

Lahore - Through Ages

Ancient Period (? - 1021 AD)

Early history of Lahore is wrapped up in darkness. However, T.H. Thornton, asserts that 'the earliest ruling *rajās* of Lahore had belonged to the Rajput rulers of Gujrat and Mewar'.¹ He also mentions 'one Keneksen, a Solar Rajput prince, who migrated in about 140 A.D. from Lahore to Mewar where he set up his government as well as a city named Lahore in the memory of his home town, Lahore in the Punjab'.² He also informs that the Rajput rulers of Lahore, were 'Solankhis and Bhattis by their sub-costs'.³ He adds, that Solankhis came of the Solar Rajputs.⁴ We also conjecture that one Ban Mul, who was the ruler of Lahore, had came of the line of Keneksen or Solankhis, the rulers of Lahore. Thornton further adds that 'Lahore in the Punjab rose to the status of a capital as the great kingdom by the end of the seventh century of Christian era'.⁵ But he had not given any detail regarding the rulers of Lahore belonging to the second to seventh centuries A.D.

Ahmad Husain Zanjani's *Tuhfatul Wasileen*, written in 435H/1045 A.D., in the Gaznavid period at Lahore, contains that Lahore before Vikramajit, ruler of Ujain, was visited by a severe famine which rendered it desolate and it remained so for many centuries, until Vikramajit came into power and paid attention towards its rehabilitation.⁶ After the death of Vikramajit in 78 A.D.,⁷ Raja Samunderpala succeeded him on the throne of Ujain. The latter put in some efforts to uplift Lahore.⁸ After his death in 102 A.D.,⁹ Lahore once again became a ghost town'.¹⁰

Thornton, has also reported that the Muslim Arabs, made their first invasion on Lahore in seventh century A.D. He adds that Lahore at that time was the capital of a strong Hindu state and its ruler was a Chauhan Prince belonging to the family of Ajmer.¹¹

The above statement regarding the Arabs invasion on Lahore is ambiguous as it does not refer to any particular invasion or year. However, we know one attack by the Arabs on the Indian side in 43 H/664 during reign of Hazrat Amir Muavia and their advance up to Lahore.¹² Probably Thornton had referred to this invasion by the Arabs on India.

Though there is great confusion among the scholars about Lahore, which was invaded by the Arabs. But we have already concluded in a previous chapter that, by all means,

it is Lahore situated on the bank of Ravi in the Punjab.

Hududul Alam written in 892 A.D., reports that about this period Lahore was ruled by Hindu *Rajas*, who were subordinates to the ruler of Multan. He also informs that there were many Hindu temples in the Lahore city and the whole population of it was Hindus and there was not even a single Muslim living in the city.¹³ The first family which has been reported historically to be the ruler of Lahore, was Chuch dynasty. Their rule over Lahore probably started by the end of eight century A.D., and they definitely had ruled Lahore in the whole of the 9th century A.D., and their rule was terminated by the Hindushahi dynasty of the Gandhara region, in 999 A.D.¹⁴ Chuch was son of Bhindhra' as mentioned by Fakhr-i-Mudabbir in *Adabul Hurb wash Shuja'at*, written at Lahore in the reign of Sultan Iltutmish (607 H/1210 - 633 H/1235). Bhindhra would have belonged to the Bhindhers, a sub-cast of Jats in the Punjab. According to Mudabbir, 'after the death of Chuch, his son, Raja Bunrat, ascended the throne of Lahore. As a just and prosperous ruler, he built a temple in Lahore and ordered to carve a stone idol for display in it. As he was a sun-worshipper, he therefore, named the idol *Aftab*,¹⁵ probably Persian translation of *Hoor*.

After the death of Raja Bunrat, his son, Thunrat, became the ruler of Lahore. He invaded the country of Jayapala, a Hindu Shahi ruler of Gandhara and Kabul regions. In the ensuing battle that took place in the vicinity of Takeshar, the army of Lahore gave way after an initial fight. Bunrat was taken prisoner. Anandpala following up his success advanced to Lahore and took control of the city. The nobility of Lahore, however, interceded him on behalf of Bunrat. Consequently, he released Bunrat and reinstated him as feudatory chief after receiving a handsome tribute.¹⁶ As the last ruler of this dynasty, Chundrat¹⁷ ascended the throne in 380 H/990,¹⁸ after overthrowing his father on the pretext of his having inadvisedly undertaken the doomed campaign against the Shahis. Jayapala terminated Chundrat's rule in Lahore in 999 A.D. and, thus, the Chuch dynasty rule in Lahore came to an end. On the same occasion, Jayapala proclaimed himself, in breach of Hindu political ethics, the king of Lahore and appointed Anandapala, his son, as the first governor of Lahore.¹⁹ The kingdom of Lahore was, thus, annexed to the Hindu Shahi kingdom in the same year.

Mandakukur mentioned by Alberuni as a small populous place was located on the east of the Ravi. We presume that it was the capital of the Chuch kingdom of Lahore.

After the death Jayapala, Anandapala left the viceroyalty of Lahore and moved to Nandana fort near Jhelum. He seated the throne of his father, but he had to face the opposition of the Ghaznavid rulers throughout his tenure. He is supposed to die sometime between April 1010 to October, 1011 A.D.

Trilochanapala after succeeding the throne of his father, Anandpala, had to face Sultan Mahmud who was not satisfied with his attitude. The Sultan, therefore, resolved to punish him. He set out from Ghazna in 404 H/November 1013 at the head of a strong force to invade Nandana to teach Trilochanapala a lesson. But Trilochanapala entrusted the security of

the Nandana fort to his son, Bhima himself fled to Kashmir-pass on the pretext to seek enforcement from the Raja of the Kashmir. The Sultan siege of Nandana fort prolonged but ultimately the besieged gave in and surrendered. Sultan Mahmud appointed²⁰ Sarugh, a trustworthy person of him as the *Kotawal* of the Nandana Fort and himself proceeded to Kashmir in persuasion of Trilochanapala. But before the arrival of Sultan Mahmud in Kashmir, Trilochanapala along with his son fled to a place unknown.

Alberuni and Gardezi, the two contemporary historians, are silent about the place of his flee and his son from Kashmir. But we assume that Trilochana, alongwith his son, fled to Lahore and resumed his political activities there. It was probably for the reason, as Fiarishtah says, 'Sultan Mahmud had to leave his conquest of Kashmir incomplete and hurry to Lahore in 412 H/1021.'²¹ But before his arrival at Lahore, Trilochana fled helplessly to Ajmer. Reaching the city of Lahore, the Sultan divided his army into small groups and permitted them to loot the city. At last, he ordered his troops to stop the looting. As a consequence plenty of booti came in the hands of Mahmud's soldiers, which they presented to Mahmud. The Sultan entrusted the administration of Lahore to one of his trustworthy *amirs*,²² placed a large number of soldiers at Lahore and issued *Khutbah* and coin in his name in all parts of the country and then went back to Ghazna in the beginning of the spring season of the same year.²³ Thus, the Hindu principality of Lahore was extinguished forever.

Ghaznavid Period

Lahore under the Ghaznavid rule, for the first time, attracted the attention of the world peoples. It became popular as the second important city of the Ghaznavid kingdom. It also flourished as the first centre of Islamic culture in the Northern India and received a well organized government system.

We know from different sources that for the smooth running of administration of the province, Sultan Mahmud Ghaznavi divided the province into different *Qataat* (districts) and appointed a *Muqta'* in each *Qata* to run its affairs. He also appointed a *Salar* (commander) and a *Qazi* (Judge) to work as the provincial chief officers of their departments'.²⁴

The Ghaznavids rule in Lahore including other parts of India lasted for about 166 years (1021-1186 A.D.). In this period, the centre appointed more than eighteen viceroys or governors²⁵ of the Lahore province. Such governors were either close relatives of the Sultan in power at Ghazna or his loyal and trustworthy men. In 412 H/1021, Sarugh²⁶ was appointed as the earliest administrative of Lahore in his period. After him, 'Abdullah Qiratagin, Abul Fatah of Damghan and Abdullah Furj of Kirman,²⁷ in turn succeeded one another as *salars* (generals) of the annexed parts 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 Qazi Abdul Hasan Ali,²⁸ who was appointed the controller of internal affairs by the Sultan, along with them. This Qazi was independent of the *salars* and was only responsible to the Sultan. In the

following reigning periods, Amir Ayaz, the favorite slave of Sultan Mahmud, prince Majdud, Prince Malik Khusrau etc. had also enjoyed this position in the Lahore province.

The later years of Sultan Bahram's reign were overshadowed by the growing menace of the princes of Ghur, who had kept their resources intact while the Ghaznavids and the Saljuqs frittered away their strength by fighting each other. Soon after returning to Ghazna, an engagement between Sultan Bahram and the Alauddin Ghauri took place. Bahram Shah was defeated thrice by Alauddin Ghauri and finally Ghazna fell in his hands. Thus Bahram was forced to flee to Lahore after his defeat, but ventured to return to Ghazni when the world-burner, Sultan Alauddin Ghauri, shortly after his victories, incurred the wrath of Sultan Sanjar the Saljuq and was defeated and temporarily imprisoned by him.²⁹

Sultan Bahram was succeeded by his son, Khursau Shah. As a ruler, he was ineffectual and when a horde of the *Ghuzz* tribe of Turkmans attacked Ghazni in 1157 A.D., he fled to Lahore, where he died in 1160 A.D.

After the death of Khusrau Shah, his son, Khusrau Malik as the last ruler of the Ghaznavids became the lord of Lahore. It was during his tenure that Sultan Shahabuddin bin Muhammad Sam Ghauri made his first attack on Lahore in 576 H/1181. To face his army, Khusrau Malik restricted himself up in the Lahore fort. Sultan Ghauri compelled Khusrau Malik to surrender. As a token of his submission, he also received from him a finest elephant, and his youngest son, as a hostage for the performance of the treaty. After his departure, Khusrau Malik plucked up courage to besiege Sialkot, but could not take it and returned to Lahore. This conduct of Khusrau Malik greatly displeased Sultan Muhammad Ghauri. So, in 582 H/1186, he again invaded Lahore and Khusrau sued for peace.³⁰ He left the city, under a safe conduct, to come to terms, but Ghauri violated his agreement, seized him and occupied Lahore.

Thus, the Ghaznavid empire which was one of the greatest in the annals of history and could proudly point to a rich tradition of knowledge and literary patronage, vanished in 582 H/1186 from the world map.

The whole period of the Ghaznavid rule in Lahore, except for some minor uprisings by petty chiefs, remained politically quiet and peaceful. The main reason was the friendly treatment and lavish patronage of the Sultans as well as the nobles of their courts with the local subjects. The comfortable and friendly atmosphere prevailed in Lahore, proved attractive to many notable literary figures, businessmen, scholars, saints and learned families. A large number of Muslim families from Central Asia and other foreign countries took up residence at Lahore and other cities of the Punjab. Eventually, Lahore became a hub of international cultural, industrial and commercial activities.

The mystics who came to the city impressed the Hindu population with their message of love, tolerance and peace. Sayyid Ismail Muhadis, arrived in Lahore with the Sultan or perhaps a little earlier. Because of his spiritual eminence, many Hindus professed

Islam at his hands. His mission was also carried out by the saint named Shah Husain Zanjani. Who settled in the north-eastern side of Lahore, on the eastern bank of the Ravi, and illuminated the hearts of the people with the light of Islam. Shaikh Ali Hujwery, Sadruddin Yaqoob Zanjani, Sultan Sakhi Sawar also contributed visibly in establishing Islamic society at Lahore. The Hindus began to embrace Islam in large numbers. Gradually Lahore began to look more like a Muslim city. With the prevalence of social mixing and intermarriages, a new society evolved in Lahore. Eventually, Lahore emerged as a cultural city of the first Islamic state in South Asia and was given the title of Ghazna-i-Khurd³¹ (Little Ghazni) in the period. Lahore never lost its pivotal position thereafter.

Although Sultan Mahmud was busy most of the time elsewhere, yet he took some steps for the development of Lahore. To commemorate his subjugation of Lahore and other parts of Hindustan, he erected a victory tower in the Lahore fort.³² Construction of a mosque is also attributed to him.³³ He also established a mint in Lahore, from which he also issued his silver coins which bore the name of Mahmudpur as his mint. Researchers on the basis of these legends have inferred that either the Sultan rehabilitated Lahore anew and gave it the new name of Mahmudpur, or he changed its old name the Mandakukur into Mahmudpur. In any case, this claim is not confirmed from any other contemporary source.

Among Mahmud's successors, Sultan Mas'ud Ghaznavi I, Sultan Ibrahim Ghaznavi, Sultan Behram Ghaznavi, had shown great enthusiasm for the uplift of Lahore. Sultan Ibrahim, is said to have been present at Lahore on the death's day of Shaikh Ali Hujwery in 485 H/1092 and is credited with having constructed the saint's shrine. During the reign of Masud-II (1099-1144 A.D.), by the middle of the 12th century Lahore, had surely become one of the leading cities of South Asia. This position of Lahore is confirmed by the contemporary Muslim Geographer, Al-Idrisi³⁴ who died in 1166 A.D. After the death of Masud II, Lahore rose further in prominence. The last two rulers, Sultan Khusrau Shah and Sultan Khusrau Malik by declaring Lahore as their capital, certainly contributed to the development of the city.

