within this court is a pleasant devoncan and lodgings and the way to another moholl for the King to passe, but none other.

"Now to returne to the former court, where the Adees or guard keepe their watch, there is also on the left hand the new Derbar; beyond it another small court with Atescanna, and passing thorow another gate a faire large square moholl, called the New Moholl, of that largenesse that it may lodge two hundred women in state, all severall. Likewise returning to the great court, passing right on, you enter another small paved court on the left hand, and into another moholl, the stateliest of the three, contrived into sixteene severall great lodgings, each having faire lodgings, a devoncan (or hall), a small paved court, each her tanke, and enjoying a little world or pleasure and state to herselfe; all seated very pleasantly upon the river. Before the moholl of Sultan Casserooms mother is placed in high pole to hand a light on, as before the King; for that shee brought forth his first sonne and heire. In the midst stands a goodly gallery for the King to sit in, which such ugly pictures over-head as before. At the end are drawne many portraitures of the King in state sitting

amongst his women, one holding a flaske of wine, another a napkin, a third presenting the peally [Piyāl, a small cup]; behind, one punkawing [fanning; *pankhā*], another holding his sword, another his bow and two or three arrowes etc. Before this gallery is a faire paved court, with stone gratings and windowes amongst the waters side; at the end a faire marble jounter, convexed over-head, looking over the river; beneath it a garden of pleasure; behind, the Kings lodgings, very sumptuous, the walles and seelings all over-laid with pure gold, and round alongat the sides, about a mans height, some three foote distant, are placed faire Venice looking-glasses, three and three, each above other; and below these, amongst the walles, are drawne many pictures of this mans ancestors, as of Acabar his father, who first set foote into India with thirtie of his nobles, all clad like kalendars or fookeers, which so came to Dely to Secanders [Sikandar Lodi, 1489-1517], court then rainging; where by his very countenance he was discovered, yet found mercy and returned upon his oath not to attempt anything during the said Secanders raigne, which he performed; but after his death he sent his sonne Hamawne upon his successor Abram [Ibrahim Lodi, 1517-26] from whom he tooks the whole kingdome.¹ Yet at length rose up a great captaine [Sher Shāh] of the blood royall in Bengala, who fought a great battel with Hamawne neares Ganges, put him to flight, and so closely followed him that he drave him forth of the kingdome to the Persian Shaw; of whom hee obtained new forces (with whom came Byram, Caun Canna his father and reconquered all, living after that in security. This king dying left Acabar very yong, appointed Byram Caun Protector; whom the Acabar, comming to yeares, case off, and on a roomery [Spanish *romeria*] or pilgrimage to Mecca, as is said, made away with him. His sonne Can Canna (or Caun of the Caunees) doth also much curbe Sha Selim the King, with his friends and allyes being able to make better then an hundred thousand horse. Sha Salim affirmeth himself to be the ninth

1. There seems to be no truth in this story of Bābar's visit to India in disguise; and it was he, and not Humāyūn, who made the invasion of 1526.

lawfully descended from the loynes of Tamerlane the Great, being the great-grand-child of Babur, King of Cabull.

"But to returne to the enterance of this moholl: passing forth of that court thorow a strong gate, you enter into the city againe; this house and appurtenances of mohols being at the least two English miles in circuit. On the East-side of the castle, hard without the wall, is the garden of Asoph Caun [Āsaf Khān (Ja'far Beg)], small, neat, with walkes (Planted with cyprese trees), divers tankes and jounters; as you enter, a faire devoncan supported with stone pillars, with a faire tanke in the midst, and in the midst of that, on foure stone pillars, a jounter for coolenesse. Beyond are other galleries and walkes, divers lodgings for his women neatly contrived, and behind, a small garden and garden-house. In the midst of the garden is a very stately jounter with faire buildings over-head, and a tanke in the center with large and goodly galleries alongst the fours sides thereof, supported with high stone pillars. Adjoyning to this is a garden of the Kings in which are very good apples, but small, toot [*tūt* mulberry] white and red, almonds, peaches, figges, grapes, quinces, oranges, limmons, pomgranats, roses, stock-gellow-flowers, marigolds, wall-flowers, ireos, pinkes white and red, with divers sorts of Indian flowers.

"On the west side of the castle is the ferry to passe over to Cabul (and so to Tartary or Cascar [Kāshghar], a very great road-way, and the further side of the river is a goodly countrey. Infinit numbers of gardens full of rarity exceeds [*i.e.* project beyond], two or three c. in length.

"Passing the Sugar Gonge is a faire meskite built by Shecke Fereed beyond it (without the towne, in the way to the gardens) is a faire monument for Don Sha his mother, one of the Acabar his wives, with whom it is said Shah Selim had to do (her name was Immaque Kelle, or Pomgranate Kernell); upon notice of which the King [Akbar] caused her to be inclosed quicke within a wall in his moholl, where shee dyed, and the King [Jahāngir], in token of his love commands a sumptuous tombe to be built

of stone in the midst of a foure-square garden richly walled, with a gate and divers rooms over it. The Convexity of the tombe he hath willed to be wrought in workes of gold, with a large faire jounter with roomes over-head. Note that most of these monuments which I mention are of such largeness that, if they were otherwise contrived, would have room to entertaine a very good man with his whole houshold. Without the Dely Droware, where the nolat [*naubat*] or great drum beats, is a goodly streight street, about three quarters of a mile long, all paved; at the end of which is the Bazar; by it the great saray; besides which are divers others, both in the city and suburbs, wherein divers neate lodgings are to be let, with doores, lockes, and keyees to each. Hence to the north-east lyeth Ambere, the place of hospitality; from hence to the south-east the habitation of divers loving etc."¹

St. Thomas Herbert, Bart., who repeats the information supplied by Finch in an abbreviated and modified form describes Lahore thus in his travels:

Lahore (a City both great and famous) is Competitor for the title of *Metropolis* with *Agray*: The Pole Artick there advanced 32 degrees 15 minutes; the air for eight months is very pure and restorative; the streets graceful and well paved; most of them being cleaned and served by the River *Ravee*, a branch of *Indus*, which *Penjab* and the *Cassmyrian* mountains streams pleasantly near this City,..... In *Lahore* are many things observable; as the Castle, Palaces, Mosque, Hummums, Tanks, Gardens, etc. The Castle is large, uninform, and nobly seated; the material stone, white and polished, entered by twelve Posterns, three of which respect the town, the rest the country.²

1. Purches Samul, *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, IV, 52—7.

2. Herbert, S. Thomas, *Some Yeares Travels into Divers Parts of Africa and Asia the Great*, 69. Latif, *Lahore*, p. 119., and Maulvi Nūr Baksh, *A. S. I. A. R.*, 1902—3, p. 220, in quoting Herbert, wrongly says that he visited Lahore in 1626 A.D.. The truth is that Herbert never visited Lahore at all. Cf. Vogel, *The Mosaics of the Lahore Fort*, p. 17, f. n. 2.

Thomas Coryat, an English tourist, who came to Lahore in 1614 A.D., talking about the size of the town, has thus compared Lahore with Constantinople and Agra.

There [Isfahān] I remayned 2 months, and so with a Caravan travelled into the Easterne India, passing foure months. and odder dayes, in my travell betwixt that (through part of the true Persia, and a large tract of the noble and renowned India) and the goodly Citie of Lahore in India, one of the largest Cities of the whole Universe, for it contayneth at least sixteen miles in compasse and exceedeth Constantinople itself in greatnessee.....
.....Agra is a verie great Citie, and the place where the Mogoll did alwayes (saving within these two years) keepe his Court; but in every respect much inferiour to Lahor.¹

Two Englishmen, Richard Steel and John Crowther, who visited Lahore for the purposes of trade on 24th April, 1615 A.D. during the reign of Jahāngir, describe it as follows:

Lahore is a goodly great Citie, and one of the fairest and ancientest of India. It stands on the River Indus or Sinda; and from this place came the Treasure of the Portugals Trade when they had peace, as being the Centre of all Indian Traffique. And here they embarqued the same downe the River for Tatta, whence they were transported for Ormus and Persia. The Merchants also passing that way betwixt Persia and India, payed them freight. They did likewise drive a great Trade up this River for Pepper and Spices, furnishing these parts of India therewith. At this present the Merchants of India assemble at Lahore, and invest a great part of their monies in Commodities, and joyne themselves in Caravans to pass the Mountaines of Candhar into Persia, by which way is generally reported to passe twelve or fourteene thousand Camels loding, whereas heretofore scarsly passed three thousand, the rest going by the way of Ormus.²

1. Purchas, Samuel, *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, IV, 470—72.

2. Purchas, Samuel, *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, IV, 268—9.

Reverend Edward Terry, a chaplain, who had himself seen parts of Málwa and Gujatāt, in the service of Sir Thomas Roe, in 1616 A.D., remarks about the Panjāb and Lahore.

Penjab which signifieth five waters, because it is seated among five rivers, all tributaries to Indus; which, somewhat south of Lahor, make but one current; It is a large province, and most fruitfull. Lahore is the chief city thereof, built very large, and abounds both in people and riches, one of the most principal, cities for trade in all India.¹

Toward the end of 1614 A.D., King James, at the request of East India Company, sent Sir Thomas Roe, as ambassodor to the Mughal Court. This shrewd observer, in a letter written on the 14th February, 1617 A.D. to the Directors of the East India Company, has thus remarked about the trade conditions prevailing in Lahore:

Their is noe settled trade betweene Lahor and Syndu woorth the mentioning; only a few *Banians* that shipp in frigots for Ormus; whom it is hard to perswade to change their customes, the woorst wherof they know. It is true there passe yearly 20,000 camells by Lahor from Agra and other parts with spices, indicoes, sugars and goods for Persia; but the most of these bring goods on camells and sell and invest for returnne, and will not bee drawn to the sea, except it were open and secure.²

Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, Baron of Aubonne, the eminent French jewel merchant, who travelled by the land route from Isfahān to Āgra and Dehli, via Qandhār, Kābul, and Lahore, between the years 1641—68 (the period of *Shahjehān* and Aurangzeb), makes the following mention of Lahore in his 'Travels':

Lahore is the capital of a kingdom, and is built on one of the five rivers which descend from the mountains of the north to go to

1. Terry, Edward, *A Voyage to East-India*, 76.

2. Foster, William, *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to India*, 446.

3. Crooks, William, *Travels in India by Jean-Baptiste Tavernier*, I, 77.

swell the Indus, and give the name of *Penjab* to all the region which they water. This river at the present day flows at a quarter of a league distant from the town, being liable to change its bed, and the neighbouring fields often sustain much damage from its great overflowings. The town is large, and extends more than a *cos* in length, but the greater part of the houses, which are higher than those of AGRA and DELHI, are falling into ruins, the excessive rains having overthrown a large number. The palace of the king is rather fine, and is no longer, as it was formerly, on the margin of the river, which has withdrawn, as I have said about a quarter of a league. One can obtain wine at LAHORE.¹

Benier, who passed through Lahore on his way to Kashmir, with the camp of Aurangzeb, notices in one of his letter written in April, 1665 A.D., to Monsieur De Merveilles, the loftiness of its houses, which he compares with those of Dehli and Āgra :

It is not without reason that the kingdom of which *Lahor* is the capital is named the *Penje-ab*, or the Region of the Five Waters; because five rivers do really descend from the great mountains which enclose the kingdom of *Kachemire*, and, taking their course through this country, fall into the *Indus*, which empties itself into the ocean at *Scyndi*², near the mouth of the *Persian Gulf*.....The river on which the city was built, one of the five, is as considerable as our *Loire*, and is much in want of a similar embankment as that on which the road is carried on the banks of the French river; for it is subject to inundations, which cause great injury and frequently change its bed: indeed within a few years the rivers has receded a full quarter of a league from Lahor, to the great inconvenience of the inhabitants. Unlike the buildings of *Delhi* and *Agra*, the houses here are very lofty; but, the court having resided during the last twenty years or more in one of those two Cities, most of the houses in *Lahor* are in a ruinous state. Indeed, many have been totally destroyed

1. Tavernier, J. B. *Travels in India*, I, 94-5.

2. By this I believe Bernier to mean Sind.

and have buried many of the inhabitants under their ruins, in consequence of the heavy rains which have prevailed of late years. There are still five or six considerable streets, two or three of which exceed a league in length ; but not a few of the houses in them are tumbling to the ground. The river having changed its bed, the King's palace is no longer seated on its banks. This is a high and noble edifice, though very inferior to the palaces of Delhi or Agra.¹

As the City was showing signs of decay, the traveller Thevenot who saw it later in the same year confirms the dilapidated condition of the town, though he mentions that a short time before his visit, the City and its neighbourhood extended to a length of three leagues :

This (Lahor) hath been a very pretty Town when kings kept their Courts in it, and did not prefer *Dehly* and *Agra* before it. It is large, and hath been adorned as the others are with *Mosques*, publick Baths, Quervanserais, Squares, Tanquies. Places and Gardens. The Castle remains still, for it is strongly built, heretofore it had three Gates on the side of the Town, and nine towards the Country, and the Kings Palace within it, hath not as yet lost all its beauty. There are great many Pictures upon the Walls, which represent the Actions of the Great Moguls, their Forefathers that are pompously Painted there.....Many of the Chief Houses of the Town run into decay daily, and it is a pity to see in some streets (which are above a League in length) Palaces all ruinous.²

Francisco Pelsaert, of Antwerp, sailed for the East in the year 1618 in the position of assistant, the lowest grade but one in the Dutch East India Company's commercial service. In 1620 he was re-engaged in the higher rank of junior factor (*Onderkoopman*) and was posted to India. He reached Agra in December, 1620, where he remained until the end of 1627, rising to the position of

1. Bernier, Francois, *Travels in the Mogul Empire*, 383—4.

2. Lovell, A., *The Travels of Monsieur de Thevenot*, 60—61.

senior factor. In 1626 when Pelsaert's engagement was drawing to an end he wrote a commercial report with the title of the 'Remonstrantie', drawn up primarily for the use of the company. In this report he remarks: Lahore is situated in 32° latitude, 300 *kos* north-west of Agra. It was a great centre of trade in the days before the English came to Agra, and the Armenian and Aleppo merchants did a large and very profitable business. In those days the chief market of Indigo was Lahore rather than Agra, because it was more convenient for the merchants, who travelled in caravans at fixed seasons by way of Kandahar and Ispahan to Aleppo; and this is why the Indigo which reached Europe from Aleppo or the Levant was known as Lauri, or more properly Lahori. A brisk business is still done in the fine cotton goods of Masulipatam, or Golconda and Mongapatnam, but nothing like what was formerly transacted. The trade of Lahore in fact be called dead, for exports are limited to the requirements of Persia and Turkey, because the profits cannot stand the great costs of overland transit compared to those of our sea-carriages. Lahore thus lost practically all its trade, and the substantial Hindus, or Khatris, whose reputation still survives, lived on what was left of their old profits. For some years however the present king has spent five or six of the cool months of each year in Lahore (the rest, or hot weather, being spent in Kashmir or Kabul), and the city has now recovered, but more in splendour, royal buildings, palaces, and gardens, than in point of wealth. The River Ravi flows past the city. It rises in the mountains of Kashmir, and flows by Multan and on to Tatta and Bakkar, carrying a large trade in shallow-draught vessels. Agra imports from Lahore Ormesines and carpets, which are woven there, and also many goods from more distant places, such as fruit from Kabul, asafoetida from Kandhar, and other commodities obtained in Multan. Agra exports to Lahore most of the spices which we sell here (for the local consumption is very small when the king is not here, or there is no camp); also all kinds of white cotton goods, both Bengals and Golcondas; ivory (most of which is wrought in neighbourhood of Multan); quicksilver, vermillion,

coral, turbans, girdles, and all sorts of silk goods from Ahmadabad, where they are woven; silk from Patna; lac, pepper, and drugs too numerous to be named.¹

An interesting account of Lahore as it was in the period of the Emperor *Shāhjahān* is given in the accompanying translated extract from the itinerary of Fra Sebastian Manrique, a Spanish monk, who visited Lahore in 1641 A.D.

"On the 21st day from our departure from Agra, at sunrise, we came in sight of the city of Lahore, which is large and capacious; but large as it appeared, there were not houses enough for the accommodation of the people, who were encamped or half a league outside the city. It is a handsome and well-ordered city, with large gateways and pavilions of various colours. I entered the city—a very difficult undertaking on account of the number of people who filled the streets, some on foot some on camels, some on elephants and others in small carts, jolting one against the other as they went along. Those who best could, passed on first. This being the receiving hour at Court, many of the gentry were proceeding there, accompanied by as many as 500 followers on horseback.

"Finding it difficult to proceed on account of the concourse of people, we decided to change our route, and returned about a musket's shot from the crowd and took our stand under some trees outside the city, where were a number of people selling and preparing food for the multitude, who were moving about—some eating, some selling, and others looking on. I was one among the latter, and my curiosity prompted me to proceed still further, until, at last, I arrived at the principal bazar, where the odour from without prepared you for what you were to see inside—a great many shops, or, more properly speaking, kitchens, in which were sold meats of various kinds, animals, domestic and wild. In place of the pig, which is never used, horse-flesh is supplied you instead. Some shops contained fowls of all kinds;

1. Moreland, W. H., & Geyi, P., *Jahangir's India*, p. 20—21:

in others might be seen things of all descriptions suited to the taste of all classes, such as butter, oil scents, brinjalls, mangoes, plantains, etc. Neither was there wanting in the bazar the most simple commodity, such as rice, herbs, and vegetables. The common bread is made of a mixture of all kinds of flour baked on sheets of iron and in eathern pots, and is known by the name of *apas*. People who travel in caravans use a second kind of bread, named *curuchas*, which is made of while flour. This bread is also used by the better classes. A third bread, named *regunis*, is a finer bread made of the best flour and purified butter. Besides what I have already enumerated, there is a great deal more to be seen in these bazars; but I think I have mentioned enough to satisfy the curious reader. But what I most admired was the moderate price at which these things might be had. A man might eat abundantly and royally for two silver reals (five pence) per day. The abundance of the provisions and cleanliness of the streets surprised me much; also the peace and quietness with which everything was conducted, as well as the justness and rectitude of people towards each other; so that merchant and merchandise remain perfectly secure from thieves.

"The city of Lahore is beautifully situated, commanding agreeable views, on one side a river with crystal waters which descend from the mountains of Kashmir, and continues its course, moistening and fertilizing the ground, till it arrives at the city of Mooltan, where it pays its tribute to the famous Indus. Lahore, the second city of the Mogul empire (as well on account of riches as its size) is ornamented with fine palaces and gardens, also tanks and fountains. As to the abundance of provisions, it would be unnecessary here to describe it. The riches of the principal street (known as the Bazar del Choco), if shown to advantage, would equal the richest European mart."

Nitcolao Manucci, an Italian, who ran away from Venice in 1653 A.D., being then fourteen, served in different capacities in

1. Luard, Lt.-Col. C. Eckford and Hosten, Father H., *Travels of Fray Sebastian Manrique*, 1629—1643, II, 191.

the Mughal courts. He moved to Lahore to start in practice as a physician in 1667 A.D., when he gives the following description of the town :

" This is the origin of the famous city of Lāhor, which has twelve gates, called. Qādirī Darwāzah, which is on the river bank toward the north ; Yakkī Darwāzah, on the same side ; Dillī Darwāzah, which is used by those going to and coming from Dihlī ; Akbarī Darwāzah ; Mochī Darwāzah—that is, 'Gate of the Shoemaker' Shāh 'Alamī Darwāzah ; Bhātī Darwāzah ; Multanī Darwāzah, on the road lading to Multan, Morī Darwāzah ; Ghakkarī Darwāzah, leading to the lands of the Ghakkars ; Kashmirī Darwāzah, which opens on the road to Kashmir.¹

" The walls are all of well-burnt bricks, high, and provided with bastions. The houses are lofty, some having eight stories. As to the number of people in this city, it is not easy to make an estimate, for the *kotwāl* told me that he collected a weekly tax from six thousand houses of ill-fame ; from this assertion² careful people can arrive at the number there must be of public *filles de joie*, besides those who conceal themselves. The city is inhabited by great and rich merchants who deal with the whole

1. Of the thirteen existing gates, eight bear the same names as in Manucci's time. The Qādirī, Multānī, and Ghakkarī Gates no longer bear those names.

2. This is a wicked assertion. Manuci visited Lahore during the reign of Aurangzeb, when Muḥammad Amin Khān was the viceroy of Lahore, as he himself has admitted in his *Storia Do Mogor* (II, 179). Muḥammad Amin Khān became viceroy of Lahore in the tenth year 1078 A.H. (between June, 1667, and February, 1668) (Cf. *Maḥṣir e 'Ālamgiri*, 63 and *'Ālamgirnāma*, 1058) and before this, even according to Manucci himself, Aurangzeb had forced female dancers and public women to quit their professions. "In the reign of Shāhjahān", says Manucci, "female dancers and public women enjoyed great liberty, as I have said, and were found in great numbers in the cities. For a time, at the beginning of his reign, Aurangzeb, said nothing, but afterwards he ordered that they must either marry or clear out of the realm. This was the cause that the palaces and great enclosures where they dwelt went to ruin little by little ; for some of them married and others went away, or at least, concealed themselves." It is very obvious that after writing this Manucci has spun a yarn about the novel method of reckoning the population of Lahore.

of India, and it is the key to the kingdoms of Kabul, Balkh, Tartary, Kashmīr, Persia, Baloches, Multan, Bhakkar, and Tattāh. For it is crammed with foreigners, is well provided with provisions, and has a population of ruddy complexion inclining to whiteness. Round the city are five gardens filled with various kinds of fruit, chiefly peaches; which are fine and large and in great abundance. Once, out of curiosity, I weighed one of them, and without exaggeration, it weighed thirteen ounces. There are many quinces (*marmelos*), figs, mulberries, stoneless grapes, mangoes, and melons of many kinds. The air is very good and wholesome, as may be seen by the complexions of the inhabitants, above all from the villagers, men and women, a very simple folk, well-built and friendly natured. There is an abundance of wells, from which they draw water by thick ropes with the aid of oxen.¹"

The aspect of desolation of Lahore, during the regime of Ranjit Singh, is graphically described by an English Officer, who records in his diary in the year 1809: "*24th May*.—I visited the ruins of Lahore, which afforded a melancholy picture of fallen splendour. Here the lofty dwellings and masjids, which, fifty years ago, raised their tops to the skies, and were the pride of a busy and active population, are now crumbling into dust, and in less than half a century more will be levelled to the ground. In going over these ruins, I saw not a human being—all was silence, solitude, and gloom."²

The traveller, Moorcraft, who saw Lahore in 1820 A.D., writes of it in his Travels:

"Lahore is said to have been twelve *kos* in circumference, and however, this may have been, it is clear from the ruins of buildings beyond the walls that it was once much more extensive than it is at present. Such of it as still remains within the walls is apparently very populous. The streets were crowded to an

1. Manucci, Niccolao; *Storia Do Mogor*, II, 185—6.

2. Thornton, *Lahore*, 93.

extent beyond anything that I have witnessed in an Indian City.¹"

Alexander Burnes, who visited Lahore in June, 1831 A.D., writes of his visit in his travels:

"On the morning of the 18th June, we made our public entrance into the Imperial city of Lahore, which once rivalled Delhi. We moved among its ruins.....In our evening rambles at Lahore, we had many opportunities of viewing this city. The ancient capital extended from east to west for a distance of five miles, and an average breadth of three, as may be yet traced by the ruins. The mosques and tombs, which have been more stably built than the houses, remain in the midst of fields and cultivation as *caravan serais* for the travellers. The modern city occupies the western angle of the ancient capital, and is encircled by a strong wall. The houses are very lofty, and the streets, which are narrow, offensively filthy, from a gutter that passes through the centre. The Bazars of Lahore do not exhibit much appearance of wealth, but the commercial influence of the Panjab is to be found at Amritsar, the modern capital.²"

Henry Edward Fane, who accompanied the British Commander-in-Chief to Lahore, on the marriage of Prince Nauniha! Singh, in 1837, writes of Lahore:

"28th March.—Left Lahore, passing under the walls of the town, and marched ten miles, chiefly through ruins of the ancient capital, which, in the time of the Moghal Emperors, must have rivalled Delhi and Agra themselves in extent. Lahore was formerly the capital of India previous to the Mahomedan conquerors settling themselves at Agra and Delhi; and in those times was celebrated for its great size and magnificence, both now departed from it. Its modern grandeur (of which the ruins of some few fine buildings still remain to show that it once existed)

1. Moorcraft, William, *Travels in the Himalayan Provinces of Hindustān and the Panjāb, in Ladakh and Kashmir, Peshawar, Cābul, Kunduz and Bokhara*, I, 106.

2. Burnes, Lt. Alexander, *Travels into Bokhara*, III, 158—9.

it owes to the Emperor Humayun who established his capital here for some years, and made it his favorite residence.¹”

The traveller Masson writing of Lahore in 1838 ; says ;

“Lahore, the capital of the Panjāb and of the territories of Ranjit Singh, is a city of undoubted antiquity, and has been long celebrated for its extent and magnificence. The extravagant praises bestowed upon it by the historians of Hindustān, must, however, be understood as applicable to a former city, of which now only the ruins are seen. To it must also be referred the current proverb which asserts that ‘Isphihān and Shirāz united would not equal the half of Lahore’. The present city is nevertheless very extensive, and comprises many elegant and important buildings.

“Without the walls are scattered on all sides the ruins of the ancient city which are still wonderful, and convey vast ideas of the extent of ancient Lahore. Numerous tombs, and other structures are still standing, some of them nearly entire ; and such is their solidity that they seem, if not absolutely to foil old Time to yield to him almost imperceptibly.²”

Captain Von Orlich, who saw Lahore during the reign of Mahārāja Sher Singh, towards the close of 1842, thus writes of it :

“We had a fine view of the city and its environs from the platform of General Ventura’s house, outside the city, on an arm of the Rāvi ; the minarets, the winter palace, and the glittering blue domes of some mosque of the time of the Emperor Jahangir, were particularly striking, bounded in the far distance by the bold outline of the snow-capped mountains of the Himalaya. To the south of the city are hills of *debris* formed of the ruins of the ancient Lahore, and these again are joined by a town lying in ruins, intercepted with decayed *caravan seraes*, sepulchral towers and mosques, of which I counted no less than forty. These once splendid mosques call to mind a wealthy and religious age,

1. Fane, Henry Edward, *Five Years in India*, I, 185.

2. Masson, Charles, *Narrative of Various Journeys in Baluchistan, Afghanistan, the Panjāb and Kalat*, I, 408—412.

fond of arts. A few buildings, surrounded with beautiful gardens and overshadowed by the crowns of the date palm, impart increased charms to this image of the past.¹ ”

Sir John Lawrence, writing three years after the capture of Lahore by the British, as Chief Commissioner of the Panjab in 1852 A.D., said of Lahore :

“ Few suburban localities could be found in any province presenting such peculiar sanitary difficulties as the vicinity of Lahore. The station of Anarkali, with its adjuncts, is scattered over an area of several square miles, over which extend the ruins of not one but of several successive cities of various eras and various dynasties. The surface of this extraordinary plain is diversified by mounds, kilns, bricks, stones, broken masses of masonry, decaying structures, hollows, excavations and all the *debris* of habitations that have passed away. The soil is sterile, and impregnated with saltpetre, but the ground is interspersed with rank vegetation, and though generally arid, yet from its undulating nature, possesses an unfortunate aptitude for the accumulation of stagnant water.² ”

W. S. Caine, a British traveller, writing in 1898 A.D. about Lahore says : “ Lahore is the capital city of the Panjab, and the administrative headquarters of Lahore division and district. Its population, inclusive of the military suburb of Miān Mīr, is 1,50,000. The bulk of inhabitants are Musalman, 86,000 ; there are 54,000 Hindus and 5,000 Sikhs.

“ Modren Lahore bears the stamps everywhere of the great Maharaja Ranjit Singh. His buildings are tawdry and in bad taste, and have very little artistic or architectural interest. Ranjit's city covers an area of 640 acres, is surrounded by a dull brick wall 30 feet high, and a moat, which has recently been

1. Orlich, Captain Leopold Von, *Travels in India, including Sindh and the Panjāb*, I, 211.

2. Lawrence, Sir John, *Selections from the records of the Government of India (Foreign Department), for the years 1851—52 and 1852—53, relating to the administration of the Panjāb Territories.*

filled up and planted as a garden. There are 13 gates, connected on the outside of the ramparts by a good macadamized road. The city itself is raised above the plain on the ruins of its predecessors. The streets are narrow and winding, forming a perfect labyrinth of quaint and picturesque scenes. The houses are lofty, many of them richly decorated. The bazars are densely crowded, very dusty and evil-smelling, but full of interest, like every Punjab bazar.¹"

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

THE ARCHITECTURAL REMAINS AND HISTORICAL MONUMENTS OF LAHORE

A. THE HINDU PERIOD

THERE are no architectural remains of the old Hindu city of Lahore—a circumstance which might well be explained by the absence of stone material, and the numerous destructive invasions to which the city has been subjected. There are some grounds for supposing that the old Hindu city of Lahore did not occupy exactly the site of the modern city. Tradition points to the vicinity of Ichhra, a village about three miles to the west, as the site of old Lahore.

Another conjecture is that the gateway of the present city, known as the Lohārī Gate was so called as being the gateway looking in the direction of the old city of Lahore, just as the Kashmīrī Gate looks towards Kashmīr, and the Dehli gate of modern Dehli to the ancient city of that name. The only authentic and descriptive references to Lahore of the Hindu period are contained in the anonymous *Hududul 'Ālam* and Marvazī's *Tahā'ī al hayawān*¹ and these have been already discussed in Chapter I.

B. THE PAṬHĀN PERIOD

But there is not only a total absence of the old Hindu architectural remains. With the exception of two small mosques in the heart of the city, and the ruins of one or two shrines, there are architectural relics of an earlier date than the time of

1. See *infra*, pp. 2 and 6

Humāyūn. This fact, coupled with the silence of earlier writers, leads to the conclusion that Lahore, at the period of the Paṭhān dynasties, though a place of considerable importance, was not remarkable for its extent or the beauty of its buildings. Amīr Khusrū,¹ at the end of the thirteenth century, alludes to Lahore and remarks that between Sāmāna and Lahore Kasūr was the only inhabited spot. Ibn e Batūṭa, who travelled from Multān to Dehli in the middle of the fourteenth century, did not think it worth a visit; Timūr, at the end of the same century, left it to a subordinate to plunder; lastly the Emperor Bābar, who always took care to see what was to be seen, leaves Lahore unnoticed in his graphic memoirs.

According to Thornton² the only two architectural relics of the Paṭhān period are the Niwān Masjid and Sherānwālī Masjid. Latif³ has remarked that the Niwān Masjid was built by Zulfiqār Khān, who was the head of office under Haibat Khān, the viceroy of Lahore, during the Lodi period. I do not find the statements of Thornton and Latif being supported by any contemporary evidence or later authentic chronicles.

C. THE MUGHAL PERIOD

I. Mosques.

(1) Bādshāhī Mosque.

Bādshāhī mosque is the most striking building in Lahore, and its white domes and lofty *minārs* may be seen for miles round. It is built on a raised platform, set on arches, and is considerably elevated above the surface of the ground. The handsome and stately gateway to the east, made of red sand-stone, is approached by a magnificent flight of large circular steps paved with a beautifully variegated stone from Kābul, known as *Abri*. The steps are twentytwo in number, the top one being 79 feet, 3 inches

1. See *infra*, p. 11.

2. Thornton, T. H., *Lahore*, p. 83.

3. Latif, S. M., *Lahore*, p. 225.

long, and the lowest more than 20 feet long. Above the arched entrance are many small turrets of red sand-stone and marble, and a tablet of white marble on the outer face of this entrance has the following inscription, besides the *kalima* :

مسجد ابو ظفر محی الدین محمد عالمگیر بادشاہ غازی

سنہ ۱۰۸۴ ہجری

باہتمام کترین خانہ زادان فدای خان کوکہ اتمام یافت

"The mosque of Abu Zafar Muhyid Din Muhammad 'Ālamgīr, the Ghazī King. Completed under the Superintendence of the humblest servant of the household, Fidāī Khān Koka, in 1084, A.H."

This inscription shows that the mosque was built in 1084 A.H. (1674 A.D.), for the Emperor Aurangzeb, by Fidāī Khān Koka, whom Bernier mentions as "grand master of the artillery."¹ According to Sujān Rāe, a contemporary historian of Aurangzeb, the mosque was built at a cost "exceeding five lakhs of rupees."² The gateway opens on a large quadrangle paved with bricks, each seat for prayer being decorated with a narrow black marble border. To the west of the quadrangle is the mosque itself, the roof of which is surmounted by three superb domes of white marble, crowned with spires of richly gilded brass. Under the domes is the principal hall, with several arched entrances, facing the east; beyond this is another hall with arched entrances.

Each corner of the quadrangle has a tall and majestic *minār* of red sand-stone. The present height of each *minār* is 143 feet 6 inches. The *minārs* are divested of their cupolas, which were so shattered in the earthquake of 1840 A.D. that they had to be removed. Access to their summit is gained by a flight of narrow steps of red sand-stone in the interior, and from the top an interesting view of the surrounding country is obtained.

1. Bernier, F., *Travels in the Mogul Empire*, 124.

2. Sujān Rāe, *Khulāṣat ul Tawārīkh*, 66.

During Ranjīt Singh's reign the mosque was used by the government as a magazine for military stores. It is recorded that the *minārs* were occupied by the matchlock men of Sher Singh when he besieged the neighbouring Fort in 1841 A.D., and that they were again used for a similar purpose shortly after when light guns (*zambūrah*s) were placed on their summits to bombard the Fort when Sindhānwālā Sardārs were besieged by Hira Singh. History repeated itself in mimic warfare in 1875 A.D., when the scheme for the annual inspection of the local Volunteers included the defence of a portion of the Fort, and Gurkha sharpshooters belonging to the attacking force occupied the *minārs*.

The mosque remained in possession of the Sikhs until the annexation of the Panjāb by the British and in possession of the British for seven years after that. It was in 1856 A.D. that John Lawrence, then Chief Commissioner of the Panjāb, after consulting the military authorities responsible for the citadel and its environs, obtained the sanction of the Government of India for the restoration of the mosque to the Muslims of Lahore. The following is a translation of the address from some of the influential Muslims of Lahore, in which they conveyed their thanks to the Government of India, through Sir John Lawrence :

"Whereas from the time of preceding kings the Bādshāhī Mosque situated in the citadel of Lahore had been used for worship by the Muslim, and under Royal mandates the ancestors of Sayyid Buzurg Shāh, son of Qāzī Ghulām Shāh, were custodians and priests of the mosque, but in consequence of the religious prejudice of the Sikh nation which is opposed to the tolerant wisdom of sovereigns and the laudable practice of kings, the offering of worship and prayer had become suspended, yea altogether ceased for some time.

"At present under the happy auspices of the Government of the East India Company, the mosque in question has been restored for purposes of worship which circumstance is calculated to increase the prosperity of the Government, and Sayyid Buzurg

Shah has been appointed custodian and priest of mosque. Therefore all the inhabitants of the city of Lahore, of all classes, and of other parts of the country far and near, who have received information of this circumstance, have been rendered happy by the display of this favour on the part of Government which has bestowed their dues on the rightful parties and shown such generosity to those who were anxious to attain the objects of their religion, as is calculated to save them from the pains and punishments of Eternity. People of all classes loudly praise the gracious act. The happiness of the people is productive of the satisfaction of the Almighty, the good name of the authorities and the enhanced prosperity and greatness of the Government which is the means of obtaining the welfare of the people in this world and hereafter. We have no tongue to describe our thanks for this great boon. The only course left to us is to sincerely pray for the increase of the greatness and prosperity of the Government. Therefore we have considered it proper to address this petition expressive of our gratitude for this boundless favour."

(Sd.) QĀZĪ ḤAFĪZUD DĪN,
 NAWĀB 'ABDUL RAḤMĀN,
 NAWĀB AḤMADULLA, KHĀN,
 and 67 others.

REPAIRS TO BADSHAHI MOSQUE

All the necessary repairs to the Bādshāhi Mosque of Lahore, will be completed within the next two years.

This deadline was fixed by Mian Mumtaz Muḥammad Khān Daultāna, Chief Minister of the Panjāb, when he presided over the meeting of the Bādshāhi Mosque Authority held in Lahore on Monday the 10th September, 1951.

The following attended the meeting : Mr. 'Abbāsī of the Rehabilitation Ministry, Pākistān Government ; Mr. A. D. Arshad, Secretary of the Authority, Mr. Ḥabīb J. A. Somjee, Consulting

1. Goulding, H. R., *Old Lahore*, 9—10, Kanhayyā La'l, *Tārīkh e Lāhor*, 143—44.

Achchitect to Panjāb Government ; and the Superintendent of Archaeology. The last-named attended by special invitation.

The Authority, according to estimates, will spend about Rs. 10 lakhs on the repairs of the Mosque during the next two years. The expenditure is like to exceed this amount if the price of the material does not fall during the next two years.

The main headache of the Authority is the question of the procurement of the red sandstone which is available only in India. The existing tension between India and Pākistān, and some other factors are likely to affect the early despatch of red sandstone from India to Pākistān.

With a view to expending the import of red sandstone for the Bādshāhī Mosque, the Pākistān Government is likely to discuss this question with the Indian Union at Governmental level. Every effort, it is emphasised in official circles, will be made by the Pākistān Government to get this stone so that the repairs might be started immediately.

It may be stated here that repairs to the tune of Rs. 18 lakhs have already been undertaken. The Authority at the time of partition had about Rs. 28 lakhs, the major portion of the amount having been collected from the cess imposed during the Sikandar Hyāt regime at the rate of two pice per rupee for the repairs to the Mosque.

The then Indian Government contributed Rs. four lakhs and the Nizām of Hyderābād about Rs. one lakh.

The repairs to the Mosque relate to the renovation of the prayer chamber, electrification of the Mosque with flourescent light and water supply arrangements.

2. MOSQUE OF WAZIR KHĀN.

The mosque of Wazir Khān was built by Shaikh 'Alamud Dīn Anṣārī, a native of Chiniot, in the Jhang district in 1044 A. H. (1634 A. D.), on the site of the tomb Sayyid Muḥammad Ishāq, *alias* Mirān Bādshāh, of Kāzrun, in Iran, who settled in Lahore during the time of Taghlaq dynasty. The tomb of this saint

still exists. Shaikhh 'Alamud Dīn Anṣārī was a *hakīm* (physician) by profession, who gradually rose to the position of *wazīr* in the reign of Shāhjahān and received the title of Wazīr Khān. He was also appointed the viceroy of the Panjāb for seven years (1632—39 A. D.)¹.

The mosque is remarkable for the profusion and excellence of the inlaid pottery decoration in the panelling of the walls. It may be interesting to note that some years back the advanced students of the Mayo School of Arts, Lahore, were taught lessons from the designs and interior decorations of the mosque. Mr. J. L. Kipling, the then Principal of the institution remarked in 1890: "This beautiful building is in itself a school of design; but year by year less attention seems to be paid to its maintenance, and the painted work is in a dilapidated state of neglect. Under these circumstances, it seems of the highest importance to secure careful copies for preservation in the Museum and School, and there could be no better training for our young decorators."² The panels of pottery are set in hard mortar. In the mosque itself are very good specimens of Perso-Indian arabesque painting on the smooth *chunam* walls. This work, which is very freely painted and good in style, is true fresco painting, the *buono fresco* of the Italians, and, like the inlaid ceramic work, is now no longer practised, modern local decoration being usually *fresco secco* or mere distemper painting. The reason of this is that there has been no demand for this kind of work for many years. Though the builder was a resident of the Panjāb, the style is more Perso-Mughal and less Indian than that of any other building in the city.

The following chronograms inscribed on the front gateway give the date of the foundation of the mosque.

سال تاریخ بنای مسجد عالی مقام
از خرد جستیم بگفتا سجده که اهل فضل

1. See *Infra*, pp 144—147.

2. Kipling, Jh., *Principal's Report on the Mayo School of Arts for 1889—90*, p. 6.

"When I asked of Reason the date of the foundation of this magnificent mosque, it answered: "This is the place of worship of the pious."

The words "سجدہ گاہ اہل فضل" give the Hijra year 1044.

The above is followed by the following inscription:

تاریخ این بنای چو پرسیدم از خرد
گفتا بگو کہ بانی مسجد وزیر خان

"When I asked of Reason the date of its foundation, it answered: "Say the founder of this mosque is Wazir Khān."

The words بانی مسجد وزیر خان give the date.

From the deed of *waqf* (Trust), dated Ramazān 1, 1051 A. H. (December 4, 1641 A.D.), reproduced by Sayyid Muḥammad Latif and Nūr Aḥmad Chishtī, it appears that Nawāb Wazir Khān, the founder of the mosque, was owner of all the shops and houses on either side of the street, extending from the mosque to the Dehli Gate, the income of which, together with that of the *sarāe* and the baths close to the Dehli Gate, he bequeathed permanently to support the mosque and the establishment attached to it. The whole of this extensive property has become private estate. Now that Pākistān has been established it is highly desirable that the government should take some action to control the finances of the mosque and to make the *mutawallīs* to conform to the rules detailed by the testator himself in the Trust Deed.¹

It would be of interest to note that the present *mutawallīship* of the mosque was questioned in a law court and a Division Bench of the Lahore High Court consisting of Mr. Justice Rahmān and Mr. Justice Kiānī on Wednesday the 2nd May, 1951, dismissed the appeal in the 9-year-old-case relating to the *Mutawallīship* of the *Waqf* of Wazir Khān Mosque, Lahore. Their Lordships ordered the parties to bear their own costs.

1. Cf. Latif, S. M., *Lahore*, pp. 216—221; Chishtī Nūr Aḥmad, *Tahqīqāt e Chishtī*, pp. 663—77; Kanḥayyā La'ī, *Tārīkh e Lāhore*, pp. 153—64; and 'Abdul Hamīd Lāhorī, *Bādshāhnāma*.

The appeal had been filed by the plaintiff, Mirzā Akbar 'Alī, against the decision of Muḥammad Salīm, Sub-Judge of the 1st Class at Lahore. The learned Sub-Judge had dismissed Mirzā Akbar 'Alī's suit for a declaration that as a lawfully appointed *mutawallī* of the *Waqf* relating to the Wazīr Khān's Mosque in Lahore he was entitled to manage its properties.

The plaintiff had stated in the plaint that immediately upon the death of Sir Zafar 'Alī, last *mutawallī* of the *waqf*, the members of his family had assembled in pursuance of the provisions of the *Waqf* deed and the usage observed by the family and elected the plaintiff as *mutawallī*. The defendant Itikḥār 'Alī on acquiring knowledge of this election had taken with him his four brothers-in-law and proclaimed himself *mutawallī* in the Wazīr Khān's mosque by going through some form of *dastārbandī* alleging that his father had appointed him *mutawallī* in his lifetime. The plaintiff maintained that in view of the fact that Sir Zafar 'Alī had for a long time suffered from paralysis and possessed no conscious mind, he was not capable of appointing a successor and could not have made such appointment contrary to the *waqfnāma* and established practice. The plaintiff, therefore, asked for a decree declaring that he had been a properly appointed *mutawallī* and requiring the defendants to render account of the *Waqf* properties.

Their Lordships in the judgment observed: "Since the plaintiff's case was that he was elected in pursuance of a properly-convened meeting following an announcement and he has failed to prove it we cannot but agree that he is not entitled to a declaration in terms of his plaint."

Their Lordships also observed the following points as a result:

(i) that by the terms of the *Waqf* deed the right of *mutawallīship* vests in the entire family,

(ii) that by established practice the *mutawallī* is approved of by the entire family,

(ii) that Sir Zafar 'Ali did not make the appointment on his deathbed but that even if he had done it would have had only a temporary effect.

(iv) that the *mutawalli* cannot appoint a successor while he is in health; and

(v) that the plaintiff was not elected a *mutawalli* in pursuance of a properly convened meeting following an announcement to the entire family.

The Wazir Khān's Mosque *Waqf* was created by Nawāb Wazir Khān in 1641 A. D. The last *mutawalli*, Sir Mirza Zafar Ali, formerly a Judge of the Lahore High Court died in 1942 A.D. In 1936 A.D., he created a *Waqf-alal-aulād* of his own property. He incidentally nominated his eldest son Mirzā Iftikhār 'Ali, defendant in the present case, as *mutawalli* of the present *Waqf*. He has continued to be *mutawalli* since the death of Sir Zafar 'Ali.

3. GOLDEN MOSQUE.

There is nothing much of architectural interest in this mosque except its very prominent and pretty gilt domes. The *Sunahrī Masjid* or Golden Mosque is situated at the junction of two roads, viz., Kashmīrī Bāzār and Bān Bāttān Street. The mosque was built in 1163 A.H. (1753 A. D.) by Nawāb Bhikārī Khān, a noble living during the viceroyalty of Mir Mannu. The mosque is built throughout of masonry, and the three arched entrances are covered with three large gilt domes, the centre dome being larger than those on either side.

Rāe Bahādar Kanhāyyā La'l has given the following account of the mosque during the Sikh period :

اس مسجد کی آبادی سکھوں کے عہد میں بھی بدستور رہی کیونکہ مسجد کا متولی جو روپیہ دوکانوں کے کرایہ کا پاتا رہا اس کی آبادی اور اپنے گزارہ میں خرچ کرتا رہا۔ مہاراجہ رنجیت سنگھ کے عہد میں بھی پہلے کوئی متعرض اس مسجد کا نہوا۔ آخر جب باولی کا مکان مسجد کے متصل بن گیا اور اس میں

گرتھ صاحب رکھا گیا تو باولی کے بھائی سکھ اور اکالیہ اس مسجد کے درے ہو گئے۔ اور مہاراجہ کی خدمت میں عرض کی کہ اس مسجد کا ملان باواز بلند اذان دیتا ہے تو ہمارے کان میں پڑتی ہے، یہ مسجد بھی باولی کے ساتھ شامل ہمارے قبضہ میں رہنی چاہئے، یا گرا دی جائے کہ مسلمانوں کی ہمسایگی گورو کے سکھوں کے ساتھ نہ چاہئے۔ مہاراجہ نے فی الفور حکم دیدیا کہ مسجد سے ملان نکال دیا جائے۔ اور گرتھ رکھا جائے۔ اس حکم کے صادر ہونے ہی ملان پیچارہ نکال کر باہر کر دیا گیا اور مسجد میں اکالیوں نے قبضہ کر لیا۔ اور تمام مسجد میں گوہر کا لپین دے کر گرتھ رکھ دیا گیا۔ دوکانوں کی آمدنی ضبط ہو کر باولی کے محال کے شامل کر دی گئی۔ وقوع اس حال سے شہر کے مسلمان نہایت غمگین ہوئے اور سب نے مجمع فقیر عزیز الدین و نور الدین کے مکان پر کیا اور چاہا کہ ان کے ذریعہ سے مہاراجہ کے حضور میں مسجد کی واگزاری کے لئے عرض کی جائے۔ چونکہ اس زمانے میں مہاراجہ کے دربار میں سب سے بڑھ کر توقیر گھلو ماشکی کی تھی اور مہاراجہ کسی بات میں اس کے کہنے سے باہر نہ تھا فقیر صاحبان نے مسجد کے معاملے میں اس کو اپنے ساتھ ملایا اور اس کے ذریعہ سے مہاراجہ کی خدمت میں عرض کی اور بیان کیا کہ تمام پنجاب کی مسجدوں کے ملان کہیں بانگ بلند آواز سے نہیں کہتے چہ جائیکہ باولی صاحب کے پاس جہاں گرتھ صاحب رکھا ہوا ہو۔ مسجد کا ملان اذان دیوے یہ بات بالکل برخلاف ہے۔ ہم آئندہ ملان سے چلکا لے لیتے ہیں کہ کبھی بانگ ندیوے۔ اس بات پر مہاراجہ راضی ہوا کہ مسجد بدستور ملان کے حوالے کر دی جاوے۔ اور اس سے چلکا لے لیا جاوے کہ بانگ ندیوے۔ مسجد کی دوکانوں کا کرایہ بھی ضبط رہے۔ مسلمانوں نے اتنی بات کو ہی غنیمت جانا اور مسجد پر دوبارہ قبضہ پایا۔ مگر دوکانیں ہاتھ سے جاتی رہیں۔ بعد انقراض سلطنت سکھی انگریزی عملداری میں وہ دوکانیں بھٹیغہ نزول ضبط رہیں۔ اہل اسلام نے بہت دفعہ عرضیاں کیں

اور مقدمات کئے مگر حکام نے بدین خیال کہ یہ محل مہاراجہ کے وقت سے ضبط ہے اب واگذار فرمایا جاوے گا۔¹

"This mosque was properly maintained even during the period of the Sikhs, because the keeper of the mosque continued to maintain himself and the mosque from the rent collected from the shops (attached to the mosque). At first even during the reign of Mahārāja Ranjit Singh nobody felt averse to this mosque, but when a *bāoli*² was constructed adjacent to this mosque and the *Granth* was placed in it, the Sikh attendants of the *bāoli* and Akālīs objected to this mosque. They reported to the Mahārāja that the *mullā* (crier) chanted the *azān* (call to prayer) too loudly and that they were forced to listen to it. The mosque should be either included in the *bāoli* or should be demolished, as the Muslims should not be allowed to be the neighbours of the Sikhs. The Mahārāja immediately ordered for the *externment* of the *mullā* from the mosque and for placing the *Granth* in it. As a result the *mulla* was externed and the *Akālīs* got possession of the mosque. They plastered the mosque with cow-dung and placed the *Granth* in it. The income of the shops was confiscated and handed over to the *mahāl* (quarters) of the *bāoli*. The Muslims of the town felt very much aggrieved at this happening. They gathered together at the house of Faqīr 'Azīzud Dīn' and Nurud Dīn and sought their help in getting the mosque restored. As in those days Ghallū, *māshkī* (water carrier) exercised the greatest influence in Mahārāja's court and the Mahārāja always respected his wishes, the Faqīrs prevailed upon him in the matter of the mosque and through him submitted to the Mahārāja that when all over the Panjāb the *mullās* did not loudly make calls to prayers how could a *mullā* do

1. Kanhayya La'l, *Tārīkh e Lāhore*, 150—51.

2. A large masonry well, generally with winding steps down to the water and landing places and chambers in the surrounding wall.

3. Sacred scriptures of the Sikhs.

4. Courtiers of Ranjit Singh.

it near a *bāoli* where the *Granth* was placed. This was impossible. They further promised to get a bond executed from the *mulla* that he would never make calls to prayers. The Mahārāja agreed to restore the mosque to the *mulla* provided he executed a bond not to make calls for prayers. The rent of the shops was not restored. The Muslims felt satisfied even with this arrangement and got possession of the mosque, although they lost the shops. After the termination of Sikh regime the shops continued to be treated as *nazul* (crown property). The Muslims applied for their restoration many times and filed suits also but these were not restored by the authorities who considered this quarter to be confiscated (for the government) since the time of the Mahārāja."

In 1881 A.D., on the recommendation of Captain Nisbet, the Deputy Commissioner of Lahore, the Governor of the Panjāb, Sir Robert Eyles Egerton, restored the shops to the Muslims.¹

4. MOSQUE OF MARYAM ZAMĀNĪ

To the east of the Fort near the Masti Gate is situated one of the most ancient mosques of the city. The inscription on the northern gateway cannot be properly read now but the words خوش مسجدی (a fine mosque) giving 1023 A.H. (1614 A.D.) as its date of construction can still be deciphered out of the fading inscriptions which is quoted by Latif as follows :

اللہ اکبر

منت ایزد را کہ آخر گشت کار از ابتدی
 ہم بتوفیق خدا و حکم صاحب مستندی
 حضرت مریم زمانی بانی هذا المکان
 کز عنایات الہی ساخته جای ہدی

1. Kanhayyā La'ī, *Tārīkh e Lāhore*, 150—51; and Latif, S. M. *Lahore*, 222—23.

2. Latif, S. M., *Lahore*, 131.

از پی تاریخ ختم این بنای چون بهشت
فکرمی کردم که آخر یا فتم خوش مسجدی

"GOD IS GREAT

God be thanked through whose grace under the auspices of the ruler this building was completed. The founder of this edifice, the place of salvation, is the Queen, Maryam Zamānī, who completed it with the grace of God.

I was thinking of the date of completion of this edifice, which resembles paradise, when at last I found it in the words 'what a fine mosque'."

Maryam Zamānī the founder of the mosque was the mother of Jahāngīr, and daughter of Rājā Bihārī Mall. The style of the building is transitional between the Pathān and Mughal. It is built of bricks, cemented by *Chānam* of the best quality, so excellent indeed that the strength of the building seems to depend entirely on its adhesive properties.

During the Sikh period the mosque was used by Ranjit Singh as a gun and powder manufactory, and on that account came to be called the *Bārūtkhāna Wali Masjid*. The British got it vacated but Qāzī Faqihud Dīn, the *Dārogha e Nazul*, registered it as Crown property. It was restored to Muslims by Major Mc Gregor, the Deputy Commissioner of Lahōre, in 1850 A.D.

5. MOSQUE OF DĀI ANGAH

This mosque was built during the reign of Shāhjahān in 1045 A.H. (1635 A.D.) by his wet-nurse (*Dāi*), Angah, and is known after her. The real name of Angah was Zebun Nisā and she was wife of a Mughal, named Murād Khān. It is a splendred mosque with bulb like domes and its walls from inside are decorated with beautiful enamelled work in yellow and passages from the Qurān.

Ranjit Singh, on coming to power, used it as a powder magazine, but after annexation of the Panjāb by the British, the

1. Registrar of Crown property.

mosque was occupied by Mr. Henry Cope, the editor of the *Lahore Chronicle* the first English newspaper established in Lahore, who used it as a private residence. Mr. Henry Cope sold it for Rs. 12,000 to the late Panjāb and Delhi Railway Company. When the Railway came under the direct management of the State, the house was transferred to Government, and, considerable additions having been made to it, it was used as the office of the Traffic Manager, Panjāb Northern State Railway.

The mosque was reclaimed in 1903 A.D. Mr. J. H. Marshall, recording the incident in the *Annual Report* of the Archaeological Survey of India, remarks: "As might have been expected, much of the initial work among these monuments has lain in rescuing them from the utilitarian purposes to which they have been put, and in effacing the evidence of their modernization. Particularly this has been the case in the Mughal Forts at Delhi and Lahore, where British Military occupation was largely responsible for the abuses perpetrated on the old royal palaces.....Another monument—having no connection with either of the Forts—that has been a victim of modern vandalism, and that is now being restored as nearly as possible to its former state, is the mosque of Dāi Anga at Lahore. For some of the accretions that have enveloped this structure the Sikhs appear to have been responsible, but its real transformation dates from the time when it was converted into a railway office, and it was then that most of the damage was done to its enamelled walls."

The amount of the damage done to this mosque after the annexation and the story of the restoration of the building to its original form is told by Mr. W. H. Nicholls, in the next year's report in these words. "Although the buildings which have come under conservation at Lahore are few in number, the results which have been achieved are not insignificant. The most interesting piece of work has been rescue of the mosque of Dāi Angah near the railway station. The mosque was built by Angah, the nurse of Shah Jahan, shortly before she left India to

1. A. S. I. A. R., 1903—4, pp. 5 and 6.

undertake a pilgrimage to Mecca. Since the date of its erection in A.D. 1635, it has passed through various phases. Ranjit Singh turned it into a powder magazine, and subsequently it was used as a residence by a European, while latterly it has served as the office of the railway Traffic Superintendent at Lahore.

"When the building was taken over for repairs a year ago, the fact that it was a mosque was hardly recognizable owing to the modern offices which clustered round its walls. All of these have now been cleared away, and the original form of the mosque has emerged in a very satisfactory condition.

"The Chief point about the building is its tile decoration in various colours, over-done perhaps, but characteristic of the style which marks most of the buildings round Lahore of the period of *Shāh Jahan*. More tile work has now come to light at the points where the walls of offices abutted against the mosque.

"Within the courtyard in which the building stands, a tank has been found, and traces exist of what may prove to be a second tank. A tank is, of course, an essential adjunct to a mosque, since ablutions before prayer form part of Muhammadan ceremony.

"The mosque itself is divided, on the east facade, into three bays richly decorated with tilework. The facade is not quite complete, the tops of the minarets and parts of the battlements being missing. The domes, of which there are three, one over each compartment, are covered with modern cement, and are crowned at the top with wooden finials, which may be the cores of the original metal-covered finials. A few fragments of tiles remain on the drums and cornices of the domes, but nothing of consequence will be recovered here, except the fact that they were originally covered with tilework.

"Upon entering the mosque we find that each of the three compartments was originally roofed by a double dome: that over the central compartment still exists, but in the case of the north and south compartments the inner dome has been removed down

to its springing, with the object, probably, of securing more light and air in the chambers when they were used as offices. The splayed springing courses, however, of the inner domes remain, and leave no doubt as to the original construction.

"The incomplete inner domes of the north and south compartments are carried on pendentives, while the inner dome over the central compartment is carried on eight arches, seven of which remain practically intact; but in the place of the eighth—that in the west wall—a window opening has been made. The brick drums supporting the outer domes are circular in plan, and the domes, also of brick, are consequently of the cylindrical type, with no pendentives.

"It now remains to fill up the modern openings which have been cut for doors and windows, and to clean off the modern plaster from the walls, bringing to light, if possible, the wall paintings, the existence of which is indicated in some places where the plaster has been chipped away.¹"

In the next year the mosque was completely restored and most of the tile-work was brought to light. To the left of the western hall of the side chamber, south of central hall, we now find the following inscription:

کتبہ ابراہیم سن ۱۰۴۵

Written by Ibrāhīm, 1045.

II FORT

The major group of secular Mughal buildings in Pakistān is that of the Fort of Lahore, which occupies the north-western angle of the (formerly) walled city of Lahore. The origin of the Lahore Fort is uncertain, but we find it mentioned in connection with Muḥammad Sām's invasion of Lahore in 576 A.H. (1180 A.D.); 580 A.H. (1184 A.D.) and 582 A.H. (1186 A.D.).² It was ruined by the Mongols in 639 A.H. (1241 A.D.),³ but was rebuilt by

1. *A. S. I. A. R.*, 1904—5, pp. 21 and 22

2. Firishṭa, (Cawnpur ed., 1884), I, 56

3. Minhāj e Sirāj, *Siyāsatal amṣār fi tajribatil a'ṣār*, 50.

Balban in 666 A.H. (1267 A.D.).¹ It was again destroyed by Amīr Tīmūr's army in 801 A.H. (1398 A.D.)², and again built with mud by Sultān Mubārak Shāh in the beginning of 825 A. H. (1421 A. D.) Nearly five months later the mud fort was attacked and damaged by Shaikhā Gakkhar.³ In 836 A. H. (1432 A.D.) it was taken and repaired by Shaikh 'Alī.⁴ Mention is made of its gates in connection with the arrival of Mirzā Kāmran from Kābul in the first year of Humāyūn's reign.⁵ Humāyūn's successor, the Emperor Akbar, demolished the old mud fort and rebuilt it in brick and solid masonry. The work is referred to in the *Āin e Akbarī*,⁶ although the date of its reconstruction is not given. But a fort is mentioned in connection with Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm's rebellion in 974 A. H. (1566 A.D.).⁷ Assuming it to be the same as that built by Akbar, we conclude that the present fort was built before the twelfth year of the reign of that Emperor.

The fort was built in four main phases. The first phase dates from the time of Akbar. No particulars regarding Akbar's buildings in Lahore Fort are available except that it contained a Diwān e 'Ām, as appears in Badā'uni's account. It is of interest to note that the number of bays enclosing the courtyard of the Diwān e 'Ām, as shown on the map⁸ of the Sikh period is nearly the same as that given by this historian, a fact which indicates that the Throne Room at the back of the present Diwān e 'Ām

1. Firishṭa, I, 77.

2. Firishṭa, I, 159.

3. Aḥmad, Khwāja Nizāmud Dīn, *Ṭabaqāt e Akbarī* (Lucknow ed. 1875), 137.

4. Firishṭa, I, 168.

5. Abul Faḥl, *Akhbar-nāma*, I, 125.

6. See *supra*, p. 348

7. Aḥmad, Khwāja Nizāmud Dīn, *Ṭabaqāt e Akbarī*, 276.

8. The original map belonged to Faqīr Qamrud Dīn, son of Faqīr Nūrud Dīn. It was traced in 1883 A. D. by Major A. H. Cole and was subsequently reproduced several times. (See Cole, Major H. H., *Preservation of National Monuments*, *Journal of Indian Art*, Vol. VI (1896) India; photographs and drawings of historical buildings.

with its arcade was the *Daulat Khāna e 'Ām* of Akbar. The following is the passage referred to above :

و^۱ در یست و دوم ربیع الثانی سال نه صد و نو دوشش تحویل نو روز و ابتدای سال می و سوم یا چهارم از جلوس واقع شد - و دولخانه^۲ عام را که صد و چهارده ایوانست در قما شهای لطیف و پرده های مصور گرفته اقسام زینت و زیب عوام را فریب دادند و انواع احکام مخالف شرع رواج یافت "و شیوع معصیت" تاریخ شد -

"On the 22nd of Rabi' II 996 A.H. (December 29, 1587 A.D.) the New Year's day of the 33rd or 34th year from the Accession took place. The Emperor, in order to beguile the common people, had the public audience-hall which consists of 114 bays, decorated with all sorts of ornamentations, such as valuable stuffs and embroidered curtains. And all sorts of edicts contrary to the Law were issued, 'Propagation of Heresy' gives the date."

Ten years later, in 1597 A.D., when Akbar returned to Lahore from Kashmir the *Daulatkhāna* had been injured by fire to some extent and Akbar got it repaired during his stay in Lahore. The Emperor's Court Chronicler, Abul Fazl thus refers to this incident in *Akbarnāma* :

سوم آذر شاهنشاهی چتر سایه بر دارالسلطنت لاهور انداخت - و جهانی پذیره و نثار فرخی اندوخت - یک ماه و ده روز در راه بسر آمد - و بیست و هفت کوچ شد - بتازه کاخستان بر آمودند و بایزدی سپاس برنشستند - بوالا فرمان دولخانه و برخی قدسی نشین آتش رسیده را از نو پرداخته بودند!

"On the 3rd Āzar (13th or 14th November, 1597 A.D.), he arrived at Lahore. He spent one month and ten days on the road. and there were 27 marches. He reposed in the new palace and engaged in returning thanks to God. By his orders the *Daulatkhāna*

1. Badāūnī, 'Abdul Qādir, *Muntahabut Tawārīkh*, II, 365.

2. Abul Fazl, *Akbarnāma*, 734.

(hall of audience) and some sacred buildings which had been injured by the fire had been rebuilt."

The second phase is marked by the following inscription of the year 1027 A.H. (1617—18 A.D.) set over an archway to the west of the *Diwān e 'Ām* :

بسال دوازدهم از جلوس مقدس بندگان عالی حضرت شاهنشاه
 ظل الله سلیمان جہ کیومرث بارگاہ سکندر سپاہ خلافت پناہ نورالدین
 شاہ ابن جلال الدین پادشاہ غازی مطابق سال ہزار و بیست و
 ہفت ہجری عمارت این دولتخانہ ہمایون باہتمام کترین مریدان
 و غلامان قدوی معمور خان صورت اتمام پذیرفت ۔

"In the twelfth year of the blessed accession of His Imperial Majesty, the shadow of God, a Solomon in dignity, Kayūmarṣ in state, victorious Alexander in arms, the asylum of the *Khilāfat*, the Emperor Nūrud Dīn Jahāngīr, the son of Jalālud Dīn [Akbar], the Champion of the Faith, corresponding to 1027 A.H. [1617—18 A.D.], the building of this auspicious palace was completed under the superintendence of his most humble disciples and slaves—the devoted servant, Ma'mūr *Khān*."

It was in order to see this palace that *Shāhjahān* made a hasty visit to Lahore from the royal camp of his father on the banks of the *Beās*. The Emperor *Jahāngīr* refers to this journey in his *Memoirs* :

روز دو شنبہ سی ام فرزند شاہجہان بجہت دیدن عمارات دولتخانہ
 کہ بتازگی احداث یافتہ ده روز رخصت گرفتہ بلاہور شتافت ۔

"On Monday the 30th (Muharram, 1029 A.H., 12th October, 1619 A.D.) my son *Shāhjahān*, took leave for ten days to see the buildings of the royal palace which had been nearly erected, and hastened to Lahore."

The Emperor paid a visit to it himself in the beginning of 1030 A.H., an account of which is given below from his *Memoirs*.

1. *Tuzuk e Jahāngīrī*, ed by Sayyid Ahmad ('Alīgarh, 1864), 284.

From the passage cited it may perhaps be concluded that the so-called Jahāngir's quadrangle is correctly ascribed to him :

روز دو شنبه نهم آذر ماه الهی مطابق پنجم محرم سنه یکهزار و سی
از باغ مومن یرفیل اندر نام سوار شده نثار کنان متوجه شهر گردیدم
و بعد از گذشتن سه بهر و دو گهڑی از روز در ساعت مسعود و
مختار بدولتخانه در آمده در عماراتی که مجدداً باهتمام معمور خان
حسن انجام پذیرفته بمبارکی و فرخی نزول فرمودم - بی تکلف منازل
دلکشا و نشیمن های روح افزا در غایت لطافت و نزاهت همه
منقش و مصور بعمل اوستادان نادره کار آراستگی یافته باغبانهای
سبز خرم بانواع و اقسام گل و ریاحین نظر فریب گشته
ز فرق تا بقدم هر کجا که می نگرم

کرشمه دامن دل می کشد که جا اینجاست

بالجمله مبلغ هفت لک روپیه که بیست و سه هزار تومان رایج
ایران باشد صرف این عمارت شده^۱ -

"On Monday the ninth of the month of Āzar of the Ilāhī era, corresponding with the 5th of Muḥarram, 1030 A.H. (September 6, 1620 A.D.), I rode from the garden of Momin (on the Rāvi) on an elephant called Indra, and, scattering money (as alms), went in the direction of the city. After the lapse of three *pahars* and two *gharīs* (i.e., towards evening) of that day I entered the palace in an auspicious and approved hour, and found a joyful and blessed lodging in the buildings recently completed under the superintendence of Ma'mūr Khān. Without ceremony I may say that these are delightful buildings and charming abodes, extremely fine and faultless, and *painted* and *sculptured*, and embellished by the labour of rare masters. The smiling, green gardens with various kinds of flowers, and 'sweet scents are eye-captivating.

From head to foot how sweet, turn where I please !
Soft glances at my heart cry, 'Take thy ease'

1. *Tūrah e Jahāngiri*, 318.

In short, this building cost seven lacs of rupees which is equal to twenty three thousand tumāns as current in Irān."

The third phase represents the work of Shāhjahān, and is dated in part to 1041 A.H. (1631—32 A.D.) by the following inscription over the Hāthī Pol¹ or Elephant's Gate, the private entrance to the palace :

شاه جم جاه سلیمان قدر کیوان بارگاه
کز سپهر و مهر برتر برده رایات جلال
ثانی صاحب قران شاه جهان کز عدل وجود
نیستش نوشیروان مانند و افریدون همال
شاه برجی حکم کرد احداث کز فرط علو
هست بیرون همچو عرش اعظم از وهم و خیال
در صفا و رفعت و لطف و هوا برجی چنین
از حصار چرخ نمودست و نماید جمال
بنده یک دل مرید معتقد عبدالکریم
بعد اتمام عمارت یافت این تاریخ سال
دائما چون دولت این بادشاه جم سپاه
این همایون برج عالی باد از آفت بی زوال
سنه ۱۰۴۱ هجری ۴ جلوس

"The king, a Jamshid in dignity," a Solomon in grandeur,
a Saturn in state,

Who has carried the banners of his glory beyond the sky and
the sun,

The second Lord of Constellation, Shāhjahān, to whom in
justice and generosity Nushīrwān is no equal nor Afrīdūn
a peer,

Ordered a Royal Tower (Shāh Burj) to be erected which, for
its immense height,

1. The term Hāthī Pol, which was also used to designate the Dehli Gate of the Dehli Fort, was evidently of Rājput origin. The second member of the name is Rājasthānī pol. Cf. Vogel's note *The Sanskrit prātis and its new-Indian derivatives*. J.R.A.S., 1906, p. 539.

Is like the Divine Throne beyond imagination and conception,
 In purity, height, elegance and airiness, such a tower,
 Has never appeared from the castle of the sky, nor will.
 The sincere servant and faithful disciple, 'Abdul Karīm,¹
 After the completion of the building devised this date.
 For ever like the fortune of this king, a Jamshīd in arms,
 May this auspicious lofty tower remain safe from destruction.

1041 A.H., the 4th year of the Accession."

Although we find very few particulars regarding the buildings of Akbar and Jahāngir in the Lahore Fort, we possess full details of *Shāhjahān's* work in it. It was in the first year of his reign that he ordered a hall of forty pillars, now known as the *Diwān e 'Ām*, to be built in the Forts of Āgra and Lahore, as appears from the following passage of the *Bādshāh-nāma* of Mullā 'Abdul Hamīd Lāhorī, the court chronicler of the Emperor :

چهارم ذی الحجه در عهد فرمان روائی حضرت
 عرش آشیانی و سلطنت حضرت جنت مکانی و بعد از جلوس حضرت
 جهانبانی تا این تاریخ پیش جهور که دولخانه خاص و عام که
 در آن جمیع بندگان به دولت بار و سعادت دیدار می رسند، عمارتی که
 ملتزمان بساط حضور را از باران و گرما پناه باشد، نبود - ایوانی از
 پارچه استاده می کردند، چنانچه نگاشته شد - و چون درین زمان

1. *Mā'mūr Khān* of the inscription on the archway to the west of the *Diwān e 'Ām* 849 and 'Abdul Karīm of this inscription are one and the same person. It is proved by a passage in the *Tūzuh e Jahāngirī* (p. 182) which runs as follows :

در یست و هشتم عبدالکریم را بجلدوی عمارات ماندو که بحسن سعی و
 اهتمام او باتمام رسیده بود بمنصب هشت صدیدات و چهار صد سوار از اصل و
 اضافه سرفراز ساخته بخطاب معمور خانی بلند نام گردانیدم -

"On the 28th [Isfandārmuz] as a reward for the buildings of Māndū having been completed through his excellent exertions, I promoted 'Abdul Karīm to the rank of 800 personal and 400 horse, and dignified him with the title of *Mā'mūr Khān* (the architect—*Khān*)".

The corresponding Christian date come to March 11, 1617.

مسعود هر چه سرمایه^۱ آسایش جهانبانی است از ممکن قوت بمظهر
 فعل آمده - و آنچه پیرایه^۲ آرایش جهان است از حسیض عدم باوج
 وجود شتافته - بحکم عالم آرا معماران جزو آثار، و بخاران آذر کار،
 ایوانی عالی، که سر بکیوان کشیده است، و بنائی رفیع که
 بسدرهالمتنهی رسیده، در پیش جهر و ک دولت خانه^۳ خاص و عام
 بطول هفتاد گز و عرض بیست و دو گز پادشاهی در چهل روز،
 چنانچه در مرآة ضمیر نورانی حضرت گیتی ستانی هرتو افکنده بود،
 باتمام رسانیدند - هم ایستادگان پیشگاه اورنگ جهانبانی را از آب و
 آفتاب پناهی تازه بهم رسید و هم روی بارگاه آسمان جاه را زینتی
 بی اندازه - سه طرف این ایوان والا بنیان که هر طرف راهی دارد
 و ازان امرا و خدمت پیشگان و دیگر منصبداران روشناس در می
 آیند، محجری از قره نصب کرده اند - درین ایوان پنדהا در خور
 پایه بجائی که معین است به آئینی که لایق محفل سلاطین با فرو
 تمکین باشد می ایستند - بیشتری پشت بمعجرو چندی که بنسبت قرب
 امتیاز دارند متصل بدوستونی که نزدیک جهر و ک است و
 قور برداران باعلمهای زرین و طوغهای زرین وقورخاصه در جانب چپ
 پشت بدیوار قیام می نمایند - در پیش این بنای آسمان ما صحنی است
 وسیع بردوران چوبین محجری رنگین که بر آن سایبانهای محفل و
 زربفت برمی افزازند - درین جا هر که منصبش از دو صدی کمتر
 است و احدیان کماندار و تفنگچیان قدر انداز و برخی از تاینیان
 امرا بار می یابند - بر دروازه های دولت خانه^۴ خاص و عام و هر
 دو محجر گرزبرداران معتمد و یساوان و دربانان بلباس های
 فاخر می ایستند، تا بیگانه را و هر که لایق مرتبه ازیں مراتب
 بار نباشد راه ندهند - معنی بردار شعر طراز طالب کلم این رباعی
 در وصف این مکان والا بنیان نظم نموده بمعرض اقدس رسانید و بصله^۵
 پادشاهانه دامن آمید او گران بار عطا گردید :

این تازه بنا که عرش همسایه^۶ اوست
 رفعت حرفی ز رتبت پایه^۷ اوست

باشست، که هر ستون سبزش سرویست
کایش خاص و عام در سایه اوست

و حکم مقدس شرف صدور یافت که در دارالسلطنت لاهور بنیز
پیش جهر و که دولت خانه خاص و عام به همین آئین ایوانی عالی
بنا کنند - و عمارت شاه برج باتمام رسانند -

" In the reigns of their departed Majesties (Akbar and Jahāngir) and after the accession of the lord of the world (Shāhjahān) till this date (4th Zulhijjah, 1037 A. H. = May 10, 1628 A.D.), in front of the *jharoka* of the Daulatkhāna e Khāṣ o 'Ām (hall of public and private audience) where all servants gain the fortune of admittance and of interview, there was no building (in the Āgra, Fort) to protect the courtiers from rain and heat, and a portico of cloth used to be erected as has been mentioned above. As in this august age all means of comfort that a ruler can give have passed from the region of potentiality into that of actuality, and every moment of the world has hastened from the nadir of non-existence to the zenith of existence, in accordance with the royal order, masons like magicians and carpenters like Āzar finished a lofty palace, that has raised its head to Saturn, and a high building that has reached the entrance of the seventh heaven, in front of the *jharoka* of the Daulatkhāna e Khāṣ o 'Ām, 70 imperial yards long and 22 imperial yards broad, in forty days as had been conceived in the enlightened mind of the world-conquering Emperor. Those who stand before the royal throne (thus) acquired a fresh shelter from the rain and the sun, and the face of the heavenly court also gained an immeasurable ornament. On the three sides of this high palace, each of which has an entrance for the *amirs*, servants, and other officials of note, has been pitched a silver balustrade. In this palace, the servants stand in order of rank, and in an appointed place, and in a manner worthy of assembly of mighty Emperors. Most of them stand with their backs towards the balustrade, several who are

distinguished by a closer connection (stand) by the two pillars which are near the *jharoka*, and armour-bearers with golden banners and flags, in royal armour towards the left hand with their backs turned to the wall. In front of his heaven-like building is a spacious courtyard with a coloured wooden balustrade around, on which are stretched canopies of brocaded velvet. In this place those whose rank is less than two hundred (horseman), and bow-bearing *ahadis*,¹ and skilled musketeers, and some of the attendant *amirs*, receive admittance. At the doors of the Daulatkhāna e Khāṣ o 'Ām, and of both the balustrades, stand trustworthy mace-bearers, staff-bearers, and door-keepers, all in fine clothes, to refuse entrance to strangers and those who are unworthy of such an honour. The gleaner of good meanings and ornamented of poetry, Ṭalib Kalīm, wrote this quatrain in praise of this lofty building, laid before his holy Majesty, and the skirts of his hope became heavy with the royal reward :

This new edifice of which the Divine throne is a neighbour,
Of whose rank Height is but a letter,
Is a garden, each pillar of which is a cypress,
In whose shade repose both nobles and common folk.

And the holy order was issued that in the capital of Lahore also should be constructed a high palace in front of *jharoka* of the Daulatkhāna e Khāṣ o 'Ām, in the same style (as at Āgra), and that the building of the *Shāh Burj* should be completed."

The above passage corroborates what we have already said regarding the position and existence of Akbar's Daulatkhāna e 'Ām. It also speaks of the *Shāh Burj* already referred to.