The grandees, nobles, government functionaries of the Ghaznavid court also contributed their share to the uplift of Lahore according to their capacity. For instance, Amir Ayaz, Mahmud's favourite slave and the governor of Lahore appointed in 1037AD in the reign of Sultan Masud Ghaznavi-I, is related to have taken a great interest in the reconstruction of Lahore. It is said that he built the Lahore fort anew and also raised a rampart around the city. According to a tradition, the foundation of Lahore is also attributed to him. But we have already rejected this view. Among the other nobles who played a vital role in making Lahore prosper, the names of Amir Umaid Taqiuddin Jamal, Abu Nasar, Khwaja Umaid Mansur deserve special mention. The latter set up a *Madrasa* and a *Khanqah* in the Lahore city.³⁵ Several types of crafts were introduced here. Lahore also became a hub of commercial and cultural activities.. Detail of such activities has been well described by Saif Salman Lahori in his famous poem, *Shehr-i-ashob*, contained in his *Diwan*.

Surely, the people from various walks of life flocked to Lahore in large number and thus expanded reasonably. We hold that Lahore of the Ghaznavid period was expanded on the site presently occupied with the population of Langa Mandi, the Tehsil Bazar, the northern side of the Gumti Bazar. The southern boundary of Lahore of that time was the shrine of Sidi Mitha, because by tradition of the Muslim cities such shrines of saints were built in the outskirts of the city. The eastern boundary of the city was the area which is now covered with Taxal Bazaar and the tomb of Amir Ayaz.³⁶

Lahore of the Ghaznavid period, had physically disappeared forever with the passage of time.

Ghaurid Period (1186-1206 A.D.)

Shahabuddin Muhammad Ghauri having settled the affairs of the province of Lahore, conferred the government of Lahore also on 'Ali Karmakh,³⁷ who was then the Viceroy of Multan. In 602H/1206, he appointed Qutbuddin as his *Naib us-Saltanat* in India.³⁸ While holding a grand *darbar* at Lahore which was attended by a large majority of the nobles and dignitaries of his kingdom. On the occasion, Sultan Ghauri bestowed upon Qutbuddin the title of 'Aibak'.

Sultanate Period (1206-1526 A.D.)

After the death of Sultan Shahabuddin Ghauri, Qutubuddin Aibak, became the ruler of India. He was crowned as king in Lahore in 602 H/1206. He distinguished himself as the founder of the Slaves' dynasty as well as of the first Muslim independent empire in India. The Sultanate lasted in India for about 330 years (602 H/1206 to 932 H/1526, with its capital at Delhi comprising the rule of the Slaves, (602 H/1206-689 H/1289) Khiljis, (689 H/1289 - 721 H/1321), Tughlaqs, 721 H/1321 - 815 H/1412, Sayyids 817 H/1414 - 852 H/1448 & Lodhis (852 H/1448 - 932 H/1526) dynasties. The whole period of this reign is known as 'The Delhi Sultanate' in history.

About thirty four Sultans including Sultan Qutbuddin Aibak, ascended the throne at the centre and, on their behalf, thirty three governors looked after the administrative affairs of the Lahore (Punjab) province in this period. Actually, Lahore during the rule of the Ghaurid (1186-1206 A.D.) and the Slave (1206-1290 A.D.) dynasties was used as a spring board for further expansion, as a cushion against Mongol invaders and as a backbone for Delhi Sultanate. In view of the political importance of Lahore, the chiefs of the province were preferably appointed from amongst those persons who were either related to the Sultans or were their most trustworthy persons. Among them, the names of Sultan Qutbuddin Aibak, Nasiruddin Mahmud, Kaiqubad and prince Muhammad, son of Bulban and Kaikhusrau, a grand son of Bulban, Ghazi Malik, Khizar Khan, Bahlol Lodhi, Daulat Khan Lodhi etc. are the most prominent.

During the Delhi Sultanate period (1206-1526 A.D.), Lahore witnessed many

political upheavals. It also had to put up with a succession of disasters. The first and foremost reason was the Mongol invasions which were started on India during the reign of Sultan Iltutmish (607 H/1210-633 H/1236) and continued for a long period after that. The Mongols during these invasions caused extensive damage to Lahore and other towns and villages of the Punjab. They also massacred and enslaved on a large scale the inhabitants of these areas. The transfer of the permanent headquarters to Multan also caused the deterioration of Lahore in this period;

During the Sultanate period, Lahore as a whole suffered much physically instead of any development. Most of them remained so engaged at Delhi that they even could not find time to come to Lahore. Only Sultan Iltutmish, Bulban of slave dynasty and Sayyid Mubarak Shah of the Sayyid dynasty came to Lahore on their turn and attended minor repairs at the Lahore fort. However, the Lodhies on their turn comparatively devoted certain attention to upgrade the Lahore population. Even existence of a palace of Sakandr Lodhi is reported in the Lahore fort when emperor Babur came to Lahore in the third year of his reign 1529 A.D. We presume that the outer limits of the Lahore town in the Sultanate period were close to Rung Mahal on the east, Shah Almi and Lohari gates on the south, Said Mitha Bazar on the south-west and Lahore fort and the Ravi on the North west. It is possible that a vegetable market or some shopping centre had also existed around the Lohari gate. Besides, the local people, the population of the Lahore town comprised Afghans, Turks, Sayyids, Mongols and Arabs etc. The existence of the Arab and *Mughal Mahallahs* in the city indicates the presence of considerable number of Arabs and Mughals in the city.

Lahore's suburbs also began to develop in this period. It expanded on the south of the aforesaid circular road on the site presently occupied by Ratan Chand *Sarai*. The graveyard in the area, set up in the Ghaznavid period, was further used in this period. It seems that a new graveyard was established in the area located between the shrine of Pir Balkhi in Kashmiri Bazar and to the east of Wazir Khan Mosque. The shrines of Pir Balkhi, Sayyid Ishaq Gazruni, and Said Suf located in this graveyard, remind us the expansion of Lahore on this side in the Sultanate period.

Kot Karor presently marked by the shrines of Hazrat Chaurh Bandagi and Musa Ahangar, began to flourish in this period as another suburb of Lahore because of the setting up *Khanqas* of these two saints. According to *Tazkiara Qutubia*, a branch of the Ravi used to pass on the east of this village in those days. The Mehzang area in the vicinity of Lahore also developed because Pir Mehzang made it his abode in the period. The Mughalpura as a new suburb of Lahore also emerged in this period. Its occupants were the Mongols who had come here from the different parts of Central Asia. Cultural progress of Lahore in this period is almost negligible. Want of attention by the centre, incessant invasions by the Mongols of central Asia, seditious activities of nobles of the court, rebellious attitude of certain Khokhar tribes of the Punjab, invasion by Amir Timur, on Lahore in 1398 A.D., transfer of

provincial headquarters from Lahore to Multan disconnection of saints and scholars of social life in Lahore, were the main causes which withheld the promotion of culture of in Lahore..

Mughal (1524-1767)

With the establishment of Mughal rule in 1526 in India, Lahore once again gained a new life. Babur's during his fourth expedition to conquer Hindustan possessed Lahore in 1524 A.D. Lahore being the Punjab provincial headquarters, at that time was governed by Daulat Khan Lodhi. On approaching Lahore, Babur met the Afghan army led by general Bihar Khan and other nobles in the vicinity of Lahore. Babur was emerged victorious. Enraged at the opposition, Babur's soldiers first set fire to the city according to the Chingizkhani custom and then indulged in its wholesale plunder. The conquerer visited the Lahore fort where he took possession of the riches and rare commodities.

Babur left for Dipalpur after staying only four days in Lahore. Daulat Khan Lodhi who had invited him to attack Lahore and was compelled to seek refuge among the Balochis, met Babur at Dipalpur alongwith his sons, Dilawar Khan and Ghazi Khan. Being informed secretly by Dilawar Khan about Daulat Khan Lodhi's conspiracy, Babur imprisoned Daulat Khan Lodhi and Ghazi Khan, but later he forgave them and awarded them a *Jagir* in the town of Sultanpur. Babur heard about their intrigue, gave up his intention to march on Delhi, immediately returned to Lahore and parceled out the province among his nobles. He appointed Mir Abdul Aziz as the viceroy of Lahore, and went back to Kabul to attend an emergency.³⁹

Next year, Lahore was again a hot-bed of intrigues, formented by Daulat Khan Lodhi. Babur in 932 H/December 1525 invaded Lahore, but before any actual fighting took place, Daulat Khan Lodhi and his forces took to their heels. Babur, therefore, proceeded towards Delhi without entering the Lahore city. Before his departure, he appointed Mir Younas Ali the governor of Lahore. Babur met Ibrahim Lodhi's army in the battle of Panipat on *Jamudah II*, 932/April 12, 1526 A.D. Babur won the battle and Ibrahim Lodhi was slain. Afterwards, he captured Delhi and ascended the throne at Agra as the founder of Mughal empire in India. Babur died soon after at Agra in 937 H/1530.

With the establishment of the Mughal empire in India. Lahore after the Ghaznavid rule, once again drew the attention of the rulers, government functionaries nobles etc, and gradually became one of the leading cities of the Sub-continent. The reigning periods of the three Mughal emperors, Akbar (1556-1605 A.D.), Jahangir (1605-1627 A.D.) and Shahjahan (1627-1658 A.D.), can justly be regarded as the golden period in the history of Lahore. During this epoch of history, Lahore once again became a place of royal residence. By the end of the Mughal regime, Lahore was known as the city of the Mughals throughout the world. All of them had contributed duely to the physical and cultural development of Lahore

Unfortunately, Babur during his tenure of five years, only once visited Lahore. In

the third regnal year of his reign i.e. 1529 A.D. His son, Mirza Kamran, conducted his visit at Lahore. He stayed here for one year as he found the climate of Lahore moderate and pleasant. He went back to Agra and never returned to Lahore until he died on the 6th *Jamadiul Awwal*, 977 H/26th, December 1530. So his role to build Lahore is not worth mentioning.

b) Humayun (1530-1540, 1555-1556)

When Humayun ascended the throne at Agra, on the 9th *Jamudah I*, 937 H/28th December, 1530 A.D., his brother, Kamran who at that time was governor of Kabul and Qandahar, hearing the news of his father's death, set out for the Punjab, ostensibly the purpose was to congratulate his brother on his accession, but in reality, he wanted to try his luck for emperorship of India. Reaching Lahore, he captured it and imprisoned Mir Younus Ali, the then viceroy of Lahore. After his success, Kamran also took possession of the whole of the Punjab as far as the Sutlej.⁴⁰ As a gesture of conciliation and appeasement, he sent a message to the Emperor at the capital with a submission to confirm him in the territories he had occupied. Humayun, naturally of a mild disposition, accepted the fait, accomplished with grace and acceded to the request made by his brother. Kamran made Lahore his headquarters and deputed his senior and trusted persons to govern other possessions on his behalf.

After Humayun's defeat at the hands of Sher Shah Suri at the battlefield of Qanauj, on the 17th May, 1540, Lahore became the place of refuge for the royal members. Humayun had to stay at Lahore for a short while along with his brothers, Hindal and Askari. Meanwhile, the treat of Sher Shah Suri's invasion was received. Quite unaware of the treachery, Humayun invited his three brothers, on the 1st *Rabi'ul-Awwal*, 947 H/6th August 1540, to discuss plan to deal with the situation.⁴¹ It happened to be a big gathering of the Temurids and their followers at Lahore. Religious luminaries, men of learning, senior officers and nobles all assembled at Lahore to exhort the brothers to forego their differences and unite themselves to save the empire, but it went all in vain.

Humayun being disappointed of reunion, abandoned all hopes of opposing Sher Shah together. Meanwhile, Sher Shah Suri continued his preparations and set out for the Punjab. In the meantime, it was heard in Lahore that Sher Shah Suri had crossed the river (Beas) at Sultanpur and was within thirty *kos* of Lahore. The news led to a panic. Kamran retreated to Kabul along with the royal ladies. Humayun went towards Sind by the end of *Jamadiul Akhar*, 947 H/July 1540. Thus Lahore fell under Sher Shah Suri. He appointed his able general, Khawas Khan, Viceroy of the Lahore province, and himself returned to Agra.

During Humayun's ten years ruling tenure (1530 to 1540 A.D.), Kamran Mirza remained the governor of Lahore and exerted his energies according to his own will.

Sujan Rai in *Khulasatut Tawarikh*, had credited Kamran Mirza for developing the city of Lahore. According to him, 'during his tenure, the population of Lahore increased a great deal,

and with a notable upsurge in social activities.

c) Suri Period (1540-1555)

Lahore witnessed the political power of the Suri dynasty only for fifteen years (1540-1555 A.D). During the period, three governors looked after the administrative affairs of the province on behalf of the centre. Khawas Khan, Haibat Khan, Tatar Khan Kausi. Since Sher Shah Suri was displeased with Lahore city for its richness which had been enticing the foreign invaders, he paid no attention towards its uplift.

Humayun, in *Zulhijjah* 961 H/November 1554, proceeded to Lahore to conquer Hindustan. Tatar Khan Kausi, the Afghan governor of the Punjab, fled before Humayun. Humayun entered the Lahore city without any opposition on the *Rabi'II*, 962 H/February 23, 1555. The people of Lahore welcomed him warmly and expressed their happiness by decorating the Lahore city with colourful buntings and illuminating it with earthen lamps.

Humayun seated the throne of his father, Babur, at Delhi in *Ramazan* 962H/July, 1555. He bestowed the whole of the Punjab upon Shah Abul Maali and dispatched him to Lahore to keep in check Sultan Sikandar Sur. Hardly he reigned for six months when he died in Delhi on the 9th *Rabi 'I*, 963 H/1556. Thus he could not contribute anything towards the develop Lahore.

d) Akbar (1556-1605 A.D)

Akbar heard the news of his father Humayun's death while he was staying in the area of Kalanaur. In order to keep the political affairs of the government in control, the officers who were present there, raised Akbar to the throne on the 22 *Rabi'II*, 963 H/February 1556. Lahore once again became the centre of seditious activities, launched by Shah Abul Ma'ali. Akbar at once devoted his personal attention to keep smooth the affairs of Lahore. By his order, Shah Abul Ma'ali was arrested and put in the charge of Pahlwan Gulgaz, the chief constable, who put him in prison from where he managed to escape.¹² Pahlwan was punished with imprisonment. With the fear of disgrace, he took poison and died. It was about this time that the famous Abdul Rahim Khan-i-Khana, son of Bairam Khan, was born in Lahore on the 17th December, 1556.

Emperor Akbar, left a force under the charge of Khizar Khwaja Khan to put order into disturbed affairs of the Punjab and quell the disturbances created by Sikandar Shah Sur. himself went to Delhi. But Khizar Khan being defeated by Skander's forces, fell back on Lahore.

Hearing the news of Khizar Khan's debacle, the Emperor alongwith his tutor, Bairam Khan set out for Lahore. This time Akbar stayed in Lahore for four months and fourteen days. He appointed Husain Khan Tukria, a nephew and son-in-law of Mehdi Qasim Khan, as governor of Lahore and returned to Delhi on the 15th *Safar* 965H/December 7, 1557.

In 967H/1560, Bariam Khan, s proceeding from Bikanir and his arrival at Lahore, was heard by Akbar. He dispatched Shamsuddin Muhammad Khan Atka and other nobles to Lahore to block Khan Kalan, s way to disturb Lahore. Soon after that Akbar himself followed him. When he was halting at Ludhiana, he heard about the victory of Shamsuddin Atka Khan and the of Khan-i- kahanan towards the mountains of Siwalik. Reaching Lahore, he conferred on Atka the title of Khan-i-Azam and bestowed on him and his family extensive *Jagirs* in the Punjab.

In beginning of *Rabi 'l*, 969H/ 1561, Shamsuddin was appointed prime minister and the Punjab seems to have been left in charge of Khan-i-kalan Qutbuddin Muhammad Khan, a brother of Shamasuddin Atka. Afterwards, Mir Muhammad Khan was appointed the viceroy of the province. It was during his reign that Lahore was disturbed first in 973 H/1566 by Akbar's half brother, Muhammad Hakim Mirza, who being expelled from Kabul, marched on the Punjab province intending to capture it. Plundering Bhera on the way, he reached Lahore and encamped in the garden of Mehdi Qasim Khan, which was situated outside the city on the right bank of the river Ravi. The siege was prolonged. In the meantime, the Emperor marched towards Lahore on the 3rd of *Jamudah I*, 974 H/November 17, 1566. Hakim Mirza, feeling incapable of resistance, fled to Kabul even before the arrival of Akbar in Lahore.⁴³ Akbar came to Lahore in February 1567 A.D. and stayed in the house of Mehdi Qasim Khan, in the Lahore fort. By the order of the Emperor, Qutbuddin Muhammad Khan and Kamal Khan Gakkhar, pursued Hakim, but by the time, he had already crossed the Indus and was moving swiftly towards Kabul. So, the pursuation was given up by them.⁴⁴

During his stay in Lahore, Akbar engaged himself in arranging the affairs of the people to his satisfaction. The *zamindars* of the rural areas waited on the imperial court to tender their allegiance and were graciously received. Muhammad Baqi Tarkhan, the ruler of Sindh, sent his ambassador to the court, and his offer to be recognized as a vassal of the Emperor, was accepted. During his stay, he hunted about 15000 *Qomorgha*, in the jungle, covering a space of forty *Kos* around Lahore. He again entrusted the whole administration of the Punjab province to Mir Muhammad Khan Atka and on the 12th Rajab 974H/ 23rd March, 1567, himself left for Agra, the imperial capital.

In 976/1568, the 13th regnal year of his reign, Akbar decided to disperse the members of the Atka tribe to different places in the province to break their political strength in Lahore. In the same year, Akbar appointed Husain Quli Khan the viceroy of the Punjab. As viceroy of Lahore, he with the assistnc of his brother, Ismail Quli Khan, addressed the administrative affairs of Lahore. On the 22nd *Zulhijjah* 978/ the 17th May, 1571. In Lahore Akbar inspected Husain Quli Khan's newly constructed buildings and then went to the Lahore fort. After hunting for a few days-near Lahore, Akbar left for Hisar on the 1st *Muharram*, 979H/May 26th, 1572. According to Badayuni, Husain Quli in his tenure repaired, restorted.

or rebuilt thousands of mosques and ancient Sepultures.

On the 15th of November, 1575 A.D., The Government of the Punjab, was taken from Husain Quli Khan and given to Shah Quli Khan Mahram, who was renowned as a brave and right-thinking man. In 986 H/1578A.D., Akbar proceeded to Lahore. When he reached near Khokhowal, a village near Lahore, a large number of the subjects of Lahore approached with some severe complaints against Shah Quli Mahram, the governor of Lahore. After hearing them, he removed Mahram from the position and appointed Sa'id Khan in his place. During Sa'id Khan's tenure, Mirza Hakim, once again attacked Lahore in the *Muharram* 989 H/ February 1581. Reaching the vicinity of Lahore, he began to prepare for attack on Lahore. Maan Singh, Sa'id Khan and Raja Bhagwant Das, took refuge in the fort and shut its gates. Meanwhile, the Emperor came by way of Sirhind to Kalanaur and Rohtas, and reached the Indus. When Hakim heard the news, he hurriedly fled to Kabul on the 23rd *Muharram*, 989H/ the 27th February, 1581. In January 1583 A.D., the commander-in-chiefship (Vice-royalty) of the province of the Punjab, was bestowed on Raja Bhagwan Das and Sa'id Khan received a *Jagir* in Sambal.⁴⁵

This time by the order of Akbar, the Daulat Khana-i-Am, or the halls of public audience, was embellished with all sorts of ornamentations and decorated with valuable stuffs and embroidered curtains. The chiefs of the neighbouring districts came to pay him homage, among others being the Raja of Kamaun whose ancestors had never before seen a Muhammadan sovereign. In the following *Ramzan*, the Emperor, left Sa'id Khan, Raja Bhagwan Das and Kuwar Maan Singh in charge of the affairs of the Punjab, and marched to Fatchpur, the capital.

At the beginning of the year 993 H/1584, in the Lahore province with political intention, he raised many Hindus to high ranks in his government. So, in accordance with his established custom of connection himself with Hindu families, 'married the prince Sultan Salim in his sixteenth year to the daughter of Raja Bhagwan Das. The Emperor went himself to his house and celebrated the ceremony of marriage in the presence of the *Qazis* and nobles on about February 16, 1584 A.D. A union of which prince Khusrau was the offspring'.

For political reasons, Akbar declared Lahore as his capital in 992 H/1584 and afterwards stayed here continuously for fourteen years (1584 to 1598). It also became the abode of generals, *amara*, landlords, traders and scholars. It was from Lahore that Akbar conducted military operations to sieze garden of Kashmir, to undertake wars against the north-eastern Afghans, to give peace to the conquest of populous country of Tafilah in Sindh and Qandahar within his empire, to arrange his campaigns with the Yusufzais to cleanse swat and Bajaur of the stain of rebellion, and uproot the thorn of the *Raushnais* from Tirah and Bangash. In one of such campaign, Raja Bir Bul, his greatest personal favourite, lost his life. Furthermore, the ruler of Turan remove the foot of friendliness, he would send a strong army there and follow it up in person. With these plans he resolved to spend some time in

Lahore, the new imperial capital. Reached Lahore on the night of the 27th May, 1586 A.D., he selected for his residence the house of Raja Bhagwan Das. By the end of the year 1586 A.D., when Akbar had conquered Kashmir 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 the imperial court, or should fall ill, the other might look after his work. He also sent with them a *Diwan*, and a *Bakhshi*. Lahore was entrusted again to Raja Bhagwan Das and with him was appointed Rai Pal Singh as a co-viceroy. As the court was there no *Diwan* and *Bakhshi* were appointed and the palace *Diwan* and *Bakhshi* performed these duties'.

In the year 1585 A.D., Mirza Rustam, a grand son Shah Ismail Safvi of Persia, having disagreed with his brother, came to Lahore with his family and dependents. For his honourable reception, the Emperor, sent Hakim Ainul Mulk, Khan-i-Khanan, Zain Khan Koka and other grandees of the empire to welcome him at a distance of four *kos* from Lahore. At the interview with the Emperor, he was presented with one *Karor Tanka* in cash and created an amir with a rank of 5,000. Multan was assigned him as a *Jagir*, and the Emperor also supplied him with articles of household use, such as carpets, utensils, etc valued at many thousands of rupees.

After hearing the death of Raja Bhagwant Das, the emperor was much grieved. By his orders, Qalij Khan was installed as viceroy of the Punjab in 1010 H./ 1602. Previously, proved to be a great general of Akbar's army. On the occasion Akbar ordered him to send his son, Hasan Qalij, with a body of troops to put down disturbance in Rohtas. Qalij Khan remained the viceroy of the Punjab till the death of Akbar in 1605 A.D.

'During his fifteen years stay at Lahore, Akbar took several steps to improve the affairs of his government as well as the Lahore city. In 1592 A.D, he introduced some new arrangements for provincial government. Under these arrangements on February 12, 1592 A.D., the provinces of the Punjab, Multan, Kabul and Kashmir were made over to Khawaja Shams -ad Din Khawafi, one of the *amirs* of Akbar, and Qalij Khan was relieved of his duties. Two years later, on the 25th April, 1594 A.D, the charge of the mint of Lahore, was also given to Khawaja Shamsuddin Khawafi. 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.'

Akbar coined Din Ilahi which subsequently affected the political life of the country including Lahore. Akbar adorned the rising sun and appeared daily at the Jharoka to be worshipped by the people. He revived the old Persian festival of Nauroz. He marked Virgo on his forehead and tied *Rakhi* to his wrist.

To strengthen himself politically, the Emperor, while at Lahore, married the daughter of Rai Singh, son of Rai Kalian Mul, to Prince Salim. The Emperor went to the house of the bridegroom's father with the bridal party, and after the nuptial ceremonies was

over, presents were exchanged.

Notwithstanding, all his eccentric behaviour in matters of religion, there can be no doubt that it was during his long residence at Lahore that the notions of religious liberality, for which Akbar became famous, were developed. At Lahore, his court was the resort of learned men of every creed and professors of different religions from every country, and they were allowed to converse with him freely on points of religion, its principles, and diversification. The Emperor erected two buildings outside the city for feeding poor Hindus and Musalmans, one of which he called Dhampurā, and the other Khairpura. In the latter the Jews and fire-worshippers were also entertained. The charge of these institutions was entrusted to Abul Fazl. As a large number of jogis also flocked to these establishments, a separate guest house was built for them, which got the name of Jogipura. Meetings were held on the evening of each Sabbath at which, in the words of Badayuni, "were discussed profound points of science, the subtleties of revelation, the curiosities of history and the wonders of nature."⁴⁶ Men employed themselves in "contemplation, posturing, address, abstractions and reveries, and in alchemy, fascination and magic. The king himself is said to have become an adept in the art of alchemy, and exhibited before the assembly the gold he had made. Sometimes, whole nights were passed in controversies. The Emperor remaining present throughout the proceedings, and evincing the greatest interest in the discussions which took place. Sometimes, these meetings led to fatal results. Thus, Mullah Ahmad, 'a learned *Shi'ah*', author of the *Tarikh-i-Alfi*, was assassinated in the streets of Lahore by Mirza Faulad Baig Barlas, because he had openly reviled the companions of the Holy Prophet. The Mirza was bound to the foot of an elephant and dragged through the streets of Lahore till his martyrdom.