Latif (*Lahore*, p. 123) and Thornton (*Lahore*, p. 56) believe that the *Shāh Burj* was a detached tower that has since disappeared. But it is evidently meant to indicate the North-Western portion, now known as the Muṣamman Burj. This is exactly that part of the Fort to which originally the *Hāthī Pol* gave access, though the arrangement is now entirely changed. Fortunately the

1. A class of *manṣabdār*, with a nominal rank, having with them no foot or horse soldiers from the king.

contemporaneous work, *Bādshāhnāma*, removes all doubt regarding this point, for its description of the building goes on as follows :

غرّه ماه آذر نوزدهم سال از جلوس حضرت جنت مکانی آغاز
حفر اساس نمودند - و بعد ازان که یلداران چابک دست آنها به
نیروی بازو به آب رسانیدند مهندسان دورین جد آئین و معماران
سمنار کار بسنگ و صابوچ در کمال استحکام و متانت بر آورده سطح
زمین برابر گردانیدند - و بر فراز اساس کرسی معانی آسمانی و منازل
جاوداتی بآجر و آهک جیبوتره سایک لخت گردانیده تا هفت ذراع
مرتفع ساختند - پس از اورنگ آرائی خاقان گیتی ستان تا سال چهارم
جلوس میمنت مانوس به ذراع دیگر بهمان دستور بر افراخته آمد -
چنانچه در هر رده که یک قطار خشت را بنایان بکار می بردند
یک لک و هشتاد هزار قالب خشت صرف می شد - و چون متکفلان
عمارت دارالسلطنت طرحی که در زمان حضرت جنت مکانی قرار یافته بود
بدرگاه سلاطین پناه ارسال داشتند - و پسند طبع دشوار پسند نیفتاد -
بحکم خاقانی یمن الدوله که بر دقایق این صنعت آگاه است طرحی
چند که استاد سمنار کار بصوابدید او برنگاشتند بنظر اقدس در
آورد - یکی بشرف قبول و اصلاح مقدس رسیده و یازده گز دیگر
کرسی معنی آسمانی بلند ساختند، مطابق آن مبانی فلک سا بر
افراشتند - بالای این سطح یک لخت که ارتفاع آن از روی زمین
بیست و یک ذراع است ایوانی بطول بیست و شش ذراع و عرض
دوازده که اساطین دوازده گانه و ازاره آن از سنگ مرمر است و
متن ازاره و حاشیه آن را باحجار گونا گون پرچینه کاری نموده اند
سر بر افراخته - همانا از هر تو قهاویل این قصر گردون عظمت است
که آسمان فیروزه قام هر بام و بشام لولوی و بهرمایی می گردد -
از رنگ آمیزی این بنای آسمان سارحلی بلند بهار رخساره لاله و
چهره یاسمین می آراید - عقب آن طنبی خانه است بطول دوازده
ذراع و عرض هفت که ازاره اش بسان ازاره ایوان است - و

مشرف است بر دریای چمن^۱ - ساحل آن شرقی و غربی مشمن بجاه دارد بقطرشش ذراع - هر یک گنبدی سقف دو جانب ایوان کلان دو ایوان خلد نشان است - هر کدام بدرازی ده ذراع و نیم - و در هر ضلع شرقی و غربی شاه برج ایوانی نزه بطول نه ذراع و عرض شش مرتب گردید - حوالی این منازل فردوس مشاکل شش نشمن دیگر در کمال صفائی و زیبایی است که ازاره آن همه از سنگ مرمر است و سقف و جدران آن برایای حلبی زینت یافته - غربی شاه برج بنگله^۲ از سنگ مرمر ساخته اند که پرچینکاری عقیق و مرجان و دیگر اجبار ثمنه رشک افزای کارنامه^۳ مانوی است - شمالی و جنوبی^۴ این بنگله دو ایوانیست که رو بمشرق دارد - فرش صحن این عمارات نزاht امارات را که پنجاه ذراع در پنجاه است از سنگ موسی و سنگ مریم گره بندی نموده اند - در وسط صحن حوضی است بیست در بیست که چهار نهر از آن منشعب میگردد و میان حوض چبوتره^۵ پرچینکاری پنج در پنج بارتفاع سه سوه از روی صحن - جنوبی سمت صحن مزبور نشمنی است مربع بعرض و طول سه و نیم ذراع که شرقی و غربی آن دو شاه نشمن است بادو حجره زیب آگین هر یک بطول نه و نیم ذراع و عرض سه متصل هر حجره طولانی خانه واقع شده - و پیوست هر خانه ایوانی رو بشمال بطول ده ذراع و عرض چار پس یک ایوان طنبی خانه ایست که خوابگاه مقدس است - بدرازی نه گز و پهنای پنج - با ازاره سنگ مرمر که مصوران شگرف طراز و نقاشان جادو پرداز باقسام تلوین و تذهیب و تصاویر و نقوش خصوصاً تماثیل بلا دو بستاین آنرا نمودار جام جهان نما ساخته اند - خاوران سوی صحن مسطور پایان کریمی این عمارت صحنی دیگر واقع شده بطول پنجاه و پنج ذراع و عرض پنجاه و یک و نیم^۶ -

"On the first of the month Āzar, the 19th year of the accession of his late Majesty (Jahāngir), they began to dig the foundations,

1 It is obviously a misprint. This should be, راوی

2. 'Abdai Hamid Lāhori, *Bādshāhnāma*, Vol. I, Pt. 1, 223-25.

and after the active spademen had carried them down to the water level with the strength of their arms, the wise, laborious mathematicians and the architects like Sinmār¹ filled them up with stones and mortar so as to be thoroughly strong and durable, and levelled them with the ground. On the foundations was raised the plinth of the heavenly mansions and everlasting buildings with bricks and lime like a platform, and was made seven yards high. From the accession of the world conquering king (*Shāhjahān*) up to the fourth year of his reign three more yards were added in the same fashion. So in each *radah* (layer), that is a row of bricks used by the builders, 1,80,000 bricks were used. When the overseers of the buildings of the capital laid before the king the plan that had been approved of in the reign of his late Majesty (*Jahāngir*), and this plan did not satisfy the fastidious disposition (of *Shāhjahān*), by the royal orders Yaminud Daulah who is well versed in the subtleties of this art laid before the royal eye several plans which the masters like Sinmār had made in consultation with him. One of these received the honour of approval and improvement of the king. The plinth of the heavenly edifice was raised eleven yards higher. The sky-reaching structures were built up to correspond to it. On this flat platform which is 21 yards high from the level of the ground, was erected a hall² (*aiwān*), 26 yards in length and 12 yards in breadth. Its dado and twelve pillars are of marble. The middle and the borders of the dado have been inlaid with stones of different colours. Verily it is from the sparkling of the particoloured objects of this heaven-exalted palace that the turquoise-coloured firmament every morning and evening comes to shine like pearls and rubies. From the intermingling of colours in this sky-reaching structure and lofty mansion the spring adorns the cheeks of the tulip and the face of the jasmine. Behind it is a *tambīkhāna*

1. Sinmār (Ar. Sinimmār) is the name of the architect who built in Babylonia, by order of the king Nu'mān bin Munzir, a wonderful palace called *Khawarnaq*, for the prince Bahrām Gūr of Irān. But on the completion of the edifice the king killed him by rolling down from its top, lest he make a like palace somewhere else.

2. Now known as *Shīsh Mahal*.

(an open-fronted summer-room), 12 yards in length and 7 in breadth, with a dado like that of the (above) hall, overlooking the river, Rāvi. On the edge, in the east and west, it has an octagonal chamber with a diameter of six yards, each with a domed ceiling. On the two sides of the large hall (*aiwān*) are two paradise-like halls, each in length $10\frac{1}{2}$ yards and in breadth $3\frac{1}{2}$. On each of the east and west side of the *Shāh Burj* is erected a fine hall, in length 9 yards and in breadth 6. Round these paradise-shaped buildings there are six sitting-rooms besides, extremely fine and beautiful, the dado of all of which is of marble, and the ceilings and walls are ornamented with Aleppo glass. Towards the west of the *Shāh Burj* they have made a pavillion¹ (*banglah*) of marble, whose mosaics of cornelian, coral, and other precious stones excite the emulation of the workshop of Māni. To the north and south of this pavilion are two halls facing east. The floor of the court yard of these fine buildings, which is 50 yards by 50 yard, is inlaid with black marble and *sang e maryam*.² In the middle of the courtyard is a reservoir, 20 by 20 (yards), with a height of three *tasūs*³ ($\frac{1}{8}$ yard), from the level of the courtyard. Towards the south of the said courtyard there is a square sitting room, in length and breadth $3\frac{1}{2}$ yards, with two royal seats, and in the east and west two beautiful chambers each $9\frac{1}{2}$ yards long and 3 broad. Adjacent to each chamber is situated a long narrow room. Adjoining each narrow room there is a hall facing north, in length 10 yards and breadth 4, behind one of which is a *tambīkhāna* which is the blessed *khwābgāh* (sleeping-room) in length 9 yards and breadth 5, with a dado of marble. Wonder-working painters and magical artists have made it (*khwābgāh*) a model of the world exhibiting cup with a variety of colouring and gilding, and figures and pictures, especially the pictures of

1. Now called Naulakhhā.

2. The same as the Pākistānī architects call *sang e 'arabī*, a variegated highly fossiliferous kind of marble.

3. Persian text *biswā*, which is certainly one of the numerous misprints found in this book. A *tasū* is twenty-fourth part of a *gar*, while *biswā* is a measure of land.

cities and gardens. To the east of the said courtyard below the plinth of this building is situated another courtyard, in length 55 yards and breadth $51\frac{1}{4}$ ".

The above description agrees in all details with the Muṣamman Burj and there is little room left for doubting the identity of the two. It is of special interest to note that the Naulakhhā, which has been wrongly ascribed to Aurangzeb by some authors, formed part of the Shāh Burj buildings erected by Shāhjahān. Another point of still greater interest is the date of the tile work on the palace front hitherto ascribed to Jahāngir. From the passage quoted above one is inclined to ascribe it to Shāhjahān. The height of the floor of Shāh Burj from the bottom of the wall is stated to be 21 yards. Jahāngir had made only a platform 7 yards high, and Shāhjahān added 14 to make up the number. It is evident that in Jahāngir's time there was no such wall as we find now extending from Hāthi Pol to the farthest end of the lower courtyard of the Shāh Burj; hence the tile-work on this portion of the palace front, amounting to 3,655 square yards, is the work of him, who built the wall.

We also learn from the quotation given below that the Khwābgāh and the marble pavilion of the old map were also erected by the same Emperor in 1043 A. H. (1633 A.D.) and 1055 A. H. (1644 A.D.), respectively; hence the tile-work on this part of the wall is also of Shāhjahān's time. As for the rest, it is possibly of the same period and might have been executed during Shāhjahān's repairs to Jahāngir's buildings in the seventh year of his reign. The uniformity of style seems to speak in favour of such a possibility. The following account of Shāhjahān's repairs is taken from the contemporaneous work of Muhammad Salih Kamboh :—

پس از پر داخت این معانی بمرمت اندیشی عمارات دولخانه
 دارالسلطنه که از دیر باز کسی بدان نه پر داخته بود توجه تام
 مبذول داشتند. بنابر آنکه عمارات غسلخانه و خوابگاه در اصل
 باعتبار طرح وضع دل پسند و خاطر خواه آن حضرت نبود.

معماران هندسه پرداز حسب الامر اعلیٰ بتازگی طرحهای غریب نظر فریب رسم نموده از نظر مشکل پسند گزرا نیدند - و رنگ ریختن و بنانهادن و باتمام رسانیدن طرحی که از آن جمله مختار افتاده بود باهتمام وزیر خان و سایر متصدیان لاهور باز گذاشتند که تا هنگام مراجعت از سفر خیر اثر کشمیر اتمام پذیر سازند -

"Having performed these things, the Emperor turned his whole attention to repair the buildings of the Palace of the capital of Lahore, which had long remained uncared for. As the buildings of the *Ghusalkhāna*² (bath room) and *Khwābghāh* were not in reality pleasing to the Imperial mind in their plan and style, architects versed in geometry according to the exalted orders sketched new wonderful and charming plans and laid them before the fastidious eye of their master. The Emperor put it under the superintendence of Wazir *Khān* and other overseers of Lahore to lay the foundation and execute the plan which was selected from these, (ordering) that they should finish it before his return from his successful journey to *Kashmir*".

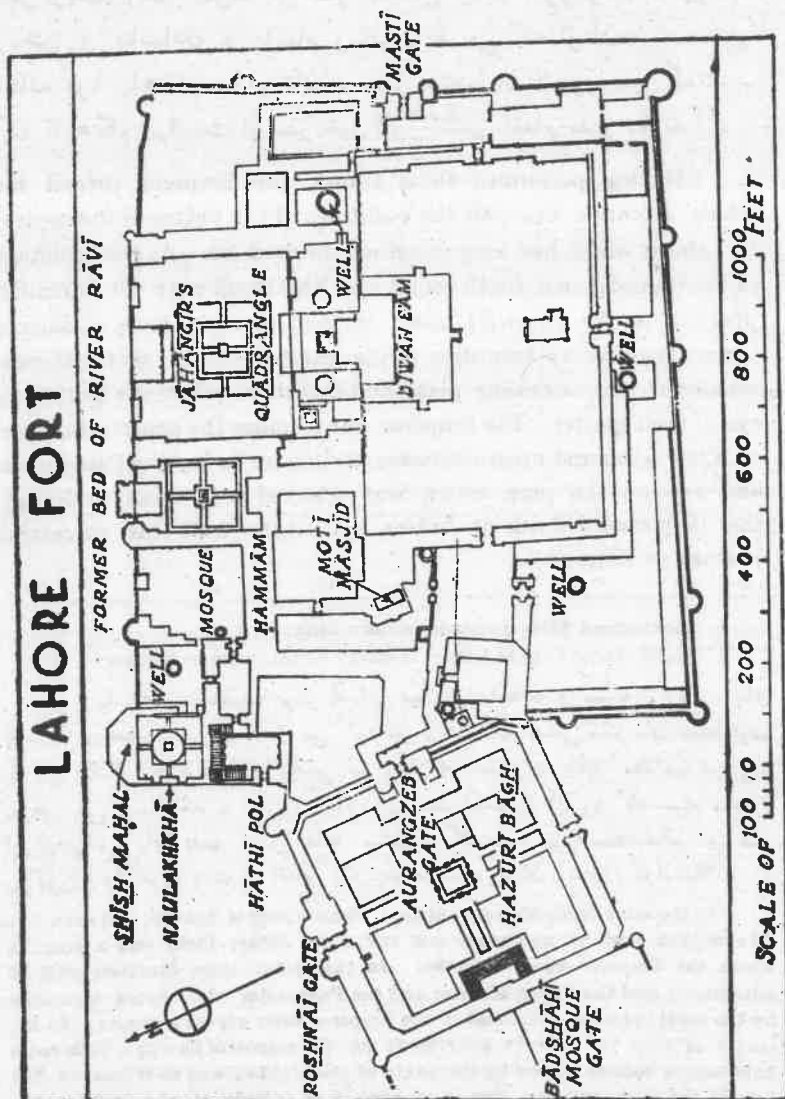
1. Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Kamboh, '*Amal e Ṣāliḥ*', II, 8.

2. Mullā 'Abdul Ḥamīd Lāhorī remarks on this term as follows :

در عهد دولت حضرت عرش آشنایی میان دیوانخانه و مشکوی دولت جای بود که آن حضرت در آن غسل می کردند - و در آنجا بعضی ملتزمان بساط قرب بار می یافتند - و دیوان و بخشی نیز سعادت حضور دریافته مطالب ضروریہ عرض می رسانیدند - برور ایام این خلوتکده از آن رو که حمام متصل آن اساس می یابد باسم غسل خانه مشهور گشت - و بر السنه خاص و عام مذکور - و اکنون بتسمیه اقدس بدولتخانه خاص زبان زد روزگار است -

"In the reign of his Majesty (Akbar), whose abode is heaven, between the *Diwānkhāna* (hall of audience) and the royal *haram* there was a room in which the Emperor used to bathe. In this place some courtiers received admittance, and the Prime Minister and the Paymaster also, being honoured by the royal presence, presented to the Emperor their urgent requests. In the course of time the private apartment for the reason of having a bath room built near it became known by the name of *ghusulkhāna*, and so it was on the lips of the high and the low, but now it is called by the public the *Dualatkhāna* e *Khās* as the most holy Majesty has named it."

* 'Abdul Ḥamīd Lāhorī, *Bādshāhnāma*, Vol. I, Pt. I, 148.



In 1055 A. H. (1644 A. D.) Shāhjahān built another building, most probably the marble pavilion on the old map, which has already been mentioned. His court chronicler speaks of it in the following passage :

دوم ماه مذکور باغ فیض بخش و فرح بخش بقدری تشریف
طراوت و نصارت تازه یافت - روز دیگر بسیر منازل دولتخانه والا و
تماشای عمارتی که سراسر از سنگ مرمر مشرف بر دریا بتازگی اساس
یافته بود و بنظر میمنت اثر درنیامده پرداخته - و از دشوار پسندی
و دقیقه یابی لختی تصرفات نموده - عنان مراجعت بیابان مذکور
منعطف گردانیدند !

" On the 2nd of the said month (Safar, 1055 A. H. November 1, 1644 A.D.) the Faiṣ Bakhsh and Farḥ Bakhsh gardens² received a new freshness and beauty from the royal visit. The next day the Emperor went to see the buildings of the exalted palace and to inspect the building, which is entirely of marble and overlooks the river, and had been recently founded, but had not yet come under the royal eye. Owing to his fastidious and critical disposition, he suggested some changes and returned to the said gardens".

Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ, who has already been quoted, in another book¹ eulogises, in very flowery language, the Palace in the Lahore Fort with its various buildings, the Ghusulkhāna, the Khwābgāh with its inlaid floor and courtyard, the jharoka and the forty pillared hall of the Diwan e 'Ām with its silver railing, and the Shāh Burj including the marble pavilion now known as Naulakhhā and the courtyard with its reservoir and fountain.

The fourth phase comprises the main West Gate (now named 'Ālamgiri Gate) with the adjacent walls, which fit to the fort the oblique lines of the Huṣūrī Bāgh. This gate provided access from the fort to the mosque.

1. 'Abul Ḥamīd Lāhorī, *Bādshāhnāma*, II, 414.

2. Now called the Shālāmār Gardens.

1. Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Kambh, *Bahār e Suḥān*, ff. 115—17.

The frontage of the fort extends on the north side of the city for about 500 feet. The greater part of the frontage is covered with designs in inlaid enamelled tiles, including in defiance of Muslim orthodoxy, the figures of men, horses and elephants engaged chiefly in sporting and symbolical representation of zodiacal signs and of the angels, who, according to old Iranian mythology, presided over each day and each month of the year.

The Fort has roughly the shape of a rectangle measuring 1250 by 1100 feet. The main gates are in the centre of the west and east walls. Since the British occupation both the main gates were bricked up, and sole access to the fortress was gained through a postern dating from the year 1853 A. D., behind which rises the gorgeously decorated Hathi Pol. It once formed a private entrance to the apartments occupied by the Emperor and his ladies. The metalled road to the right by which the fort is now reached is English work.

‘ARZ GĀH

Rising about half way up the palace front there is in this enclosure a ruined building on arches immediately beneath a marble pavilion with perforated lattice work. This was the ‘*Arz Gāh*, where the nobles of the court assembled in the morning to receive the Emperor’s commands. Mr. Thornton refers to it as ‘*Arz Begi*, which is not a correct name, as it means ‘a person who presents petition.’

‘ĀLAMGĪRI GATE AND DĪWĀN E ‘ĀM

As has been mentioned the ‘Ālamgiri Gate facing the *Huẓūrī Bagh* was bricked up by the British and it remained in that condition even after the creation of Pakistan. On an insistent demand from the public the gate was opened on November 18, 1949.

A vast sea of humanity witnessed the opening of the gigantic gate of the Lahore Fort, facing Aurangzeb’s *Badshāhī Mosque*,

by the Panjāb Governor, Sārdār 'Abdur Rab Nishtar, on Friday the 18th November, 1949.

The seething crowd of about three lakh persons waited patiently for hours under the shadow of the mosque, until the Governor performed the simple but impressive re-opening ceremony of the Gate at 3-45 p.m. amidst vociferous shouts of "Pakistan Zindabad."

After offering the Jum'a prayer in the Badshāhi Mosque, the Governor arrived in front of the Fort Gate, which was tastefully decorated with buntings and festoons.

The Governor then inspected a guard of honour furnished by a detachment of the Panjāb Constabulary. The Lahore Police band with colourful uniform glistening in the bright sun played the welcome. A battery of still and cine cameras scurried about for "angles."

Walking up the ceremonial red cloth adorning the slope of the Gate-way, Sārdār 'Abdur Rab Nishtar took his seat under an improvised gay-coloured canopy on the left side of the portal.

Sārdār 'Abdur Rab Nishtar characterised the opening of the Gate as the opening of a new chapter in the history of the Muslims.

The Governor stated that he was proud of the honour bestowed upon him for performing the opening ceremony. "This function is not a mere physical function; it is symbolic of inner urge of millions for the revival of the glory and prestige of the Muslims," the Governor added.

Hundreds of thousands of eager eyes were concentrated on the huge wooden portals as they slowly broke away from their century-old position and threw open the vestibule, ornamented with a big portrait of the Qāid e A'zam placed in a pile of flowers in the centre.

Sārdār 'Abdur Rab Nishtar, accompanied by high officials, entered the Gate and was shortly afterwards followed by an uncontrollable stream of enthusiastic crowd breaking loose from their seats in the Huzūrī Bāgh.

A brief history of the Fort was read out by the Superintendent of the Panjab Circle of the Pakistan Archaeological Department, Mr. Waliullah Khān, before the commencement of the ceremony.

From the 'Ālamgiri Gate a curiously twisted passage led up to the western entrance of the great quadrangle of the Diwān e 'Ām, which measured 730 by 460 feet, and was enclosed on four sides by a range of vaulted chambers with central gateways on the west, south and east sides. Of the large cloister nothing now remains except the little court in front of the Moti Masjid. The open pillared hall which projects into the large court from the centre of the north side is the Diwān e 'Ām, a detailed account of which has already been given. The large platform on which the hall is raised was enclosed by a railing of red sandstone of which some portion is still extant. In the centre is the *taht*, or Throne-room of Shāhjahān. In this Diwān e 'Ām, the Emperor daily sat in State, and as he took his seat the musicians stationed in the *naqqārkhāna* opposite struck up a martial strain, while a glittering pageant of men, horses and elephants, graphically described by Bernier, passed in review before him.

In the days of Ranjit Singh the hall of public audience was known by the name of *taht*. It is a fact worth recording that the Sikh Rājā never seated himself on the imperial throne.¹

After his death his body lay in state in the ancient hall. After the British occupation this hall was turned into a barrack. The outer archways were bricked up and the building enclosed within a verandah. About fifty years back these unsightly excrescences were removed.

JHAROKA

The *jharoka*, which consists of a marble balcony supported on four brackets of red-sandstone, belongs to Jahāngir's palace. It makes part of a rectangular building, consisting of twelve small

1. Vo. el. J. Ph., *Historical Notes on the Lahore Fort*, Journal of the Panjāb Historical Society, Vol. I, No. 1, p. 46.

rooms, which forms the back of the *Diwān e 'Ām*, but which is earlier in date. Apparently this is the building indicated by 'Abdul Hamīd Lāhorī as *Daulatkhanā e Khāṣ o 'Ām*, unless this term is meant for the whole row of buildings enclosing Jahāngir's Quadrangle. The walls of the twelve rooms have white marble dadoes with inlaid borders, the upper portions being decorated with stucco ornament in relief and frescoes now covered with thick layer of white wash.

AKBARĪ MAHAL

From the back of the edifice just described we overlook the lesser quadrangle apparently known in Sikh times as Akbarī Mahal, but generally attributed to Jahāngir. It belongs in any case to the early Mughal period, as is obvious from the two rows of buildings along the east and west sides of the quadrangle which are distinguished by porticoes of red-sandstone with broad eaves supported on brackets in which figures of elephants, lions and peacocks have been introduced.

BARĪ KHWĀBGĀH AND THE ARMOURY

The *Khwābgāh*, i.e., Sleeping Room is a large building in the Jahāngir's Quadrangle. To distinguish it from Shahjahan's building of the same name, it is called Barī *Khwābgāh* or Greater Sleeping-hall. The present building seems to belong to the Sikh period and does not possess any architectural beauty. It is now being used as armoury, which contains heterogeneous assortment of the weapons and uniforms worn by the Sikh army.

THE KHWĀBGĀH

Adjoining Jahāngir's Quadrangle to the west there is a court occupied by a garden which has been laid out again in the formal style of the Mughal period. The centre is marked by a marble platform which contains a water-reservoir. To the north of this garden we notice an open pavilion, indicated on the map by the name of *Khwābgāh*. To distinguish it from the building of the same name in Jahāngir's Quadrangle, it is designated as *Chhotī*

Khwabgāh "the lesser Sleeping-room." This was probably one of the two buildings, the construction of which Shāhjahān ordered in 1633 A. D. It is an elegant open pavilion of white marble supported on five rows of five pillars carrying scalloped arches. The archways on the north side are closed with pierced screen. An eave supported on brackets runs along the four sides of the building. The roof has a parapet with marble facing decorated with a graceful border of *pietra dura*. The interior is paved with variegated marbles and the centre is occupied by a fountain—basin scalloped out and inlaid with semi-precious stones. Most of the inlay, however, has disappeared.

After the annexation this building was used as a garrison church. The open archways were closed with canvas and the pierced marble screen and fountain were filled with concrete. In 1882 Major H. H. Cole, Curator of Ancient Monuments, recommended that the Chhoṭī Khwabgāh should be cleared of its church fittings. But it was not until twenty years afterwards that, at the instance of Lord Curzon, this edifice was restored. Its restoration was not easy, as it was found necessary to dismantle and rebuild all columns. It was, moreover, provided with a marble ceiling, though perhaps not belonging to the original design, seemed most in harmony with its general appearance.¹

MARBLE BĀRADARĪ

Opposite the Chhoṭī Khwabgāh, on the south side of the garden, is a building with a marble facade, the former use of which is unknown. It contains three chambers and had a projecting portico which has been cut off. On the map it is designated as "marble bāradarī."

MOTĪ MASJĪD

Hitherto the writers have not been able to determine from the available sources whether Moti Masjid or Pearl Mosque belongs to the palace buildings of Akbar and Jahāngir or to the later

¹ A. S. I. A. R., 1904-5, p. 22.

buildings of Shahjahan. It is also generally believed that the date of the tiny marble mosque was never recorded. But during my researches I have come across a singular record of the date of this mosque quoted by Mr. Honry Cope in his letter written to the Secretary of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, from Harike on March 22, 1858 A. D. Introducing the subject Mr. Cope says : "Looking over some of my papers, I found copies of all the inscriptions in existence on the public buildings of Lahore, which had been carefully taken under my direction during my residence there, and as I believe they have not been published, and it is desirable to preserve all available records of the kind, I do myself the honour to forward them for publication in the Journal of your Society, if you think them worthy of the honour.¹"

And amongst the copies of other inscriptions, on the public buildings of Lahore, Mr. Cope forwarded a copy of the inscription painted on the gate of the Moti Masjid which read as follows :

سال دوازدهم جلوس پیش بندگان حضرت شاهنشاه ظل الله،
 سلیمان جاه، عدالت پناه نورالدین جهانگیر پادشاه ابن جلال الدین اکبر
 پادشاه غازی یکہزار بیست سنہ ۱۰۲۰ ہجری باہتمام کمترین
 غلامان کہترین سندر خان صورت اتمام یافت^۲ -

"Completed in the twelfth year of the reign of the Emperor, (the shadow of God, a Solomon in equity), Nurud Din Jahangir Padshah, son of Jalalud Din Akbar Padshah Ghazi, 1020 A.H., under the superintendence of the least of his lowest slaves, Sundar Khan."

Although according to the statement of Mr. Cope the copies of inscriptions were carefully taken yet the contents of the abovementioned inscription are quite baffling for various reasons. Firstly the twelfth year of the reign of Jahangir falls in 1024 A. H. and not in 1020 A.H. as is mentioned in the inscription. Secondly there is no mention of Sundar Khan, the superintendent of the work, in any chronicle. Then Mr. Cope has further mentioned

1. J. A. S. B., 1858, p. 308.

2. J. A. S. B., 1858, p. 312.

in his brief memoir on the building that the date of Moti Masjid, "corresponds with the year of our Lord 1614,"¹ which is again incorrect as the Hijra year 1020 corresponds with the year 1611 A.D. I feel Mr. Cope did not take good care to get the inscription copied correctly and now though we are not in a position to determine the exact date of the completion of the mosque, as the original inscription on the gate of the mosque is destroyed, we can certainly say that the mosque was constructed to the order of Jahāngir during his reign, and for this information we should feel grateful to Mr. Cope, who preserved the inscription in some form.

Mr. Cope gives us another surprise by referring to Moti Masjid as "Motee Mundur" and the inscription already recorded begins with the title :

MOTEE MUNDUR

تاریخ بر دروازہ موتی مندر واقعہ قلعہ لاہور

It is very likely that the name of Moti Masjid was changed into Moti Mandir during the Sikh period and the mosque was known by this name when Mr. Cope saw it, as he has recorded : "The design of Akbar was carried out by his son, and we may reasonably consider the date of completion of the Motee Mundur, formerly Motee Musjeed, as the date of the completion of the palace."²

The earliest account recorded with regard to the use of this mosque during the Sikh regime can also be gleaned from the memoir of Mr. Cope in which he says : 'The Motee Mundur was the "private chapel" of the palace, and used as such, till Runjeet Singh began to grow rich, when he selected it as a suitable place for the storing of his wealth in gold, silver and jewels. It is believed at one time to have contained treasure to the amount of two millions sterling. It is small, has been, since it was converted into a Treasury, surrounded by a strong wall, and has continued to do the duty imposed on it by the Sikh sovereign,

1. J. A. S. B., 1858, p. 309.

2. J. A. S. B., 1858, p. 309.

ever since annexation. It boasts of the most beautifully chaste marble dome on any Muhammedan building I have ever seen, deeply scored with the marks of balls fired during the Sikh troubles, after the Māhārājah's death, from the Minars of the imperial mosque.¹ ”

To adopt the building to this utilitarian purpose during the British period, the central archway had been bricked up and closed with an iron grate secured with heavy padlocks, and the remaining four archways had been shut off by means of brick walls. One side of the court in front of the prayer-chamber was turned into a shed with a thatched roof resting on iron bars, for the accomodation of the guard, and, to make assurance doubly sure, a wooden sentry box had been placed between the marble domes. It is very likely that during these changes the inscription on the gate referred to by Mr. Cope was removed.

In such a condition the building was found by Lord Curzon, the Viceroy and Governor General of India, who referred to it in his speech, delivered before the Asiatic Society of Bengal², on the 7th February 1900 A. D. in the following terms : “When I was at Lahore in April last, I found the exquisite little Moti Musjid, or Pearl Mosque, in the Fort, which was erected by Jahangir exactly three hundred years ago ; still used for the profane purpose to which it had been converted by Ranjit Singh, *viz.*, as a Government Treasury. The arches were built up with brick-work, and below the marble floor had been excavated as a cellar for the reception of iron-bound chests of rupees. I pleaded for the restoration to its original state of this beautiful little building, which I suppose not one visitor in a hundred to Lahore has ever seen. Ranjit Singh cared nothing for the taste or the trophies of his Mahmoedan predecessors and half a century of British Military occupation, with its universal paintpot, and the exigencies of the Public Works Engineer, has assisted the melancholy decline.”

1. *J. A. S. B.*, 1858 p. 300.

2. *Proc. A. S. B.* for February 1900, p. 63 f.

Fortunately the unsightly excrescences had not intererred much with the original structure, so that its restoration, ordered by Lord Curzon and carried out in the year 1903-4, did not present any difficulty.¹

THE SAMMAN BURJ

We now came to the last Court which occupies the north-west corner of the palace and is known by the name of Samman Burj. The word *samman* is an abbreviation of Arabic *muṣamman* meaning octagonal. It will be noticed that the *Shish Mahal* is indeed built on a semi-octagonal plan. The appellation Samman Burj, however, dates only from the Sikhi Period, whereas the original name was *Shāh Burj*² or Royal Tower. This is evident from the passage of *Bādshāhnāma* already quoted, in which 'Abdul Ḥamīd gives a very accurate description of the buildings now known as Samman Burj. The inscription over the Hathi Pol, which records the completion of *Shāh Burj* refers to the same group of buildings. It will be seen in the sequel that the gate over which the inscription is placed, provides direct access to the Samman Burj by means of a twisted flight of steps and through the marble gateway in the adjoining courtyard. It was the private entrance to the imperial palace.

In his account of the *Shish Burj* the court chronicler notices first of all the large hall, now known as *Shish Mahal*, which occupies the north side of the square. It was here that on the 26th December, 1846 A.D. the treaty of Lahore was ratified by Sir Henry (afterwards Lord) Hardinge, and that in March 1849 A.D. the sovereignty of the Panjāb was assumed by the British Government, as is recorded on a tablet set into the wall. As noticed above,

1. Cf. A. S. I. A. R. for 1903-4, p. 26 f., plates XII & XIII.

2. Mannuci (*Storia do Mogor*. Tr. by Irvine, Vol. II, p. 463) says : 'There are in the empire three principal imperial abodes ; the most ancient is at Dihli, the second at Agrab, the third at Lāhore. Ahead there is a great bastion, named Xaaburg (*Shāh-burj*), which means "Royal Bastion." They are domed, and have architectural adornments of curious enamel work, with many precious stones. Here the king holds many audiences for selected persons, and from it he views the elephant fights and diverts himself with them'

it is built on a semi-octagonal plan. Its longest side, facing the square, has a row of double pillars of inlaid white marble forming five archways surmounted by an eave of the same material. Interiorly the spandrels over the arches are decorated with *pietra dura* which has marvellously escaped the vandals who have mutilated this kind of work wherever it is found. The graceful vine pattern over the two outer arches deserves special notice. The main room, a rectangular hall of noble dimensions, has a dado of white marble, while the upper portion of the walls and the ceiling are decorated with a mosaic of glass laid in gypsum which has given the building its name of *Shish Mahal* or "Palace of Mirrors". This name is not mentioned by 'Abdul Hamid, who speaks of the building simply as an *aiwān* (hall). He refers to the mirror ornamentation under the name of *marāyā e Halabī* (Aleppo glasses).

The central hall is surrounded by a row of nine smaller rooms decorated in the same fashion. In the largest of these rooms, at the back of the main hall, we notice a very fine marble screen of trellis work.

The roof of the *Shish Mahal* is encumbered with a curious medley of structures dating from the Sikh period. The small building which occupies the centre of the roof and is now in a very dilapidated condition, was built by Ranjit Singh. The rest is said to have been added by Sher Singh, except the pavilion on the south-east corner which is ascribed to Naunihal Singh.

NAULAKHKHĀ

Next to *Shish Mahal*, the author of *Bādshāhnāma* notes on the west side of the *Shāh Burj*, "a pavilion of marble, whose mosaics of cornelian, coral and other precious stones excite the emulation of the workshop of Manes". This building is evidently the open pavilion known as *Naulakkhā*. This name—so tradition holds—refers to its having cost nine lakhs of rupees. But the court chronicler mentions neither the name *Naulakkhā* nor the extravagant sum which would account for it. We may, therefore, assume that both the name and the tradition are comparatively

modern, and probably date only as far back as the Sikh period. The so-called Naulakhhā has a Bengali roof which once must have been covered with sheet copper and pinnacles of the same metal. It is unknown when it was removed.

The remaining buildings of the Shāh Burj do not offer anything remarkable. The apartment in the north-east corner is indicated as Sher Singh's bathroom. It belongs, however, to the original Mughal palace, and was only altered by the Sikhs to make it suit the requirements of a Hammām.

III. GARDENS

1. DILĀMĪZ

Although other contemporary chronicles are silent about the garden in which Jahāngir is buried yet he himself refers to it twice in his *tūzūk* and calls it Dilāmīz Garden. In 1015 A. H. (1607 A.D.), the second year of his reign, when he planned to go on a hunting trip to Kābul, he came to Lahore and on his move to his destination he records :

تاریخ هفتم ذی حجه بساعت سعید از قلعه لاهور برآمده
باغ دل آمیز را که دران روی آب راویست منزل گزیدم و چهار
روز توقف واقع شد - روز یکشنبه نوزدهم فروردین ماه را
که روز شرف حضرت امیراعظم بود درین باغ گزرانیدم
..... روز دو شنبه از باغ مذکور کوچ نموده بموضع
هر هر که در سه و نیم گروهی شهر واقع است منزل شد¹ -

"On the 7th *Zulhijja* (April 5), at an auspicious hour, I left the fort of Lahore and took up my quarters in the Dilāmīz Garden, which is on the other side of the Rāv', and stayed there four days. Sunday, the 19th *Farwardīn*, which is the culmination of His Majesty the Sun, I passed in this garden.....On Monday I marched from the garden mentioned and encamped at the village of Harhar, 3½ *kos* distant from the city."

1. *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngiri*, 43-4.

Again in the end of the same year he meets his mother in this garden and says :

روز دوشنبه دوازدهم باغ دل آمیز که بر کنار دریای راوی
واقع است منزل شد - والدۀ خود را درین باغ ملازمت نمودم^۱ -

"On Monday, the 12th [Sha'ban, 1016 A. H., Décembre 2, 1607 A.D.], a halt was made at the garden of Dilāmōz, which is on the bank of the river Rāvi. I waited on my mother in this garden."

It is recorded that the garden was originally built by Jahāngir's celebrated queen, Nūr Jahan. It is a large garden, 1,500 feet square, enclosed by a brick wall with a monumental gateway in the middle of the west side. Brick-paved causeways divide the garden into 16 square flower-beds, with an ornamental tank and fountain at each intersection.

The rooms on both sides of the main gateway leading from Shahdara into the quadrangle containing the Emperor's tomb were also fitted up as dak bungalows, like those in Shālāmār in the beginning of this century. A change out to the river-side and the cool gardens surrounding the tomb was considered quite a treat, for be it remembered that in those far off days travelling by *ḡāk gārīs* and *dolies* was a tedious and expensive method which absolutely precluded visits to the hills or elsewhere. In later years, when the Panjāb Northern State Railway was under construction, large temporary workshops were established at Shahdara and the rooms in the gateway were occupied as residential quarters by some members of the European staff.

2. SHĀLĀMĀR

Many of the royal gardens of the Mughal period owe their origin to the fact that they were specially designed to accomodate the Court on the constant royal progresses entailed by the vast size of the empire. Mrs. Stuart writing in her *Gardens of the*

1. *Taruk-e Jahāngirī*, p. 62.

Great Mughals has very aptly remarked: "Where there was no garden kept in readiness against the coming of the Emperor even the temporary camp was carefully pitched with that regard for form, combined with a beautiful site, of which the Mughals were so mindful."¹ Bernier, the French physician travelling in the train of the Emperor Aurangzeb to Kashmir, mentions how "one of the *Peeche-Kanes* has no sooner reached the palace intended for the new encampment than the grand Quartermaster selects some fine situation for the King's tents, paying, however, as much attention as possible to the exact symmetry of the whole camp. He then marks out a square, each side of which measures more than three hundred ordinary paces. A hundred pioneers presently clear and level this space, raising square platforms of earth on which they pitch the tents. The whole of this extensive square is then encompassed with *kanates* or screens. The *kanates* are made of strong cloth lined with printed Indian calico, representing large vases of flowers."² *Shālāmār* of Lahore is a garden which was laid out primarily as a place of recreation for the royal family. The court chronicler and contemporary historian, 'Abdul Hamid Lāhorī, records:

عمارات این باغ فیض انما آنقدر است که هر گاه خدیو زمان
با پردگیان مشکوی اقبال که در دارالسلطنه لاهور شرف اندوز حضور
سراسر نور می باشند باین عشرت کده تشریف می فرمایند، احتیاج
بخیمه نمی شود^۳ -

"So many edifices are constructed in this grace-resembling garden, that, whenever it pleases the Emperor of the World, to pay a visit to this house of pleasure, with the chaste ladies of the auspicious palace, who have the honour of being present with him at the Capital of Lahore, the necessity of pitching tents is avoided."

The Statement is corroborated by another contemporary historian, Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Kamboh, who says:—

1. Stuart, C.M.V, *Gardens of the Great Mughals*, p. 22.
2. Bernier, Francois, *Travels in the Mogul Empire*, A.D. 1656—1668., p. 82
3. 'Abdul Hamīd Lāhorī, *Bādshāhnāma*, II, 315.

این باغ خواصیورہ و عمارات دیگر آن قدر دارد کہ ہر گہ
خدیو زمان با ہر دگیان مشکوی دولت باین بہشتی مکان تشریف می
فرمایند احتیاج بخیمہ نمی شود^۱۔

NAME AND DATE OF FOUNDATION.

It cannot be exactly ascertained at what time the garden came to be called *Shālāmār*, its present designation. In the *Badshāhnāmā*² of 'Abdul Hamīd Lāhorī, written by orders of *Shāhjahān*, in a contemporary history, '*Amal e Šālīh*', written by Muḥammad Šālīh Kamboh, and in *Maāsir e 'Ālamgīr* of Muḥammad Sāqī Mustā'id Khān, written in the time of *Shāh 'Ālam*, successor of Aurangzeb, the highest terrace of the garden, in connection with the royal visits, is styled *Farah Bakhsh*, while the central terrace is called *Faiz Bakhsh*. Maulavi Nūr Ahmad Chishtī has, however, given a very interesting account of the name of the garden. He says:

وجہ تسمیہ اس باغ کی از روئے تحقیق کاملہ یہ معلوم ہوئی
کہ بعضوں کے نزدیک نام اس کا شہلا باغ یعنی خوبصورت باغ
اور بعضوں کے نزدیک شالامار۔ شالا زبان پنجابی میں خدا کو
کہتے ہیں۔ اور بعضوں کے نزدیک شعلہ ماہ یعنی چاند کا شعلہ۔
اور بعضے اس کو سالہ ماہ۔ سالہ بسین مہملہ و الف ممدودہ و ہائے
ہوز بیان کرتے ہیں۔ اور سالہ زبان سنسکرت میں گھر کو کہتے
ہیں۔ اور بعضوں کے نزدیک شالا مار
بشین معجمہ و الف ممدودہ و لا و الف ممدودہ۔ وجہ تسمیہ اس نام کا
یہ بتلاتے ہیں کہ مقام کشمیر میں کسی بادشاہ سلف نے ایک باغ
وضع دار بنوانے کا ارادہ کیا۔ جب واسطے تقرر مقام کے کشمیر
سے باہر معہ اراکین سلطنت گیا تو ایک جگہ پسند کی۔ قدرت الہی

1. Muḥammad Šālīh Kamboh, '*Amal e Šālīh*', II, 376.

2. Vol. II, p. 313.

3. Vol. II, p. 374.

4. p. 70.

وہاں ایک گیدڑ کو کسی شکاری کتے نے پکڑا ہوا تھا۔ اس باعث سے اس باغ کا نام شالا مار مشہور ہوا۔ کیونکہ زبان کشمیری میں گیدڑ کو شالا کہتے ہیں اور مار ایک قسم شکاری کتے کی ہے۔¹

“Regarding the name of this garden the following facts have been established after thorough investigation. Some call it *Shahlā Bāgh* or the beautiful garden; others name it *Shālāmār*. God is called *Shālā* in Panjabi. Some think it is *Shu'la e Mah* or ‘flame of the Moon.’ It is also styled *Salah Mah* by some, and *Salah* is a ‘house’ in Sanskrit. The people naming it *Shālāmār* give the following reason for its name. A king of Kashmir wanted to lay out a stylish garden. As he went out to select a site with his courtiers he chose a place where a hunting dog had caught a jackal. The garden was called *Shālāmār*, because jackal is known as *Shālā* in Kashmiri and *Mār* is a hunting dog.”

Thornton says: “The actual meaning of the word *Shālāmār* is doubtful. ‘Hall of desire’ (*Shāl-e-mār*) and ‘Royal Edifice’ (*Shāhī-imārat*) are conjectural derivations, but neither is satisfactory. *Sho'lah mah*, Persian for ‘light of the moon’, is another, and has this in its favour, that in Kashmir the name of the garden is spelt without a final ‘r.’”²

Wheeler has accepted the popular theory. “The great garden, he remarks, “which has been known at least since the eighteenth century by the Sanskrit name *Shalimar* or ‘Home of Bliss’ lies 3½ miles east-north east of Lahore.”³

Writing about the gardens of Kashmir, Dr. Shafi remarks: “According to a legend Pravarsena II, the founder of the city of Srinagar, who reigned in Kashmir from 79 to 139 A. C., had built a villa on the edge of the lake, calling it *Shālāmara* which in Sanskrit means ‘the abode or hall of love’ (*Cālā* meaning abode,

1. Nūr Ahmad Chishtī, *Tahqīqāt e Chishtī*, pp. 708–709.

2. Panjab District Gazetteer, 1916, Vol. XXXA, 269.

3. Wheeler, R. E. M. *Five Thousand Years of Pakistan*, 67.

and *Mārā* meaning God of Love). In course of time, the royal garden vanished but the village that had sprung up was called Shalimār after it.¹ But this is not all correct. "Old texts", says Stein,² "know nothing of Shalimār." He further adds in a foot note: "The first reference to this somewhat overpraised locality I can find is by Abu'l Fazl³ who mentions the waterfall or rather cascades of Shalāmār..... We might reasonably expect that Jonarāja and Crivara in their detailed accounts of the Dal would have mentioned the place if it had then claimed any importance."

According to my investigation the name Shalāmār for the garden of Lahore is mentioned for the first time by Sujān Rāo, a contemporary of Aurangzeb in his famous book *Khulāṣatut Tawārikh*, where he remarks:

اگرچه در حواشی شهر فراوان باغ دلکشا و هزاران گلشن
فرحت افزا است اما باغ شالامار که حضرت شاهجهان بادشاه بتقلید
باغ کشمیر احداث فرموده اند دل فریب نظارگیان است

"Although around the city there are many beautiful and pleasant gardens, yet the most attractive for the sightseers is the garden of Shalāmār, which is laid out by the Emperor Shāhjah in after the plan of the garden of Kashmir."

But how the name came to be adopted as such is not clear from any historical source.

Hitherto various dates have been assigned by different writers to the foundation and completion of the garden. Latif says: "The gardens, or the royal pleasure grounds of Shalimār, were laid out in the sixth year of Shāh Jahān's reign, or in 1634 A.D."⁴

Wheeler is of the opinion that "The date of its completion is contained in a chronogram which is recorded to have been

1. Śūfi, G. M. D., *Kashir*, Vol. II, 829.
2. Stein, Sir Aurel, *Rajatarangini*, II, 456.
3. Abul Fazl, *Ain e Akbari*, II, 361.
4. Sujān Rāo, *Khulāṣatut Tawārikh*, 66.
5. Latif, S. M., *Lahore*, p. 142.

presented to the Emperor Shahjahan by a Court poet and may be translated as follows :

When Shahjahan the king, Defender of Faith,
Laid out the Shalāmār in becoming style,
I asked the date of the foundation from the doorkeeper of
Paradise ;

He answered saying, 'This is the example of the highest
Paradise.'

The words of this somewhat inconsequential reply contain the equivalents of 1047 A.H., or A.D. 1637.¹

Kanhayyā Lal, the engineer author, who has given a lively description of many buildings of Lahore in his famous book *Tārīkh e Lāhor*,² has quoted the chronogram repeated by Wheeler. Nur Ahmad Chishtī³ has also subscribed to this opinion. Thornton⁴ thinks 'the Shālāmār gardens were laid out in A.D. 1667', while Rodgers remarks : 'Three dates are given 1667, A.D., by the Punjab Gazetteer which is certainly wrong ; 1628, A.D., in the old 'list of antiquarian objects' which is probably also wrong, and A. H. 1048--A.D., 1638, Shāhjahān's 11th year, by '*Tārīkh-i-Makhzan-i-Panjab*, which is probably correct.'⁵

1. Wheeler, R. E. M., *Five thousand years of Pakistan*, p. 87. Wheeler has translated the following verses by an unknown poet :

چون شاه جهان بادشہ حامی دین
آراستہ شالامار باطرز متین
تاریخ بنای این ز رضوان جستم
گفتا کہ بگو نمونہ خلد برین

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These verses have been quoted by all early writers (Kanhayyā Lal, *Tārīkh e Lāhor*, 355 ; Nur Ahmad Chishtī, *Tahqiqāt e Chishtī*, 709 ; and Latif, S. M. *Lahore*, 142), but they are only legendary. As I have just pointed out the garden was not known by the name of Shālāmār during Shāhjahān's period, as it has been versified in these verses. Hence the verses must have been composed at a later date.

2. Kanhayyā Lal, *Tārīkh e Lāhor*, p. 355.

3. Nur Ahmad Chishtī, *Tahqiqāt e Chishtī*, p. 709.

4. Lahore District Gazetteer, 1916, p. 259.

5. Rodgers, C. J., *Revised List of objects of Archaeological Interest*, p. 27.

It seems none of these writers have approached the original sources of contemporary history, viz., the *Bādshāhnāma* and *'Amal e Šālīh*, otherwise it would not have been difficult to determine the exact dates of the foundation and completion of the garden. 'Abdul Hamīd Lahorī in his *Bādshāhnāma* says :

درین ولا چون معروض معلی گشت، که عمارت باغ فیض آگین فردوس آیین که تاریخ اساس آن و حفر نهر در مطاوی سال چارم این دور نگارش یافته و اهتمام آن بعهده خلیل الله خان بود، حسن انجام گرفته - باختر شناسان حکم شد که خجسته ساعتی برای تشریف اشرف اختیار نمایند - و هفتم این ماه (شعبان ۱۰۵۲) که اصحاب تنجیم برگزیده بودند، و از روز بنا تا این تاریخ یکسال و پنجم ماه و چهار روز منقضی شده بود، بقدم فیض لزوم رشک افزای بهشت برین گردانیدند -

"It having been represented to His Majesty that the building of the graceful and paradise-like garden, the date of foundation of which and the account of the construction of the canal have already been recorded in the chronicle of the fourth year of the present regime, and the management of which had been entrusted to *Khalīlullah Khān*, had been finished, the astrologers were ordered to fix an auspicious hour for the visit of the most noble sovereign. The astrologers selected the seventh of this month (*Shā'ban*, 1052 A.H.) when one year, five months and four days had elapsed since the day of the foundation : [On that day His Majesty] honoured the garden with graceful feet and made it a rival of the highest paradise."

Another historian *Muḥammad Šālīh Kamboh*, employed in the secretariat of the viceroy of the Panjāb during the period of *Shāhjahān*, has repeated the statement with a slight variation in his *'Amal e Šālīh* :

چون عمارت باغ فیض بخش که تاریخ اساس آن و آمدن نهر سابقاً نگارش یافته باهتمام خلیل الله خان حسن انجام گرفته زینت

1. 'Abdul Hamīd Lahorī, *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 311.

افزای هندوستان شده از تاریخ بنا تا این روز یکسال و پنج ماه و چهار روز منقضی گشته بود هفتم ماه مذکور (شعبان ۱۰۵۲) در ساعت سعید بیمن قدوم میمنت لزوم غیرت بهشت برین گردید^۱ -

"When the building of the Faiz Bakhsh garden, the date of foundation of which and account of the construction of canal have been previously recorded, had been completed, under the management of Khalilullah Khān to decorate India, and on this seventh day of the month [Shā'b in 1052 A. H.], when one year, five months and four days had elapsed since the day of foundation, in an auspicious hour the garden became the rival of the highest paradise with the blessing of the peace-inspiring feet."

These statements show that the garden was completed some times in 1052 A. H. or 1642 A. D. and the Emperor Shāhjahān paid the first state visit to it on the 7th Shā'bān, 1052 A. H. (October 31, 1642 A. D.).

According to lunar dates the garden was laid out in the thirteenth year of Shāhjahān's reign, or on 3rd Rabī' I, 1051 A. H. (July 12, 1641 A. D.), and was completed in one year, five months and four days. The other dates mentioned above are only conjectural and should not be accepted as correct.

SHĀH NAHR THE IRRIGATING CANAL.

The Canal, or Hāsilī, to irrigate the gardens was brought from Mādhopur, at an expense of two lakhs of rupees. It was the combined work of 'Alī Mardān Khān, the great canal engineer of Shāhjahān, and Mullā 'Alāul Mulk, as is borne out by the statements of 'Abdul Ḥamīd Lāhori and Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Kamboh.'

'Abdul Ḥamīd Lāhori says :

چون علی مردان خان بعرض اشرف رسانید که یکی از همراگان این فدوی که در حفر قنوات کمال مهارت دارد متعهد می شود که از جای که آب راوی از کوهستان بر آمده بر زمین هموار

1. Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Kamboh, 'Amal e Ṣāliḥ', II. p. 373.

می رود، نه‌ری که آب آن به مزارع و بساطین بنشیند جدا کرده تا حوالی دارالسلطنه لاهور نیارد. از آنجا که توجه ملک پیرای عمارت افزا بر تهیه اسباب آبادی بلاد و تعبیه مصالحه رفاهیت عباد معصوف است مبلغ یک لک روپیه که کار آگاهان این فن برای اخراجات آن بر آورد نمودند بخان حواله فرمودند. خان بموجب حکم معلی یکی از معتمدان خود را باهتمام آن بر گماشت او پس از سر انجام ضروریات از موضع راجپور کد بجانب نور پور واقع است و از آنجا تا دارالسلطنت مسافت زمینی که در آن نه‌ر جریان نماید چهل و هشت و نیم کروه جریبی شروع در حفر نمود^۱.

"It having been represented by 'Alī Mardān Khān that one of his followers was an adept in the art of constructing subterranean canals and promised to cut a canal from the place, where the water of the Rāvi descends from the hills into the plains, to the environs of Lahore to irrigate the fields and gardens, His Majesty, being very much interested in decorating the country and building edifices, determined to provide means of populating towns and busy in taking prudent measures for the welfare of subjects, gave to the Khān an amount of one lakh of rupees, which was calculated to be the cost of the scheme by the technical experts. The Khān according to the order of His Majesty entrusted the work to one of his trusted followers, who, after making necessary preparations, started cutting a canal from the village Rājpur, which is situated towards Nūrpur. And from that point to Dārus Salṭanat [Lahore] the canal traverses a distance of 48½ Jarīb kos."

Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Kamboh remarks :

چون علی مردان خان بعرض مقدس رسانید که یکی از همراهان این بنده د حفر قنوات وقوف و مهارت تمام دارد و تعهد می نماید که از جای که آب دریای راوی از کوهستان بر آمده بر زمین هموار می رود نه‌ری که آب آن به بساطین دارالسلطنت

1. 'Abdul Ḥamid Lāhorī, *Bādshāhnāma*, II, 168.

لاهور خاطر خواه رسد جدا کرده بیارد - از آنجا که توجه عالم آرای بهار گلشن کامرانی آبروی حدیقه سلطنت و جهانبانی بر آرایش باغ و بساتین زیاده از اندازه است و توجه والا همه وقت بر تعبیه مصالحه رفاهیت عباد و آبادی بلاد مصروف مبلغ یک لک روپیه که دانایان این فن بر آورد نموده بودند حواله خان والا شان نمودند - خان مذکور معتمدان خود را باهتمام این کار گذاشته فرمود که از موضع راجپور که بجانب نور پور واقع است و از آنجا تا دارالسلطنت لاهور مساحت زمینی که آب در آن جریان نماید چهل و هشت و نیم کروه جریبی بود شروع در حفر نهر نمایند - بعد از آنکه این کار بانجام رسید آب چنانچه باید نیامد - صد هزار روپیه دیگر حواله بندهای درگاه صاحب وقوف شد تا آب خاطر خواه برسد - کار پردازان از بیوقوفی وعدم مهارت پنجاه هزار روپیه بر مرمت آن صرف نموده کاری نتوانستند ساخت - حسب الحکم اشرف جامع کمالات صوری و معنوی ملا علاء الملک تونی که از آب ترازو و علوم غریبه وقوف تمام دارد تا پنج کروه نهر آورده علی مردان خان را بحال داشته سی و دو کروه را نو بر نموده آب وافر آورد - چنانچه از سال شانزدهم جلوس تا حال که سال سیم است آب وافر بی فتور بباغات می رسد¹

"It having been represented by 'Alī Mardan Khān that one of his followers was an adept in the art of constructing subterranean canals and promised to cut a canal from the place where the water of the Rāvi descends from the hills into the plains, to bring its water to irrigate satisfactorily the gardens of capital of Lahore. As His Majesty is devoting constant attention (which universally decorates the spring of garden of victory and which constitutes the dignity of the garden of kingdom and rule) to the decoration of gardens and is always planning the prudent measures for the welfare of subjects and populating towns, he

1. Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Kamboh, 'Amal e Ṣāliḥ, II, 312.

gave to the Khān an amount of one Lakh of rupees, which was calculated to be the cost of the scheme by the technical experts. The Khān entrusting the work to his trusted followers ordered them to start cutting canal from the village Rājpur, which is situated towards Nūrpur. And from that point to the capital of Lahore the water traverses a distance of $48\frac{1}{2}$ *jarib kos*. After the work was completed the water did not flow satisfactorily. Another 1,00,000 rupees were given to the wise slaves of the threshold so that the water should flow as it was desired. The workers on account of foolishness and lack of skill spent 50,000 rupees on the repair of the works and achieved nothing. In accordance with the order of His Majesty the great expert of physical and intellectual arts, Mullā 'Alāul Mulk Tūnī, who was an adept in the art of water-level and strange sciences, arranged to get enough water by keeping the canal constructed by 'Alī Mardān Khān upto five *kos* and constructing a new canal for 32 *kos*. And since the sixteenth year of accession, now when it is the thirteenth year, enough water flows to the garden without any obstruction."

These statements show that the irrigating canal, also called Shāh Nahr, was actually completed by Mullā 'Alāul Mulk in 1055 A. H. (1645 A.D.) the sixteenth year of Shāhjahān's reign, although the work started three years earlier in 1052 A. H. (1648 A.D.).

The Canal is now being used for supplying water to the canals in the garden and for irrigating the garden. From the account given by 'Abdul Hāmid Lāhori,¹ we know that the fountains of the upper terrace were supplied with water from a well, and of the middle and lower terraces from canal although the exact details of the water-system of the Mughal period are not available. Now the fountain ducts of the upper terrace are being fed by a tube-well, which has recently replaced a water-pumping engine. In 1905 A.D., when Lord Curzen, a viceroy of India, visited Lahore, some repairs were carried out in the garden and in this

1. 'Abdul Hāmid Lāhori, *Bādshāhnāma*, II, 312-13.

connection we hear of a water-pumping engine being installed in the *Bāra-Harṭa*¹ well to feed the fountains. Kalīm, a local writer, says :

انہی ایام میں بارہ ہڑٹا چاہ جو بالکل ویران پڑا تھا مرمت ہوا۔ جس سے پانی نکالنے کے لئے ایک انجن لگایا گیا۔ جو ہفتہ میں تین دن چلتا ہے۔ اور جس سے فواروں تک پانی پہنچایا جاتا ہے۔²

"In these days the *Bāra-Harṭa* well was repaired, which had completely fallen into ruins. To draw water out of it an engine was installed, which works for three days in a week and supplies water for the fountains."

A reference is made to this pumping engine in 1921-22 A. D. in *Archaeological Survey of India Annual Report*; in which it is recorded; "In addition, a new counter has been purchased for the pumping engine and will be shortly fixed".³

DESCRIPTION.

A detailed description of the garden is given by 'Abdul Hamīd Lahorī, on the occasion of the first state visit of *Shāhjahān* to the garden after its completion. He says :

این باغ دلنشین نشاط افزا مشتمل است بر سه طبقه، طبقه علیا را بفرج بخش و وسطی را با مرتبه پایان کہ حکم یک درجہ دارد بفیض بخش موسوم ساختند۔ طبقه بالا کہ سه صد و سی گز مربع است، مشتمل است بر هشت دست عمارت چہار در اوساط اضلاع چہارگانہ و چہار دیگر در چہار کنج۔ عمارت شمالی کہ آرام گاہ اقدمی است و ازارہاش از سنگ مرمر و بہ نقاشی دلربای نظارگیان خانہ است طنبی بطول دہ گز و عرض ہفت۔ و در وسط آن حوضی است منبت کار از سنگ مرمر چہار گز در چہار، بطرز چشمہ جوشان

1. A well from which water is drawn by twelve Persian wheels. This well is situated outside the western wall of the first terrace.

2. Kalīm, M. M. I., *Shāhjahān Bagh*, 28.

3. *A.S.I.A.R.*, 1921-22, p. 3.

و در دو بازوی آن دو حجره هر یکی هفت گز در پنج - و پیش آن
 سراسر ایوانی است پایه دار سه چشمه بطول بیست و پنج ذراع
 و عرض هشت و نیم - و پس آن شاه نشین بطول شش گز و عرض
 دو و نیم - آب نهر از جنوبی سو باین عمارت در آمده و تا حد
 این عمارت سر پوشیده گذشته بباغ سر بر می آرد - و به نهری به
 پهنای هفت ذراع که در وسط خیابانی بعرض بیست و سه گز مرتب
 ساخته اند در آمده بجانب عمارت ضلع شمالی این باغ که ازاره آن
 نیز از سنگ مرمر است و به نقاشی فرح بخش بینندگان و آن ایوان
 در ایوانی است پایه دار از هر چار طرف باز بطول بیست و پنج ذراع
 و عرض هژده - و در درازا سه چشمه دارد و در پهنای دو می رود -
 و از نخستین ایوان سر پوشیده جریان نموده - در چشمه میانی ایوان
 دوم رسیده سه آبشار هر کدام بعرض هفت ذراع شده در حوض
 طبقه دوم که هفت گز مربع است و در وسط آن فواره افشان می
 ریزد - در زیر هر آبشاری چینی خانه از سنگ مرمر در کمال زیبائی
 ساخته اند - که روز بگذاشتن اوانی زرین مملو بگلهای رنگین و شب
 با فروختن شمع کافوری نظر فریب تماشاگران می گردد - و در وسط
 ضلع شرقی منزلی است که مظهر آفتاب سپهر خلافت است یعنی جهرو که
 دولتخانه خاص و عام پیش جهرو که در جانب بیرون ایوان دیوانخانه
 مذکور است محاط بچار دیوار مجصص و در وسط ضلع غربی عمارتی است
 قرینه آن که نشیمن ملکه زمان مالکه دوران بیگم صاحب ست -
 مابین این هر دو عمارت نهری است بعرض هفت گز در خیابانی
 بعرض بیست و سه - و در وسط باغ در ملتقای نهرین حوضی است
 مربع بطول و عرض بیست و سه گز و همگی فوارهای این باغ که
 صد و هفت است هفده در حوض مذکور ونود در نهرا - در هر
 نهری قطاری بارتفاع چار گز از آب چاه می جوشد - و در هر کنج
 این باغ برجی است مشتمل بر مثنی خانه گنبدی و بالای آن
 چو کهندی هشت پهلو از سنگ سرخ - پیش آن ایوانی ست سه چشمه
 نیم مثنی -

طبقه دوم که مرتبه اولی باغ فیض بخش است طولش سه صد و سی گز و عرضش نود و شش است - آب از حوض هفت گز مربع که نگاشته شد بطریق آبشار برآمده به نهري که در سر آغاز این طبقه بطول دوازده و عرض هشت است و میان آن کرسی سنگ مرمر که هر چهار طرف چینی خانها دارد و آب از وسط آن جوشیده بهر جانی تراوش میکنند تعبیه نموده اند - و سریری از سنگ مرمر پیش آن منصوب ساخته می ریزد - و ازان بجوئی که در وسط این طبقه است و طولش هشتاد و دو گز و عرضش هفتاد و دوست و یکمقد و پنجاه و دو فواره دارد در می آید - و در وسط حوض چبوتره است بطول یازده و عرض هشت - و در وسط کنار شرقی و غربی این حوض دو ایوان از سنگ سرخ واقع شده - و در دو جانب وسط ضلع شمالی نیز دو ایوان از سنگ مرمر است - آب از حوض میان این دو ایوان سرپوشیده گذشته و سه آبشار چادری شده در حوض طبقه سوم که طولش موافق عرض یک آبشار ده گز است و عرضش مطابق عرض هر یکی از دو آبشار دیگر هشت گز می ریزد - و چینی خانه های این آبشارها بسان چینی خانه های آبشاری باغ فرح بخش است و در ضلع شرقی این طبقه حمامی است برچین کاری در غایت نظافت و لطافت مشتمل بر گرم خانه و سردخانه آب روان دارد و رخت کن وسیع - طبقه سوم که مرتبه ثانیه فیض بخش است در طول و عرض و خیابانها و نهترین و حوض مربع وسط باغ مثل باغ فرح بخش است - و تفاوتی نیست - الا آنکه در نهري که از جنوب سو بشمال رو می رود سه قطاره فواره نشانده اند و جملگی فوارهای این طبقه که یک صد و چل و سه است بارتفاع پنج گز از آب نهر می جهد در وسط ضلع شمالی این طبقه رو بجنوب عمارت دولتخانه خاص است و آن ایوانی است پایه دار بطول بیست و پنج گز مشتمل بر سه چشمه و عرض هشت و نیم ذراع محتوی بر یک چشمه - ازاره این نیز از سنگ مرمر است و بتقاشی حیرت افزای جهان نوردان - در وسط این ایوان حوضی است چار گز در

سه بطرح آبخوش - و آب نهر ازین ایوان سر پوشیده گذشته بطرف
شمال بیاب میوه که در طول عرض مساوی باغ فرح بخش است
بر می آید - مغانی ' آسمانی' این باغ بصرف شش لک روپیه
انجام یافته¹

" This pleasant and pleasure—giving garden comprises three terraces. The upper (highest) terrace is called *Farah Bakhsh* (Pleasure giving), while the middle terrace, along with the lower terrace, which is a stage by itself, is styled *Faiz Bakhsh* (Plenty-giving). The upper terrace, which is 330 yards square, comprises eight buildings, four in the middle of the sides and four in the corners. The northern² building, which is a resting place of His Majesty, is a *tambikhāna* (an open fronted summer room), 10 yards in length and 7 in breadth, with dado of marble, which attracts the hearts of the visitors with its *naqqāshī* (ornamentation). In the middle of it is a reservoir, 4 yards by 4, inlaid with marble, and on the style of *Chashma e jūghān* (foaming spring). On its sides are two chambers each 7 yards by 5. In front of it is a pillared *aiwān* (a pavilion), 25 *girā's* (cubits) in length and 8½ in breadth with three vaulted arches. At its back is a *shah nashīn*³ (a balcony), 6 yards in length and 2½ yards in breadth. The canal-water enters this building from south and after flowing underground through this building, shows itself in the garden; and after discharging itself in the canal, 7 *girā's*, in breadth, which is built in the middle of 23 yards wide *khiābān* (a parterre), flows towards the building of the northern side of this garden, which also has a dado of marble and gives pleasure to the visitors with its painted decoration. And this *aiwān* (hall) is within another *aiwān*, pillared on all four sides, and 25 *girā's* in length and 18 in breadth. Lengthwise it has 3 vaulted arches and breadthwise 2. Passing underneath the first *aiwān* and reaching

1. 'Abdul Hamīd Lāhorī, *Bādshāhnāma*, II, 311—15.

2. This should be southern.

3. It is no more there, as an entrance in the southern wall was cut by a local Deputy Commissioner, Macgregor, right in the place where this *shah nashīn* was situated.

the middle vaulted arch of the second *aiwān* (the canal), splits itself into 3 cascades, each 7 *gīrā's* in breadth, and falls in the middle terrace cistern, 7 yards square, with a fountain playing in the middle. Under every cascade there are wonderfully beautiful marble *Chīnī Khānas* (pigeon-holes), which charm the visitors, by having in them golden vases full of beautiful flowers during the daytime and camphorated wax candles lit at night.

"In the middle of the eastern side there is an edifice which is the horizon of the sun of sky of *Khilāfat*, i.e., *jharoka e daulat-khāna e khaṣ o 'ām* (the window of the hall of public and private audience). In front of the *jharoka*, on the outside, there is a hall of a *dīwānkhāna* surrounded by four plastered walls. In the middle of the southern side there is a similar building which is the residential place of the Empress of the world and wife (of His Majesty). Between these two buildings there is a canal, 7 yards in width in a *khīābān* 23 in breadth. In the middle of the garden and at the confluence of two canals, there is a square reservoir 23 yards in length and breadth. Out of all the 107 fountains of this garden 17 are in this reservoir and 90 in the canals. In every canal a line (of fountains) fed by water of well, throws up water to a height of four yards. In every corner of this garden there is a tower comprising an octagonal chamber, above which is a red sandstone octagonal *Chaukhandī*.¹ In front of it is a semi-octagonal *aiwān*, with three vaulted arches.

"The middle terrace, which is the first stage of the Faiz Bakhsh garden, is 330 yards in length and 96 yards in breadth. The water, after flowing like a cascade from seven yards square cistern already described, falls into a canal, at the begining of this stage, 12 in length and 8 in width; in the middle of which they have fixed a marble seat with *Chīnī Khānas* on all four sides, through the middle of which water is thrown up on all sides, and in front of which is fixed a marble throne. (The water) then flows to the reservoir in the middle of this stage, 72 yards in

1. *Chaukhandī* literally means a four-sided figure. Here it is employed in the sense of a small building.

length and 72 in breadth, with 152 fountains. In the middle of the reservoir there is a *Chabūtra* (raised platform) 11 in length and 8 in breadth. In the middle of the eastern and western sides of this reservoir two *aiwāns* of red sandstone¹ are built. On two sides of the middle of the northern side are two marble¹ *aiwāns*. The water after passing underneath the middle of these two *aiwāns* and having split itself into three sheets of cascades, flows to the lower terrace cistern, 10 yards in length and equal to the breadth of one cascade, and 8 yards in breadth equal to the breadth of each of the other two cascades. The *Chīnikhānas* of these cascades are similar to the *Chīnikhānas* of the cascade of the *Farah Bahāshī* garden. On the eastern side of this terrace there is a *hammām* (bath-suite), having beautiful and delicate inlaid ornamentation, and comprising a hot bath-room, cold bath-room with running water; and a large dressing room.

"The lower terrace, which is the second stage of *Faiz Bahāshī* is similar to the *Farah Bahāshī* garden with respect to its length and breadth, parterres, canals and the central square reservoir, and there is no difference except that in the canal flowing from the south to the north three lines of fountains have been arranged. All the fountains of this terrace, which are 143 in number, throw up the water to a height of 5 yards and are fed by canal water. In the middle of the northern side of this terrace there is the building of *Daulatkhāna e Khāṣ* (hall of private audience) facing the south. This is an *aiwān*, 25 yards in length, comprising 3 vaulted arches, and $8\frac{1}{2}$ *zīrā's* in breadth, comprising one vaulted arch. The dado² of this [building] is also of marble with ornamentation which surprises the world—tourists. In the middle of this *aiwān* there is a cistern, 4 yards by 3, like *abjugh*

1. All these buildings were largely robbed of their stonework and marble decoration by the Sikhs in the latter part of the eighteenth century, and the present plastered and whitewashed structures date mainly from that period. Ranjīt Singh took away the marble and red sandstone to Amritsar, where these were used in ornamenting the Rām Bāgh and Golden Temple. (Cf. Latif S. M., *Lahore*, 144; Wheeler, R. E. M., *Five thousand Years of Pakistan*, 88, and Rodgers, J. R., *Revised List*, 27).

2. It is no more there.

(foaming water). The canal-water, after passing underneath this *aiwān*, flows to the fruit garden in the north, which is equal in length and breadth to the *Farah Bakhsh* garden.

"The heavenly abodes of this garden were completed with six lakhs of rupees."

Muḥammad Ṣālih Kamboh has repeated the description of *Shālāmār* in his '*Amal e Ṣālih*', with slight variations of language and expression :

چون عمارت باغ فیض بخش که تاریخ اساس آن و آمدن نهر سابقاً نگارش یافته باهتمام خلیل الله خان حسن انجام گرفته زینت افزای هندوستان شده از تاریخ بنا تا این روز یک سال و پنج هزار روز منقضی گشته بود هفتم ماه مذکور (شعبان ۱۲۵۲ هـ) در ساعت سعید یمن قدوم میمنت لزوم غیرت بهشت برین گردید - طبع اشرف از تماشای منتزهات این نزهت آباد فردوس بنیاد که در رشقت اشجار طوبی کردار و شگفته روئی ریاحین و طراوت ازهار خاصه دلکشائی فسحت چمن و خیابان و سلاست آبهای روان هزار نکته خاطر نشان و گرفت دلنشین بر بهشت برین دارد بغایت الغایت منشرح و منسط گشت - جمیع بندها تسلیحات مبارکباد بجا آورده مردم سیاح از روم عراق و ماوراءالنهر بر زبان آوردند که قطع نظر از اغراقات شاعرانه و مبالغات سخنوری بحکم قطعی می توان گفت که نظیر این قدسی مکان بر روی زمین موجوده نشیده شبیه این باغ دلپذیر بدیده هیچ آفریده در نیامده باشد - بجملاً آن منظور تربیت مبادی عالیه باین صورت اتفاق افتاده که تمام این باغ دلنشین مشتمل است بر سه طبقه -

طبقه بالا را بفرح بخش و طبقه میانه را که با مرتبه پایان حکم یک درجه دارد بفیض بخش موسوم ساخته اند - طبقه بالا که سی صد و سی گز مربع است هشت دست عمارت دارد - چهار در وسط اضلاع چهار گانه و چهار دیگر در چهار کتج - عمارت شمالی که آرام گاه مقدس است و بطرح بدیع و هندسه غریب در نهایت صفا و زینت

اساس یافته و ازاره اش از سنگ مرمر در نهایت صافی و شفافی -
 و در وسط آن حوضیست منبت کار از سنگ مرمر چهار گز در چهار
 بطرز چشمه جوشان و در دو طرف آن دو حجره هر یکی هفت گز
 در پنج گز - و پیشش ایوانی است پایه دار سه چشمه بطول بیست
 و پنج و عرض هشت و نیم - و عقب آن شاه نشینی بطول شش و
 عرض دو ذراع و نیم - آب نهر از جانب جنوب باین عمارت سر
 پوشیده گذشته باغ سر بر می آورد و نهری که بعرض هفت گز
 در وسط خیابان که بعرض بیست و سه گز مرتب ساخته اند در آمده
 بجانب عمارت ضلع شمالی این باغ که ازاره آن نیز از سنگ مرمر است
 (و از ایوان در ایوانی است پایه دار از هر چهار طرف بلز بطول
 بیست و پنج گز و عرض هژده و در درازی سه چشمه دارد و در
 پهنای دو) می رود - و از نخستین ایوان سر پوشیده جریان نموده از
 آنجا بچشمه میانی ایوان دوم رسیده بصورت سه آبشار که هر کدام
 بعرض هفت گز است از سه جانب در حوض طبقه دوم که او نیز
 هفت گز مربع است می ریزد - و در زیر هر سه آبشار چینی خانها
 از سنگ مرمر بکمال صفا و پاکیزگی ساخته اند که روز بگذاشتن
 اوانی زرین پر از گل چون چمن رنگین دیده افروز اهل نظرست - و شب
 بافروزش شمع کافوری چون طاق فلک بنور انجم نو آئین - و در وسط
 ضلع شرقی جهرو که خاص و عام است و پیش جهرو که در جانب
 بیرون ایوان دیوان خانه است محاط بچهار دیوار مجصص - و در وسط
 ضلع غربی قرینه آن عمارت عالی اساس ملکه دوران بیگم صاحب است -
 مابین هر دو عمارت نهریست بعرض هفت ذراع در خیابانی بعرض
 بیست و سه ذراع و در وسط باغ که آب نهر از دو جانب رسیده
 می گذرد حوضی است مربع بطول و عرض بیست و سه گز که از
 کمال صفا و لطافت قطره قطره اش قطره رطوبت بسحاب شاداب
 و زکوة غدوبت بدجله و فرات می دهد - و تمامی قوارهای این
 باغ که صد و هفت است هفده در حوض مذکور ونود در هر سه
 نهر بارتفاع چهار گز از آب چنان می جوشد که از فرط لطافت

بیننده را در گرداب حیرت می افکند - و در هر کنج این باغ برجیست مثنی و بر بالای آن چو کهندی هشت پهلو از سنگ سرخ مرتب شده - مرتبه اولی این باغ که از فرط گل و سبزه مرغزار جنات عدن را یاد می آرد سه صد و سی گز طول و نود و شش گز عرض دارد - آب از حوض هفت گز مربع که بقلم آمده بطرز آبشار برآمده به نهری که در آغاز این طبقه بطول دوازده و عرض هشت گز روانی پذیرفته و هر چهار طرف چینی خانهای رنگین دارد و آب از وسط آن جوشیده بهر جانبی تراوش می نماید و در میان آن کرسی از سنگ مرمر و سریری از سنگ مذکور در پیشش منصوب ساخته اند می ریزد - و آبشارهای مذکور بحوضی که در وسط این طبقه است و هشتاد و دو گز طول هفتاد و دو عرض و یک صد و پنجاه و دو فواره دارد و در وسط آن چبوتره ایست بطول یازده و عرض هشت و برکنار شرقی و غربی آن دو ایوان از سنگ سرخ واقع شده و در دو جانب شمالی نیز دو ایوان از سنگ مرمر است درآمده در میان ایوانهای مذکور سه پوشیده گذشته بصورت سه آبشار که بچادر معروفست و هر یک از عالم لوحی از بلور صفا احداث پذیرفته چنانچه صفا و شفافیتی آن به مرتبه ایست که از آن تا آئینه فرنگی و مینای حلبی تفاوت از صفائی صبح تا ظلمت شام است در حوض طبقه سوم که طولش موافق عرض یک آبشار ده گز و عرضش موافق هریکی از دو آبشار هفت گز می ریزد - و چینی خانهای این آبشار هم بدستور باغ فرح بخش است - و جانب شرقی این باغ حمامی پرچین کاری در کمال تزئین و تکلف و پرکاری باتمام رسیده که در آب و تاب مثل و قرینه ندارد - و چون مرتبه ثانی که فیض نام دارد در طول و عرض خیابان و نهر و حیاض مثل باغ فرح بخش است تفاوت همین قدر است که در نهری که از جنوب بشمال می رود سه قطار فواره که عدد آن یک صد و چهل و سه است بارتفاع پنج گز از آب نهر می جهد - و در وسط ضلع شمالی این باغ نیز رو بجنوب ایوانی است پایه دار بطول

بیست و پنج گز مشتمل بر سه چشمه و عرض هشت و نیم محتوی بر یک چشمه - و ازاره آن از سنگ مرمر است بتقاشی حیرت افزای جهان نوردان - و در وسطش حوض چهار گز در سه گز بطرح آب جوش و آب نهر از وسط حقیقی آن گزشته بباغ میوه که آن نیز در طول و عرض مساوی هر دو باغ مسطور است بر می آید - این باغ خواصپوره و عمارات دیگر آن قدر دارد که هر گاه خدیو زمان با پردگیان مشکوی دولت باین بهشتی مکان تشریف می فرمایند احتیاج بخیمه نمی شود - القصه این نزهت گاه کشاده فضا که سخن در طول و عرض آن بر فرض انحصار بدور و دراز می کشد بصرف شش لک روپیه صورت تمامیت پذیرفته -¹

The original entrances to the garden were two in number, in the east and west walls of the lowest terrace. The one in the west wall opens directly on to the old road from the fort, and was originally the principal entrance, for, like nearly all the Mughal gardens, the *Shālāmār* was approached from the lowest terrace, and the topmost level, cut off by a high retaining wall with towers at the corners, was reserved for the private use of the ladies of the *haram*. This was a custom which added greatly to the charm of these terraced water gardens, for while the full effect of the white splashing cascades, rising one above the other, was seen on entering the enclosure, the various terraces were only discovered as it were one by one as each level was successively reached. The present entrance from the Grand Trunk Road, constructed by Major Macgregor, a Deputy Commissioner of Lahore, leads directly through the rooms of the Emperor's pavillion on the upper terrace, and detracts from the general effect and character of the garden. The most noticeable feature of the original gateways is their fine decorated and enamelled tilework².