After the burial of Mullah Ahmad Shaikh, Shaikh Faizi and Shaikh Abul Fazl, stationed guards over his grave; but such was the hatred for the *Shi'ah Mullah* in Lahore that, in spite of all precautions, when Emperor Akber left for Kashmir, the citizens, one night, disinterred his corpse and burnt it.

Akbar invited Purtegezi missionaries to Lahore to discuss with him the Christianity and the Christ himself. For the third time, at the earnest request of the Emperor, the Portuguese government at Goa, sent some missionaries, with all their books of law and gospel, to Lahore in 1595 A.D. The Fathers had described Lahore as a delightful city. In their journal, they had described, in glowing terms, the splendour of the king's court and the greatness of his army. It says that "5000 elephants, with iron-plates on their heads and their trunks and tusks armed with swords and daggers, marched in the rear of the cavalcade."⁴⁷ The imperial residence is described as being situated on an island in the river. The Emperor gave them the most gracious reception and was dazzled by an ornamented image of the Virgin which was exhibited to him. But they were discouraged on observing that the Emperor assiduously worshipped the rising sun, and was himself worshipped as a ray of the sun, the

illuminator of the universe, or as a light emanating from the Creator. Every morning Akbar presented himself at a window (*Jharoka*), and saw multitudes of people fall prostrate before him. The hopes of the Fathers not being realized, they eventually went back to Goa.⁴⁸ Akbar allowed them to establish a mission and build a church and school at Lahore, and to preach wherever they pleased. He listened to the Fathers very attentively and even appointed stipends for the priests.⁴⁹ These pensions were, however, withdrawn by Shah Jahan, a stricter Muslim, who also demolished the church.⁵⁰

Lahore was also about this period (1584 A.D.), visited by four Englishmen - Messrs Newbury, Fitch, Storey and Leeds, members of the Levant Company in Turkey. Their narration about Lahore, show that it was associated with the brightest period of Akbar's reign.

When Akbar quitted Lahore, in the forty-third year of his reign, after a residence of fifteen years (1584-1598) and moved to Agra he left the royal seraglio with Prince Khurram (Shah Jahan) in Lahore, in charge of Khawaja Shamsuddin. The Khawaja continued in this office until the forty-fourth year of the reign, when Akbar's mother, with the Begums, returned to Agra.⁵¹

Akbar devoted his full attention to the promotion and uplift of all aspects of Lahore. Population, wealth and prestige of Lahore increased unprecedentedly and this necessitated Emperor Akbar (1556-1605 A.D.) to expand the fort for essential requirements. He also added Masjad-i-Suffah, whose original traces are not available now.

Akbar also took steps to extend the city eastwards beyond the Rung Mahal and Shan Almi gate including the area then called '*Rarra*' (flat plain). The whole inhabited city was fortified anew with a thirty-feet-high burnt-brick defensive wall with thirteen magnificent gates in it.

The fifteen years prolonged stay of Akbar in Lahore inspired the nobles of the court to live in Lahore. Many of them even breathed their last here. Among them one was, Mirza Nizam-ud-Din Ahmad, author of the *Tabakat-i-Akbari*, he died at Lahore in 1586 A.D, in the forty-fifth year of his age, and was buried in "his garden at Lahore." He was largely mourned. In 1595 A.D., Shaikh Faizi, the Poet Laureate of Akbar's court, also died in Lahore. A short time after, Raja Todur Mal's death, Raja Bhagwant Das also died at Lahore. The death of latter took place in the beginning of 998 H/1November 13 or 12, 1589. The following year, 999 H/1582, Urfi, the great Persian poet of Akbar's court and on the 17th *Zulqa'adah*, 1001 H/1592, Shaikh Mubarak also died at Lahore. The latter was the father of the celebrated Faizi and Abul Fazl, two of the greatest writers and politicians that India had ever produced. Thus, his court's political galaxy suffered a lot of setback at Lahore.

Most of these nobles and *Omra* adorned Lahore by building their own prestigious mansions, which enhanced the beauty of Lahore to a great extent. Among such mansions, the *havelis* of Raja Bhagwant Das, Shaikh Mubarak, father of Abul Fazl and Faizi, Bairam

Khan, father of Abd- al Rahim Khan-i-Khana, Mirza Ghyas Baig, father of Asaf Khan and Noor Jahan, are worth mentioning. Todar Mul, the great financier and revenue accountant of Akbar, had his *haveli* in present Bazar-i-Hakiman inside Bhati gate. Some research scholars identify it with the present day Faqir Khana in the same locality. Mulla Abdullah entitled Makhdumul Mulk's mansions were also significant edifices added to Lahore. His buildings contained inside several pseudo graves as if some important persons were buried in them. But, actually, these contained invaluable treasures. Akbar opened these graves and surprisingly found three crores of rupees hidden in them. The area located in north east of Rung Mahal was developed as the first civil population of the period. Installation of several gardens and mosques by nobles in the city, had certainly enhanced the city in circumference.

Zain Khan Kokultash, a commander of 500 soldiers in this period and father-in-law of emperor Jahangir, added a new *Mohalla* just adjacent to the Mochi gate which still retains his name, Medan-i-Zain Khan. In this *Mohalla*, he also built a spacious palace of his own.⁵² A bath and *Tekhana* etc. belonging to his palace, existed as late as Ranjit Singh's period. In 1959, some traces of this palace were excavated outside Mochi Gate. All these buildings surely increased the population of the city.

Lahore, in this period, too, continued to be an attractive city for its moderate climate. For eight months of the year, it used to be very pleasant and moderate. Further, the Ravi continued to play an invaluable role in making its environment suiting to the Mughals. Most of the official buildings and gardens were erected across its banks. In Akbar days, the Ravi used to flow quite close on the north of Lahore Fort. A branch of Ravi had flowed through the areas now called the Meleod Road. Passing on the north of tomb of Hazrat Mulla Darya, ultimately, it had merged into the river Ravi somewhere near the present Anarkali tomb. The spacious, busy and brick paved bazaars of the city, were generally cleaned with water of the Ravi.⁵³ The Ravi served as an excursion spot for the people and nobles of Lahore. The Ravi was also used for navigation and commercial purposes. Akbar also transported his heavy ammunition to Thatta through boats navigating the Ravi. It was used in a battle fought against Jani Baig, the ruler of Thatta. The commercial goods were shipped down through it from Lahore to Bunder Lehri. Ship manufacturing industry was also in operation in this period. In May, 1594 A.D., the Emperor himself sailed the newly manufactured ship from Lahore to Thatta. The Ravi also served to meet the drinking and irrigating water needs of the people. To make the life more comfortable, Akbar erected artificial wells which also supplied drinking water to the people. Water from these wells was also used for domestic needs.

During Akbar's period the suburbs of Lahore also swelled in the size and population. In those days, Lahore was surrounded with jungle which was spread over a vast area extending to Qasur, Sharqpur, Shaikhupura and Amritsar. Akbar was very fond of hunting and Lahore's environs were ideal for hunting grounds.

Up to this period, according to a native writer, Lahore consisted of a number of detached hamlets; it then grew into an extensive city. The city, par excellence, was that portion surrounded by the wall and covered the same area as the present city. The whole population inside the fortification wall was divided into nine *Guzrs* comprising Chakri Dewani, Machhi Hata, Wachho Wali, Mubariz Khan, Rarra, Shahbaz Khan, Manik Chowk etc.⁵⁴ But outside the walls hazards were long and thickly populated suburbs which no longer exist at present. Nizamuddin Ahmad, as contemporary historian of Akbar, wrote that in latter part of Akbar's reign, the most populous quarter of Lahore was the quarter of Langer Khan; which was situated between the civil station of Anarkalli and the village of Mehzang, upwards of a mile from the centre of the present city. Haji Sawaiy, Abu Ishaq, Kot Kroh, Dilawari, Qutb Gori, *Lakhi*, Rasulpur, Khui Miran, Qila Daulat etc. were the other suburbans Mohallas of the city.

Abul Fazl, speaking of Lahore in the second year of Akbar's reign, writes:-
It is a very populous city, the resort of people of all nations and a centre of extensive commeree. In the shortest time great armies can be collected there, and ammunitions of war in any quantity can be procured for the use of troops. A royal mint, carpet manufactory, and other establishments were founded there. The Emperor had a taste for gardening and sent for skilful gardeners from Persia to cultivate grapes and melons in Lahore.⁵⁵

Abul Fazl further remarks:-

"Lahore is a great city in the Bari Doab; in magnificence and populous, it has few equals; in old history it is called lohawar. In the time of His Majesty, the fort has been built of solid bricks and lime, and as, from time to time, the seat of Government was established here, lofty palaces were built, to which additional beauty was given by luxuriant gardens. It is the resort of people of all nations from every city, and wonderful works have been made here. In extent and population, it far surpasses the average."⁵⁶

c) Jahangir

Thirty eight years old Prince Salim ascended the throne at Agra on the 20th *Jamudah-II*, 1014 H/November 2, 1605, he bestowed the government of the Punjab upon Sa'id Khan, a chief of the Mughal tribes and one of the distinguished grandees of Akbar's court. At the same time, Jahangir advised him to protect the rights of the oppressed and poor people, and treat them justly. He also warned him if any tyne was inflicted upon such subjects, he would be held responsible and punished accordingly.

Jahangir had hardly completed six months of his reign, when his eldest son Khusrav, rebelled against him and in the evening of *Zulhijjah* 8, 1014 H/ April 16, 1606, with three hundred and fifty horsemen, rushed towards Lahore. Abdur Rahim, the *Diwan* of

fortress and the city in a state of defence after fully guarding with the help of Mirza Husain and Abdur Rahim, *Diwans*, and Noor ad -Din Quli, Kotwal of Lahore. By this time, Dilawar Khan had repaired the ramparts and towers of the fort, mounted cannons and swivel guns to face Khursau's attack. Khusräu encouraged his men with the announcement that after the capture of the city, they would be allowed to plunder it for seven days and that the women and children would be made captives of war. His soldiers set one of the gates on fire. Meanwhile, Sa'id Khan the governor of Lahore, also returned from the campaign of Kashmir and entered the city under the cover of night. But Dilawar Khan, Husain Baig the *Diwan*, Nooruddin Quli the Kotwal and other officers of the imperial army, who were all inside the Fort, set up another barrier at the gate and did not allow Khusräu's forces to pass in. The siege went on for nine days. Khusräu heard that the imperial army from Agra was on its way to Lahore. Feeling desperate, he thought it advisable to meet the royal forces in advance, away from the city. Accordingly, he marched from Lahore and met the imperial forces at Bhairawal, half way between Jallundur and Amritsar. A severe battle took place between the two forces. Engagement was short but bloody and decisive. Shaikh Fareed and Sadaat-i-Barah made some invaluable contribution on the royal side. The rebels gave up the fight and fled from the battlefield. Khusräu himself escaped alongwith his two friends, Husain Baig and Abdur Rahim. Raja Basu, a trustworthy chief of Mau was asked by Jahangir to pursue the Prince. Khusräu was arrested by Abul Qasim Namkin with the help of Kilan, son-in-law of Kamal Chaudhary of Sohhdhra while he was about to cross the Chenab on the way to Rohtas fort. Khusräu alongwith his rebellious fellows was brought before Jahangir at Lahore on the *Muharram* 3, 1015 H/1607- He had encamped at that time in the garden of Mirza Kamran and was waiting for the result of the pursuit. Khusräu's two principal advisers, Husain Baig and Abdur Rahim, standing on his right and left respectively, were also led to before the Emperor. The prince stood between the two, trembling and weeping. He was taken into custody, but his two counselors, were enclosed in the raw skins of an ox and an ass and paraded round the city, seated on asses, with their faces towards the tail. A double row of sharp stakes was set up from the garden of Mirza Kamran to the city gates, and seven hundreds of his conspirators were impaled alive. The Emperor witnessed the scene seated in the royal pavilion. Husain Baig died in a most excruciating manner, but Abdur Rahim survived. Khusräu himself, deeply dejected, with tears and groans, was slowly conducted on an elephant along the ghastly avenue, a mace-bearer, with mock dignity, calling out to him to receive the salutations of his followers. His life was spared, but he was kept in close confinement in the fort of Agra. According to some sources, he was also blinded.

From Monday, the last day of *Zulhijjah*, 1014H/1606 to the 9th *Muharram* 1015H/1607, the Emperor remained in Mirza Kamran's garden. After having punished the rebels, Jahangir moved from the garden to the Lahore fort and stayed there for about a year. The Emperor bestowed Bhairawal, where the battle with Khusrau's forces had taken place, on Shaikh Fareed and rewarded him with the high title of Murtaza Khan. After Khusrau's affairs were settled, the Emperor set out for Kabul. He returned from Kabul to Lahore on *Sha'ban-13*, 1016 H./December 13, 1607. During his brief stay of two weeks in Lahore, he participated in the celebrations of *Shab-i-Braat*, appointed Qawamuddin as *Diwan*, Shaikh Yusuf as *Bakhshi*, Jamaluddin as *Kotwal* of Lahore and permitted Qalij Khan to continue as the governor of the province. He presented each of them, according to his status with a dress of honour.

Afterward, Jahangir set out for Agra. In the meantime, Guru Arjan, the fourth Sikh Guru, the compiler of the *Adi-Granth*, was arrested on the charge of assisting Khusrau. He was placed in confinement in Lahore fort where he died in 1606 A.D.

Shaikh Fareed Bukhari, who defeated Khusrau on the banks of the Beas, was appointed governor of Lahore in place of Qalij Khan in 1018 H/1610. In the eighth year of his reign, on the 26th *Rabi' I*, 1022 H/1611, Jahangir raised the *mansab* of Murtaza Khan by 1,000, so that it came to 6,000 personal and 5000 horse. On the 5th *Rabi' I*, 1024 H/April 4, 1615, in the tenth year of Jahangir's reign, Murtaza Khan with the permission of Jahangir went to Kangra to capture it.⁵⁷ Murtaza Khan died before the fort could be captured but subsequently the fort was captured in the year 1029 H/1620. Jahangir hearing the news of his death, applauded his services very much.⁵⁸

In 1616 A.D., after the death of Fareed Bukhari Murtaza Khan, Mirza Ghyas Baig was appointed the governor of Lahore. In January 1617 A.D., Agha Fazil, who had been appointed his deputy at Lahore, was dignified with the title of Fazil Khan. In 1617 A.D. Jahangir conferred upon Ghyas Baig *I'tmad ad-Daula*, one of his private elephants named Jagjot. When Ghyas Baig was promoted to the post of Prime Minister, on his recommendation, Mir Qasim, the *Bakhshi* of the *Ahadis*, was promoted to the post of the Governor of the Punjab in the beginning of the 13th regnal year of Jahangir's reign on Thursday the 21 *Rabi' II*, 1027 H./March 28, 1618. As a first Ahadi, he held such a high post, was son-in-law of Gias Baig and husband of Munija Begum, the elder sister of Noor Jahan. The Emperor also bestowed upon him a *mansab* of 1000 personal and 400 horse and the title of Qasim Khan. The post of *Bakhshi* of *Ahadis* was given to Inayat Khan in place of Qasim Khan. A year later when the Emperor halted at the Rohtas fort, on his way to Kashmir, in 1028, H/1619, Qasim Khan was received by him and was favoured with a horse, a sword and a *parm-narm* (soft shawl). He was promoted to the *mansab* of 2,000 personal and 1,000 horse in the year 1029 H/1620.

On his return from Kashmir in 1030 H/1620, Jahangir came to Lahore en route

Jahangirabad (Shaikhupura) where he stayed for a few days. Qasim Khan the governor of Lahore specially went to *Jahangirabads* to receive him and pay him homage with a present of fifty mohrs. Leaving *Jahangirabad* (Shaikhupura) "on the 25th of the month of 'Ilahi, ' the royal camp was pitched at the garden of Momin Ishqbaz. On the 5th *Muharram*, 1036 H/November 30, 1620, having taken his royal seat on the elephant called Inder, he marched to the city. Three watches and two hours after sunrise, at a propitious moment, he entered the royal palace, and, amidst the congratulations and warm greetings of the people, put up in the edifices which had been newly built under the management of Mamur Khan.⁵⁹

The 15th year of his reign was marked by great rejoicings, which took place at Lahore on the betrothal of Shahriyar, the fifth son of the Emperor, with Ladli Begum, the daughter of Noor Jahan, by Ali Quli Baig Turkman, the grand daughter of I'timad ud-Daula the Madarul Mulk, the Emperor's Prime Minister. The Emperor sent gifts and valuables costing a *lakh* of rupees, as Sanchak, or betrothal present. The Prime Minister gave a grand feast to the imperial *omra* in his new palace at Lahore. The Emperor writes in high terms of this palace, which was furnished with elegant suites of rooms and stately halls. The Emperor and the royal *harem* graced it with a visit, and was sumptuously entertained by the old Minister. After these events the Emperor marched to Agra.⁶⁰ Qasim Khan was replaced by Sadiq Khan in 1032 H/1623, as the governor of the province. It was during Qasim Khan's tenure that the conquest of Kangra was made in 1622 A.D. Khawaja Abdul Husain, the *Diwan* of Lahore, assisted him in achieving this important victory.

In the 21st year of his reign (1035 H/1625), when the Emperor returned from Kabul and halted at Lahore, he appointed Yamin ud-Daula Asaf Khan as the Viceroy of Lahore, in succession to Sadiq Khan. But soon after Asaf Khan was appointed Prime Minister and the order was given to him to preside permanently over the administration of all affairs relating to revenue and politics. Lahore continued to prosper under his administration (A.D. 1625-28), and his taste for architecture tended much to embellish the town and the citadel' but the Emperor's own end was near.

Jahangir declared Lahore as a second capital in 1622 A.D. Soon afterwards there was a tussle between Asaf Khan and his sister, Noor Jahan, to see their son-in-laws on the crown of India after the death of Jahangir. The court was now divided into three parties, each supporting one of the three princes, Khusrav, Shahjahan and Shahryar. The city of Lahore became the centre of their political activities.

As said earlier Jahangir as a ruler spent most of his time in Lahore. He made Lahore the headquarters of his government in 1622 A.D. and stayed there till his death in 1627 A.D. In this period, he exercised much influence in upgrading the cultural life and physical developed of the Lahore city. Owing to his stay, the leading nobles, grandees, government functionaries, literary figures, artists, traders, artisans, religious leaders and prominent teachers, both local and foreign, were also urged to live in Lahore. The presence of such an

intellectual galaxy in the city, surely raised Lahore into a cosmopolitan centre of first grade in the world.

The ever moderate climate and charming atmosphere of the city was also an other attraction for the people to come from everywhere to live in Lahore. The cool banks of the Ravi and its running water provided a suitable environment for colourful life in Lahore. It was for these reasons that Jahangir and Noor Jahan, both had fallen in love of Lahore. Noor Jahan's tribute to Lahore in the following verse, expresses the amount of her emotional love for the city:

لاهور را بد جان برابر خریدہ ایم جان دادہ ایم و جنت دیگر خریدہ ایم⁶¹

'We have purchased Lahore at the barter of our life. At the cost of our life we have purchased the second paradise.'⁶²

Naturally, Lahore was expanded physically owing to the increase in local population and the settlement of immigrants from the native and other lands. Its circumference certainly increased in area owing to erection of new *havelis*, gardens, mosques etc. Its expansion in this period was mainly on Shahdara side. Begum Kot, now located on the right bank of the river Ravi and adjacent to Shahdara, is also related to be an extension of the same period, probably belonging to the beginning of this era, and attributed to the name of Jahangir's mother, Begum Mariam Zamani. The site of Shahdara also received some new gardens like Bagh-i-Mirza Momin Ishaqbaz, Bagh-i-DilKusha etc., owned by the Mughal nobles. At Shahdara, the old gardens, Bagh-i-Mehdi Qasim and of other nobles, were preserved as well. Shahdara was further developed as the welcoming and seeing off point for the royal caravans. This area also increased in hustle and bustle as *Parao* of traders.

The city further expanded with the erection of some new *havelis* and edifices built by the members of the royal court, government functionaries, nobles and other well to do families of that time. Grand *havelis* of such high ranking personalities, were, generally, built in the suburbs of the city, but close to the boundry walls on the banks of the branch of the river Ravi, passing through the area presently known as the McLeod Road, Asaf Khan's *haveli* was very prominent in this connection.

Among the great functionaries, Shaikh Fareed governor of Lahore, had expanded the city by populating a Mohalla after his own name and building a large bath and a chowk. Besides, he constructed his buildings comprising a *haveli*, a garden, a *hammam* etc. A grand mosque was also built by him near his buildings. With the erection of these buildings of Shaikh Fareed, the city was extended on the site presently occupied with the offices of the Lahore district and its Tehsil headquarters.⁶³ Installation of gardens and grand buildings became a symbol of social status among the nobles of Lahore in that period.

Emperor Jahangir in his *Tuzuk*, regarded Lahore as one of the greatest places in Hindustan.⁶⁴ He adorned the city with new buildings, but these were few, comprising the

great *Khwabgah*, (sleeping palace) the Moti Masjid (Pearl Mosque) formerly the Chapel: Royale for the imperial *harem*, the tomb of Anarkali and Eidgah-i-Jahangiri etc.

Delact, an Italian traveler, who came to Lahore in Jahangir's time, made the following observation about Lahore of that period:-

Lahore is by far the largest city in the East, for the circumference of its ditch (recently built by order of the king) and wall (built under Selim) is 24 *cos* (*Kos*). In the time of the Pathan kings it was a mere village, Multan being then a much more important place; but it was en-larged by Hamaun (Humayun). The city suburbs are six *cos* (*Kos*) long. The royal citadel is surrounded by a very strong brick wall. There are gates, 9 of which lead into the suburbs, whilst 3 open upon the river. The streets of the city are fine, and are paved with stone. The inhabitants are chiefly Banianes and artisans. The buildings are well-built and lofty; they are constructed of brick; many of those belonging to Hindus, are approached by flights of six or seven steps, steep and difficult to climb, for the sake of safety and of privacy from passers-by. The citadel is situated on the bank of the beautiful river Ravee, which lower down joins the Indus. The river Ravee comes from the east, out of the mountains of Kashimer (or Ravi some say) and flows past the northern side of the city. The royal palace lies on its bank, within the citadel; the approach to the citadel from the city lies through a great gateway and thence through a second small gate into a square courtyard where the royal guards are on duty; within this, through another gateway, to the left, is an inner courtyard, in which the King, s *Durbar* is to be seen; around this are a large number of guard-posts for the nobles who are on guard; within this is a third courtyard, in the middle of which the king's Devoncan may be seen, with several bed-chambers in which the king is wont to rest from 8 to 11 in the evening... The river crossed to the west of the citadel; and from thence a road leads towards Kâbul. The whole region beyond the river is most pleasant.⁶⁵

Richard Still and John Growther, two English travelers, who visited Lahore in 1626, in connection with their trade trip, made the following observation about Jahangir's Lahore:

'Lahore is one of the best cities of in Master Coryat's words, 'such a delicate and even tract of ground as I never saw before.'⁶⁶

f) Shahjahan

Born in Lahore on the 30th *Rabi'ul Awwal* 1000 H/1592, Prince Khurram was well known as Shah Jahan. After the death of his father, Jahangir, he ascended the throne at Agra,

but the bloody drama for his accession was staged at Lahore between Asaf Khan, his father-in-law and Noor Jahan, his step mother. The transfer of power to him, was not smooth but was consequence of a blood-shed caused due to the fight between the forces of Shahryar and Asaf Khan, near Lahore as well as execution of many members of the royal family.⁶⁷

Shahjahan's reign (1627-1658), as a whole, was a period of peace and prosperity. So, politically Lahore also remained peaceful. His sagacious and learned governors also contributed considerably in maintaining law and order which provided a suitable atmosphere for the progress of the city.

As Jahangir died at Rajauri, Asaf Khan, father-in-law of Shahjahan, brought Dawer Bakhsh, son of Prince Khusrau, out of confinement and held out to him the prospect of his becoming king. After assuring Dawer Bakhsh on oath, he placed him on the elephantback, raised royal canopy and proceeded towards the Lahore capital. Under these circumstances, Noor Jahan while proceeding towards Lahore, sent Asaf Khan several messages to meet her, to which he paid no heed. At the same time, Asaf Khan quietly sent Banarsi, a swift runner, to Shahjahan in Deccan, with intelligence of Jahangir's death and sent his signet ring as a guarantee. On the way, while marching to Lahore, Asaf Khan put Noor Jahan almost in a state of confinement and did not permit anybody to communicate with her.

Shahryar heard the news of his father's death, Jahangir, while he had already reached Lahore. Declaring himself the emperor of India, he seized the royal treasures and everything belonging to the state which was in Lahore. To secure troops and supporters, he gave to everyone what he asked for, and in the course of fortnight he distributed seventy *lakhs* of rupees among the nobles. Mirza Baysunghur, son of the prince Daniyal, after the death of the Emperor, also fled to Lahore and joined Shahryar. The latter under the command of Mirza Baysunghur, sent a force to deal with the pretensions of Asaf Khan and his puppet before their entry to Lahore. The rival forces met about three miles from Lahore. Asaf Khan rode on an elephant to show himself to his followers and to cheer them up for the fight. On the very first charge, Shahryar's forces broke up and fled. When Shahryar, who encamped on the bank of Ravi river, was waiting for the result, heard of the defeat of his lieutenant, Baysunghur, he retreated to the Lahore fort and closed its gates. But his doom was sealed.

Afterwards, Asaf Khan moved towards Lahore his assistants, had entered the fort at night and pitched their camp in the royal courtyard. In the morning, they invaded the citadel and occupied it. They instituted a search for Shahryar, who had concealed himself in the ladies' apartments in the citadel. On the following day, he was brought out by the eunuchs, Firoz Khan and Khidmat Prast Khan Raza Bahadur, who were in league with Asaf Khan. Made to appear before Dawer Bakhsh, Shahryar was compelled to submit. Then he was ordered to be imprisoned. Next day, he was blinded.