Chishti, Fauq and some other writers have maintained that the garden was originally divided into seven terraces, representing

1. Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Kamboh, *Amal e Ṣāliḥ*, II, 373-76.

2. Cf. Fauq, M.D., *Shālāmār Bagh*, 18; and Nūr Aḥmad *Chishti*, *Tahqīqāt e Chishti*, 710.

the seven degrees of the Paradise. Of these, it is said, four have been destroyed and three only are included in the present area. The garden, in fact, never had seven terraces as no mention whatever of such terraces exists in the contemporary chronicles. Besides it is extremely unlikely that four terraces of the garden should have utterly vanished, and no traces whatever been left of them if they had any existence. Equally the story of Shāhjahan's having a 'wondrous dream' in Shāhdara, of a garden like that of Paradise, 'bright with fruits of gold, marble fountains, cool pavilions, and every variety of foliage,' is fabulous.

A double storeyed pavilion of brick-work built by Ranjit Singh stands near a well in the first terrace towards the east which has the following inscription on a slab of marble fixed in the western wall of the pavilion :

"In this pavillion, built by Ranjit Singh the famous traveller William Moorcraft stayed during his visit to the court of the Maharaja in May, 1820, on his way to Turkistan where he died in 1825."

SHĀLĀMĀR FAIRS

(i) Chirāghon kā Mela.

The most important by far of all in point of gaiety pleasant scenery and the number and variety of the assembled multitude, is the Chirāghon kā Mela, or fair of lamps, held in Shālāmār on the last Saturday of March and the following Sunday. The fair was originally held for one day only (Sunday), in the month of April, but the time was considered too short, and the season too far advanced for a spring gathering like this, and the present arrangements were adopted. On Sunday, at dusk, lamps are lighted in the premises of the tomb of Madho Lal Husain, in Bāghbānpura, distant about a quarter of a mile from the Shālāmār. The fair originally consisted in lighting lamps at this tomb. People stayed for the night at the tomb of this saint, who lived during the reign of Akbar. On the next morning they used to

walk to the garden of Shālāmār for the sake of recreation. In course of time, however, the gathering at the Shālāmār quite eclipsed that of the mother-place, and although lamps are still lighted at the tomb, the fair itself is held in the Shālāmār, and, after the original name, is known as Chirāghon kā Mela. The scene in the garden on the days of the festival is charming and picturesque. The tanks and reservoirs are filled with water, the fountains play, and, it being the time of spring, the gardens are seen to the best advantages. To the loveliness of the scene, the pleasant sight of the waters flowing on the marble cascades, the green foliage of the trees and the richness of the garden, add the diversified colours of the costumes of the people. Large number of visitors attend the fair from the neighbouring districts of Gujrānwāla, Multān and Montgomery. The attendance at the fair is estimated to be a few lakhs every year.

(ii) *Pahlī Pir*.

On *Pahlī Pir* (the first Monday of each month) the garden is reserved for ladies. Males, except small children, are not admitted in the garden. There is huge rush of ladies from Lahore to this garden, especially on the first Monday of August, when the monsoons set in and the weather becomes very pleasant. Most of the ladies come here to spend the day and in spite of a heavy downpour of rains the rush continues unabated till the evening.

These fairs constitute a very healthy outlet for the pent up energies of a population, which has very few other means of enjoying healthy sport and fun. But at the same time these fairs considerably mar the permanent beauty of the garden, as enough conservancy arrangements cannot be made to cope with the rubbish left by the visitors, nor it is possible to ask the bulk of the uneducated masses collected here to keep the place clean. The fact has been occasionally noticed in the annual reports of the Archaeological Survey of India and strangely enough the reports have condemned the annual gathering of men more than the monthly, although equally popular and probably

better attended, fairs of women, as is evident from the following reports

"The Chirāghan Mela which is held yearly in these gardens, appears to be a matter for steadily growing complaint by the officers and the staff. The visitors to this fair leave behind them rubbish and mess which must be seen to be believed, as one officer reports. It always entails an inordinate amount of extra work for the staff notwithstanding the assistance given by the Municipality of Baghbanpura. The *pardah* days (the first Monday of each month) do not give reason to serious complaints, although they are attended by a very large number of ladies" :¹

VANDALISM AND CONSERVATION

Although it can be safely asserted that the garden, never had seven terraces and the original three terraces are preserved to this day, yet much that was beautiful and lovely in this garden has suffered at the hands of vandalism. A reference has already been made to the removal of marble pavilions of the middle terrace by Ranjit Singh to Amritsar, but this was not the end of it. He also took away the marble summer-house towards the northern end of the first terrace, overlooking the marble cascade and the large tank in the middle terrace.

The niches in the three side walls of the building, towards southern extremity of the third terrace, were all of marble which was carried away by the Sikhs during the time of anarchy that preceded Ranjit Singh. The three Sikh governors ruling over Lahore, before Ranjit Singh, also took out the copper of the fountains and sold many maunds of it to the braziers of the city.²

The original gates of the garden, as has already been mentioned, exist on the west and east sides in the lowest terrace, but of these that to the west is locked up at present, the other, to

1. A.S.I.A.R., 1930—34, 20.

2. Latif, S.M., Lahore, 248 and Fauq, M.D., *Shālamār Bagh*, 19.

the east, is bricked up. The doorway, towards the south of the first terrace is recent, and was opened in the commencement of the British period by Major Macgregor, a Deputy Commissioner of Lahore, by cutting the wall and destroying the *Shah Nāshin* built inside the *tambīkhāna* (pavilion on the south). South of this *tambīkhāna*, and across the Grand Trunk Road, were splendid palaces of the royal ladies. The quarter was known as *Khwāspura*. The passage from *Khwāspura*, to the garden of Farah Bakhsh, was by two gates, one to the west, the other to the east. The foundations of *Khwāspura* were extensive and existed untill the end of the last century, but they were dug out, and the bricks sold in the time of Colonel Nisbet, a Deputy Commissioner of Lahore.

The Archaeological Department gradually removed the originally-planted mango and other fruit trees from, the three terraces without re-planting the fresh fruit trees and justified their act by reporting :

"At Shalimar during the hot season about 100 old mango trees were removed from the lower garden, but, even more have yet to be cut down to enable the remainder to have a fair chance of growing properly. It is proposed to have avenues of *Amalta* (*carsia fistula*), and to this end young plants have been planted on either side of the side pathways running north and south.¹"

Col. Goulding had a different opinion to offer on this goodly act of the Archaeological Department.

"It is a matter of opinion," he says, "whether the activities of the Archaeological Department within the last few years have not deprived the gardens, to some extent at all events, of their characteristic oriental features. The ruthless felling of all the centuries old mango trees, to clear the second terrace for an ordinary rose garden, has been considered by many an act of vandalism.²"

1. *A.S.I.A.R*, 1922-23, 11.

2. Goulding, Colonel H. R., *Old Lahore*, 6.

And yet without the care and conservation of the Archaeological Department the Shalāmār would not have been what it is today. From the following annual reports of the department it would be clear what remarkable repairs were undertaken by this department to lighten the deep scars of vandalism if not to completely obliterate them.

The 1917-18 report refers to the general repair of the buildings of Shalāmār as follows :

"The largest single work in the Punjab was in connexion with the Shalamar gardens at Lahore, where the enclosure wall, which had become dangerously undermined, was underpinned substantially throughout its length. The pavilion in the west wall in the centre of the first terrace was put into needed repair, and the bulged wall of the stair of the little Hamman in the east wall of the middle terrace was rebuilt. The *dalan* in the north wall of the third (lowest) terrace was reroofed, and a similar repair was undertaken on the little Sikh pavilion on the upper terrace. The expenditure in 1917-18 on these works is Rs. 4,582¹."

A very considerable amount of work was executed at Shalāmār against the visit of the Prince of Wales (new Duke of Windsor) in March, 1921. The report says :

"The white marble work of the water courses was repaired and cleaned, and the floors and ceilings of the *baradaris* were also repaired and their walls distempered ivory white. Improvements were made to some of the fountains by increasing the size of the jets from $\frac{3}{8}$ inch to $\frac{1}{2}$ inch, and silt deposited by the canal was dug away from the irrigation channel in front of the main entrance gate. A pair of handsome new doors designed in the office of the Superintendent, Muhammadan and British Monuments, was constructed and hung in position in place of the old rotten ones in the entrance gateway. The bronze studs and bolts for it were made in the Mayo School of Art under the personal supervision of the Principal, who is always most obliging in undertaking works of this description for the Archaeological Department²."

1. *A.S.I. A.R.*, 1917-18, Pt. I, 2

2. *A.S.I. A.R.*, 1921-22, p. 3.

In 1924-25 a marble balustrade was fixed on the edge of the upper terrace. The annual reports refer to it as follows:

"No other important conservation measures were under-taken in the Punjab but at the Shalamar Gardens near Lahore the iron railing on the edge of the upper terrace overlooking the main tank was replaced by a marble balustrade of appropriate design, and the east wall of the nursery garden was rebuilt.¹"

"The total expenditure on the conservation of Muhammadan and British Monuments in the Punjab was Rs 1,05,051/2/-, of which Rs. 50,281/2/- were expended departmentally and Rs. 54,770 by the Public Works Department. Of this latter sum the greater part was spent on annual repairs and maintenance. No special repairs of outstanding importance were executed by the Public Works Department but the work of providing a marble balustrade to replace the former in appropriate iron railing in front of the main pavilion at the Shalamar Gardens, Lahore, was completed.²"

During the year 1931-32 a beginning was made to restore all the fountain-heads which were then in a dilapidated condition. They had been repaired formerly without discrimination or expert knowledge, and no two resembled each other. Thirty-two new ones of Agra sandstone were fixed during 1931-32, thirty-three in the following year, and thirty-nine in 1933; the rusted pipes were also replaced by copper ones. The marble dado slabs around the Central *baradari* having become loose, were dismantled, and after thorough repairs to the backing they were reset properly. Besides these, a number of minor repairs included the re-building of the two *burjis*, replacing of decayed red sandstone work, rebuilding of fallen portions of walls and the like³.

FOREIGN VISITORS.

Since its construction during the Mughal, Sikh, British and Pakistani periods, the *Shalamar* has been visited by many important

1. A.S.I.A.R. 1924-25, 16.

2. A.S.I.A.R. 1925-26, 17.

3. A.S.I.A.R. 1933-34, 18.

foreign visitors including kings and tourists of great repute. Nadir Shāh Durrāni, on his way to Dehli, encamped here in 1738 A.D.; Ahmad Shāh Abdālī stayed here during his third invasion of Lahore in 1752 A.D., Moorcraft and General MacLagan visited the garden during the Sikh regime; Prince of Wales (later Edward VII) came here in January, 1876 A.D.; and Amir Habibullah Khān, the King of Afghanistan, was taken round the place by Sir Henry Mac Mahon on March 4, 1907 A.D., but detailed accounts of the sojourns or visits of these historical personages are not available now. The extant accounts are being reproduced here to give an idea of the Shālāmār as it looked during the visits of some visitors.

In the year 1710 A.D., the Dutch East India Company resolved to depute an ambassade to Shāh 'Ālam Bahādar Shāh, and in the year following Mr. John Joshua Ketelaar, Director of Commerce in Sūrāt, was appointed to be its head. The Dutch ambassādor travelled by way of Āgra to Lahore where the emperor was then encamped with his army. On the 10th December, 1711 A.D., he arrived at that city and stayed there till the 10th May of the next year when he returned to Dehli in the suite of Jahāndār Shāh, who in the meantime had succeeded his father. The ambassador, therefore, was at Lahore at the time of Bahādar Shāh's death and witnessed the struggle between his four sons for the throne of India. The account of his ambassade is consequently of particular interest but here attention is invited only to a passage in Mr. Ketelaar's account, in which he has described Shālāmār. "In the meanwhile," says Mr. Ketelaar, "the Emperor asked Donna Juliana², whether the Ambassador would be inclined to see the Imperial pleasure-garden, situated outside the town of Lahore and named Salamar, likewise the Palace Paerimahal standing

1. Cf. Fauq, M.D.; *Shālāmār Bāgh* 43 44; Goulding, Col H.R., *Old Lahore*, 6; and Latif S.M., *History of the Panjab*, 201

2. Donna Juliana Dias da Costa was a Portuguese lady who had been appointed governess of the Imperial Seraglio and who had considerable influence at the court of Shāh 'Ālam Bahādar Shāh and his successor. Cf. J.A. Ismael Gracias, *Uma Dona Portuguesa na Corte de Grao Mogol*.

inside the town. She said that, inasmuch as the Emperor was pleased to show him that favour, it would be very agreeable to them, whereupon His Majesty at once ordered the eunuch who was the superintendent of the former place, and an Ammerauw [Amir] of 3,000 horse, that not only should he show the Lord Ambassador and his suite everything on their arrival there, but also should make the fountains to play.

"Of all this Donna Juliana informed the Ambassador in due time, who on the 28th January betook himself thither with all his men, and at the gate of this garden was very courteously received by a eunuch who further did according to His Majesty's orders.

"The place was very large, occupied with sundry fruit trees, the causeways were laid between very high cypress-trees, and, according to architecture, they were at certain distances, furnished with magnificent Imperial pleasure-houses to the number of thirtytwo, in such a manner that it produced pleasing perspective, whereto was greatly added by various artificial waterfalls which were seen playing along the causeways and through the aforementioned pleasure-houses, all of which works were daily kept up by one hundred and twenty-eight gardeners.

"After this sight the Ambassador was presented by the eunuch with a present of fruit, wherefore His Honour (as it was the Emperor's order) had to turn his front in the Moorish fashion towards the Emperor's tent and to make three salams¹."

Moorcraft, who visited Lahore in 1820 A.D. and was the guest of Ranjit Singh, gives the following description of the water pavilion called *Sāwan Bhādon*², built towards the southern extremity of the lowest terrace: "There are some open apartments of white marble of one storey on a level with the basin, which present in front a square marble chamber, with recesses

1. Translation by J. Ph. Vogel, *Journal of the Panjāb Historical Society*, Vol. II, No. 2, pp. 170-71.

2. A kind of lattice work representing the rains of the Hindī months, *Sāwan* and *Bhādon* (corresponding with parts of July and August).

on its sides for lamps, before which water may be made to fall in sheets from a ledge surrounding the room at the top whilst streams of water spout up through holes in the floor¹”.

General (then Lieutenant) Maclagan, on his first visit to Lahore in 1846 A. D., gives the following description of Shalamar in his diary, written on March 6, 1846 A. D.

“Rode out to the Shalimar gardens. A great part of the space in the interior of the gardens is occupied by tanks of water, from which rise numbers of fountains, repeated a second time in a second division of the garden on a lower level. The cultivation is, of course, very rich in trees and flowers, and there is much pretty marble work in the buildings, baths, etc. within the garden. It is a picture of a rich, luxurious, oriental garden, the enjoyment of which was enhanced by the presence of the band of Her Majesty's 9th Foot, who had a picnic here to-day”.

Mrs. Stuart, who visited the garden in 1913 A. D., remarks :

“Shut in on three sides by a dense woodland, against which the small pavilions stand out in sharp relief, the fourth side bounded by the walls of the upper terrace, the large tank lies deserted, tranquil in the quiet evening air; rich, peaceful harmonies of pale green water reflecting deep green trees, rose-red walls, and the darker rose of amaranth in the parterres. In the shadows of the old zenana terrace, the once clear rippling water-ways are muddy now and choked with plants. The hundred little fountains play fitfully: a taint grey spray scarcely seen against the background of the dark glistening mango leaves. But as the sun sinks, and the after glow steals through the close-set tree trunks, and streams down the opening of the west canal, where the dark battlements lose their shape, blurred against the roseate, dust laden rays, a brief dream of former splendour gilds the platforms and the pathways, the water and the wood. And melancholy,

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1. Moorcraft, William, *Travels in the Himalayan Provinces*. 79.
 2. Goulding, Colonel, H. R., *Old Lahore*, 6.

ghost-haunted as it is, still one leaves it with regret—this old garden—palace full of echoes¹.

Colonel Goulding, writing in the *Civil and Military Gazette*, a daily newspaper of Lahore, observes in 1922 A. D. :

"In these days of rapid locomotion when, if nothing else, the humble but ubiquitous tonga is readily available for an evening's drive to shalimar or Shahdara, it may be news to most readers of the *Civil and Military Gazette* to learn that in the good old days a trip out to either of these places of historic interest was quite an event for which special arrangements had to be made. Being far removed from the Civil station, and hired conveyances not being easily obtainable, Shahdara and Shalimar were practically isolated, so much so that the dak bungalow on the right of the first terrace in Shalimar was frequently occupied by couples on their honeymoon. This bungalow was fitted up as a rest-house and was often occupied for week-ends or longer periods by persons requiring a change of air²".

IV. MAUSOLEUMS AND TOMBS

(1) MAUSOLEUM OF JAHĀNGIR

At Shāhdara, on the other side of the Rāyī from Lahore, in the middle of Dilāimīz gardens, is the Mausoleum of Jahāngir, a beautifully sculptured and elegantly painted building. By a straight and broad path through the garden, we come to a square platform of red sand-stone. The entrance to this spacious quadrangle is gained by a handsome gateway of marble and enamel the whole structure being surrounded with a piazza, or corridor with cells for the accomodation of visitors. The corridor is adorned with a profusion of marble ornaments, arranged in a most elegant mosaic, representing flowers and texts from the *Qurān*. The rosettes and arabesques over the arches, which are executed with extraordinary skill and taste and are in a perfect

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1. Stuart, C. M. Villiers, *Gardens of the Great Mughals*, 151-52.
 2. Goulding, Col. H. R., *Old Lahore*, 6.

state of preservation, are particularly striking. The walls are decorated with paintings and inscriptions in mosaic of most chaste workmanship.

A covered staircase of twentyfive steps on each side of the quadrangle of the mausoleum leads to an imposing and splendid platform of tessellated pavement, at each corner of which is a *minār* four storeys high, inlaid with zigzag bands of variegated marbles and magnificent blocks of yellow stone, and capped with a cupola of white marble rising to the height of ninetyfive feet, and a winding staircase with sixty steps. The platform is 211 feet, 5 inches, square. The parapets of marble round the roof, and the elegant marble fret-work, surrounding the galleries of the *minārs*, were removed by Ranjit Singh, who replaced them with masonry work.

In the interior of the mausoleum is an elevated sacrophagus of white marble, enshrining the remains of the emperor, the sides of which are wrought with flowers of mosaics. On two sides are most beautifully carved the ninety-nine attributes of God; and on the top is an extract from the *Qurān*. At the head is the following inscription:

هو الله الذى لا اله الا هو عالم الغيب والشهادة هو الرحمن الرحيم

"God is the only God. There is no God but God. He knoweth what is concealed and what is manifest, and He is Merciful and Compassionate."

At the foot is the following inscription in two lines,

مرقد منور اعلى حضرت غفران پناه نورالدين محمد جهانگیر
بادشاه فی سنه ۱۰۳۷

"The illuminated resting place of His Majesty, the asylum of pardon, Nurud Din Muḥammad Jahāngir Bādshah 1037." (1627 A. D.).

In the sides of the body of the structure are four large arches, three of them closed in with perforated marbles, the fourth being kept open as entrance. The pedestal on which the

sacrophagus stone stands, is covered with beautiful stones set into the sides. Even the shading of some of the roses and other flowers is preserved by the different colours of the stone. The floor and walls of the chamber are of the purest marble.

Jahāngir died in Rājaur on the 28th¹ Šafar 1037 (November 8, 1627 A. D.) and his dead body was brought to Lahore to be buried in Dilāmīz Gardens. The superb edifice, now called *Maqbara e Jahāngir* was raised to his memory by his son and successor *Shāhjahān*. *Muḥammad Šāliḥ Kamboh*, in his '*Amal e Šāliḥ*' furnishes the following particulars relating to the construction of the Mausoleum of Jahāngir.

و در یکی از باغات آن روی آب بقعه فردوس صفات روضه مقدسه قرار یافت - و چون آن حضرت بنابر متابعت سنت سنیه حضرت فردوس مکانی بابر بادشاه وصیت فرموده بودند که مرقد ایشان از حلیه عمارت خالی باشد و در موضعی سرکشاده بلف ایزدی سپارند تا پیوسته از سحاب رحمت بی حساب الهی بیواسطه حجاب کامیاب باشد - لاجرم حضرت خلافت مرتبت وصیت آنحضرت را کار بسته تخت گاهی عالی بساحت صد در صد ذراع از سنگ سرخ تراشیده بدور مرقد ترتیب داده بر فراز آن چبوتره بست در بست از سنگ مرمر مصنوع بصنعت پرچین کاری که دقیق تر از خاتم پندبست مرتب شده در وسط حقیقی صورت مرقد آن بادشاه جنت آرامگاه نمودار گشت - و باوجود کمتر تکلف بصرف ده لک روپیه در مدت ده سال صورت اتمام یافت -

"A paradise resembling edifice, in one of the gardens on the other side of the river [Rāvi] was constructed as the sacred tomb. As His Majesty, following the tenets of the *sunnī* faith, and the example laid by the late king Bābar, had willed that his tomb should be erected without the ornamentation of a building, and be entrusted to Divine propitiation in an open space, so that it may always benefit from the countless clouds of Divine forgiveness

1. See *infra*, p. 141.

2. *Muḥammad Šāliḥ Kamboh*, '*Amal e Šāliḥ*', I. 13.

without any obstruction, his successor [Shāhjahān], in pursuance of His Majesty's will, built an elevated platform of red sand-stone measuring hundred by hundred *gīrā's* round the tomb, surmounted by a white marble *Chabutra* (p dūm), twenty by twenty, inlaid in a fashion better than mosaic work, in the exact middle of which was placed a replica of the sacrophagus of the king living in paradise. Notwithstanding the minimum formalities it cost ten lakhs of rupees and took ten years to build."

The whole building has suffered from the depredations of the three Sikhs who governed Lahore before Ranjit Singh and stripped it of most of its choicest ornaments to decorate the Sikh temple at Amritsar.

The British Government carried out repairs to this mausoleum. In 1889-90 A. D. a sum of Rs. 12,500 was spent on its restoration and a further sum of Rs. 41,600 was sanctioned to continue the work.

In the beginning of the year 1906 A. D.,¹ the skylight in the middle of the vault of the mausoleum and surmounting the raised platform on the roof, was dismantled by the Archaeological Department, as it was considered ugly and given to leaking in the rains. Now that the vault has been completed the central chamber, housing the sacrophagus, is much darker than it was when lit by the skylight.

The problem of ascertaining what was the original form of the central portion of the tomb of Jahangir has exercised the imagination of many visitors to Shāhdara. There can be no doubt that the building as it stands to-day is incomplete, and that there was some structure upon the raised platform in the centre of the flat roof. The accounts given by various writers do not agree, one with another, regarding the original form of the tomb. Some corroborate while others contradict the structural evidence.

Mr. Nichols in his contribution to the *Archaeological Survey of India Annual Report, 1906-7* (p. 12) thus remarks about the

1. A. S. I. A. R., 1906-7, p. 12.

platform on the roof: "From the *mutakka* holes, weather marks and depressions round the edge of this raised platform the natural deduction seems to be that a stone screen formerly stood there, the bottom rail being 7 inches wide, set back from 2 to 2½ inches from the edge of the platform, with openings 3 feet 6 inches wide in the centre of each of its four sides. There are no indications to warrant the traditional domed structure or pavilion surmounting the raised platform."

Moorcraft, writing about 1823 A. D., gives the following description: "In the interior of the mausoleum is an elongated sacrophagus of white marble, enshrining the remains of the sovereign of Delhi, the sides of which are wrought with flowers of mosaic. The building was surmounted, it is said, by a dome, but it was taken off by Aurangzib, that his grandfather's tomb might be exposed to the weather as a mark of his reprobation of the loose notions and licentious practices of Jahāngir. Such is the story, but more probably the building was never completed."

Hügel, Circa. 1835 A. D., speaks of a small vaulted Chamber very similar to that in the Taj at Agra. "The light falls on it (the tomb of Jahāngir) from above."

Von Orlich, in 1843 A. D., says: "The white marble sacrophagus with Arabic and Persian inscriptions, stands in the centre under a dome which *Shāh Bahādūr*³ caused to be destroyed in order that the rain and dew might fall on the tomb of his ancestor."⁴

Chishtī informs us in 1867 A. D. that there used to be a white marble sacrophagus on the roof of the Mausoleum and in the reign of Bahādūr *Shāh* a hole was made in the roof in place of the sacrophagus in accordance with the order of a *mulla*, so that the rain might fall on the tomb below; that subsequently the hole was covered in with wood by Lahna Singh; and that

1. Moorcraft, W., *Travels in the Himalayan Provinces, etc.*, I, 108—109.
2. Hügel, C. von, *Travels in Kashmir and the Country of the Sikhs*, 268.
3. Presumably the successor of Aurangzeb; 1907—1713 A.D.
4. Von Orlich, *Travels*, I, 220.

the wooden covering was afterwards repaired by Kharak Singh in the time of Ranjit Singh.¹

Mr. Rodgers in his *Revised List* (p. 26), says that the Mausoleum was erected by his lovely and accomplished wife, the Empress Nūr Jahān and that there existed originally a central dome, which was removed by Bahādar Shāh, the grandson of Jahāngir. This account is not supported by contemporary authors. The edifice was definitely built by Shāhjahān.

In speaking of the 'dome which surmounted the building' the writers seem to confuse the traditional structure on the podium on the roof, with the vaulted roof of the central chamber. I personally think the building never had a dome rising above the podium on the roof of the tomb. But it is conceivable that the wish of Jahāngir was carried out at Shāhdara, as has been recorded by Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Kamboh, and a replica of the sacrophagus was placed in the middle of the raised platform on the roof. *Chishtī* also bears out this fact. But nobody can tell how and when this sacrophagus was removed from the middle of the podium.

The accounts of the opening of the hole in the vault of the central chamber can well be reconciled with the structural evidence, which came to light after the removal of the skylight, and this fact further proves that the account of Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Kamboh is very reliable and a sacrophagus was originally placed in the position where a hole was dug out after its removal. Commenting on the structural evidence on the demolition of the skylight Mr. Nichols remarks: "It [the skylight] was consequently dismantled in the beginning of the year [1906 A. D.], and the edge of the opening in the vault, which had hitherto been concealed by the lining of the skylight, was laid bare for examination. From the broken edge of the brickwork it was at once clear that the opening had not been part of the original construction, but that it had been subsequently formed by hacking through the brickwork of the vault. An opening for light in the crown of

1. Nūr Ahmad Chishtī, *Tahqīqāt e Chishtī*, 773.

a vault is, I believe, a thing unknown in Mughal architecture. Further, the curve of the vault was found just to complete itself without rising above the raised platform on the roof of the tomb—a fact which pointed to the raised platform having been designed to take the vault, and prevent its extrados from showing above the roof.”¹

It is perhaps not generally known that some European travellers have expressed the belief that the tomb at Shahdara does not contain the mortal remains of Jahāngīr at all. Names of Tavernier, Herbert³ and Terry⁴ can be mentioned as examples. Some of them have spun fantastic yarns, but all these accounts are untrue.

2. THE TOMB OF ĀSAF KHĀN

Āsaf Jāh, or Āsaf Khān, was the father of Shahjahan's queen Arjumand Bāno Begam, the lady of the Taj at Agra. He died in 1641 A. D. leaving a fabulous wealth behind. His tomb was built in the reign of Shahjahan, but is now in utter ruins. The decorations and sculptures were removed by Ranjit Singh, who is said to have despoiled 2,000 graves in Lahore in order to beautify Amritsar, which city, however, has little to show for such wholesale robbery.

3. THE TOMB OF NŪR JAHĀN

Near the Mausoleum of Jahāngīr is the tomb of Nūr Jahān, the wife of the Emperor. She died nearly ten years after her husband, in 1638 A. D., and was buried in the structure which she had herself caused to be erected. The marble sacrophagus was of most chaste workmanship, being of the same size and quality as those of Jahāngīr. It has, however, been removed. The vaulted rooms were all covered with marble and wrought with flowers of

1. *A. S. I. A. R.*, 1906—7, p. 12.

2. Tavernier, J. B., *Travels*, etc. I, p. 91.

3. Herbert, T. *Travels*, etc., 105—107.

4. Terry, E., *A Voyage*, etc., p. 291.

mosaic. Ranjit Singh commenced its spoliation, the carelessness of after years completed it, and yet here repose the ashes of a woman who for years ruled the ruler of India, the only empress whose name appears on the coinage of the Mughal emperors. Something should be done to renew the tomb from utter destruction.

4. THE TOMB OF ANĀRKALĪ

The legend says: Anārkālī or "Pomegranate Blossom" was the nickname of Nādira Begam, or *Sharafun Nisā*, one of the favourites of the *haram* of Akbar. One day, while the Emperor was seated in an apartment lined with looking glasses, with the youthful Anārkālī attending him, he saw from her reflection in the mirror that she returned Prince Salīm (afterwards Jahāngīr) a smile. Suspecting her of a criminal intrigue with his son, the emperor ordered her to be buried alive. She was accordingly placed in an upright position at the appointed place, and was built round with bricks. Salīm felt intense remorse at her death, and, on assuming sovereign authority, had an immense superstructure raised over her sepulchre.

The story is variously told but no source is ever quoted and the contemporary chronicles, including the autobiography (*tuzuk*) of Jahāngīr is silent about it. The tomb now stands in the grounds of the Panjāb Civil Secretariate to the south of the old city, and has passed through vicissitudes which have considerably changed all its original decorations. It is hexagonal on plan, with a domed octagonal tower at each corner, and is crowned by a central dome, supported inside by eight arches 12 feet, 3 inches thick. It is a masterpiece of solid masonry work of early Mughal period, and is neatly and prettily fitted up. It measures 15 feet, 6 inches from east to west.

In the time of Ranjit Singh the building was occupied by Khārak Singh, the heir-apparent, but was subsequently given to General Ventura, the famous Italian officer of the Sikh Government, who converted it into a private residence. The large

monolithic marble gravestone had already been moved out of the building before Kharak Singh occupied it. After the annexation of the Panjab the Board of Administration, Panjab, converted it into Residency, where the offices of the Board were established. On the 15th March, 1851 A.D., the Secretary to the Board reported to the Government of India: "The Board's offices having been removed from the old Residency, the tomb which they formerly occupied has become available, and has lately been used, by permission of the Board, for Divine Service on Sundays." Sanction was at the same time obtained for the expenditure of Rs. 1,000 on fitting up the tomb so as to serve as a place of worship for the Protestant congregation, Civil and Military, of the station known as Anarkali. The building continued in use as "the Mother Church" of the diocese until the present Cathedral was completed. Anarkali's tomb lay vacant for some years after it was given up by the ecclesiastical authorities, but in 1891 A. D. it was again converted into an office for the temporary storage of Secretariate records, and is still used for that purpose. The sacrophagus, which had been put away in one of the side bays, when the building was first converted into a church, was placed in the spot from which the altar had been removed, and not in its original central position. The Archaeological Department hoped to restore the building to something resembling its original condition after the Panjab Government Records were removed from this monument and an effort was made in this direction in 1925 A. D., when the cross which surmounted the dome was removed to give place to a finial of appropriate Mughal design. The Cross, after being removed, was re-erected in the compound of the Lahore Cathedral.¹ As the building is still occupied by the Panjab Record Office no further restoration of the building could be done. It is time that the Panjab Government shifted its records to another building to preserve this monument.

1. Cf. Latif, S. M. *Lahore*, p. 186; A. S. I. A. R., 1925-26, p. 17; Goulding, H. R.; *Old Lahore* pp. 4-5; and Wheeler, R. E. M., *Five Thousand Years of Pakistan*, p. 84.

It has been occasionally stated that the actual grave was also moved to the present site of the sacrophagus, but digging in 1940 A. D. in the middle of the building revealed the former still intact five feet below the present floor, in its proper place. From accounts of the discovery, the grave would appear to be of plastered brickwork.

The sacrophagus is made of a block of pure marble of extraordinary and exquisite workmanship. On the top and sides are inscribed the 99 attributes of God, and on the sides is engraved the following Persian couplet :

تا قیامت شکر گویم کردگار خویش را
آه گر من باز بینم روی یار خویش را

"Ah! could I behold the face of my beloved once more,
I would give thanks unto my God until the day of resurrection."

On the north side of the sacrophagus, below the ninety-nine attributes of the Deity, is the inscription :

مجنون سلیم اکبر

"The profoundly enamoured Salim, son of Akbar."

The sacrophagus bears two dates. The date given in letters and in figures is سن ۱۰۰۸ هزار و هشت (1599 A. D.), which is supposed to refer to the death of Anārkali, or the body buried in the tomb. On the west side of the sacrophagus above the words فی شهر (in the months¹), is another date 1024 (1615 A.D.), which is supposed to be the date of the building of the tomb. As has just been pointed out the Mughhal chronicles are silent about the subject, and do not furnish us with any information regarding any princess or stewardess who would have been ever named Anārkali. It appears from the extant records that an English traveller, William Finch, is responsible for originating the horrible and inconceivable story, which has already been told. Finch came to Lahore to make sale of indigo he had purchased

1. Hitherto wrongly deciphered as "in Lahore" by Latif and others.

at Bayāna on behalf of the East India Company. Travelling from Agra by way of Dehli, Ambāla and Sultānpur, he reached Lahore early in February, 1611 A.D. writing about Lahore he says :

Passing the Sugar Gōnge¹ [Shakarganj] is a faire meskite² built by Shecke Fereed³, beyond it (without the towne, in the way to the gardens) is a faire monument for Don Sha⁴ his mother, one of the Acabar his wives, with whom it is said Sha Selim had to do (her name was Immaeque Kelle,⁵ or Pomgranate kernell); upon notice of which the King [Akbar] caused her to be inclosed quicke within a wall in his mohall, where shee dyed, and the King [Jahāngīr], in token of his love, commands a sunptuous tombe to be built of stone in the midst of a four-square garden richly walled, with a gate and divers roomes over it. The convexity of the tombe he hath willed to be wrought in workes of gold, with a large faire jounter with roomes overhead⁶."

Now on the face of it, it looks quite an impressive story, particularly when it is told by a traveller who visited Lahore only eleven years after the supposed death of Anārkali, but if this story is closely examined it will be seen there is not much truth in it and Finch, like many other casual European visitors, has mixed up many stray incidents. For instance there is no corroboration of Finch's story that Anārkali was the mother of Dāniyāl, a son of Akbar, as Finch has pointed out. Again Anārkali Garden is mentioned by Dārā Shikoh, the eldest son of

1. This locality is not traceable in Lahore now.

2. *Masjid* (mosque).

3. The site of the mosque of *Shaiḥ* Farīd mentioned by Finch is stated to be that of the spot now called *Ṭibba Bābā Farīd* on the western side of the Lahore District Courts.

Shaiḥ Farīd Bukhārī was honoured with the title of Murtaẓā *Khān* by Jahāngīr and was appointed viceroy of the Panjāb (1610—1616 A.D.). At Lahore, he built a *maḥalla* after his name, a large bath and a *Chauk* (square). Cf. Latif, S. M., *Lahore*, pp 40 & 44; and Chughtāī, Dr. M. 'Abdulla, *About Anarkali*, published in the *Indian Culture*, V. p. 105.

4. Dāniyāl.

5. Anārkali.

6. Foster, W., *Early Travels in India*, 1583—1619, 166.

Shāhjahān, in his *Sakīnatul Auliyā*¹ in 1052 A. H. (1642 A.D.). It is stated that the garden is laid out on the southern side of the city with a dome in the corner of its southern wall. Unfortunately Dārā Shikoh does not furnish as with any reference appertaining to the person buried beneath the dome in the precincts of the Anārklī Garden. Now Finch mixed up the name of the garden with the tomb in the garden, and spun the yarn around it, which has been perpetuated to this day.

Looking into the story from historical point of view we are further disillusioned. If we accept the version of Finch and others that the tomb was constructed by Jahāngīr after the death of Akbar, it is very obvious that he would not get his princely name of Salīm engraved on the tombstone as is the case. From the inscription of the tombstone, مجنون سلیم اکبر (The profoundly enamoured Salīm son of Akbar) and the date 1008 A. H. (1599 A. D.) it is clear that the work was completed when Jahāngīr was yet a prince and had not become a king, as he ascended the throne six years afterwards in 1014 A. H. (1605 A.D.). Again if we accept the story of Finch that Akbar was responsible for getting Anārkalī buried alive we find it does not fit in with the historical events. As Beveridge has pointed out in his translation of *Akbarnāma* :

"The inscription on Anārkalī's tomb bears the date 1008 (1599—1600) in letters and figures. But this cannot be the date of her death, for Akbar was not at Lahore in that year. He left it for Agra on 26th Ābān 1007 (November 6, 1598 A. D.). Either the story about her being buried alive is untrue or the date is not that of her death, but of the building of the tomb."

Now if all this is fiction the question naturally arises, who is the lady buried in the tomb? It has already been pointed out in the light of history that the building is the tomb of Shāhibe Jamāl, one of the wives of Jahāngīr, who died at Lahore in the

1. Dārā Shikoh, *Sakīnatul Auliyā*, p. 100.

2. Beveridge, H., *The Akbarnāma*, III, 1155 f. n.

same year. She was the mother of Parvez, son of Jahāngir, and daughter of Zain Khān Koka. She was married to Jahāngir in 995 A. H. (1586 A. D.).¹

V. PALACES AND OTHER NOTABLE BUILDINGS

(1) THE BĀRADRĪ OF MIRZĀ KĀMRĀN

This very substantial old edifice, with its magnificent, high arches, stands on the right bank of the Rāvi, a triumph of engineering art. For more than half a century has the impetuous current of the ancient Rāvi struggled to annihilate its walls, whose feet it washes but with the exception of a portion washed away at a time beyond the memory of the living generation, the edifice stands quite unaffected by the ebb and flow of the river. The building is made of solid masonry, and its appearance on the banks of the river is imposing and picturesque. The founder was Mirzā Kāmrān, son of the knightly Bābar and brother of the adventurous Humāyūn, both founders of the Mughal Empire in Hindustān. It was situated in the midst of a beautiful garden, which was one of the earliest laid out in India by the Mughals, coming fresh from a luxuriant country abounding in verdant vegetation and rich and green gardens. The Rāvi then flowed at distance of two miles from its present bed, inasmuch as it washed the city walls. In the time of Muḥammad Shāh, the river having changed its course, most of the gardens laid out by the Mughals were swept away, and the garden of Mirzā Kāmrān shared the same fate.