In the meantime, Shah Jahan reached Agra and declared himself as emperor of Hindustan. He immediately sent a special decree through Sayyid Amani Raza Bahadur to

Asaf Khan at Lahore with the orders that all those princes present at Lahore, should be blinded. *Khutba* was read out at Lahore in Shah Jahan's name. Later, on the 25th of *Jamudah-I*, of the same year, he executed Shahryar, son-in-law of Noor Jahan, Dawer Bukhsh and his brother Girshashup, Tehmoorus and Hoshung, sons of Prince Daniyal who had espoused the cause of Shahryar.

Just after his accession, Shahjahan appointed Khidmat Prasat Khan Raza Bahadur, governor of the Punjab in 1037 H/1628, only for a short time as Asaf Khan again took over the charge of Lahore in the same year. Later, he relinquished his charge of viceroyalty of Lahore to Qalij Khan in 1038 H/1628. Asaf Khan was called to Delhi by the Emperor who promoted him to the rank of the Prime Minister of the entire Mughal India. In the second year of the reign of Shahjahan, on the Rajab 8, 1038 H/March 3, 1629, Qalij Khan was transferred to the government of Allahabad and the government of the Punjab was conferred on Inayatullah Allah Yazdi in 1038 H/1629. The latter was also removed from this post on *Zulq'adah* 2, 1041 H/May 21, 1632 as he could not manage the affairs of the Punjab. Hakim Alimuddin, surnamed Wazir Khan, was appointed the viceroy of the Punjab instead.

In the seventh year of his reign (1043 H/1633), Shahjahan set out for Lahore. On the 7th of Shawwal riding on an elephant, the Emperor started towards the town of Lahore. The Emperor was received with great pomp and show by Wazir Khan. The Emperor entered the palace after the first watch of the day. On the 9th of the same, Wazir Khan presented him Jewels, gold and silver utensils, rich stuffs, carpets, horses and camels, valued at four *lakhs* of rupees. While at Lahore, the Emperor dispersed alms among the poor on the 12th *Rabi'ul-Aswal*, the Holy Prophet's death anniversary. On the Shawwal 21, 1043 H/April 20, 1634, the Emperor and the royal princes were sumptuously entertained by Asaf Khan in his new palace.

The Emperor visited, this time, Hazrat Mian Mir, and presented him a *Tasbeeh* and a white turban. Shahjahan also met Shah Blawal. Shah Jahan also paid a visit to his father's (Jahangir) tomb at Shahdara and disbursed rupees ten thousand among the needy persons and beggars.

When the Emperor was returning to Lahore from Kabul, it was reported to him on *Jamudah I*, 8, 1049 H/1639 that Wazir Khan, the viceroy of Lahore, had committed certain indecent acts and was not getting on well with the public. An order was issued for his transfer and Mu'tamad Khan was appointed the viceroy of Lahore.

The Emperor again held his court at Lahore in 1049 H/1639. Qandhar, which had been in possession of the Shah of Persia since 1622 A.D., was surrendered by Ali Mardan. Ali Mardan Khan, met Shahjahan in the Lahore fort, where he was received with great respect. He presented to the Emperor one thousand golden Mohirs. The Emperor in return bestowed upon him the rank of six thousand *Suwar* as well as *zat*. For his temporary residence, the *haveli* of Asaf Khan was given to him. He was also given rupees ten *lakh* as

T.A. and rupees twenty thousand to meet the expenses of his servants. Later ShahJahan appointed him the governor of Kashmir.

At Lahore Shah Jahan also attended the celebrations of *Mearajul Nabi* and *Miladul Nabi*. Sumptuous feast was also arranged in his honour. Ali Mardan Khan was made the governor of the Punjab in 1639 in addition to his governorship of Kashmir.

In 1049II/1639, on the proposal of Ali Mardan Khan a canal was cut of from the Ravi at Madhupur and brought to Lahore.

After having settled the affairs of Kabul and the Punjab provinces, the Emperor left Lahore for Akbarabad (Agra), on the *Sha'ban* 22, 1052 H/November 15, 1642. Four days earlier, on the *Sha'ban* 18, 1052 H/November 11, 1642, Sa'id Khan Bahadur Zafar Jang paid homage to the Emperor at Lahore and also presented *Nazr* of some *Ashrafis*. On the 21st *Sha'ban* 1052 H/November 14, 1642, Zafar Jang was honoured with a *Khil'at-i-Khassa* and the vicerealty of the Punjab.

On the 4th *Muharram*, 1054 II /March 14, 1644, the Emperor transferred Sa'id Khan Bahadur Zafar Jang to the government of the Qandhar province, and his assistant, Abid Khan, whose title was Qalij Khan was made the governor of the Punjab. During Qalij Khan's governorship, the Mughal forces remained engaged in the Frontier Province and he reinforced the army which was conducting the Balakh and Badakhshan campaigns. It was in his tenure that on the 29th *Shawwal*, 1055 II/December 18, 1645, Noor Jahan, the widow of Jahangir, died at Lahore.

After the death of Qalij Khan, on the 19th *Safar*, 1056 II/April 6, 1646, Ja'far Khan was appointed the viceroy of the Punjab, and his brother, Behram, as Bakshi and *Waqia' Nawis* of Lahore.

In the twenty-sixth year of the reign of Shahjahan, Lahore became a centre of organization of forces with artillery to attack Qandhar, after Prince Aurangzib was defeated by the garrison of the fort. Prince Dara Shikoh, after the return of the army from Qandhar, had guaranteed the emperor to conquer that territory.

Qazi Afzal, the viceroy of the Punjab, was succeeded by Shaikh Abdul Karim in 1062 II /1651. He was in turn succeeded by Khawaja Mu'in (Mu'in Khan) and Bahadur Khan in 1066 II/1655 and 1067 H/1656 successively. Sayyid 'Izzat Khan was the last viceroy of the Punjab of Shahjahan's time.

Lahore during Shahjahan's reign, though was no longer the imperial capital but, was still an important city being on the routes leading to Qandhar and Kashmir and was the arsenal and rendezvous of the armies dispatched to the north-west frontier. Besides, many ministers of the Mughal government, members of the nobility and great functionaries had built their *havelies* in Lahore. The reason for residing in Lahore was the moderate climate and cultural milieu of Lahore as well as its location near Iran and Central Asia, the home lands of most of such government functionaries.

The area in the east of the Shah Alami gate, was inhabited for the first time in this period. The official major emphasis, however, remained on the expansion of the Lahore fort. The tranquility of his reign, affluence of his people and amity among nobility is best reflected in those magnificent private and public buildings, which were added to Lahore during his reign. Shah Jahan paid, at least, six visits to the city after becoming emperor. During each visit, his liberty and munificence found ways to bestow on the city magnificent buildings, gardens, palaces, *hamams*, *sarais* etc. First of all, Lahore Fort of Akbar and Jahangir's periods, was especially adapted to the taste and designs of Shah Jahan. Here, he built first of all the Diwan-i-Aam. Then he built afresh the northern wall as well as a part of western wall and gave it a new look by covering it with 8000 square yards of glassed surface with an endless array of colorful panels depicting scenes of courtly and folk life of the time. Next to the wall, several buildings were added such as Shah Burj (Royal tombs), and *Naulakha* in 1631 A.D., *Khawab Gah-i-Shahjahani*, *Hammam-i-Shahi*, *Khilwat Khana* in 1633 A.D. and *Diwan-i-Khas* in 1645 A.D. He also enhanced the prestige of the city by erecting the tomb of his father, Jahangir, which is termed as the first gem of the Mughal architecture by the art historians. With the installation of Shalamar garden in the east of Lahore, the city began to expand on that side.

The area lying between Rung Mahal and Delhi gate also got more attention than any other part of the city. In 1634 A.D., Hakim Alimuddin, surnamed Wazir Khan, built one of the most magnificent mosques of all the periods in the centre of the newly inhabited area and saw that all the arterial routes of this part of the city passed through Chowk Wazir Khan on the east of his mosque. Close by it, he also built 'Katra Wazir Khan' and a Aaraj, thus setting an example for others to see where they should look for the centre of the city. The Mughals also preferred to select their residences at various points near the wall of the city, Wazir Khan built his two palaces, one called Pari Mahal close to the Shah Almi gate and the other in Mohallah Thatti Malahan close to Taxali gate. Similarly, Nawwab Sa'dullah Khan, the one-time prime Minister of Shah Jahan, built his "*Pathran Wali Haveli*" near Mochi gate. However, his prestigious palace called '*Haveli Mian Khan*' actually formed the centre of the entire city close to the present day Rung Mahal Chowk. The famous historian Muhammad Salih Kumboh had his *haveli* just inside the Mochi gate. Close by it, he completed a small gem-like mosque in 1659 A.D. Aasf Khan constructed his grand *haveli* on the left bank of the off shoot of the Ravi, passing on the east of Delhi gate. *Naulakha* garden was also a notable addition on the same branch of the Ravi. Ali Mardan Khan also added to the beauty of Lahore with the addition of his buildings. The population of Shahdara for the first time came into notice because of the inhabitation of the *Sangtrash* (stone-cutters) and other artisans who were engaged in the construction of mausoleum of the Emperor Jahangir. Thus, *Mahallah Sangtrashan* at Shahdara reminds us the expansion of Lahore on the this site during the reign of Shajahan.

Fra Sebastian Manrique, a Spanish monk, who visited Lahore in 1641 A.D., in Shahjahan's reign, describes Lahore as under:

On the twenty first 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 for 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 other in small carts, jolting one against the other as they went along. The city of Lahore is beautifully situated, commanding agreeable views, having on one side a river with crystal waters. Lahore, the second city of the Mughal empire (as well on account of riches as its size) is ornamented with fine palaces and gardens, also tanks and fountains. Lahore also swell in circumference because of erection of several shrines, *khanqahs*, *Madrassahs*, mosques, tombs and gardens.⁶⁸

g) Aurangzeb Alamgir

Lahore received little royal attention during Alamgir's reign and the main reason for it was his campaigns in Deccan which kept him engaged in war for more than twenty five years. Ultimately political situation in Lahore began to degenerate and finally to decline. But Lahore played an important role in helping him to succeed to the throne. It was in the plains of the Punjab province that he defeated the opposing forces of his brother, Dara Shikoh had thus cleared his way to the throne on the 8th *Zulhijjah*, 1067 H /September 17, 1657.

Dara Shikoh being afraid of Aurangzeb, from Agra fled to Lahore. Reaching Lahore, he took possession of the Lahore fort on the 14th Shawwal.1068 H/July 15, 1658. Seizing on the local royal treasury, he began to raise an army, rewarded the *Omra* munificently, and in a short time succeeded in collecting around him twenty thousand horsemen. Khonja Khan, the *Faujdar* of Bhera and Khushab, and Raja Rajrup, the Chief of Jammu, also took his side. But hearing the news of arrival of Aurangzeb, Dara Shikoh left for Multan and from there marched towards frontier boundaries of present Pakistan with the intension to proceed to Persia.

Aurangzeb in persuasion of Dara Shikoh reached Multan. But hearing the departure of Dara Shikoh from Multan, he sent his men in his persuasion and himself came to Lahore. Reaching in the vicinity of Lahore on the 24th *Muharram*, 1069 H/ October 22, 1658, he encamped near Ichhra the village in the vicinity of Lahore. The nobles of Lahore visited him there and paid their homage to the Emperor. Next day, the Emperor rode on a gigantic elephant, passed through the city and reached the Hathipol gate of Lahore fort. There he

halted for a short while and had a minute inspection of the fort. Amanullah the Qal'dar of the fort paid his respects. Aurangzeb gave him vassal of instructions regarding the arrangements to be made in the citadel. Turning his elephant on the way to Shalamar garden, on the way, when reached near the Wazir Khan Mosque, he dismounted from it and said his *Zuhar* prayer with the congregation in the mosque. After his prayer, he resumed his journey and reached the Bagh-i-Faiz Bakhsh (a terrae of Shalamar garden). During his four days stay in the garden, he appointed Khalilullah Khan, the Subedar of Lahore. On the 30th *Muharram*, 1066 H/October 28, 1658, Aurangzib departed from Faiz Bakhsh Bagh to Delhi. Before his departure, he appointed Ibrahim Khan as a viceroy of the Punjab in place of Khalilullah Khan.

On the 7th *Jamudah I*, 1073 H/December 18, 1662, the Emperor left for Lahore en route Kashmir. The Emperor with his court reached Lahore on the 2th *Rajab*, 1073 H/February 10, 1663 and put up his camp in the garden of Faiz Bakhsh for a week. On the 10th *Rajab*, 1073 H/February 18, 1663, the Emperor, riding an elephant with prince Muhammad Mu'zzam, entered the city, at two watches after sunrise and went to the palace in the Lahore fort. The following day, it being a Friday, the Emperor said his prayers in the mosque of Firuz Khan in the outskirts of the Lahore fort, close to the Hathiapol gate. During this month, a sum of Rs.20000 was distributed among the deserving persons, through 'Abid Khan *Sadr us-Sudur*. After staying for two and half months in Lahore, on the 25th of *Ramazan*, 1073 H/May 3, 1663, the Emperor started for Kashmir..