The paintings in diversified colours beneath the arches are still to be seen, as also the marks of old paths in the garden.

(2) THE CHAUBURJĪ

The building known as Chauburjī, is a gateway of a garden on the Multān Road. The outer walls are brilliantly enamelled

1. Cf. Beale, T. W., *An Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p. 342; and Salik, 'Imuddīn, an article in *Nairang & Khayāl Annual*, 1928.

and decorated with blue and green encaustic tiles and frescoes of exquisite beauty, which notwithstanding the lapse of more than three centuries are as fresh and brilliant as ever. The garden, according to the popular legend, originally extended from Nawān Kō; to the city of Lahore on the west, but not a vestige of it now remains. The uppermost part of the building has the *Āyat ul Kursī*, a passage from the *Qurān* inscribed on it in Arabic letters of blue colour, worked in porcelain. At the end of it the year of foundation of the building is given namely, 1056 A.H. (1646 A.D.) in the year following which Aurangzeb was sent on an expedition to Balkh, but was compelled to retreat.

Above the arch are inscribed the following verses in Persian:—

.....بنا پذیر شد این باغ روضه رضوان

بگشت مرحمت این باغ بر میان بائی
ز لطف صاحب زینده یگم دوران

"This garden, in the pattern of the garden of paradise, has been founded: (The second line has been effaced)

The garden has been bestowed on Miān Bāi,
By the bounty of Zebinda Begam, the lady of the age"

On a side of the northern minār the following inscription exists :

ساخت میا بائی چون روضه عالی ارم

The towers of this picturesque building have survived the wreck of time but the fourth to the north west with a portion of the wall on that side, has fallen down. On either side of the arches north and south of the middle arch is inscribed the word الله "God" in blue Arabic letters, enclosed by a circle. There has been a dome, but a great portion of it has disappeared.

The identities of Zebinda Begam and Miān (Mīā) Bāi are uncertain. Zebinda Begam is popularly supposed to have been Zebun Nisā, the learned daughter of the Emperor Aurangzeb, but

if so, she must have been a young child at the time of the construction of the gate.¹

D. THE SIKH PERIOD

I. MOSQUES

(1) The Mosque of Morān

This mosque is situated in the Pāpār Mandī Bāzār, Shah 'Alamī Gate quarters. The founder was Morān, the mistress of Ranjit Singh. She exercised such an influence over the temper of that otherwise stern monarch that she was consulted on State matters, and was dreaded by the greatest Sardārs. He himself used to come to her house with his cavalcade and struck coin in her name. The coin was known as the Morān Shahī, and rupees bearing her inscription are preserved to this day. The mosque was built in 1224 A.H. (1809 A.D.). It is built one storey high. To the east and west are shops in which are rooms with windows overlooking the street. There are cells for Darveshes and baths. The pinnacles on the domes are of green enamelled pottery. On the gateway to the south the following chronogram is inscribed:

بفضل ایزد دارای افلاک چو نوران مسجدی آراست بر خاک
تاریخ بنایش گفت هاتف شده تعمیر لله مسجد پاک

"By the grace of God the Lord of heavens,
When Morān constructed a mosque on the earth,
The invisible voice said for the date of its foundation
In the name of God the holy mosque has been built.

1. A contemporary Historian, Sāqī, records that Zebun Nisā was born in 1048 A.H. (1639 A.D.):

نواب قدس قیاب تنزیه احتجاب زیب النساء بیگم آن ثمره طیبه نهال
حشمت و اقبال دهم شوال سال هزار و چهل و هشت (۱۰۳۸) از بطن بیگم
بدولت سزای دنیوی قدم گذاشته بودند.

(Muhammad Sāqī Musta'id Khān, *Mu'āzzir e 'Ālamgirī*, 538).

2. THE MOSQUE OF NAWĀB IMĀMUD DĪN KHĀN

This mosque is situated in maḥalla Chele Ka Hammām. It is a very splendid and imposing building. The founder was Nawab Shaiikh Imamud Dīn Khān, son of Shaiikh Ghulam Muḥiyud Dīn, the Sikh Governor of Kashmir, better known for his rebellion in Kashmir, when that territory was made over to Gulāb Singh. He subsequently allied himself with the British and assisted Sir Herbert Edwardes with a contingent of troops and fought on the side of the British against the rebel Mulraj of Mulṭān notoriety. The Shaiikh was a man of literary attainments. He built this fine mosque in 1226 A. H. (1849 A. D.). It is one storey high and the passage to it is by a flight of steps which open on to a spacious courtyard. The domes are graceful, and the arches leading to the interior hall stately and picturesque. In front of the central arch the following chronogram is inscribed on a marble stone.

امام الدین خان نواب ذی جاه عمارت کرد مسجد حسب دلخواہ
چو تاریخش بجستم هاتف غیب بگفتا فی الحقیقت کعبہ اللہ

"Imāmud Dīn Khān the Nawāb of high dignity, built a mosque acceptable to the heart.

When I searched for the date of foundation the invisible voice from heaven said ' Verily this is the House of God ? "

Around the interior of the central domes are inscribed the following verses giving the date of foundation :—

زہی نواب عالیشان کہ از تائید یزدانی
موافق شد بی تعمیر مسجد از خدا دانی
چہ مسجد قبلہ کہ عارفان و معبد نیکان
مقام فیض ربانی مکان لطف سبحانی
بنام ایزد ازین تعمیر تسخیر دو عالم کرد
خریدہ دولت باقی عقی از زر فانی
سر اعدا نکلندہ گفت هاتف سال تاریخش
بدنہا از امام الدین بنا شد کعبہ ثانی

" How excellent is the Nawāb of high dignity, who with
Divine aid,

And with his knowledge of God built this mosque.

What a mosque, the temple of holy men the church of the
pious.

The place of the bounty of God and of His Grace and Glory.
The founder of this edifice has acquired the blessings of
worlds,

And with the gold (of this world) which is transitory,
purchased the everlasting wealth of the world to come.

For the year of its foundation the heavenly voice, having
destroyed the strength of the enemies said,

'In the world a second Ka ba has been built by Imāmud Dīn.'

II TOMB

THE TOMB OF NAWĀB IMĀMUD DĪN KHĀN

This beautiful tomb is situated quite close to the mausoleum
of Dāta Ganj Bakhsh. The sarcophagus is of pure marble, and
the platform of the tomb, of the same material. Shāikh Imāmud
Dīn was governor of Kashmīr under the Sikhs, and fought on the
side of the English in the battle of Multān. On the southern
wall of the tomb are inscribed the following touching verses of
Sa'di :

دریغا که بی ما بسی روزگار

بروید گل و بشکفت نو بهار

بسی تیر و دی ماه اردی بهشت

بیاید که ما خاک باشیم و خشت

" Ah ! without me in this world,

Many a flower will grow and many a bloom shoot out gay !

Many a month of Tīr, Dī and Urdī Bihisht will come,

When I shall be reduced to earth and clay ! "

1. The year of foundation (1266 A H) is obtained from the numerical
value of the last phrase after the deduction of 1 (the numerical value of
Ālīf, the first letter of اعدا enemies). This is called in the art of Persian
poetry the صنعت تخریج or diminishing the value of letters.

On the upper part of the sarcophagus the following chronogram is inscribed :—

چون که نواب شیخ امام الدین
شد ز دنیا و رو بخلد نهاد
گفت هاتف ز سال تاریخش
احمد مجتبی شفیعش باد

“ When Nawāb Shāikh Imāmud Dīn
Departed from the world and made his way to heaven,
The invisible voice said for the year of his death
‘ May Ahmad the chosen grant him salvation ’.”

Beneath this is inscribed the verse :—

چون بخاکم بگذری دامن کشان
از سر اخلاص الحمدی بخوان

“ When thou passest from my grave lifting the skirt of
thy robes,
Out of sincerity recite the Sura Alḥamd (for the benefit
of my soul)

The wall to the south west has the following inscription.

از خانه عفو آن خداوند غفور
کز صنع وجود بشر از خاک سرشت
بر دربت نواب امام الدین خان
آرام گهش بهشت تاریخ نوشت
کتبه امام ویردی

“ With the pen of pardon, God, the forgiving,
Who, with His Wisdom, moulded the form of man with earth,
Has written on the sepulchre of Nawāb Imāmud Dīn Khān,
‘ His resting place is Paradise ’, as the date of his death ”
“ Written by Mirzā Imām Verdī.”

1. Mirzā Imām Verdī, a native of Kashmīr, was famous throughout the Panjāb for his art of Persian Calligraphy. His equal in the art of elegant penmanship was Mīr Muhammad, commonly known as Mīr Panja Kash, of Dehli, who flourished before 1857 A.D. Both were complete masters of their art, and left hundreds of pupils. Their writings fetched high prices, and were much valued and admired. Nawāb Imāmud Dīn Khān had the Gulistān of Sa'dī written by Mirzā, Imām Verdī (who was in the Nawāb's employ) and it was a most perfect specimen of the art of persian penmanship. It took the Mirzā several years to write it and cost the Nawāb many thousand rupees.

III SAMĀDH.

SAMĀDH OF RANJIT SINGH.

Opposite the fort entrance, to the west, is the *samādh* of Mahārāja Ranjit Singh, virtually the last local monarch of the Panjab. It is a mixture of Hindū and Muslim architecture, substantially Hindū with Muslim details and is built of stone in a plain, unpretending style. The front of the doorway has images of Ganesh, Devī and Brahma, the Hindū deities, cut in red sandstone. The ceilings are gorgeously decorated with small convex mirrors, set in white cement. The carved marble lotus flower in the central vault, set beneath a canopy, covers the ashes of the Mahārāja and the smaller flowers of the same description around are in memory of his four wives and seven slave girls, who immolated themselves on the funeral pyre of their deceased lord. The knobs representing the queens, are crowned while plain knobs mark the sacrifices of the equally devoted but less legal wives, the slave girls. Two more knobs are in honor of two pigeons who, being accidentally enveloped in the great mass of flames were burnt, and are given the honor of sati or self sacrifice.

The marble Bāradari of Devī in one of the chambers was the property of Mahārāni Jindān, mother of Dalip Singh, who, on her removal from Lahore, made a gift of it to the *samādh*. In the small niches of the side walls are placed the marble images of the Hindū gods.

The building was commenced by Kharak Singh, but his untimely death prevented him from completing it. Sher Singh executed part of the work, but it could not be finished until the latter period of Dalip Singh's reign. The marble arches of the interior were once in a dangerous state, but were clamped with iron, and strengthened with fresh material, by order of Sir Donald Macleod, late Lieutenant Governor.

Two small domed buildings on the further side of the *samādh* are the memorials of Kharak Singh, the son and Naunihal Singh, the grandson of the Mahārāja.

IV GARDENS

(1) HUZURĪ BĀGH

The serāe of Aurangzeb, to the east of the Bādshāhī Masjid is a place fraught with historical associations. The enclosure now occupied by a garden and marble pavilion, was in the time of Mughal ascendancy, thronged by the imperial cavalcade and vast bodies of armed retainers, who formed the king's procession, as the grand Seignior went to offer his prayers at the Royal Mosque, preceded by a cortege of mace bearers and followed by his Umarā, grandees and nobles. Before he came out of the fortress, the passage he had to pass, was constantly watered because says Bernier, in his picturesque description of the imperial procession, "of the heat and the dust." From the king's apartments to the gate of the fortress a lane of several hundred soldiers was formed, and through it His Majesty passed with all the pomp of an eastern sovereign. Bernier, who was an eye-witness of these glittering scenes, confesses that "there was something great and royal in it."

Ranjit Singh turned the space, which separates the fort from the mosque, into a spacious garden, and adorned it with a marble pavilion, which to this day remains the architectural monument of his reign.

Captain Leopold Von Orlich, of the Guards of His Majesty the King of Prussia, who accompanied the British Embassy, sent by Lord Ellenborough, the Governor General, in 1843, A. D., to Lahore, gives the following interesting particulars of a visit to Mahārāja Sher Singh paid by the Embassy in this garden :

"His Highness received us in the garden of Huzuri Bagh, on the west side of which a broad white marble flight of steps led to a large open gallery. The approach was most tastefully draped with carpets and the gallery with Kashmir shawls. Sher Singh surrounded by several hundred of his great men had taken his place in this gallery. Prince Partab Singh and Dhian Singh received the Ambassador (Mr. Madock, Secretary to Government)

at the marble pavillion, and conducted us between a line of curiassiers and officers of the Maharaja, who, on our being presented him, shook hands and cordially saluting us, invited us to be seated. Sher Singh, the prince, and the Ambassador took their seats on gold arm chairs, and we on silver ones, the grandees behind us, and Dhian Singh behind the Maharaja.

The Maharaja was attired in a yellow silk garment and turban, which was ornamented with pearls and jewels; he wore on each arm three golden bracelets, among those on the left arm was the *Koh-i-Nur*, or *mountain of light* "

(2) KURĪ BĀGH

Close to the mausoleum of Mauj Darya Bukhārī, on the Edwardes Road, is the Kaparthala House. It is called by the people Kurī Bāgh or daughter's garden. The house was originally built by M. Allard, the French Officer, in the service of Ranjit Singh. His daughter having died here was interred in the garden attached to the house, which on that account came to be called Kurī Bāgh. The tomb of the deceased is on a mound to the north-west of the garden and on a slab in the floor has the following inscription.

"To Marie Charlotte, dècèdèe le 5me Avril, 1827, filld de M. Allard de St. Topiz Chivalier de la Legion d'Honneur General de le Cavalerie."

A Persian inscription over the entrance outside gives also the name of the deceased.

The property was sold by the Mahārāja of Kaparthala long before the partition. The garden was turned into a group of modern flats, and yet the name of the garden is popular amongst the old inhabitants of Lahore.

V. OTHER BUILDINGS.

(1) BĀRADARĪ OF HUZURĪ BĀGH

This building which measures 44 feet, 6 inches by 45 feet, was two storeyed and was built by Ranjit Singh in 1818 A.D. The

ceilings were beautifully decorated with tracery in stucco, inlaid with small convex mirrors as in the *Shish Mahal* of the Lahore Fort. The first and second floors of the edifice were made of lime and mortar. The edifice in its hybrid design was architecturally a success. It is elegant, handsome, and imposing. Here Ranjit Singh used to sit in state, and transact the business of the empire with his ministers. Here too Sher Singh held his court, and delighted to exhibit his state.¹

The upper story of Ranjit Singh's *bāṛadari* collapsed suddenly at about 10 a.m. on the 19th July, 1932 A. D. The cause of this mishap have been either a heavy rainstorm or the action of the wind, or both. The *debris* of this upper storey was removed to the Fort. The Archaeological Department regretted in their report of the years 1930-34 A. D. that this interesting monument could not be restored on account of restricted grants; indeed, funds were not even available to render the lower portion safe.²

Three years later in 1935 A.D. the *jālī* slabs of the white marble balustrade on the roof were restored, which had been damaged beyond repairs as a result of the collapse of the upper storey³.

(2) THE HAVELI OF NAUNIHĀL SINGH.

This lofty *haveli* is reckoned among the most magnificent buildings of the city of Lahore. It was built by Naunihal Singh son of Kharak Singh, and used by him as his private residence. It contains numerous spacious chambers, halls and balconies. The roofs are decorated with paintings and mirrors and are worked in Gold. The walls are richly and tastefully ornamented with glasses and artificial flowers. It is now government property and is used as a Government Girls High School.

1. See *infra*, p. 424.

2. *A. S. I. A. R.*, Pt. I, 1930-34, 18.

3. *A. S. I. A. R.*, 1935-36, 13.

(3) THE HAVELI OF DHIÂN SINGH.

This is situated in Hira Mandi. It consists of court rooms, which are separate from the female quarters. There are underground chambers and pretty and handsome buildings attached to it. Opposite the double hall of court is a spacious court-yard, in the midst of which is a *samādh* of Dhiān Singh, surmounted by a beautiful dome, with a pinnacle of gold. Dhiān Singh was the Prime Minister of Ranjit Singh.

(4) THE HAVELI OF NAWĀB IMĀMUD DĪN KHĀN.

This magnificent *haveli* is situated in the Lohari Gate quarters. The founder was Nawab Imāmud-Dīn Khān, Governor of Kashmīr under the Sikhs. It is furnished with numerous halls and chambers, tastefully decorated with paintings.

(5) THE HAVELI OF KĀBULI MAL.

The *haveli* of Kabuli Mal, Governor of Lahore in the time of the triumvir governors of Lahore is near the Dabbi Bazar of the city. It is a very spacious house, at present much neglected and the property has passed to private individuals who are unable from wants of means, to restore it to a proper condition.

E. THE BRITISH PERIOD

MOSQUE

The Mosque of Karīm Bakhsh.

This hand-some and imposing mosque, built by Mian Karīm Bakhsh, contractor, Public Works Department, and a man of much public spirit in Lahore, is situated close to the New Water Works Reservoir. On the outer gateway, to the south, are inscribed the following passages and verses, on slabs of marble :

کر داست کریم بخش ز الطاف کریم
لله چنین مسجد عالی تعمیر

سرور به بنای سجده گاه والا
دل گفت شد این مسجد عالی تعمیر

"By the grace of God, Karim Bakhsh built, in the name of God, this magnificent mosque,

The mind of Sarwar said for the foundation of this venerable place of worship—This superb mosque has been built.."

INNER GATEWAY

افضل الذكر لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله
این بیت حق که کرد بنایش کریم بخش
روز جزا وسیله غفران او پس است
سال بنائش جستم و آمد ندا زغیب
کاین بقعه کریم مکان مقدس است

"The most excellent of the recitals is—" There is no God but God, and Muhammad is the Prophet of God."

This house of God that has been founded by Karim Bakhsh, Shall serve as a sufficient means for his forgiveness on the day of resurrection.

I searched for the date of foundation, and the mysterious voice came;

This edifice, built by Karim, is holy."

1303 A.H. (1885 A.D.)

II. JINNĀH GARDENS

On the right hand side of the Mall, between Anārkalī and the Lawrence and Montgomery Halls are the Jinnāh Gardens covering an area of 112 acres. The land at present occupied by the gardens was a desolate wilderness in 1850 A. D., when a garden was laid out on a portion of it. In 1858 A. D. the portion on the farther side of the mounds was purchased from the proceeds of the sale of the old Bādāmi Bāgh near the fort, and was added to it. Part of these grounds is used as a Botanical garden, under the

superintendence of Department of Agriculture; part is occupied by a Menagerie; the rest used as a public pleasure ground, is held by the Corporation.

The Gardens are irrigated by a cutting from the Lahore Branch of the Bāri Doāb Canal and contain nearly 80,000 trees and shrubs of 600 different species. Besides the trees usually met with in the regions of India the gardens contain the *Chil* (*Pinus longifolia*), the Australian gum tree (*Eucalyptus Globulus*) and the carob tree of Syria and the south of Europe.

After the partition the Gardens were named Jinnāh Gardens instead of its original name of Lawrence Gardens. The most beautiful part of the gardens was laid out after partition and is named Fatimah Jinnāh Garden after the sister of Qāid e Azam.

F. PAKISTĀN PERIOD

MAUSOLEUM OF IQBĀL

Set in a background dominated by the crowning glory of the white marble domes and the rising majesty of the red stone minars of the Badshāhī Mosque, stands the incomplete mausoleum of 'Allāma Iqbāl, the Poet of the East. The mausoleum which is now completed has taken thirteen years to reach its present stage of finish. It was designed by Nawab Zain Yār Jang Bahadur the Chief Architect of Hyderabad Deccan. There is an interesting story connected with the preparation of that design. The Iqbāl Tomb Committee, presided over by the late Chaudhry Muḥammad Husain which was set soon after the death of the poet, is stated to have approached eminent architectural designers. But the various designs presented to the Committee somehow left the Committee dissatisfied as a whole. When the first design prepared by Nawab Zain Yār Jung Bahādar came up for examination of the Committee, it evoked a memorable remark from the President. He is reported to have said: "This design would suit more for the nest of a nightingale than for the tomb of Iqbāl." Then, pointing towards the historical buildings, he said: "Here is the

great Mosque, the symbol of our spiritual power, there stands the Fort, the symbol of our temporal power and on that side to the north (pointing to Ranjit Singh's Samādh) is the rebel. Here lies buried the Mujaddid. The design of his mausoleum should aim at the expression in stone of the Self, its tenacity and power."

The Committee was of the opinion that the designer, instead of copying architectural models of the Mughal period, should derive inspiration from the models of the Afghan period. In the alternative it favoured a design on the model of Moorish architecture. Consequently the present design, a mixture of Afghan and Moorish architecture was approved by the Committee.

Many difficulties had to be overcome before the actual construction was taken into hand. The unsympathetic attitude of the non-Muslim Ministers in the then Panjab Cabinet led to a great deal of delay in getting the design approved by the Government. The matter was referred to the then Government of India which after some time, however, gave its approval. Then there was the difficulty of procuring sufficient funds. The Committee had decided that no contributions either from the Government of the day or a ruler of a State be accepted for the purpose. It felt that it would not be a fitting homage to the great poet to erect his Mausoleum from funds received from the rulers or contributed by the Government. The funds were to be raised from contributions from the poet's friends, disciples and admirers. Difficult though the task appeared at first but it nevertheless proved a success. Contributions flowed in and the construction work was immediately taken into hand.

For a long time after the Partition the construction remained suspended as a result of the stoppage of the import of red-stone from Jaipur used for the building. The marble was also to be imported from Makrāna, a place in Rājputāna. The red-stone of the variety used for the mausoleum was not available in Pākistān and it took considerable time to secure facilities for the import of the stone from Jaipur. The work was, however, restarted as soon as the stone was available and the present phase

of the construction was completed. The mausoleum is now complete with the two gates whose teak framework is inlaid with marble work. The outer wall still remains to be constructed. It is proposed to be built of special tiles and the whole work is expected to be completed in a couple of weeks. A small garden distributed into small plots is already growing.

The *Ta'weez* of the tomb in lapislazuli, the most expensive architectural stone in Afghānistān, is a gift from the Afghān Government. Sardār Salāhuddin Saljuqi, ex-Afghān Consul-General in India, it is stated, was in the main responsible for the gift. The stone used for the *Ta'weez* is the same as used for the tomb of Emperor Bābar. A rare specimen of calligraphy is presented by the verses from the Holy Qurān, written on the *Ta'weez*. The Shāh of Irān on his visit to the Mausoleum in 1950 A.D., is stated to have remarked about the calligraphy: "It is an excellent specimen."

On the inside walls of the mausoleum are written six couplets of a *ghazal* of the Poet from *Zabur e 'Ajam*, which epitomize the message of Iqbāl. They run as follows:

دم مرا صفت باد فرودین کردند
 گیاه را ز سر شکم چو یاسمین کردند
 نمود لاله صحرا نشین ز خوننایم
 چنانکه باده^۱ لعلی بساتگین کردند
 بلند بال چنانم که بر سپهر برین
 هزار بار مرا نوریان کمین کردند
 فروغ آدم خاکی ز تازه کاری هاست
 مه و ستاره کنند آنچه پیش ازین کردند
 چراغ خویش برافروختم که دست کلیم
 درین زمانه نهان زیر آستین کردند
 درآ بسجده و یاری ز خسروان مطلب
 که روز قریا کان ما چنین کردند

1. Iqbāl, M., *Zabur e 'Ajam*, p. 178.

The *Ta'weez* also bears the following significant couplets which were selected and calligraphed in Afghānistān :

نه افغانيم. و نه ترک و تتاريم
چمن زاديم و از يك شاعساريم
تميز رنگ و بو بر ما حرام است
که ما پرورده يك نوبهاريم

The mausoleum of 'Allāma Iqbāl attracts every year a large number of foreign notables and dignitaries who pay their homage to the Poet of the East. Members of the Diplomatic Corps, missions and delegations especially from the Muslim countries consider it a particular privilege to visit the tomb and offer *fātḥa*. Recently, a Turkish mission brought earth from the tomb of Maulānā Rūm and Muṣṭafā Kemāl Atātürk and sprinkled it on the grave of the Poet. Āghā Hikmat of Irān had brought a Persian carpet from his country for the tomb. Many other gifts continue to flow from the Muslim countries and the Tomb Committee is proposing to put them on display inside the Tomb building.

The total expenditure incurred on the Mausoleum according to the Secretary of the Tomb Committee, amounts to about one lakh.

MULTAN ROAD SCHEME RENAMED ALLAMA IQBAL TOWN

The Lahore Development Authority named its Multan Road Housing Scheme as Allama Iqbal Town. This was officially stated in Lahore on Tuesday the 15th February, 1977.

Chief Minister Sadiq Hussain Qureshi, who is also the Chairman of the LDA, took the decision to name the housing scheme after Allama Iqbal particularly in view of the fact that the nation was celebrating the current year as Allama Iqbal's centenary year.

The housing scheme which was hitherto known as the Multan Road Housing Scheme or 1600 Acre Housing Scheme is being implemented at an estimated cost of Rs. 22 crore. It is the biggest housing scheme of the LDA covering an area of 1,466 acres.

As many as 18,000 families would be accommodated in the Allama Iqbal Housing Scheme which would also provide 4,000 residential flats, besides, public buildings, cinema houses and shopping centres. Phase one of the scheme provided 4,200 plots and 2,000 plots. The development work of the phase one is already completed while work on phase two and three was nearing completion.

INAUGURATION OF SUMMIT MINAR

The Islamic Summit Minar, a lasting monument to the historic conference, of about 40 Islamic countries, hosted by Pakistan three years ago, was inaugurated in Lahore by Prime Minister, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, on February 22, 1977.

The 48-meter high white marble minar commemorates the spirit of the unity of Islamic brotherhood, which manifested it self in the Second Islamic Summit Conference (February 22, 24, 1974).

It is built in the spacious Faisal Square in front of the Punjab Assembly Chambers, where the summit was held.

The entire monument symbolizes the unity of faith in Allah and is symbolic of the universally traditional non-pictorial, abstract, and formal manner of expression in Islamic architecture.

The culmination of the total monument is the simple white marble obelisk rising from the Museum and its waterfilled fore-court and soaring towards the heavens with the inscription of *Allah-ho-Akbar* incised in gold leaf at its base, the design of which is in sympathy with the verticality of the Minar.

The Minar is actually a comprehensive design of the Faisal Square and involves an exercise in urban renewal and the redesigning of an important civic area, in Lahore, which had not been appropriately utilised up to now. In conceiving the project, the architects have kept under consideration the form of the square, the nature of exterior appearance and urban scale of the buildings surrounding the square and the formal axial forces that have historically prevailed in this physical setting and that have, before the monument was built, culminated in the buildings of the Assembly Chambers.

The Minar and the complex of facilities provided with it, acquires a central aesthetic role in the new configuration of the Square, re-named after the late King Faisal of Saudi Arabia, who had cosponsored the Islamic Summit.

In this configuration, care has been taken to respect the urban scale of the Square, and consequently the height and the visual presence of the tall obelisk has been carefully moderated. A bulk of the monument is not perceivable from the ground level: as it comprises a large basement below the ground.

The main obelisk, which has a height of about 43.5 metres from the ground, actually rises from shallow reflecting pool, set in a basement courtyard. The height of the obelisk from the water level in the pool is 47 metres. Apart from its symbolic monumental nature of the structure, there are spaces in the basement of a purely functional nature aimed at providing a multifarious purpose to the monument.

At the basement level, the obelisk and the pool are surrounded by a quadrangular walk-way which in turn, is framed by a rectangular arcade. Behind arcade are four large halls which have been provided

essentially for the purpose of displaying important documents and memorabilia from the Conference. These are not necessarily restricted to physical displays, which will be placed in specially designed plate glass display cases.

In addition there will be an audio-visual display for which an integrated audio-visual system has been designed. One of the halls will, as a consequence, serve as a uniquely designed listening and watching area and can also be used as a small auditorium for group discussion and paper reading.

The roof of the four halls surrounding the courtyard has been expressed at the ground level as 20 trapezoidal elements are an integrally important feature of the monument and serve as a transitional feature from the horizontal forces of vision to the vertical experience of the Minar.

The Minar has been built at a cost of Rs. 1.75 crore by the Ministry of Works which had given contract to National Construction Company (NCC). The construction work, which was taken up in July 1975, took about twenty months to complete with the help of Turkish architects who designed the monument.

On each of the four sides of the Minar the words *Allah-o-Akbar* have been engraved. On the Minar are five tablets made of red stone. The *Kalima* is inscribed on the first and last two of the five tablets. *Bismillah Hirrahma Nirrahim* is engraved on the middle ones.

REPAIR OF GOVERNOR'S HOUSE.

The roofs of the Punjab Governor's House were repaired, in 1977-78, with a cost of Rs. 73,835. The major chunk of amount Rs. 34,485, were spent on tile-terracing of the main building. The roofs leaked and seeped during the last rainy season.

An amount of Rs. 14,720 was spent on the improvement and repair of the Controller's house, while the rest of the amount of Rs. 24,700 were spent on the reroofing of the mothers' home at the Governor's House.

NEW GALLERY IN LAHORE FORT

Inaugurated in May, 1965, this gallery is housed in a double storied building between Shah Jahan's *Diwan-e-'Ām* and Jahangir's Quadrangle of the Fort Palace.

The prize exhibit in the central chamber is the model of the Taj Mahal in ivory, one-fortieth in scale of the original and as perfect in detail as it could possibly be. The pietra dura (stone-inlay) of the facade has been exquisitely imitated and even the lines in the ivory pieces simulate the original marble slabs.

This model of Taj Mahal was ordered by the East India Company in the 18th century to be sent to England.

Portraits in oils of the last Mughul Emperor Bahadur Shah Zafar and his two sons adorn the third chamber of the ground floor of the building. Here we climb the stairway to the second storey. New Gallery has been beautifully reconstructed.

BAMBA COLLECTION

New Gallery contains the Princess Bamba Collection, acquired by the Government of Pakistan from Pir Karam Bakhsh Sipra of Lahore, a trusted attendant of Princess Bamba, the last in the line of the Sikh ruling dynasty, who died in Lahore in 1957.

OIL PAINTINGS

The oil paintings in this collection are by European artists in the style of the 19th century and are a wonderful record of the costumes and jewels worn by the Sikhs. Rani Jindan is seen to have been a beautiful woman, both as a young girl and in her latter years, while her son Dalip Singh in his many portraits is every inch a prince with striking good looks. The canvas of Dalip Singh as a child is particularly appealing. The Badshahi Mosque becomes a landmark on the horizon in several paintings fixing Lahore as the scene, either real or imaginary.

The huge canvas which covers the wall facing the entrance showing the Darbar of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, was painted by an

Austrian, Auguste Theodor Shoefft. It shows architectural details of the Fort, a mass of people and the Maharaja himself receiving tribute surrounded by nobility and officials. Other views of Benares. Amritsar and Delhi give a glimpse of the India of bygone days.

Dalip Singh married Bamba Muller, the daughter of a European father and an Abyssian mother. She bore him six children, Victor, Frederick, Bamba, Katherine, Albert, Edward, and Sophia, who all died issueless.

Princess Bamba Jindan, named after her mother and grandmother, inherited Dalip Singh's collection which was kept in his Suffolk home. Princess Bamba married Dr. Sutherland, an Englishman; and they come to Lahore together where Dr. Sutherland taught at the King Edward Medical College. Widowed and childless Princess Bamba continued to live in Model Town, Lahore, in comparative obscurity till her death.

The only Portrait of her is a photograph as a girl, young and wistful, her mixed ancestry apparent through the frills and bows of her English court dress.

THE PAKISTAN DAY MEMORIAL

The main tower of this Memorial was completed on March 22, 1968.

A representative gathering of the Muslims of the sub-continent passed a resolution, on March 24, 1940, demanding a separate homeland, at the historic session of the All India Muslim League, held at the spacious grounds of Minto Park. Exactly at the same place now stands the minaret which took about eight years to complete at an estimated cost of Rs. 500,000 rupees.

For about 13 years after Pakistan came into being none had thought of erecting a monument in the memory of the famous Pakistan Resolution, also known as the Lahore Resolution adopted at the 34th annual session of the All-India Muslim League under the presidency of the Quaid-i-Azam. It was only in 1960 that the Muslim League leaders who had made arrangements for holding the historic session on March 22, 1940, impressed upon the local authorities the

need for erecting a memorial. The then Governor of West Pakistan, Mr. Akhtar Hussain issued an appeal to the public for contributions for constructing the Memorial. He had also constituted a memorial committee and a memorial fund for collecting donations from philanthropists.

Mr. Murat Khan, Turkish architect now settled in Pakistan, designed the Memorial. The Governor laid the foundation stone of the Memorial on March 23, 1960 at a simple ceremony held at the site of the Memorial or in other words where the Muslim League had demanded a separate homeland for the Indian Muslims.

For the first two years the progress for constructing the Memorial was not satisfactory. Enough funds were not forthcoming even for starting the preliminary works of the project. The appeals made by the Governor and the Commissioners yielded no fruit.

Disappointed at the situation and the lack of spirit on the part of the public, in general and philanthropists, in particular, the Memorial Committee, in August, 1963 suggested to the Provincial Government for levying a cess on cinema and race tickets to ensure collection of funds for the project. The provincial Government took another year to consider the suggestion and it finally approved the same in 1964 and a Bill for levying a cess of 5 paise per cinema ticket and 50 paise on each race ticket, was passed by the Provincial Assembly in 1965. This legislative measure solved the financial problem of the project.

The tower rises a platform shaped like a five-pointed star enclosed by two crescent-shaped pools. The pools have been lined with green and red marble. It has a spring-shaped hall spanned by arches. The marble slabs of the central shaft have inscriptions of a brief history of the Pakistan Movement, the Pakistan Resolution in English, Urdu and Bengali and as well the 99 names of God and verses of Allama Iqbal. The tower has 10 vertical converging slabs interlaced with flower petals, glazed cement domes, with sight-seeing platform and a central spiral staircase.

The rostrum, facing the Badshahi Mosque, is a quadrant constructed with Mughul-patterned tiles. The circular diameter of the

tower is 320 feet. The terrace is three feet from the ground level and the platform's height is about six feet. The crescent-shaped water pools are four feet deep while the star platform is about 12 feet high. The petals, 30 feet high, look like a blooming flower. The total height of the structure is 203 feet from the ground level.

The design and constructional pattern of the base and the first four platforms depict the history of the Pakistan Movement through architectural symbols. Rough and uncut stones have been haphazardly laid representing the chaotic conditions and the lack of any sense of direction in the early stages and the humble start of the freedom movement of the Indian Muslims. The stones used for constructing the first platform are the rough Taxila stones. Hammer-dressed stones are laid for the second platform. At the third platform are laid chiselled stones while the fourth and final platform is of highly polished marble symbolising the ultimate success of the struggle for freedom and the glory that is Pakistan.

The dome is of stainless steel inlaid with fine glass pieces. Up to the dome there are four stages spread over 162 stairs. The last stage offers a panoramic view of Lahore and its skyline.

The beauty of the Memorial has been highlighted with well-laid parks around it. There are passages with Mughul pattern floors. Eight marble fountains on the main access add to the beauty of the Memorial. They emit watery rainbows with the help of multicoloured lights, which provide an enchanting view.

ALIEN NAMES OF 19 CITY ROADS CHANGED

The Lahore Municipal Corporation Council on September 1, 1981 changed the alien names of 19 city roads and one crossing.

Following are the old and the new names of the roads:
 McLeod Road-Maulana Zafar Ali Khan Road; Fane Road-Justice
 Kayani Road; Beadon Road-Maulana Muhammad Ali Jauhar Road;
 Nicholson Road-Bakht Khan Road; Brandreth Road-Sardar Abdur Rab
 Nishtar Road; Hall Road-Bahadryar Jang Road; Durand Road-
 Sir Syed Ahmed Khan Road; Waris Road-Waris Shah Road;

Egerton Road-Khalifa Shujauddin Road; Cooper Road-Khwaja Nazimuddin Road; Racc Cource Road-Hussain Shaheed Suharawardy Road; Temple Road-Hamid Nizami Road; Lawrence Road-Liaquat Ali Khan Road; Birdwood Road-Abdur Rehman Chughtai Road; Jail Road-Ghausul Azam Road; Abbot Road-Iftikhar Hussain Mamdot Road; MacLagan Road-Jamaluddin Afghani Road and Nabha Road-Sir Muhammad Shafi Road, Charing Cross was renamed as Faisal Chowk.

GULSHAN-I-IQBAL-AN ARCHITECTURAL WONDER

Gulshan-i-Iqbal, formally inaugurated by President Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq on Monday, the 19th April, 1982 is an architectural wonder and a modern addition to the treasure of historical gardens and cultural spots of Lahore.

The Park, a creation of Lahore Development Authority over a 66-acre area, is situated in Allama Iqbal Town, on Multan Road. It is a befitting tribute to the poet philosopher, Allama Iqbal, after whom the locality and the picturesque park are named.

Designed by a world famed Japanese landscape planner, the park is so laid out that aesthetic needs of the people of all ages are met. Beautiful rose-beds and jasmine gardens and flowers of many specimens and hues adorn the sprawling park.

A waterfall gushing down a hillock, stone-pitched water-ways with concealed lights, spacious playing grounds, a lake for boating and a fishing pond in a quiet corner for the elderly are some of its most striking features.

A children's park at the site is built besides a labyrinth with 12 entrances symbolising 12 gates of the old Walled City of Lahore. The idea was to keep the new generation abreast of the history of this ancient city, besides providing them fun.

The lighting system of the park undoubtedly is one of its most outstanding features. At night over 3,000 lights of different colours

installed along the walkways, around the waterways and inside the rose and jasmine gardens give it a fairyland look.

It took LDA two years to complete the park at an estimated cost of Rs. 50 lakh over a stretch of land considered uneconomical for undertaking any housing project.

Presenting his welcome address, LDA Director-General, Maj. Gen. (Retd.) M. H. Ansari said since its creation in 1975, LDA had developed many parks in the city. It had renovated the circular gardens-the only place for fresh air for the residents of the old city.

He said LDA had developed the banks of the canal and had turned it into a recreational spot.

About the development of the residential schemes, Mr. Ansari said the Authority had so far developed 29,000 residential plots, while work was under way on three new schemes in the city.

He said for the first time in the history of Pakistan the residents of 34 katchi abadis were provided with civic amenities under the instructions of President Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq.

Mr. Ansari said LDA was constructing 2,000 two-room flats in Model Town Extension Scheme for the low-income group. Each flat would be sold for Rs. 45,000, while, he added, the actual cost on a flat was Rs. 60,000.

The buglers standing atop the hillock in the park heralded the President's arrival. The President's car entered the park covered with flower petals showered on the way by the residents of Allama Iqbal Town.

The president had a view of the park from the top of the hillock. Then he went round various sections of the park. The President also posed for a photograph with school children.

He planted a sapling of 'chinar' in the park and led "maghrib" prayers there.