On his return from Kashmir, on the 4th *Rabi 'I*, 1074 H/October 6, 1663, the Emperor stayed for a few days in the garden of Dilkusha, Ibrahim Khan, the viceroy of the Punjab met him in the garden while coming from Lahore. Aurangzib offered rupees ten thousand at the mausoleum of his grand-father, Jahangir. On the 11th *Rabi 'II*, 1074 H/November 12, 1663, a grand *Durbar* was held in the Shah Burj, or the regal tower in the Lahore fort. The palace in fact was beautifully decorated, with a great display of splendour and magnificence. This being the 46th birth anniversary of the Emperor, he was weighed against gold, silver and other metals, which were given away as alms. Ibrahim Khan, the viceroy of the Punjab, Haji Muhammad Tahir, the Qala'dar, Firuz Khan, *Faujdar* of Dipalpur, and Amir Khan, the governor of Kabul. Before leaving for Delhi on the 21st *Rabi'-II*, 1074 H/November 22, 1663, the camp was fixed for three days in the garden of Faiz Bakhsh (Shalamar garden).

The Emperor appointed Muhammad Amin Khan the Governor of Ohind in place of Ibrahim on the 6th *Jumada I*, 1078 H/November 24, 1667, to take over the charge of province from Ibrahim Khan, the viceroy of the Punjab.

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 Marhatah in the Deccan, and the rebellion of the tribes of Rajputana.

When Ibrahim Khan was appointed the governor of Kabul for the next six years, we do not know who held the reins of the government in the Punjab. But we find that on the 29th *Jamudah II*, 1086 H/September 20, 1675, Amanat Khan (Sayyid Ahmad Khan) took over the government of the Punjab. After about one and half year, Qawamuddin Khan was appointed the viceroy of the Punjab on the 17th *Rabi 'II*, 1089 H/May 9, 1678.

On the 11th *Shab'an*, 1089 H/September 28, 1678, the news was conveyed to the Emperor that Lahore was facing a shortage of foodstuffs and the prices had gone up. The Emperor ordered that an additional allowance of Rs.20 a day be given to Balghurkhana (Grain-storage).

At the end of the year 1091 H/1680, it was reported to the Emperor that Sayyid 'Ali Akbar, the Qazi of Lahore, who was an honest and straightforward man, had been killed during the disturbance caused by the quarrel of his nephew, Sayyid Fazil on one side and Qawamuddin Khan, the viceroy of the Punjab and Nizamuddin, the *Kotwal* of Lahore, on the other. By the order of the Emperor Nizamuddin, the *Kotwal*, was punished with the sentence of death in Lahore, while Qawamuddin Khan, the viceroy of the Punjab, was sent for by the Emperor to Ajmer and prince Muhammad A'zam was posted in his place in Lahore.

Mukarram Khan succeeded prince Muhammad A'zam as viceroy of the Punjab, from whom Sipahdar Khan, the son of Khan Jahan Bahadur, took over on the 15th *Zulhijjah*, 1097 H /November 2, 1686. The agents of Prince Muhammad A'zam managed the affairs of the Punjab for some time after Sipahdar Khan was removed from this post. On the 22nd *Rajab*, 1102 H/April 21, 1691. Khan Jahan Bahadur was appointed the governor of the province but was dismissed from his post sometimes in 1105 H/1693, when Mahabat Khan Ibrahim was appointed the governor of Lahore. In 1108 H/1696, two governors, viz., Mukarram Khan and Abu Nasr Khan quickly succeeded Mahabat Khan in a short span of one year. Prince Muhammad Mu 'azzam was given the charge of the province on the 20th *Sha'ban*, 1111 H /February 10, 1700. Zabardast Khan succeeded prince Muhammad Mu 'azzam and the agents of Prince Muhammad Mu 'azzam continued to rule over the Punjab till the end of Aurangzib, s rule after taking over the government from Zabardast Khan on *Jamudah II*, 1116 H/August 31, 1704. During this period, 1116-1118 A.D., Mun'im Khan, the *Diwan* of Kabul, also acted as Deputy Governor of the Punjab. On Friday, the 28th *Zulqa'dah*, in the fifty-first year of the reign, corresponding with 1118 H/ March 3, 1707, after performing morning prayers, the Emperor passed away.

Aurangzeb governed the province of Lahore by installing his own men as governors. He was a past master in diplomacy and always appointed trusted, strong and experienced generals to such high posts. Their tenures were only for limited periods, during which time Aurangzeb could not be misled by any kind of intrigue or secret manipulation.

After the accession of Aurangzeb in 1658, A.D., Lahore must have fallen off in wealth and populousness from what it was in the days of his predecessors. The absence of the

court at Lahore, and the foundation of Shahjahanabad or New Delhi, had drawn away the bulk of the artificers and trading population to that more favored locality. Further, Aurangzeb's during his reigning time (1658 -1707 A.D.) could not invest much time to attend Lahore. But in spite of that Lahore was still the capital of the most important province of Aurangzeb's empire, and was benefited by his two occasional presence. Once he came to Lahore in pursuance of Dara Shikoh at the time of ascending the throne and secondly halted at Lahore for few days while proceeding to Kashmir. Actually, Aurangzeb spent the 25 years of his reigning time (1658/1707 A.D) in south India, subduing the rebellions in the Deccan and Rajputana. He remained totally involved in wars in those areas and as such could not spare much time to attend Lahore. Thus, Lahore lost its political importance for want of the attention from the centre. This situation eventually affected the physical progress of Lahore. It was further threatened when in the fourth year of his reign, the city suffered much from the encroachments of the river. Aurangzeb realizing the danger in the same year, had a massive quay of masonry constructed for upwards of three mile along the river's bank. in the fourth year of his reign, the city suffered much from the encroachments of the river had a massive quay of masonry constructed for upwards of three miles along the river's bank. The quay, it is said, was faced with lead, flights of steps, at intervals, led down to the water's edge, and rows of Persian wheels, projecting over the side, made the waters of the Ravi available for irrigating the gardens which lies on its banks. The work is compared by a contemporary writer to the "rampart built by Sikandar Zulkarnain against the incursions of Gog and Magog;" and as a rampart, indeed, it proved most affectual, for it not only affected the object of saving the city from destruction, but turned away the river altogether. It proved to be his everlasting contribution and most outstanding gift to the walled city of Lahore. Otherwise, like so many other riverside cities of the Punjab, it might have been eroded away by the the river Ravi. The remains of the quay, or *Band-i-Alamgir*, as it is called, are still traceable between the north-east end of the fort and the village of Bhogiwal.

The completion of the *Band-i-Alamgiri* provided certainly a new venue for the expansion of Lahore. Such buildings constructed here, certainly caused the expansion of the city wall. Sujan Rai Batalvi, a contemporary historian, observing this fact in his book, *Khulasatul Tawarikh*, says, 'many a buildings constructed on the newly built rampart of Alamgir, added to the beauty of the city and a huge amount was being spent from the official treasury to maintain the city'.⁶⁹

Still the more importance gift to city was his Badshahi Mosque built in 1084 H/1673. It was the greatest mosque of the Muslim world. In this period, the Jami' Masjid proved to be the most striking building at Lahore, whose white marble domes and almost colossal minarets were seen from many a mile, a building, said by some, to have owed its origin to the Emperor's pious remorse for the murder of his brother, Dara Shikoh, and by others to a desire to eclipse the beauties of the Mosque of Wazir Khan. Its was constructed

under the supervision of Fidayi Khan Kokah, who held the post of Master of Ordnance to His Majesty. As his foster brother, Fidayi Khan Koka completed it in 1673 A.D., within the north-western corner of the walled city and adjacent to the Lahore Fort. Aurangzeb himself offered here his Eid Prayer in 1675 A.D. The present day Roshnai gate, and its southern counterpart (Jawab) together with double-storey compartment of callers on either side of the two gates also belong to this period. The construction of the mosque on the south west of Lahore definitely increase the hustle bustle in this part of the city.

The completion of this mosque may be said to close the architectural history of Lahore. Later attempts, such as the Golden Mosque of Nawwab Bikhaari Khan, and palace and tomb of Begum Sharf an-Nisa at Begumpura only prove how architectural taste declined with the fall of the empire and became a mongrel style-half Muhammadan and half-Hindu.

Some of the Subedars of Lahore of this period also devoted their attention towards the physical development of Lahore. Khalilullah was one of them. Lahore in this period, also expanded on the area now called Nawan Kot.

Lahore had certainly expanded in its circumference to some extent in this period. According to Sujan Rai, 'As regards its vastness, hustle and bustle and population, it was a matchless city in those days. Artisans,⁷⁰ industrialists, had come to settle in the city. Goods from different local territories and foreign countries were being received in the city by land or sea route and were being offered in the bazaars for sale.' Establishment of *madrassahs*, mosques and other similar buildings continued to increase the population of the city.

However, it is an established fact that Lahore in this period began to decay rapidly. Burnier a European traveler who accompanied Aurangzeb in the journey enroute Lahore to Kashmir, had remarked it 'as a fine city but its buildings had decayed. During the rainy season and further due to the floods of the, Ravi, they were also collapsing every year. The former hustle and bustle of the city had vanished.'⁷¹

2) Later Mughal

Prince Muhammad Mu'azzam entitled Shah Alam Bahadur (1119 H/1708 - 1124 H/1712) as the governor of Kabul, heard the news of his father, Aurangzeb's illness near Peshwar. On the 7th *Zulhijjah*, 1118 H/March 12, 1707, the news of Aurangzeb's death he immediately prepared to set out for Lahore. There he received congratulatory letter from Mun'im Khan, the *naib subahdar* of Lahore and incharge of his *jagirs* in the Lahore province, with the proposal to proceed towards the capital immediately. Aurangzeb. On the 1st *Safar* 1119H/ the 3rd May, 1707, crossing the river Ravi by a bridge, Bahadur Shah entered Lahore,⁷² visiting there the tomb of the saint Shaikh Abuul Hasan and the home of Shah Ramzi, a holy man. Muizzuddin, the Prince's eldest son, had then arrived at Lahore from Multan. Bahadur Shah with his three sons, Muizzuddin, Rafiul Qadr, and Khujista-Akhtar, stayed in the garden of Shalimar, which was situated four miles from

Lahore on the road to Amritsar. The interval was devoted to preparing a new coinage, the inspection of the treasure and stores in the Lahore fort, reading *Khutbah* in his name and the conferring of higher ranks on the princes and chief leaders. Directions were given that the new rupee should be increased half a *masha* in 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. Mun'im Khan received the new title of Khan Zaman, a set of drums, and the promise of being appointed as Wazir.

Shah Alam before departing for Delhi, left Lahore in the charge of his son, Prince Mu'izzuddin Jahandar Shah and appointed Sayyid Aslam Khan as *Naib Nazim* and Kazim Khan as *Diwan* of Lahore.

The Sikhs, who had been kept under subjection during Aurangzeb's energetic rule, broke out into insurrection under their leader, Bandah Bairagi, a follower of Guru Gobind Singh. They laid waste the country of Sirhind and Saharanpur, Sayyid Aslam Khan, Prince Mu'izz ad-Din Jahandar Shah's *Diwan*, and deputy governor of Lahore, in consultation with Kazim Khan, the royal *Diwan*, and other officials, after setting in order the fortification of the city, went out with a large muster of Muslims and Hindus, and encamped four or five *kos* from the city, where he engaged himself in cutting off the patrolling parties of the enemy. The people of the city of Lahore were, thus, protected from danger to their lives and property, but the outskirts upto the Shalamar garden were much ravaged. Under these circumstances, a volunteer force named Haideri force was raised by the people of Lahore for self defence against the Sikh vandalism. This force had a few encounters with the Sikh troops but failed to achieve the desired results and was soon disbanded. Shah Alam had heard all about the Sikhs and reached Lahore in great anxiety on the 18th *Zulhijjah*, 1121 H/February 18, 1710.