ALLAMA IQBAL MUSEUM

Inaugurating the Allama Iqbal Museum in Lahore on Thursday the 1st December, 1977, the Chief Justice of Pakistan, Sheikh Anwar-ul-Haq said: "We pray that the people may grasp the spirit of Iqbal's poetry and practise the principles and values projected by him." The setting up of the Museum housing the relics of the great benefactor of the Muslim nation was a memorable event. Every object put on display was conveying the poet philosopher's message to the *millat*.

'Museums', observed the Chief Justice 'were the treasure houses of nations' cultural heritage and depicted the glorious achievements of their ancestors. He said Allama Iqbal, was the saviour of the Muslim nation and his personal objects should have been placed in a museum soon after his death'. The people should be deeply indebted to the interim Government for making determined efforts towards this goal, he said. He also appreciated the role played in this respect by acting Chief Justice Maulavi Mushtaq Hussain of Lahore High Court.

Shiekh Anwarul Haq highly commended the donation of the Allama's invaluable belongings to the Museum by his son, Mr. Justice Javid Iqbal. The London Museum authorities had offered an insurance guarantee worth crores of rupees for displaying the relics but Dr. Javid Iqbal turned down the offer on the plea that the articles were a national asset and could not be taken out of Pakistan.

Earlier, Dr. Javid Iqbal said that he had been trying in vain to hand over the Javid Manzil to previous Governments for transforming it into a museum.

One of the copies of the Holy Quran kept by Allama Sahib was presented to Sh. Anwarul Haq by Dr. Javid Iqbal.

Apart from other articles, the museum contains original manuscripts of Allama Iqbal's works including *Javid Nama*, *Bal-i-Jibreel* and *Asrar-o-Rumooz*. Among his certificates and degrees are the B. A. degree obtained in 1897 in second division, Master of Arts degree in philosophy secured in 1899, a certificate from Lincoln's Inn, London, an Honours degree from Cambridge and a Ph. D. degree awarded by Munich University.

KIM'S GUN BACK IN PLACE

Kim's Gun, popularly known as the 'Zamzama' or the 'Bhangion ki Tope', was placed on January 15, 1978, once again on the spot it stood for nearly a hundred years, this time on a new marble platform.

The famous cannon was removed by the authorities with the help of the Pakistan Army who undertook to repair the gun and replace it in a condition that it might not come to harm for at least another 50 years. The best experts of the Artillery Corps worked on the gun with great care. Preservatives of the best order, imported from abroad, were used in the process of renovation.

The platform now built by the Lahore Development Authority is by far the best made so far. The last one had a huge iron grill around it, on account of which, the 'Zamzama' was not completely visible. The experts thus decided to build a better platform to give the gun a more prominent place on the Mall.

In front of the gun, a beautiful steel plate, with the history of the gun, compiled by Dr. M. Baqir, and inscribed on it was fixed in a beautiful marble frame. Between the small outer fence and the marble platform is a small stream of water. The floors of this stream have blue tiles fixed all over to give the whole place a very neat look.

FOUNDATION LAYING OF DATA GANJ BAKHSH MOSQUE

Gen. Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq, Chief Martial Law Administrator and Chief of the Army Staff, urged the people on January 29, 1978 to mould their lives according to the dictates of Islam and present themselves as model of perfection.

He was speaking at the foundation-laying ceremony of the Data Ganj Bakhsh Mosque adjacent to the Mazar of the saint. The mosque, which is likely to be completed within a period of two years, would be the second biggest in Lahore after the historic Badshahi Mosque.

Underlying the importance of mosques in Islam Gen. Zia said they were not only places of worship but pivot of Muslim life. The light emanating from mosques, he added, illuminates the life of the Muslims and gives them a distinct position in the eyes of God Almighty.

Mosques, Gen. Zia said, not only created an urge in the people to surrender themselves before God's will but also made them accept His absolute supremacy.

He said the basic philosophy behind the mosque was to make people assemble at a common place for a noble cause. Prayers could be offered even in seclusion and individually but to offer prayers collectively was preferred in Islam.

He said mosques provided sit together and know about one another's problems. It also inculcated in them the urge to help the needy.

Gen. Zia said the same was the philosophy of the Juma prayers and of Eid prayers and also of congregations at Haram Sharif. This objective, which originated from a mohalla mosque, travelled right up to the Haram Sharif, he added.

Mosques knit the Muslims in close fraternal bonds and made them partners in all events. The mosques created in them a feeling of belonging to one religion and one society.

He said construction of mosques itself was a noble task but equally important was their regular use by the greatest possible number of people.

Gen. Zia called for introspection by the people to find out as to what extent their actions conformed to their profession.

Regarding the construction plan for the Data Ganj Bakhsh Mosque, Gen. Zia said the design would be selected after a competition. He assured every possible assistance by the Government to execute the project. He hoped that the people inhabiting 'Data's Nagri' would come forward with generous donations to complete the mosque as early as possible.

MEMORIAL NAMED AIWAN-I-IQBAL

The proposed Allama Iqbal memorial on the Shahra-e-Quaid-e-Azam (opposite WAPDA House) will be named Aiwan-i-Iqbal.

This was decided by the Allama Iqbal Memorial Committee, which met in Lahore on Wednesday, April 26, 1978, under the chairmanship of Mr. Justice Maulavi Mushtaq Hussain, Chief Justice of the Lahore High Court.

The foundation-stone of the complex would be laid shortly on some Friday by the Chief Martial Law Administrator who was also Chairman of the National Iqbal Committee.

The design of the complex would conform to Islamic traditions.

The committee also appointed a sub-committee to supervise its finances.

Mr. Justice Mushtaq Hussain told the meeting that the students and staff of Crescent Model School, Shadman Colony, had sent a cheque for Rs. 5,000 as donation towards the Iqbal Memorial Fund. The committee highly appreciated the gesture.

THE CHAUBURJI REPAIRED

In the year 1979 the Department of Archaeology completed the restoration of the collapsed fourth minaret alongwith the adjoining collapsed portion of the gateway.

SULTAN QUTBUDDIN AYBAK'S TOMB

It was a persistent demand of the Public that a befitting mausoleum should be constructed over the grave of Sultan Qutbuddin Aybak, the first Muslim ruler of Delhi. The grave when taken over by the Department of Archaeology was in a very neglected condition. It consisted of a cenotaph built over a raised platform under the niche of a house.

1. For details see author's article on *The Tomb of Zibun-Nisa*, published in the *Oriental College Magazine*, 1952.

In 1951 the department of Archaeology purchased all houses built around the grave. However, due to some technical hitches the possession of these houses could not be taken before 1966. After taking over the acquired buildings, these were demolished.

In order to select an appropriate design for the Mausoleum a Committee under the Chairmanship of Mr. Mumtaz Hasan was formed. The Committee, at its later stage, approved a design prepared by Mr. Anwar Siraj, a Senior draftsman in the department of Archaeology.

The work on the construction of the mausoleum and layout of its surroundings was started in 1968-69 and completed in 1979 at a total cost of Rs. 921, 559/-. The mausoleum was opened to the Public as a monument on 6th April, 1981 by laying a wreath and offering fateha over the grave of the pious Sultan by Mr. Niaz Muhammad Arbab, Minister for Culture and Tourism, Government of Pakistan.

AL-HAMRA OPENED

The new building of the Pakistan Arts Council—"Al-Hamra" was completed and opened on 15th August 1981.

The fort-like building on Shahrah-e-Quaid-i-Azam took six years to complete. The construction was supervised by the Lahore Development Authority.

Designed by the country's famous architect Mr. Nayyar Ali Dada, the building was completed at a cost of Rs. 198 lakh including the cost of machinery, sound and light equipment, and air-conditioning, etc.

The main auditorium, which is believed to be the one of the largest auditoriums of the country for performing arts and staging plays, has 850 seats with additional capacity of 150 seats and a large platform about 100 feet long and 40 feet wide. The entire building including the foyer outside the hall and other sections is centrally air-conditioned.

The building's 70,000 square feet covered area consists of main auditorium, puppet theatre workshop, painting exhibition hall, stores

for paintings, three rehearsal halls, a library of books, VIP lounge, workshop hall, multipurpose hall, green room, make-up rooms, etc.

IQBAL MEMORIAL COMPLEX

The Chief of the Army Staff and Chief Martial Law Administrator, General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq, made the first contribution to the Allama Iqbal Fund which was created at a meeting of the Iqbal Centenary Committee, presided over by him in Lahore on Wednesday, the 9th November, 1977. He donated Rs. 500 from his own pocket towards the fund. Other members of the committee followed it with their personal donations of varying amounts. Mr. Majid Nizami, Editor of daily 'Nawai Waqt', donated Rs. 5,000 from his personal pocket and Rs. 10,000 on behalf of his newspaper.

A large Iqbal Memorial Complex is to be constructed in Lahore on Sharah-e-Quaid-i-Azam opposite the WAPDA House in place of Freemason Hall which will be demolished. A special Iqbal Memorial Fund was instituted to raise the complex.

This decision was taken by the Iqbal Birth Centenary National Committee at its third meeting which met at Governor's House on Wednesday with Gen. Zia-ul-Haq, Chief Martial Law Administrator.

The CMLA pointed out at the National Committee meeting that money was no consideration as Allama Iqbal's contribution could not be measured in money. What was required was the participation and involvement of the people in construction of the Iqbal Memorial and all men, women, old as well as young, rich and the poor should come forward to contribute whatever they could to the Iqbal Memorial Fund. He said that the Fund had been instituted with the Auditor General of Pakistan as its custodian and administrator and all contributions would be made to the Fund. All contributions would be exempt from income tax. He said that the Government would be issuing soon special postage stamps of the value ranging from Rs. 1 to Rs. 10 which would be available for sale at all post offices of the country. Instructions had been issued to the Security Printing Press for printing the stamps as early as possible. He said that Pakistan's population was

about 7.30 crore. and if contributions were made at the rate of one rupee per head a huge sum of Rs. 7.30 crore could be collected for the Iqbal Memorial.

The Government would also appeal to all friendly Islamic countries to participate in the fund for construction of the Iqbal Memorial. The appeal would not be for charitable donations but for their participation in the project, as Allama Iqbal's message transcended national frontiers, the proof of which was evident from the celebrations of the Allama's birth centenary in many countries. By contribution to the Fund they would have a sense of belonging to Iqbal.

The Iqbal Memorial complex would have a large 1000-seat auditorium equipped with most modern audio-visual facilities a 50,000 book library to start with, as the CMLA desired that the complex should have a much bigger collection of books, a large printing press, a microfilming section, exhibition hall, children's library, special halls for doctoral research scholars and other amenities. The site of Freemason Hall had been considered by the committee as the most suitable one. A nine-kanal plot adjacent to the Freemason Hall towards the Lahore Zoo would be joined to raise the complex. The complex would truly reflect the Islamic architecture, Preference would be given to Pakistani architects to prepare the design of the memorial. However, Turkish and Iranian architects would also be invited to prepare their designs in competition with their Pakistani counterparts.

The estimated cost of the project could be anything ranging from Rs. 1 crore to Rs. 10 crore. National Committee which was scheduled to meet in Lahore after the International Congress on Allama Iqbal in the second week of next month, would fix the targets for starting and completing the project. The CMLA had already asked the Federal Finance Secretary to release necessary funds for incidental charges so that the work on the project was not delayed.

SPSK HALL, DEMOLISHED TO WIDEN ROAD

About 60-year old SPSC Hall outside Lohari Gate was demolished by the Lahore Development Authority on Saturday the 24th April, 1976.

The demolition was purported to pave the way for the widening of the Circular road to ease the mounting pressure of traffic on the strategic thoroughfare. The two-storey building had been declared dangerous by the Lahore Municipal Corporation.

The Hall was constructed in 1917 by the Society for the Promotion of Scientific Knowledge (SPSK). Its cost was borne by the Society through public donation. Land was procured from the LMC under a 90-year lease. The building consisted of a spacious hall and five rooms. Its constructed area comprised about one kanal.

Before Independence, the Hall was an important centre of scientific and cultural activity. Lectures on scientific topics by experts were a regular feature. "Mushairas" were also organised occasionally.

A large number of professors, lecturers and science students of various colleges were members of the Society. It was utilising an annual government grant of Rs. 1,000.

After independence, the society became virtually dormant. Its sizable library and a collection of slides and film projectors were lost. After a few years, however, it became active again. Mian Amiruddin, Governor Akhtar Husain and Nawab Kalabagh had been its patrons at different times. A few of its meetings were presided over by Professor A. S. Bokhari (Patras). In 1959, Mian Afzal Husain, then Vice-Chancellor of Punjab University, took over as President of the Society. It used to bring out a monthly journal entitled "Roshni".

Subsequently, the SPSK Hall was declared an evacuee trust property and handed over to the Auqaf Department. Two rooms of the building were occupied by the Police Department. One of the rooms in the Society's possession was taken by the Auqaf Department.

The LDA is reported to have decided to pay Rs. 3 lakh as compensation to the Auqaf Department in lieu of demolition.

THE LAHORE AIRPORT TERMINAL EXTENDED

The Lahore Airport, which until recently lacked requisite facilities, underwent some bold changes. The construction of a modern Concourse Hall, face-lifting of its lounges, new visitors' gallery, a much-extended car park, a modern restaurant and the provision of some vital services helped the upgradation of the airport to international status. The Defence Minister, Mir Ali Ahmed Khan Talpur, inaugurated the new terminal on August 17, 1983.

AIWAN-I-IQBAL SITE CHANGED

The nation paid their deepest homage to Allama Iqbal, the poet of humanity and harbinger of freedom for Muslims of the Sub-Continent on his 106th birth anniversary on Wednesday the 9th November 1983.

To mark the occasion, an impressive ground-breaking ceremony of the Rs. 11-crore 'Aiwan-i-Iqbal' project was held at Egerton Road.

This is a new site selected for the Aiwan-i-Iqbal, for which land, costing over Rupees six crore, is granted by Lt.-General Ghulam Jilani Khan, Governor of the Punjab, on behalf of the Government of the Punjab.

The ceremony of the 10-storey memorial complex was attended by the Chief Justice of the Lahore High Court, Dr. Javed Iqbal, Lt.-General Saeed Qadir, the Federal Minister for Production, Dr. Klaus Terloth, Ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany and the entire Punjab Cabinet, besides a large number of distinguished citizens.

Dr. Javed Iqbal, Allama Iqbal's son, performed the ground-breaking ritual to the accompaniment of loud cheers.

APPENDICES

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

Succession list of rulers of Lahore and their actual period of Government

A. HUIJ DYNASTY (?) 389 A.H.) (? 999 A.D.),

No.	Years A.H.	Ruler	Years A.D.
1.	?	Huj	?
2.	?	Banrat	?
3.	?—380	Thanrat	?—990
4.	380—389	Chandrat	990—999

B. HINDUSHĀHĪYA DYNASTY—(389—417 A.H.) (999—1026 A.D.)

1.	389—393	Jaipal	999—1002-3
2.	393—404	Anandpal	1002—1013
3.	404—405	Trilochanpal	1013—1014

N.B.—Trilochanpal died in 1021--22 A.D. and Bhimpal in 1026 A.D., but they did not rule over Lahore after 1014 A.D.

C. GHAZNAVIS (405—582 A.H.) (1014—1186 A.D.)

1.	405—421	Mahmed, Yaminud Daulah	1014—1030
2.	421—421	Muhammad, Jalalud Daulah	1030—1030
3.	421—433	Mas'ud I, Nasirud Din	1030—1042
4.	433—441	Maudud, Shihabud Daulah	1042—1049
5.	441	Mas'ud II.	1049
6.	441—443	'Alī Abul Hasan, Bahāud Daulah	1049—1051
7.	443—444	'Abdul Rashid, 'Izzud Daulah	1051—1052

No.	Year A.H.	Ruler	Year A.D.
8.	444	<u>Tughril</u> (Usurper)	1052—1053
9.	444—451	Farrukhzād, Jamālud Daulah	1053—1059
10.	451—492	Ibrahim, Zahirud Daulah	1059—1099
11.	492—508	Mas'ud III, 'Alāud Daulah	1099—1114
12.	508—509	Shirzad, Kamālud Daulah	1114—1115
13.	509—512	Arsalan, Sultānud Dau'ah	1115—1118
14.	512—547	Bahrām Shāh, Yamīnud Daulah	1118—1152
15.	547—555	Khusrū Shāh, Zahirud Daulah	1152—1160
16.	555—582	Khusrū Malik, Tajud Daulah	1160—1186

D. GHURĪS AND SLAVE DYNASTIES (582—689 A.H.)
(1186—1289 A.D.)

1.	582—602	Muhammad Ghūrī, <u>Shihabud Dīn</u>	1186—1206
2.	602—607	Ībak, Qutbud Dīn	1206—1210
3.	607—607	Ārām Shāh	1210—1210
4.	607—633	Īltutmish, <u>Shamsud Dīn</u>	1210—1236
5.	633—634	Firgʻ Shāh, Ruknud Dīn	1236—1236
6.	634—637	Raʻia	1236—1239
7.	637—639	Bahrām Shāh, Muʻizud Dīn	1240—1241
8.	639—644	Mas'ud Shāh, 'Alāud Dīn	1241—1246
9.	644—664	Mahmūd Shāh, Naṣīrud Dīn	1246—1266
10.	664—685	Balban, <u>Ghiyāṣud Dīn</u>	1266—1286
11.	685—689	Kaikubād, Muʻizud Dīn	1286—1289
12.	689	Kaiyūmarṣ ¹ , <u>Shamsud Dīn</u>	1289

E. KHALJĪS (689—721 A.H.)
(1289—1321 A.D.)

1.	689—995	Firūz Shāh II, Jalālud Dīn	1289—1295
2.	695	Ibrāhīm Shāh, Ruknud Dīn	1295
3.	695—715	Muhammad Shāh I, 'Alāud Dīn	1295—1315
4.	715—716	'Umar Shāh, <u>Shihābud Dīn</u>	1315—1316
5.	716—721	Mubārak Shāh, Qutbud Dīn	1316—1321
6.	721	Khusrū Shāh, Naṣīrud Dīn	1321

1. Firishṭa, I, 152. In *Tārīkh e Mubārakshāhi* p. 60 and *Muntakhabat Tawārīkh* (Vol. I, p. 165) he is named Kaikāūs.

No.	Year A.H.	Ruler	Year A.D.
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F. TAGHLAQ (721—815 A.H.)
(1321—1412 A.D.)

1.	721—725	Taghlaq Shāh I, Ghiāṣud Dīn	1321—1324
2.	725—752	Muḥammad	1324—1351
3.	752—790	Firuz Shāh	1351—1388
4.	790—791	Taghlaq Shāh	1388—1388
5.	791—792	Abū Bakr Shāh	1388—1389
6.	792—796	Muḥammad Shāh	1389—1393
7.	796	Sikandar Shāh	1393
8.	796—797	Mahmūd Shāh	1393—1394
9.	797—802	Nusrat Shāh	1393—1399
	801	Invasion of Tīmūr	1398
10.	802—815	Mahmūd Shāh	1399—1413
1.	815—817	Daulat Khān Lodī	1412—1414

G. SAYYIDS (817—852 A.H.)
(1414—1448 A.D.)

1.	817—824	Khizr Khān	1414—1421
2.	824—837	Mubārak Shāh	1421—1434
3.	837—849	Muḥammad Shāh	1434—1445
4.	849—852	ʿAlāud Dīn	1445—1448

H. LODĪS (852—932 A.H.)
(1448—1526 A.D.)

1.	852—894	Bahlol	1448—1489
2.	894—923	Sikandar	1489—1517
3.	923—932	Ibrāhīm	1517—1526
	932	Invasion of Bābar	1526

I. MUGHALS (932—947 A.H.)
(1526—1540 A.D.)

1.	932—937	Bābar, Zāhirud Dīn	1526—1530
2.	937—947	Humāyūn, Naṣīrud Dīn Muḥammad	1530—1540

No.	Year A.H.	Ruler	Year A.D.
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J. AFGHĀNS $\frac{(947-962 \text{ A.H.})}{(1530-1555 \text{ A.D.})}$

1.	947—952	<u>Sher Shāh</u>	1540—1545
2.	952—960	Islam <u>Shah</u>	1545—1552
3.	960—961	Muḥammad <u>Shah</u>	1552—1553
4.	961—962	Ibrāhīm	1553—1554
5.	962	Sikandar <u>Shah</u>	1555

K. MUGHĀLS $\frac{(962-1118 \text{ A.H.})}{(1555-1707 \text{ A.D.})}$

1.	962—963	Humāyūn, Naṣīrud Dīn Muḥammad	1555—1556
2.	963—1014	Akbar, Jalālud Dīn	1556—1605
3.	1014—1037	Jahāngīr, Nurud Dīn	1605—1627
4.	1037—1068	Shāhjahān, Shihabud Dīn	1628—1658
5.	1068—1118	Aurangzeb 'Ālamgīr, Muḥyīud Dīn	1658—1707

L. LATER MUGHĀLS $\frac{(1119-1173 \text{ A.H.})}{(1708-1759 \text{ A.D.})}$

1.	1119—1124	Shāh 'Ālam, Bahādur Shāh, Qutbud Dīn	1708—1712
2.	1124—1124	Jahāndār Shāh	1712—1713
3.	1125—1131	Farrukh Siyar	1713—1719
4.	1131	Rafī'ud Darajāt	1719
5.	1131	Nikū Siyar	1719
6.	1131	Rafī'ud Daulah	1719
7.	1131—1161	Muḥammad Shāh	1719—1748
8.	1132—1133	Muḥammad Ibrāhīm	1720—1720
9.	1161—1167	Aḥmad Shāh	1748—1754
10.	1167—1173	'Ālamgīr II	1754—1759
	1173—1182	M. Aḥmad Shāh Abdālī	1759—1768

No.	Years A.H.	Ruler.	Years A.D.
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N. SIKHS (1182—1265 A.H.)
(1768—1849 A.D.)

	1182—1214	No central government	1768—1799
1.	1214—1255	Ranjit Singh	1799—1839
2.		Kharak Singh	1839—1840
3.		Naunihal Singh	1840—1840
4.		Chand Kaur	1840—1841
5.		Sher Singh	1841—1843
6.		Dalip Singh	1843—1849

O. THE BRITISH (1849—1947 A.D.)

	East India Company	1849—1858
1.	Victoria	1858—1901
2.	Edward VII	1901—1910
3.	George V	1910—1936
4.	Edward VIII	1936
5.	George VI	1936—1947

P. PAKISTAN GOVERNMENT (1947— A.D.)

GOVERNOR GENERAL

- | | | |
|----|--|----------------------|
| 1. | Mohammad Ali Jinnah | Aug. 1947—Sept. 1948 |
| 2. | Nazim-ud-Din | Sept. 1948—Oct. 1951 |
| 3. | Ghulam Mohammad (G. G. & V. President) | Oct. 1951—Sept. 1955 |

PRESIDENT

- | | | |
|----|---------------------|----------------------|
| 4. | Iskander Mirza | Sept. 1955—Oct. 1958 |
| 5. | Mohammad Ayub Khan | 1958—1969 |
| 6. | Mohammad Yahya Khan | 1969—Dec. 1971 |
| 7. | Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto | Dec. 1971—1972 |
| 8. | Fazal Elahi | 1972—1978 |
| 9. | Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq | Sept. 16, 1978— |

APPENDIX II

Succession list of Viceröys¹ or Governors of Lahore and their actual period of Government

No.	Years A.H.	Viceroy or Governor.	Years A.D.
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A. HÜJ DYNASTY (? — 389 A.H.) (? — 999 A.D.)

1.	?	Huj	?
2.	?	Banrat	?
3.	?—380	Thanrat	?—990
4.	380—389	Chandrat	990—999

B. HINDÜSHĀHĪYA DYNASTY (389—417 A.H.) (999—1026 A.D.)

1.	389—404	Anandpāl	999—1013
2.	404—405	Trilochanpāl	1013—1014

C. GHAZNAVĪS (405— 582 A. H.) (1014—1186 A. D.)

1.	405—?	Sārugh	1014—?
2.	412—?	A noble	1021—?
3.	?	‘Abdullah Qiratigin	?
4.	?	Abul Fath Dāmghānī	?
5.	?	Abul Farj Kirmānī	?
6.	?—422	Aryārūq (Alyarūq)	?—1031
7.	422—425	Aḥmad Nialtigin	1031—1034
	425—427	?	1034—1037
8.	427—433	Majdud (Ayāz)	1037—1041

1. In certain periods the rulers kept their seat of government at Lahore and themselves ruled in Lahore without the help of any viceroy or governor.

No.	Years A.H.	Ruler.	Years A.D.
	433—440	?	1041—1048
9.	440—441	Abul Qāsim Maḥmūd	1048—1049
10.	441—443	'Alī bīn 'Rabī' (Independent ruler)	1049—1051
11.	443—444	Nuṣhtigin Ḥājib	1051—1052
	444—?	?	1052—?
12.	?—?	Ḥājib Tughāntigin	?—?
13.	509—512	Muḥammad Bahlīm	1115—1118
14.	512—?	Salār Husain	1118—?
15.	555—582	Khusrū Malik	1160—1186

D. GHURĪS AND SLAVE DYNASTIES (582—687 A. H.)
(1186—1288 A.D.)

1.	582—?	'Alī Kirmāj	1186—?
2.	590—602	Qutbud Dīn Ibak	1194—1205
3.	602—603	Muḥammad	1206—1207
4.	603—614	Nāṣirud Dīn Qabājah	1207—1218
5.	614—?	Nāṣirud Dīn Maḥmūd Shāh	1218—?
6.	634—634	Malik 'Alaud Dīn Sher Khān	1236—1236
7.	634—637	Malik A'izud Dīn Kabir Khān	1236—1239
8.	637—639	Malik Ikhtīārud Dīn Qarāqash	1239—1241
9.	639—651	Mu'azzam Khān Sher Khān	1241—1253
10.	651—?	Arslān Khān	1253—?
11.	?—668	Mu'azzam Khān Sher Khān	?—1270
12.	668—685	Qaānūl Mulk Muḥammad	1270—1286
13.	685—?	Malik Turkī	1286—?

E. & F. KHALJĪS & TAGHLAQS (689—817 A.H.)
(1289—1414 A.D.)

1.	691—?	Arkūl Khān	1292—?
2.	704—721	Ghāzī Malik	1304—1321
3.	?—743	Malik Tātār Khurd	?—1342
4.	796	Shaikhā Gakkhar	1394
5.	796	Nuṣrat Gakkhar	1394

No.	Years A.H.	Ruler.	Years A.D.
6.	796—801	‘Ādil Khān (Malik Kandhū)	1394—1398
7.	801	Shaikhā Gakkhar	1398
8.	801—817	Khizr Khān	1398—1414

G. SAYYIDS (817—855 A. H.)
(1414—1451 A. D.)

1.	824	Malik Rajab	1421
2.	825	Malik Mahmūd Hasan	1421
3.	825—835	Malik Sikandar Tuhfa	1421—431-32
4.	835	Shamsul Mulk	1432
5.	835—836	Nusrat Khān Gurg Andāz	1432—1433
6.	836	Allahdād Kākā Lodi	1433
7.	836	Shaikh ‘Alī	1433
8.	836	Shamsul Mulk	1433
9.	836—845	‘Imādul Mulk	1433—1441
10.	845—852	Bahlol Khān Lodi	1441—1448

H. LODĪS (852— 932 A. H.)
(1448—1526 A. D.)

1.	?—930	Daulat Khan	?—1524
2.	930— 931	Mir ‘Abdul ‘Azīz	1524—1525

I. MUGHALS (932—947 A.H.)
(1526—1540 A.D.)

1.	9—937	Mir Yūnas ‘Alī	?—1530
2.	937—947	Mirza Kāmran	1530—1540
	947	Haidar Mirza	1540

J. AFGHĀNS (947—962 A. H.)
(1530—1555 A.D.)

1.	947—950	Khawāsh Khān	1540—1543
2.	950—954	Haibat Khān Niāzi	1543—1547
3.	954—962	Tātār Khān Kosi	1547—1555

No.	Years A.H.	Ruler.	Years A.D.
K. MUGHALS <u>(962—1118 A.H.)</u> <u>(1555—1707 A.D.)</u>			
1.	962—963	Shāh Abul Ma'ālī	1555—1556
2.	963—965	Khizr Khwāja Khān	1556—1557
3.	965—967	Husain Khān	1557—1560
4.	967—969	Shamsud Dīn Muhammad Khān	
		Atkā.	1560—1561
	969—972		1561—1564
5.	972—976	Khān e Kalān Mir Muhammad	
		Atkāh.	1564—1568
6.	976—983	Khān Jahān Husain Qulī Khān	1568—1575
7.	983—986	Shāh Qulī Khān Mahram	1575—1578
8.	986—991	Sa'id Khān	1578—1583
9.	991—994	Rāja Bhagwant Dās	1583—1586
10.	994—	ʿIsmat Qulī	1586—
11.	994—998	Rāja Bhagwant Dās	1586—1589
12.	998—1000	Qulij Khān	1589—1592
13.	1000—1008	Khwaja Shamsud Dīn Khwāfī	1592—1600
14.	1008—?	Momin	1600—?
15.	1010—1014	Qulij Khān	1602—1605
16.	1014—1015	Sa'id Khān Chaghātāi	1605—1607
17.	1015—1018	Qulij Khān	1607—1610
18.	1018—1025	Murtaẓā Khān	1610—1616
19.	1025—1027	ʿItimādud Daulah (Ghias Beg)	1616—1618
20.	1027—1032	Qāsim Khān	1618—1623
21.	1032—1035	Sādiq Khān	1623—1625
22.	1035—1037	ʿAsaf Khān	1625—1628
23.	1037—1038	Khidmat Parast Khān	1628—1628
24.	1038—	ʿAsaf Khān	1628—
25.	1038—1038	Qulij Khān	1628—1629
26.	1038—1041	ʿInāyatullah Yazdī	1629—1632
27.	1041—1049	Wazīr Khān	1632—1639
28.	1049—1052	Mu'tamad Khān	1639—1642

No.	Years A.H.	Ruler.	Years A.D.
29.	1052—1054	Sa'id <u>Khān</u> Bahādar Zafar Jang	1642—1644
30.	1054—1057	Qulij <u>Khān</u>	1644—1647
31.	1057	Ja'far <u>Khān</u>	1647
32.	1058—1062	Qizil Afzal	1648—1651
33.	1062—1066	Shaikh 'Abdul Kārim	1651—1655
34.	1066—1067	Khawaja Mu'in (Mu'in <u>Khān</u>)	1655—1656
35.	1067	Bahādar <u>Khān</u>	1656
36.	1067—1068	Sayyid 'Izzat <u>Khān</u>	1656—1657
37.	1068—1072	Khaliilullah <u>Khān</u>	1658—1662
38.	1072—1078	Ibrāhīm <u>Khān</u>	1662—1667
39.	1078—1080	Muhammad Amin <u>Khān</u>	1667—1669
	1080—1086	?	1669—1675
40.	1086—1087	Amānat <u>Khān</u> (Sayyid Ahmad <u>Khān</u>)	1675—1676
	1087—1089	?	1676—1678
41.	1089—1091	Qawwāmuddin <u>Khān</u>	1678—1680
42.	1091—?	Prince Muḥammad A'zam	1680—?
43.	? —1097	Mukarram <u>Khān</u>	? —1685
44.	1097—?	Sipahdār <u>Khān</u>	1685—?
45.	? —1102	Agents of Prince Muhammad A'zam.	?—1690
46.	1102—1105	<u>Khān</u> Jahān Bahādar	1690—1693
47.	1105—1108	Mahābat <u>Khān</u> Ibrāhīm	1693—1696
48.	1108	Mukarram <u>Khān</u>	1696
49.	1108—?	Abu Naṣr <u>Khān</u>	1696—?
50.	? —1111	Ibrāhīm <u>Khān</u>	?—1699
51.	1111—?	Muhammad Mu'azzam	1699—?
52.	?—1116	Zabardast <u>Khān</u>	?—1704
53.	1116—1118	Agents of Prince M. Mu'azzam	1704—1707
54.		(Deputy Governor : Mun'im <u>Khān</u>)	

L. LATER MUGHALS (1119—1173 A.H.)
(1708—1750 A.D.)

1. 1119—1124 Sayyid Aslam Khān 1708—1712
(Deputy Governor)

No.	Years A.H.	Ruler.	Years A.D.
2.	1124—1125	Zabardast <u>Khān</u> ('Alī Mardān <u>Khān</u>).	1712—1713
3.	1125—1150	'Abduṣ Ṣamad <u>Khān</u> Bahādar (Diler Jang).	1713—1737
4.	1150—1158	Zakariyā <u>Khān</u> ('Azadu'd Daulah <u>Khān</u> Bahādar).	1737—1745
5.	1158	Yahyā <u>Khān</u>	1745—
6.	1158—1161	Shāhnawāz <u>Khān</u>	1745—1748
7.	1161	Jumla <u>Khān</u>	1748
8.	1161—1167	(Mu'inul Mulk) Mīr Mannū	1748—1753
9.	1167—1169	Amīnud Dīn <u>Khān</u> ¹	1753—1755
10.	1169—1170	Ādina Beg <u>Khān</u>	1755—1756
11.	1170—1171	Timūr Shāh	1757—1758
12.	1171	Ādina Beg <u>Khān</u>	1758
13.	1171—1172	Khawāja Mirza <u>Khān</u>	1758—1759
14.	1172	Samā (Mahratta)	1759

M. AHMAD SHĀH ABDĀLĪ (1173—1182 A.H.)
(1759—1768 A.D.)

1.	1173	Hājī Karīm Dād <u>Khān</u>	1759
2.	1173—1174	Sarbuland <u>Khān</u>	1760—1761
3.	1174—1175	Khawāja 'Ubaid <u>Khān</u>	1761—1762
4.	1175—1177	(Ahmad Shāh was himself at Lahore.)	1762—1763
5.	1177—1181	Kābulī Mal	1763—1767
6.	1181—1182	Dādan <u>Khān</u>	1767—1768

N. SIKHS (1182—1265 A.H.)
(1768—1849 A.D.)

1—3.	1182—	{ 1206 Gujjar Singh { 1213 Lahnā Singh { 1212 Sobhā Singh	{ 1791 { 1768—1798 { 1797
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1. Infant son of Mīr Mannū and Mughlānī Begam.

No.	Years A.H.	Ruler.	Years A.D.
4.	1206	Sahib Singh	1791
5.	1213	Chet Singh	1798
6.	1212	Muhr Singh	1797
7.	1214—1255	Ranjit Singh	1799—1839
8.		Kharak Singh	1839—1840
9.		Naunihal Singh	1840—1840
10.		Chand Kaur	1840—1841
11.		Sher Singh	1841—1843
12.		Dalip Singh	1843—1849

O. THE BRITISH (1849—1947 A.D.)

1.	Henry Lawrence	} (Board of administration)
2.	John Lawrence	
3.	Charles Grenville Mansel	
4.	Sir John Lawrence	
	<i>Lieutenant-Governors</i>	1849—1853
		1853—1859
		(Chief Commissioner Appointed Lieutenant-Governor in 1859)
5.	Sir Robert Montgomery	1859—1865
6.	Sir Donal McLeod	1865—1870
7.	Sir Henry Marion Durand	1870—1871
8.	Sir Robert Henry Davies	1871—1877
9.	Sir Robert Eyles Egerton	1877—1882
10.	Sir Charles Umpherston Aitchison	1882—1887
11.	Sir James Broadwood Lyall	1887—1892
12.	Sir D. Fitzpatrick	1892—1897
13.	Sir W. M. Young	1897—1902
14.	Sir C. M. Rivaz	1902—1905
15.	Sir D. C. J. Ibbetson	1905 (Officiating)
	Sir C. M. Rivaz	1905—1907
	Sir D. C. J. Ibbetson	1907
16.	T. G. Walker	1907 (Officiating)
	Sir D. C. J. Ibbetson	1907—1908
	Sir T. J. Walker	1908 (Officiating)

No.	Years A.H.	Ruler	Year A.D.
17.	Sir L. W. Dane		1908—1911
18.	J. McC Douie		1911 (Officiating)
	Sir L. W. Dane		1911—1913
19.	M. F. O'Dwyer		1913—1919

GOVERNORS

20.	Sir E. D. MacLagan	1919—1924 (Became Governor of the Punjab on January 3, 1921).
21.	Sir W. M. Hailey	1924—1928
22.	Sir G. F. deMontmorency	1928—1932
23.	Sikandar Hayat Khān	1932 (Acting)
	Sir G. F. deMontmorency	1932—1933
24.	Sir H. W. Emerson	1933—1934 (Acting)
	Sikandar Hayat Khān	1934 (Acting)
	Sir H. W. Emerson	1934—1938
25.	Sir H. D. Craik	1938 (Acting)
	Sir H. D. Craik	1938—1941
26.	Sir B. J. Glancy	1941—1946
27.	Sir E. M. Jenkins	1946—1947

P. PĀKISTĀN (1947—)

1.	Sir Robert Francis Mudie	1947—1949
2.	Sardār 'Abdur Rab Nishtar	1949—1951
3.	Ibrāhīm Isma'īl Chundrigar	1951—
4.	Aminud Din	1953-1954
5.	Habib Ibrahim Rahimtoola	1954
6.	Mushtaq Ahmad Gurmani	1954-1955
	do (West Pakistan)	1955-1957
7.	Akhtar Hussain	1957-1960
8.	Amir Muhammad Khan	1960-1966
9.	Muhammad Musa	1966-1969
10.	Yusuf A. Haroon	1969

11.	Noor Khan	1969-1970
12.	M Atiqur Rahman (Punjab)	1970
13.	Ghulam Mustafa Khar	1971-1973
14.	Sadiq Hussain Qureshi	1973-1975
15.	Ghulam Mustafa Khar	1975
16.	Muhammad Abbas Abbasi	1975-1977
17.	Aslam Riaz Hosain	1977-1978
18.	Lt.- General Sawar Khan	17th Sept. 1978-1980
19.	Lt.-General Ghulam Jilani Khan	1980-1983
20.	Lt.- General Sardar F.S, Lodi (Acting Governor)	12th June 1983
21.	Lt.- General Ghulam Jilani Khan	198—

APPENDIX III.

STATEMENT OF HIS MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT DATED THE 20TH FEBRUARY, 1947.

1. It has long been the policy of successive British Governments to work towards the realization of self-government in India. In pursuance of this policy, an increasing measure of responsibility has been devolved on Indians, and to-day the civil administration and the Indian Armed Forces rely to a very large extent on Indian civilians and officers. In the constitutional field, the Acts of 1919 and 1935 passed by the British Parliament each represented a substantial transfer of political power. In 1940 the Coalition Government recognized the principle that Indians should themselves frame a new constitution for a fully autonomous India, and in the Offer of 1942 they invited them to set up a Constituent Assembly for this purpose as soon as the war was over.

2. His Majesty's Government believe this policy to have been right and in accordance with sound democratic principles. Since they came into office, they have done their utmost to carry it forward to its fulfilment. The declaration of the Prime Minister of 15th March last, which met with general approval in Parliament and the country, made it clear that it was for the Indian people themselves to choose their further status and constitution and that in the opinion of His Majesty's Government the time had come for responsibility for the government of India to pass into Indian hands.

3. The Cabinet Mission which was sent to India last year spent over three months in consultation with Indian leaders in order to help them to agree upon a method for determining the future constitution of India, so that the transfer of power might

be smoothly and rapidly effected. It was only when it seemed clear that without some initiative from the Cabinet Mission agreement was unlikely to be reached that they put forward proposals themselves.

4. These proposals, made public in May last, envisaged that the future constitution of India should be settled by a Constituent Assembly composed, in the manner suggested therein, of representatives of all communities and interests in British India and of the Indian States.

5. Since the return of the Mission, an Interim Government has been set up at the Centre composed of the Political leaders of the major communities, exercising wide powers within the existing constitution. In all the Provinces, Indian Governments responsible to Legislatures are in office.

6. It is with great regret that His Majesty's Government find that there are still differences among Indian parties which are preventing the Constituent Assembly from functioning as it was intended that it should. It is of the essence of the plan that the Assembly should be fully representative.

7. His Majesty's Government desire to hand over their responsibility to authorities established by a constitution approved by all parties in India in accordance with the Cabinet Mission's plan. But unfortunately there is at present no clear prospect that such a constitution and such authorities will emerge.

The present state of uncertainty is fraught with danger and cannot be indefinitely prolonged. His Majesty's Government wish to make it clear that it is their definite intention to take necessary steps to effect the transference of power to responsible Indian hands by a date not later than June 1948.

8. This great sub-continent now containing over four hundred million people has for the last century enjoyed peace and security as a part of the British Commonwealth and Empire. Continued peace and security are more than ever necessary today if the full possibilities of economic development are to be realized and a higher standard of life attained by the Indian people.

9. His Majesty's Government are anxious to hand over their responsibilities to a Government which, resting on the sure foundation of the support of the people, is capable of maintaining peace and administering India with justice and efficiency. It is therefore essential that all parties should sink their differences in order that they may be ready to shoulder the great responsibilities which will come upon them next year.

10. After months of hard work by the Cabinet Mission a great measure of agreement was obtained as to the method by which a constitution should be worked out. This was embodied in their statements of May last. His Majesty's Government thereby agreed to recommend to Parliament a constitution worked out in accordance with the proposals made therein by a fully representative Constituent Assembly.

But if it should appear that such a constitution will not have been worked out by a fully representative Assembly before the time mentioned in paragraph 7, His Majesty's Government will have to consider to whom the powers of the Central Government in British India should be handed over on due date, whether as a whole to some form of Central Government for British India, or in some areas to the existing Provincial Governments, or in such other way as may seem most responsible and in the best interests of the Indian people.

11. Although the final transfer of authority may not take place until June 1948, preparatory measures must be put in hand in advance. It is important that the efficiency of the civil administration should be maintained and that the defence of India should be fully provided for. But inevitably, as the process of transfer proceeds, it will become progressively more difficult to carry out to the letter all the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935. Legislation will be introduced in due course to give effect to the final transfer of power.

12. In regard to the Indian States, as was explicitly stated by the Cabinet Mission, His Majesty's Government do not intend to hand over their powers and obligations under paramountcy

to any Government of British India. It is not intended to bring paramountcy, as a system to a conclusion earlier than the date of the final transfer of power, but it is contemplated that for the intervening period the relations of the Crown with individual States may be adjusted by agreement.

13. His Majesty's Government will negotiate agreements in regard to matters arising out of the transfer of power with the representatives of those to whom they propose to transfer power.

14. His Majesty's Government believe that British commercial and industrial interests in India can look forward to a fair field for their enterprise under the new conditions. The commercial connection between India and the United Kingdom has been long and friendly and will continue to be to their mutual advantage.

15. His Majesty's Government cannot conclude this statement without expressing on behalf of the people of this country their goodwill and good wishes towards the people of India as they go forward to this final stage in their achievement of self-government. It will be the wish of everyone in these islands that notwithstanding constitutional changes, the association of the British and Indian peoples should not be brought to an end; and they will wish to continue to do all that is in their power to further the well-being of India.

The House will wish to know of an announcement which is being made public today. Field Marshal the Right Honourable Viscount Wavell was appointed Viceroy in 1943, after having held high military command in the Middle East, South-East Asia and India with notable distinction since the beginning of the war. It was agreed that this should be a war-time appointment. Lord Wavell has discharged this high office during this very difficult period with devotion and a high sense of duty. It has, however, seemed that the opening of a new and final phase in India is an appropriate time to terminate this war appointment. His Majesty has been pleased to approve, as successor to Lord Wavell, the appointment of Admiral the Viscount Mountbatten, who will be

entrusted with the task of transferring to Indian hands responsibility for the government of British India in a manner that will best ensure the future happiness and prosperity of India. The change of office will take place during March. The House will be glad to hear that His Majesty has been pleased to approve the conferment of an Earldom on Viscount Wavell.

APPENDIX IV.)

TEXT OF THE INDIAN INDEPENDENCE ACT, DATED THE 18TH JULY, 1947.

A Bill to make provisions for the setting up in India of two independent Dominions, to substitute other provisions for certain provisions of the Government of India Act of 1935 which apply outside those Dominions and to provide for other matters consequential on or connected with the setting up of those Dominions.

Be it enacted by the King's Most Excellent Majesty by and with the advice and consent of the Lords, spiritual and temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled and by the authority of the same as follows :

Section 1. Sub-section 1 : As from August 15, 1947, two independent Dominions shall be set up in India to be known respectively as India and Pakistan.

Sub-section 2 : The said Dominions are hereafter in this Act referred to as "the new Dominions" and the said 15th day of August is hereafter in this Act referred to as to as "the appointed day".

Section 2. Sub-section 1 : Subject to the provisions of Sub-sections 3 and 4 of this section, the territories of India shall be the territories under the sovereignty of His Majesty, which, immediately before the appointed day, were included in British India except the territories, which, under sub-section 2 of this section, are to be the territories of Pakistan.

Sub-section 2 : Subject to the provisions of sub-sections 3 and 4 of this section, the territories of Pakistan shall be (a) the territories which, on the appointed day, are included in the pro-

vinces of East Bengal and West Punjab, as constituted under the two following sections ; (b) the territories which, at the date of the passing of this Act, are included in the province of Sind and the Chief Commissioner's province of British Baluchistan ; and (c) if whether before or after the passing of this Act but before the appointed day the Governor General declares that the majority of the valid votes cast in the referendum, which, at the date of the passing of this Act, is being or has recently been held in that behalf under his authority in the N. W. F. P., are in favour of representatives of that province taking part in the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, the territories which at the date of the passing of this Act, are included in that province.

Sub-section 3 : Nothing in this section shall prevent any area being at any time included in or excluded from either of the new Dominions, so that (a) no area not forming part of the territories specified in the said sub-section 1 or as the case may be the said sub-section 2 or which has after the appointed day been included in either Dominion, shall be excluded from that Dominion without the consent of that Dominion.

Sub-section 4 : Without prejudice to the generality of the provisions of sub-section 3 of this section, nothing in this section shall be construed as preventing the accession of Indian States to either of the new Dominions.

BENGAL AND ASSAM.

Section 3, sub-section 1 : As from the appointed day (a) the province of Bengal as constituted under the Government of India Act, 1935, shall cease to exist ; and (b) there shall be constituted in lieu thereof two new provinces to be known respectively as East Bengal and West Bengal.

Sub-section 2 : If, whether before or after the passing of this Act, but before the appointed day, the Governor-General declares that the majority of the valid votes cast in the referendum which, at the dates of the passing of this Act, is being or has recently been held in that behalf under his authority in the district of

Sylhet, are in favour of that district forming part of the new province of East Bengal, then, as on that day, a part of the province of Assam, shall, in accordance with the provisions of sub-section 3 of this section, form part of the new province of East Bengal.

Sub-section 3 : The boundaries of the new provinces aforesaid and, in the event mentioned in sub-section 2 of this section, the boundaries, after the appointed day, of the province of Assam shall be such as may be determined, whether before or after the appointed day, by awards of Boundary Commissions appointed or to be appointed by the Governor-General in that behalf, but until the boundaries are so determined (a) the Bengal districts specified in the first schedule for this Act, together with, in the event mentioned in sub-section 2 of this section, the Assam district of Sylhet, shall be treated as the territories which are to be comprised in the new province of East Bengal; (b) the remainder of the territories comprised at the date of the passing of this Act in the province of Bengal shall be treated as the territories which are to be comprised in the new province of West Bengal, and (c) in the event mentioned in sub-section 2 of this section the district of Sylhet shall be excluded from the province of Assam.

THE PUNJAB

Section 4, sub-section 1 : As from the appointed day (a) the province of the Punjab, as constituted under the Government of India Act of 1935, shall cease to exist; and (b) there shall be constituted two new provinces, to be known respectively as West Punjab and East Punjab.

Sub-section 2 : The boundaries of the said new provinces shall be such as may be determined, whether before or after the appointed day, by awards of Boundary Commissions appointed or to be appointed by the Governor-General in that behalf; but until the boundaries are so determined (a) the districts specified in the second schedule to this Act shall be treated as the territories to be comprised in the new province of West Punjab and (b) the

remainder of the territories comprised at the date of passing of this Act in the province of the Punjab shall be treated as the territories which are to be comprised in the new province of East Punjab.

THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF THE NEW DOMINIONS

Section 5: For each of the new Dominions, there shall be a Governor-General who shall be appointed by His Majesty and shall represent His Majesty for the purpose of the government of the Dominion.

Provided that, unless and untill provision to the contrary is made by a law of the legislature of either of the new Dominions, the same person may be Governor-General of both the new Dominions.

LEGISLATION FOR THE NEW DOMINIONS

Section 6, sub-section 1: The Legislature of each of the new Dominions shall have full power to make laws for that Dominion, including laws having extra-territorial operation.

Sub-section 2: No law and no provision of any law, made by the Legislature of either of the New Dominions shall be void or inoperative on the ground that it is repugnant to the laws of England, or to the provisions of this or any existing or future Act of Parliament of the U. K. or to any order, rule or regulation made under any such Act, and the powers of the legislature of each Dominion include the power to repeal or amend any such Act, order, rule or regulation in so far as it is part of the law of the Dominion.

Sub-section 3: The Governor-General of each of the new Dominions shall have full power to assent in His Majesty's name to any law of the Legislature of that Dominion and so much of any Act as relates to the disallowance of laws by His Majesty or the reservation of laws for the signification of His Majesty's pleasure thereon or the suspension of the operation of laws until the signification of His Majesty's pleasure thereon shall not apply to laws of the Legislature of either of the new Dominions.

Sub-section 4: No Act of Parliament of the U. K. passed on or after the appointed day shall extend, or be deemed to extend, to either of the new Dominions as part of the law of that Dominion unless it is extended thereto by a law of the Legislature of the Dominion.

Sub-section 5: No Order-in-Council made on or after the appointed day, and no order, rule or other instrument made on or after the appointed day under any such Act by any U. K. Minister or other authority, shall extend, or be deemed to extend, to either of the new Dominions as part of the law of that Dominion.

Section 7, Sub-section 1: As from the appointed day—

(a) His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom have no responsibility as respects the Government of any of the territories which immediately before that day, were included in British India ;

(b) The suzerainty of His Majesty over the Indian States lapses, and, with it, all treaties and agreements in force at the date of the passing of this Act between His Majesty and the rulers of the Indian States, all functions exercisable by His Majesty at that date with respect to Indian States or the rulers thereof and all powers, rights, authority or jurisdiction exercisable by His Majesty at that date in or in relation to Indian States by treaty, grant, usage, sufferance or otherwise ;

(c) There lapse also any treaties or agreements in force at the date of the passing of this Act between His Majesty and any persons having authority in the tribal areas, any obligations of His Majesty existing at that date to any such persons or with respect to the tribal areas and all powers, right, authority or jurisdiction His Majesty in or relation to the tribal areas by treaty, grant, usage, sufferance or otherwise ; provided that, notwithstanding anything in paragraph (b) or paragraph (c) of this sub-section effect shall, as nearly as may be, continue to be given to the provisions of any such agreement as is therein referred to which relate to customs, transit and communications, posts and

telegraphs, or other like matters, until the provisions in question are denounced by the ruler of an Indian state or person having authority in the tribal areas, on the one hand, or by the Dominion or province or other part thereof concerned, on the other hand, or are superseded by subsequent agreements.

Sub-section 2: The assent of the Parliament of the United Kingdom is hereby given to the omission from the Royal style and titles of the words "India Imperator" and the words "Emperor of India" and to the issue by His Majesty for that purpose of his Royal proclamation under the Great Seal of the Realm.

GOVERNMENT OF EACH DOMINION TEMPORARY PROVISION AS TO THE GOVERNMENT OF THE NEW DOMINIONS

Section 8, Sub-section 1: In the case of each of the new Dominions, the powers of the legislature of the Dominion shall, for the purpose of making provision as to the constitution of the Dominion, be exercisable, in the first instance, by the Constituent Assembly of that Dominion, and references in this Act to the legislature of the Dominion shall be construed accordingly.

Sub-section 2: Excepting so far as other provision is made by or in accordance with a law made by the Constituent Assembly of the new Dominion under sub-section 1 of this section, each of the new Dominions and all provinces and other parts thereof shall be governed as nearly as may be in accordance with the Government of India Act of 1935; and the provisions of that Act of the Orders-in-Council, rules and other instruments made thereunder, shall so far as applicable, and subject to any express provisions of this Act, and with such omissions, additions, adaptations and modifications as may be specified in orders of the Governor-General under the next succeeding section have effect accordingly.

Provided that—(a) The said provision shall apply in relation to each of the new Dominions and nothing in this sub-section shall

be construed as continuing on or after the appointed day any Central Government or Legislature common to both the new Dominions ;

(b) Nothing in this sub-section shall be construed as continuing in force, on or after the appointed day, any form of control by His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom over the affairs of the new Dominions or of any province or other parts thereof ;

(c) So much of the said provisions as requires the Governor-General or any Governor to act in his discretion or exercise his individual judgment as respects any matter shall cease to have effect as from the appointed day ;

(d) As from the appointed day, no provincial Bill shall be reserved under the Government of India Act, 1935, for the signification of His Majesty's pleasure, and no provincial Act shall be disallowed by His Majesty thereunder ;

(e) The powers of the Federal Legislature or Indian Legislature under that Act, as in force in relation to each Dominion, shall, in the first instance, be exercisable by the Constituent Assembly of the Dominion in addition to the powers exercisable by that Assembly under sub-section 1 of this section.

Sub-section 3 : Any provision of the Government of India Act, 1935, which, as applied to either of the new Dominions by sub-section 2 of this section and the orders therein referred to, operates to limit the power of the Legislature of that Dominion shall, unless and until other provision is made by or in accordance with a law made by the Constituent Assembly of the Dominion in accordance with the provisions of sub-section 2 of this section, have the like effect as a law of the Legislature of the Dominion limiting for the future powers of that Legislature.

ORDERS FOR BRINGING THIS ACT INTO FORCE.

Section 9, Sub-section 1 : The Governor-General shall, by order, make such provision as appears to him to be necessary or expedient—

(a) For bringing the provisions of this Act into enactive operation ;

(b) For dividing between the new Dominions, and between the new provinces to be constituted under this Act, the powers, rights, property, duties and liabilities of the Governor-General-in-Council, as the case may be, of the relevant provinces which, under this Act, are to cease to exist ;

(c) For making omissions from, additions to and adaptations and modifications of the Government of India Act, 1935, and the Order-in-Council, rules and other instruments made thereunder in their application to the separate new Dominions ;

(d) For removing difficulties arising in connection with the transition to the provisions of this Act ;

(e) For authorizing the carrying on of the business of the Governor-General-in-Council between the passing of this Act and the appointed day otherwise than in accordance with the provisions in that behalf of the ninth schedule to the Government of India Act, 1935 ;

(f) For enabling agreements to be entered into, and other acts done, on behalf of either of the new Dominions before the appointed day ;

(g) For authorizing the continued carrying on, for the time being, on behalf of the new Dominions, or on behalf of any two or more of the said new provinces, of services and activities previously carried on behalf of British India as a whole or on behalf of the former provinces which those new provinces represent ;

(h) For regulating the monetary system and any matters pertaining to the Reserve Bank of India ; and

(i) So far as it appears necessary or expedient in connection with any of the matters aforesaid, for varying the constitution powers or jurisdiction of any Legislature, court or other authority in the new Dominions and creating new Legislatures, courts or other authorities therein.

POWERS OF THE GOVERNORS.

Sub-section 2 : The powers conferred by this section on the Governor-General shall, in relation to their respective provinces, be exercisable also by the Government of India Act, 1935, be deemed to be matters as respects which the Governors are, under that Act, to exercise their individual judgment.

Sub-section 3 : This section shall be deemed to have had effect as from the third day of June, nineteen hundred and forty-seven and any order of the Governor-General or any Governor made on or after that date as to any matter shall have effect accordingly and any order made under this section may be made so as to be retrospective to any date not earlier than the said third day of June ;

Provided that no person shall be deemed to be guilty of an offence by reason of so much of any such order as makes any provision thereof retrospective to any date before the making thereof.

Sub-section 4 : Any orders made under this section, whether before or after the appointed day, shall have effect—

(a) Up to the appointed day in British India ;

(b) On and after the appointed day, in the new Dominion or Dominions concerned ; and

(c) Outside British India, or, as the case may be, outside the new Dominion or Dominions concerned, to such extent, whether before, on or after the appointed day, as a law of the Legislature of the Dominion or Dominions concerned would have on or after the appointed day ;

But shall, in the case of each of the Dominions, be subject to the same powers of repeal and amendment as laws of the Legislature of that Dominion.

Sub-section 5 : No order shall be made under this section, by the Governor of any Province, after the appointed day, or by the Governor-General, after the 31st day of March, 1948, or such

earlier date as may be determined, in the case of either Dominion, by any law of the Legislature of that Dominion.

Sub-section 6: If it appears that a part of the province of Assam is, on the appointed day, to become part of the new province of East Bengal, the preceding provisions of this section shall have effect as if, under this Act, the province of Assam was to cease to exist on the appointed day and be reconstituted on that day as a new province.

CIVIL SERVICES.

Section 10, Sub-section 1: The provisions of this Act keeping in force provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935, shall not continue in force the provisions of that Act, relating to appointments to the civil services of, and civil posts under, the Crown in India by the Secretary of State, or the provisions of that Act relating to the reservation of posts.

Sub-section 2: Every person who—

(a) Having been appointed by the Secretary of State, or the Secretary of that behalf by Order-in-Council under the Ministers of the Crown (Transfer State in Council) to a civil service of the Crown in India continues on and after the appointed day to serve under the Government of either of the new Dominions or of any province or part thereof; or

(b) Having been appointed by His Majesty before the appointed day to be a Judge of the Federal Court of any Court which is a High Court within the meaning of the Government of India Act, 1935, continues on and after the appointed day to serve as a Judge in either of the new Dominions shall be entitled to receive from the Governments of the Dominions and provinces or parts which he is from time to time serving or, as the case may be, which are served by the Courts in which he is from time to time a Judge, the same conditions of services as respects remuneration, leave and pension, and the same rights as respects disciplinary matters, or, as the case may be, as respects the tenure of his office, or rights as similar thereto as changed circumstances

may permit, as that person was entitled to immediately before the appointed day.

Sub-section 3: Nothing in this Act shall be construed as enabling the rights and liabilities of any person with respect to the family pension funds vested in Commissioners under Section 273 of the Government of India Act, 1935, to be governed otherwise than by Orders-in-Council made (whether before or after the passing of this Act or the appointed day) by His Majesty-in-Council and rules made (whether before or after the passing of this Act or the appointed day) by a Secretary of State or such other Minister of the Crown as may be designated in that behalf by Order-in-Council under the Ministers of the Crown (Transfer of Functions) Act, 1946.

H.M.G.'s MILITARY FORCES.

Section 11, Sub-section 1: The orders to be made by the Governor-General under the preceding provisions of this Act shall make provision for the division of the Indian armed forces of His Majesty between the new Dominions, and for the command and governance of those forces until the division is completed.

Sub-section 2: As from the appointed day, while any member of His Majesty's forces, other than His Majesty's Indian forces, is attached to or serving with any of His Majesty's Indian forces—

(a) He shall, subject to any provision to the contrary made by a law of the Legislature of the Dominion or Dominions concerned or by any order of the Governor-General under the preceding provisions of this Act, have, in relation to the Indian forces in question, the powers of command and punishment appropriate to his rank and functions but ;

(b) Nothing in any enactment in force at the date of the passing of this Act shall render him subject in any way to the law governing the Indian forces in question.

Section 12, Sub-section 1: Nothing in this Act affects the jurisdiction or authority of His Majesty's Government in the U. K. or of the Admiralty, the Army Council, or the Air Council or of any

other U. K. authority, in relation to any of His Majesty's forces which may, on or after the appointed day, be in either of the new Dominions or elsewhere in the territories which, before the appointed day, were included in India, not being Indian forces.

Sub-section 2 : In its application in relation to His Majesty's military forces, other than Indian forces, the Army Act shall have effect on or after the appointed day—

(a) As if His Majesty's Indian forces were not included in the expressions "the forces", "His Majesty's forces" and "the regular forces" : and

(b) Subject to the further modifications specified in Parts I and II of the Third Schedule to this Act.

Sub-section 3 : Subject to the provisions of sub-section 2 of this section, and to any provisions of any law of the Legislature of the Dominion concerned, all civil authorities in the new Dominions, and, subject as aforesaid and subject also to the provisions of the last preceding section, all service authorities in the new Dominions, shall, in those Dominions and in the other territories which were included in India before the appointed day, perform in relation to His Majesty's military forces, not being Indian forces, the same functions as were, before the appointed day, performed by them or by the authorities corresponding to them, whether by virtue of the Army Act or otherwise, and the matters for which provisions is to be made by orders of the Governor-General under the preceding provisions of this Act shall include the facilitating of the withdrawal from the new Dominions and other territories aforesaid of His Majesty's military forces, not being Indian forces.

Sub-section 4 : The provisions of sub-sections 2 and 3 of this section shall apply in relation to the air forces of His Majesty, not being Indian air forces, as they apply in relation to His Majesty's military forces, subject, however, to the necessary adaptations, and, in particular, as if—

(a) For the references to the Army Act there were substituted references to the Air Force Act ; and

(b) For the reference to Part II of the Third Schedule to this Act there was substituted a reference to Part III of that Schedule.

NAVAL FORCES

Section 13, Sub-section 1 : In the application of the Naval Discipline Act to His Majesty's naval forces, other than Indian Naval forces, reference to His Majesty's navy and His Majesty's ships shall not, as from the appointed day, include references to His Majesty's Indian navy or the ships thereof.

Sub-section 2 : In the application of the Naval Discipline Act by virtue of any law made in India before the appointed day to Indian naval forces, references to His Majesty's navy and His Majesty's ships shall, as from the appointed day, be deemed to be an to be only reference to His Majesty's Indian navy and the ships thereof.

Sub-section 3 : In section 90B of the Naval Discipline Act (which, in certain cases, subjects officers and men of the Royal Navy and Royal Marines to the law and customs of the ships and naval forces of other parts of His Majesty's Dominions) the words "or of India" shall be repealed as from the appointed day, wherever those words occur.

Section 14, Sub-section 1 : A Secretary of State, or such other Minister of the Crown as may be designated in Transfer of Functions Act, 1946, is hereby authorized to continue for the time being the performance, on behalf of whatever Government or Governments may be concerned, of functions as to the making of payments and other matters similar to the functions which, up to the appointed day, the Secretary of State was performing on behalf of Governments constituted or continued under the Government of India Act, 1935.

Sub-section 2. The functions referred to in sub-section 1 of this section include functions as respects the management of, and

the making of payments in respect of, Government debt, and any enactments relating to such debt shall have effect accordingly.

Provided that nothing in this sub-section shall be construed as continuing in force so much of any enactment as empowers the Secretary of State to contract sterling loans on behalf of any such Government as aforesaid or as applying to the Government of either of the new Dominions the prohibition imposed on the Governor-General-in-Council by Section 315 of the Government of India Act, 1935, as respects the contracting of sterling loans.

Sub-section 3: As from the appointed day, there shall not be any such advisors of the Secretary of State as are provided for by section 278 of the Government of India Act, 1935, and that section, and any provisions of that Act which require the Secretary of State to obtain the concurrence of his advisors, are hereby repealed as from that day.

Sub-section 4: The Auditor of Indian Home Accounts is hereby authorized to continue for the time being to exercise his functions as respects the accounts of the Secretary of State or any such other Minister of the Crown as is mentioned in sub-section 1 of this section both in respect of activities before, and in respect of activities after, the appointed day, in the same manner, as nearly as may be, as he would have done if this Act had not been passed.

LEGAL PROCEEDINGS.

Section 15, Sub-section 1: Notwithstanding anything in this Act, and, in particular, notwithstanding any of the provisions of the last preceding section, any provision of any enactment which, but for the passing of this Act, would authorize legal proceedings to be taken, in India or elsewhere, by or against the Secretary of State in respect of any right or liability of India or any part of India shall cease to have effect on the appointed day, and any legal proceedings pending by virtue of any such provision on

the appointed day shall by virtue of this Act, abate on the appointed day so far as the Secretary of State is concerned.

Sub-section 2: Subject to the proceedings which, but for the passing of stead be, brought—

(a) In the case of proceedings in the U. K. by or against the High Commissioner ;

(b) In this case of other proceedings, by or against such person as may be designated by an order of the Governor-General under the preceding provisions of this Act or otherwise by law of the new Dominion concerned ;

And any legal proceedings by or against the Secretary of State in respect of any such right or liability as aforesaid which are pending immediately before the appointed day shall be continued by or against the High Commissioner, or, as the case may be, the person designated as aforesaid ;

Provided that at any time after the appointed day the right conferred by this sub-section to bring or continue proceedings may, whether the proceedings are by or against the High Commissioner or the person designated as aforesaid, be withdrawn by a law of the Legislature of either of the new Dominions, so far as that Dominion is concerned, and any such law may operate as respects proceedings pending at the date of the passing of the law.

Sub-section 3: In this section, the expression " the High Commissioner " means, in relation to each of the new Dominions, any such officer as may for the time being be authorized to perform in the U. K., in relation to that Dominion, functions relating to that Dominion, functions similar to those performed before the appointed day, in relation to the Governor-General-in-Council, by the High Commissioner referred to in Section 302 of the Government of India Act, 1935, and any legal proceedings which immediately before the appointed day, are subject of an appeal to His Majesty in Council, or of a petition for special leave the appeal to His Majesty in Council, shall be treated for the purposes of this section as legal proceedings pending in the U.K.

Section 16, Sub-section 1: Sub-sections 2 to 4 of Section 288 of the Government of India Act, 1935, (which confer on His Majesty power to make by Order-in-Council provision for the government of Aden), shall cease to have effect and the British Settlements Act, 1887 and 1945, (which authorize His Majesty to make laws and establish institutions for British Settlements as defined in those Acts), shall apply in relation to Aden as if it were a British Settlement as so defined.

Sub-section 2: Notwithstanding the repeal of the said sub-section 2 to 4, the Orders-in-Council in force thereunder at the date of the passing of this Act shall continue in force, but the said Orders-in-Council, any other Orders-in-Council made under the Government of India Act, 1935, in so far as they apply to Aden, and any enactments applied to Aden or amended in relation to Aden by any such Orders-in-Council as aforesaid, may be repealed, revoked or amended under the powers of the British Settlements Acts, 1887 and 1945.

Sub-section 3: Unless and until provision to the contrary is made as respects Aden under the powers of the British Settlements Acts, 1887 and 1945, or, as respects the new Dominion in question, by a law of the Legislature of that Dominion, the provisions of the said Orders-in-Council and enactments relating to appeals from any courts in Aden to any courts which will, after the appointed day, be in either of the new Dominions, shall continue in force in their application both to Aden and to the Dominion in question, and the last mentioned courts shall exercise their jurisdiction accordingly.

Section 17, Sub-section 1: No court in either of the new Dominions shall, by virtue of the Indian and Colonial Divorce jurisdiction Acts, 1926 and 1940, have jurisdiction in or in relation to any proceedings for a decree for the dissolution of a marriage, unless those proceedings were instituted before the appointed day, but, save as aforesaid and subject to any provision to the contrary, which may hereafter be made by any Act of the Parliament of the U. K., or by any law of the Legislature of the new Dominion

concerned, all courts in the new Dominions shall have the same jurisdiction under the said Acts as they would have had if this Act had not been passed.

Sub-section 2: Any rules made on or after the appointed Divorce Jurisdiction Act, 1926, for a court in either of the new Dominions shall, instead of being made by the Secretary of State with the concurrence of the Lord Chancellor, be made by such authority as may be determined by the law of the Dominions concerned and so much of the said sub-section and of any rules in force there under immediately before the appointed day as require the approval of the Lord Chancellor to the nomination for any purpose of any judges of any such court shall cease to have effect.

DISSOLUTION OF MARRIAGE

Sub-section 3: The reference in sub-section 1 of this section to proceedings for a decree for the dissolution of a marriage include references to proceedings for such a decree of presumption of death and dissolution of a marriage as is authorized by Section 8 of the Matrimonial Causes Act, 1937.

Sub-section 4: Nothing in this section affects any court outside the new Dominions, and the power concerned by Section 2 of the Indian and Colonial Divorce Jurisdiction Act, 1926, to apply certain provisions of that Act to other parts of His Majesty's Dominions as they apply to India shall be deemed to be in power to apply those provisions as they would have applied to India if this Act had not been passed.

Section 18, Sub-section 1: In so far as any Act of Parliament, Order-in-Council, order, rule, regulation or other instrument passed or made before the appointed day operates otherwise than as part of the law of British India, of the new Dominions, references therein to India or British India however worded and whether by name or not, shall, in so far as the context permits and except so far as Parliament may hereafter otherwise provide, be construed as, or as including, references to the new Dominions, taken together,

or taken separately, according as the circumstances and subject matter may require; provided that nothing in this sub-section shall be construed as continuing in operation any provision in so far as the continuance thereof as adopted by this sub-section is inconsistent with any of the provisions of this Act other than this section.

Sub-section 2: Subject to the provisions of sub-section 1 of this section and to any other express provision of this Act, the Orders-in-Council made under sub-section 5 of Section 311 of the Government of India Act, 1935, for adapting and modifying Acts of Parliament shall, except so far as provided, continue in force in relation to Parliament may hereafter otherwise to all Acts in so far as they operate otherwise than as part of the law of British India or the new Dominions.

Sub-section 3: Save as otherwise expressly provided in this Act, the law of British India and of the several parts thereof existing immediately before the appointed day shall, so far as applicable and with the necessary adaptations, continue as the law of each of the new Dominions and the several parts thereof until other provision is made by laws of the Legislature of the Dominion in question or by any other Legislature of other authority having power in that behalf.

Sub-section 4: It is hereby declared that the instruments of instructions issued before the passing of this Act by His Majesty to the Governor-General and the Governors of provinces lapse as from the appointed day, and nothing in this Act shall be construed as continuing in force any provision of the Government of India Act, 1935, relating to such instruments of instructions.

Sub-section 5: As from the appointed day, so much of any enactment as requires the approval of His Majesty-in-Council to any rules of court shall not apply to any court either of the new Dominions.

Section 19, Sub-section 1: References in this Act to the Governor-General shall, in relation to any order to be made or

other act done before the appointed day, be construed as references to the Governor-General of India within the meaning of the Government of India Act, 1935, and so much of that or any other act as requires references to the Governor-General to be construed as references to the Governor-General to be construed as references to the Governor-General-in-Council shall not apply to references to the Governor-General in this Act.

Sub-section 3 : References in this Act to the Constituent Assembly of a Dominion shall be construed as references—

(a) In relation to India to the Constituent Assembly, the first sitting whereof was held on December 9, 1946, modified—

(i) By the exclusion of the members representing Bengal, the Punjab, Sind and British Baluchistan ; and

(ii) Should it appear that N. W. F. P. will form part of Pakistan, by the exclusion of the members representing that province ; and

(iii) By the inclusion of members representing West Bengal and East Punjab ; and

(iv) Should it appear that, on the appointed day, a part of the province of Assam is to form part of the new province of East Bengal, by the exclusion of members theretofore representing the province of Assam, and the inclusion of members chosen to represent the remainder of that province ;

(b) In relation to Pakistan, to the Assembly set up or about to be set up at the date of the passing of this Act under the authority of the Governor-General as the Constituent Assembly for Pakistan, provided, that nothing in this sub-section shall be construed as affecting the extent to which representatives of Indian States take part in either of the said Assemblies, or as preventing the participation in either of the said Assemblies in accordance with such arrangements as may be made in that behalf of representatives of the tribal areas on the borders of the Dominion for which that Assembly sits, and the powers of the said Assemblies

shall extend, and be deemed always to have extended, to the making of provision for the matters specified in this provision.

Sub-section 4. In this Act, except so far as the context otherwise requires—

References to the Government of India Act, 1935, include references to any enactments amending or supplementing that Act and in particular references to the India (Central Government and Legislature) Act, 1946 ;

"India", where the reference is to a state of affairs existing before the appointed day or which would have existed but for the passing of this Act, has the meaning assigned to it by section 311 of the Government of India Act, 1935 ;

"Indian forces" includes all His Majesty's Indian forces existing before the appointed day and also any forces of either of the new Dominions ;

"Pension" means, in reference to any person a pension, whether contributory or not, of any kind whatsoever payable to or in respect of that person, and includes retired pay so payable, a gratuity so payable and any sum or sums so payable by way of the return, with or without interest thereon or other additions thereto, of subscriptions to a provident fund ;

"Province" means a Governor's province : and

"Remuneration" includes leave pay, allowances and the cost of any privileges or facilities provided in kind ;

Sub-section 5 : Any power conferred by this Act to make any order includes power to revoke or vary any order previously made in the exercise of that power.

Section 20 : This Act may be cited as the Indian Independence Act, 1947.

SECTION 3. FIRST SCHEDULE.

DISTRICTS PROVISIONALLY INCLUDED IN THE NEW PROVINCE OF EAST BENGAL.

In the Chittagong Division, the districts of Chittagong, Noakhali and Tipperah.

In the Dacca Division, the districts of Bakarganj, Dacca, Faridpur and Mymensingh.

In the Presidency Division, the districts of Jessore, Murshidabad and Nadia.

In the Rajshahi Division, the districts of Bogra, Dinajpur, Malda, Pabna, Rajshahi and Rangpore.

SECTION 4. SECOND SCHEDULE.

DISTRICTS PROVISIONALLY INCLUDED IN THE NEW PROVINCE OF WEST PUNJAB.

In the Lahore Division, the districts of Gujranwala, Gurdaspur, Lahore, Sheikhupura and Sialkot.

In the Rawalpindi Division, the districts of Attock, Gujrat, Jhelum, Mianwali, Rawalpindi and Shahpur.

In the Multan Division the districts of Montgomery, Multan and Muzaffargrah.

SECTION 12. THIRD SCHEDULE.

MODIFICATIONS OF ARMY ACT AND AIR FORCE ACT IN RELATION TO BRITISH FORCES.

PART I.

Modifications of Army Act applicable also to Air Force Act.

1. The provision to Section 41 (which limits the jurisdiction of courts-martial) shall not apply to offences committed in either of the new Dominions or in any or the other territories which were included in India before the appointed day.

2. In section 43 (which relates to complaints), the words "with the approval of the Governor-General of India in Council" shall be omitted.

3. In the sub-sections (8) and (9) of Section 54 (which, amongst other things, require certain sentences to be confirmed by the Governor-General-in-Council) the words "India or," the words "by the Governor-General, or, as the case may be" and the

words "In India, by the Governor-General, or, if he has been tried" shall be omitted.

4. In sub-section (3) of Section 73 (which provides for the nomination of officers with power to dispense with courts-martial for desertion and fraudulent enlistment) the words "with the approval of the Governor-General" shall be omitted.

5. The powers conferred by sub-section (5) of Section 130 (which provides for the removal of insane persons) shall not be exercised except with the consent of the officer commanding the forces in the new Dominions.

6. In sub-section (2) of Section 132 (which relates to rules regulating service prisons and detention barracks) the words "and in India for the Governor-General" and the words "the Governor-General" shall be omitted except as respects rules made before the appointed day.

7. In the cases specified in sub-section (1) of Section 134, inquests shall be held in all cases in accordance with the provisions of sub-section (3) of that section.

8. In Section 136 (which relates to deductions from pay) in sub-section 1 the words "India or" and the words "being in the case of India a law of the Indian Legislature," and the whole of sub-section 2 shall be omitted.

9. In paragraph 4 of Section 137 (which relates to penal stoppages from the ordinary pay of officers), the words "or in the case of officers serving in India the Governor-General", the words "India or" and the words "for India, or, as the case may be" shall be omitted.

10. In paragraph 12 of Section 175 and paragraph 11 of Section 176 (which apply the Act to certain members of His Majesty's Indian Forces and to certain other persons) the words "India" shall be omitted wherever it occurs.

11. In Sub-section 1 of Section 180 (which provides for the punishment of misconduct by civilians in relation to courts-martial) the words "India or" shall be omitted wherever they occur.

12. In the provisions of Section 183 relating to the reduction in rank of non-commissioned officers, the words "with the approval of the Governor-General" shall be omitted in both places where they occur.

PART II.

Modifications of Army Act.

Section 184-B (which regulates relations with the Indian Air Force) shall be omitted.

PART III.

Modifications of Air Force Act.

1. In Section 179-D (which relates to the attachment of officers and airmen to Indian Burma Air Forces), the words "by the Air Council and the Governor-General of India or, as the case may be," and the words "India or," wherever those words occur, shall be omitted.

2. In Section 184-B (which regulates relations with Indian and Burma Air Forces) the words "India or" and the words "by the Air Council and the Governor-General of India or, as the case may be," shall be omitted.

3. Sub-paragraph (e) of paragraph 4 of Section 190 (which provides that officers of His Majesty's Indian Air Force are to be officers within the meaning of the Act) shall be omitted.

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ABBREVIATIONS

- A.S.I.A.R.**—*Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Reports.*
A.S.I.R.—*Archaeological Survey of India Reports.*
b.—bin.
B.M.C.C.—*British Museum Catalogue of Coins.*
B.M.L.—British Museum Library, London.
E.B.—*Encyclopaedia Britannica.* London, 1926.
E.I.—*The Encyclopaedia of Islam.* London, 1913.
E.I.M.—*Epigraphica Indo-Moslemica.*
E. & D.—Elliot and Dowson, *The History of India as told by its own Historians.* London, 1877.
Eng. Tr.—English Translation.
I.O.L.—India Office Library, London.
J.A.S.B.—*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.*
J.R.A.S.—*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, London.*
K.C.L.—Khalsa College Library, Amritsar.
K.S.L.—Kapurthala State Library, Kapurthala.
MS.—Manuscript.
O.C.M.—*Oriental College Magazine, Lahore.*
O.P.L.—Oriental Public Library, Bankipore.
P.P.L.—Punjab Public Library, Lahore.
P.U.L.—Panjab University Library, Lahore.
Tr.—Translation.

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