Near the end of the third year of his reign, the Emperor ordered the insertion of word '*wasi*' (heir) in the *Khutbah* among the attributes of 'Ali, the fourth Caliph. As the order reached Lahore, Jan Muhammad, Haji Muhammad Murad Khan and Haji Yar Muhammad, the most eminent and learned men in the city of Lahore, went accompanied by a crowd to the houses of the Qazi and the Sadr, requesting them not to use the word '*Wasi*' in the *Khutbah*. Consequently, the order remained a dead letter. When the king himself reached Lahore, he gave instructions to bring the hostile religious men into his presence. Thus, Haji Yar Muhammad, Haji Muhammad Murad Khan, and three or four other learned men of repute, waited upon the Prince Azim ash-Shan in the oratory. Then the Emperor, and some learned men, whom he had summoned to support him, brought forward proofs to justify the use of the word '*Wasi*' in *Khutbah*, but the issue could not be resolved. A great many of the inhabitants of the city, in agreement with a party of Afghans, formed a league of more than a hundred-thousand persons, who secretly supported Haji Yar Muhammad. Prince 'Azim ash-Shan also secretly gave his support to this party. At the end of the *Shawwal*, 1122

II/December, 1710, the *Sadr* presented a petition on the subject of the *Khutbah*. Consequently, the Emperor withdrew his orders and restored the *Khutbah* in the form as it was read in the reign of Aurangzeb. After this concession the agitation died off.⁷³

The Emperor along with his family and sons Jahandar Shah, Azim ush-Shan, Rafi' ash-Shan and Jahan Shah was staying in Lahore when his death took place on the 27th February 1712.⁷⁴ At the time a great panic was created in the royal camp as the princes stood up against each other in contest for succession. They did not show even as much patience as required to bury the dead body of their father. So far so, the body of the Emperor after its abolution by Maulvi Muradullah Mahfuz Khan and Maulvi Abdul Qadir, was left in the camp till the 11th of April 1712.A.D. The fate of the dead body could be decided only after the war of succession had over. Accordingly, it was taken to Delhi by the Queen Mehr Parwer and Chan Qalij Muhammad Khan, where it was buried in the compound of the mosque attached to the shrine of Hazrat Qutbuddin Bakhtiar Kaki.⁷⁵

The four sons fought a battle in the environs of Lahore in which prince Jahandar Shah succeeded. Jahandar Shah after his win, at once decided to carry out his formal enthronement and proclamation. Tents were erected on the battle-field outside the Lahore city, and on the 21st *Safar* 1124 H/March 29, 1712 A.D., the day after the defeat of Rafi' ash-Shan, the usual ceremonies were observed. The crowning was performed on the 29th May 1712 on the same battlefield and he was declared the Emperor of Hindustan. Thus, the fate of Jahandar Shah's emperorship was also decided in Lahore. On the occasion, he awarded Zabardast Khan the new title of Ali Mardan Khan and appointed him the Nazim of Lahore. Rustam Dil Khan, one of the prisoners, was tortured to death. His property valuing twenty *lakhs* of rupees was confiscated and bestowed upon Abdus Samad Khan. Afterwards Jahandar Shah left Lahore for Delhi in the first week of *Rabi'II*. 1124 H/June 22, 1712 A.D. He was the last Mughal Emperor who came to Lahore.

Zabardast Khan, the Nazim of Lahore died in Lahore on the 22nd February, 1713 A.D. He was replaced immediately by 'Abdus Samad Khan Bahadur. During the Abdus Samad Khan's tenure, the violence of the Sikhs surpassed all bounds. They inflicted injuries and indignities on the Muslims. They destroyed mosques and tombs and considered these acts as meritorious. Abdus Samad Khan with the help of his son, Nawwab Zakariya Khan, *Faujdar* of Jammu and Zainul Abidin, *Faujdar* of Sirhind, defeated the Sikh General Bandah several times. The Sikhs once again suffered in the year 1127 H/1715, in the plains of the Punjab, at the hands of Abdus Samad Khan, the Viceroy of the Lahore Province. Banda, with his son of seven or eight years old, his *Diwan* and three or four thousand persons, were made prisoners. Abdus Samad sent nearly two thousands heads stuffed with hay and thousand persons bound with iron chains in the charge of his son, Zakariya Khan, and his brother-in-law, Qamaruddin to the Emperor. In the meantime, Farrukh Siyar, the second son of Azimus Shan invaded Delhi to avenge the death of his father with the help of

Sardar Sayyid Abdullah and Sayyid Husain Ali Khan of the family of Barah Saadat and defeated Jahandar Shah who was assassinated on February 11, 1713 A.D, and buried in the premises of the tomb of Humayun.

Farrukh Siyar himself was deposed on February 28, 1719 A.D. following a conspiracy. After him, three princes, Rafi'ud Darajat (1131 H/1719), Nikhu Siyar (1131 H/1719), Rafi'ud Daulah titled Shahjahan-II (1131 H/1719), were raised to the throne. During their reigns, Abdus Samad remained the Nazim of Lahore (1723-1726).

Roshan Akhtar entitled Muhammad Shah, ascended the throne on the 11th *Zulq'adah*, 1131 H/September 25, 1719. But was overthrown by Muhammad Ibrahim Shah. In the third week of *Rabi'ul Awwal* 1133 H/January 1721, Muhammad Shah held a grand audience in the *Diwan-i-Khas* of the Delhi fort. On the occasion Abdus Samad Khan Daler Jang, the Viceroy of the Lahore province (1713-1726) paid homage to the emperor and presented a *Nazr* of one *lakh* rupees.⁷⁶

In the meantime, Nadir Shah of Iran from the north began to advance towards Hindustan. Like Kabul, Lahore was equally neglected and defenseless by the centre. After conquering Ghazni and Kabul, Nadir Shah invaded Lahore on the 4th *Sha'ban* 1151 H/November 17, 1738.⁷⁷ Nawwab Zakariya Khan, the Subedar of Lahore made whatever defensive arrangements he could make with his own limited resources. But finding himself in a hopeless situation, he sent Kifayat Khan, his agent, to Nadir's camp to offer submission and beg for safety. Next day, he himself went to the victor, and presented twenty *lakhs* of rupees, some elephants and other costly presents. He was received by Nadir Shah with every mark of distinction and courtesy and was presented with a gold embroidered saddle, costly trappings, jeweled sword and dagger, and retained in the governorship of Lahore.⁷⁸ On his way back, Nadir Shah met Nawwab Zakariya Khan. Nadir Shah being impressed by his treatment, asked Zakariya Khan if he had any desire to be fulfilled. Nawwab Zakaria Khan who was very concerned about the prisoners in the camp of Nadir Shah, proposed him to release them. Nadir Shah agreed to the proposal. This action of Nawwab Zakariya Khan pleased his subjects very much.

During the vigorous rule of Lahore by Abdus Samad Khan and his son Zakariya Khan, the Sikhs behaved themselves as peaceful subjects. But the commotions which followed the invasion of Nadir Shah, and the confusion into which the province of Lahore was thrown, proved favourable to the Sikhs, who, impoverished by repression and extortion, took again to rapine and plunder. They occupied the whole country between the Ravi and the Beas, as well as the Majha jungles, harassed the routes of communication, and moving about in small bands, plundered villages. Zakariya Khan was made aware of the activities of the Sikhs. He, therefore, organized moving columns of light cavalry and put them in motion in pursuit of the Sikhs. The fort of Dalhwal was plundered and razed to the ground. A large number of the Sikhs were shot dead while many others were brought in

chains to Lahore where they were executed at a place called Ghora Nakhas (Horse-market), outside the Delhi gate. Mir Mar, a notable landlord of the Punjab was arrested after his rebel and was brought to Lahore where he was hanged.

In Zakariya Khan's reign, a conflict took place between the Hindus and Muslims in Lahore. But the governor very wisely brought about a reconciliation between the two parties. Lakhpat Rai and his brother, Jaspal Rai, were prominent personalities of his reign. The former served as *Diwan* of Lahore and the latter on many official positions.

Nawwab Zakariya Khan, the viceroy of the Lahore province, died at Lahore on Monday the 12th *Jamudah II*, 1158 H/July 12, 1745. His death was mourned by every one whether Hindu or Muslim. So many flowers were showered on his dead body that Lahore ran short of flowers. Yahya Khan left for Lahore on the next day and took charge of the seat of government, vacated by his father. On the 22nd *Jamudah II*, 1158 H/July 22, 1745. Shahnawaz Khan, the younger son of Zakariya Khan, also arrived at Lahore soon after the death of his father. He demanded the complete division of his patrimony. On the *Eid* festival, the two brothers attended the *Eidgah* for divine service. After the service, an altercation occurred between the brothers, resulting in a skirmish in which Yahya Khan's followers were slain, and he was himself taken prisoner by Shah Nawaz Khan, who proceeding to the city of Lahore, took possession of all his deceased father's estates, and proclaimed himself viceroy, without waiting for orders from the Imperial government at Delhi. Shortly afterwards, Yahya Khan made good his escape, and presented himself before the Emperor at Delhi. The new viceroy conferred the office of prime minister on Kaura Mul and gave the governorship of the Bist Jullundhur to Adina Baig Khan, Shahnawaz Khan opened correspondence with Ahmad Shah Abdali. It was proposed that Ahmad Shah would get the crown and the minister-ship would go to Shahnawaz Khan.

This scheme having worked to his satisfaction, Adina Baig Khan followed it up with another. He wrote to Qamaruddin Khan, the Minister, that his nephew had conceived some chimerical schemes in his mind, was putting on a show of independence, and had opened correspondence with Ahmad Shah Abdali.⁷⁹ The Minister, astonished at the intelligence, immediately wrote in his own hand a very affectionate letter to his nephew. This letter produced the desired effect, and Shahnawaz Khan, ashamed of his conduct, returned to the path of duty and allegiance, but Adina Baig Khan had already gone far in the negotiations with Ahmad Shah and the latter marched to Lahore in 1160 H/1747. Abdalis entered the city without opposition and plundered the outer portions particularly Mughulpura, the richest part of the town, but spared the city for ransom of thirty *lakhs*. Ahmad Shah, before leaving Lahore, appointed Jumla Khan, an Afghan of Qasur, as viceroy of Lahore in the beginning of the year 1161 H/January, 1748.

Wazir, Qamaruddin Khan, The Mughal Wazir was killed by a cannon-ball, but his army, under the charge of his son, Mir Monnu, continued to repel the Abdalis and

succeeded in totally defeating and compelling them to march off homewards. The government of Lahore and Multan in consequence was conferred by the Delhi court on Mir Monnu, with the title of Mo'inul-Mulk, in acknowledgement of his services on this important occasion.

Mir Mo'inul Mulk, took charge of the government by the middle of April, 1748 A.D., appointed Kaura Mul as judicial *Diwan* and his deputy, and confirmed Adina Baig Khan in the *Faujdarī* of the Jullandhur Doab. Adina Baig served in this office for five years till his death in 1753 A.D.

After the death Muhammad Shah on the 28th *Rabi'II*, 1161H/April 27, 1748. Ahmad Shah, his only son, ascended the throne on the 1st Jumada I, 1161 H/April 29, 1748. Mir Monnu retained his position under the new emperor, but he did not find the government of Lahore a bed of roses. Amongst the factors disturbing the peace of the province, the Sikhs were the most troublesome. In the meantime, due to personal interest of Raja Kaura Mul, *Diwan* of Lahore, the relation between the Sikhs and the Nazim of Lahore improved to some extent. But the Sikhs could not remain clam for a longer period and again indulged in their subversive activities. As soon as Mir Monnu had established his authority in Lahore, he marched against the insurgents, captured their fort, dispersed their troops, and took measures for the general preservation of good order.

Ahmad Shah Abdali on hearing the news of the death of the Emperor Muhammad Shah countermanded the retreat of his army, and with his usual swiftness, marched against Lahore again in 1161 H/1748. Mir Monnu, whose spirit and intelligence had rolled back the first Abdali invasion, having moved out of Lahore, after entrusting the administration of Lahore to Sayyid Iviz Khan and Diwan Lakhat Rai, entrenched himself at Kopra, a village near Sadhra south of the Chenab, and the bold front displayed by him deterred the Ahmad Shah for a while from prosecuting further plans of aggrandisement. He, however, compelled the governor of Lahore to cede to him in perpetuity the revenue of the four mahals (districts), namely, Sialkot, Emanabad, Pursur (Pasrur), and Aurangabad, which had formerly belonged to the ruler of Kabul.

Mir Monnu, as might have been expected, failed to yield the tribute which he had promised to Ahmad Shah under duress. This brought Abdali on him for the third time in 1165 H/1751. Ahmad Shah Abdali came by forced marches to Lahore and began to devastate the country. Mir Monnu called to his aid Adina Baig Khan and Diwan Kaura Mul and 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 back to a distance.

But the viceroys, listened to the importunities of Adina Baig Khan, 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 the village of Mahmud Bhatti (the present Mahmud Booti). The armies moved into action, and a heavy cannonade followed. Diwan Kaura Mul was killed in the field. Adina Baig Khan scarcely exerted himself and withdrew. Mir Monnu saw that a prolonged contest

would be ruinous, he retired to the citadel. Afterwards, Mir Monnu met Ahmad Shah Abdali in Shalamar garden and gave allegiance to the conqueror which was accepted by Ahmad Shah Abdali. Then Ahmad Shah Abdali sent Qallander Baig as ambassador to Ahmad Shah, with the proposal to annex Punjab and Multan to his kingdom to which he agreed. Ahmad Shah being satisfied with the annexation of Lahore and Multan with his empire, retained Mir Monnu as his delegate in the new acquisition, and himself retired to his native country. He also conferred on him the title, Rustam-i- Hind and Feroz Khan, for the bravery he had shown in the war against him.

They extended their depredations in all directions and laid the country waste between Amritsar and the hills. Adina Baig Khan also hailed this opportunity, in order to clear away the suspicions of treachery attached to him. During a festival at Makhowal, a holy place of worship, where thousands of Sikhs had repaired for a pilgrimage, he suddenly fell upon them and defeated them.⁸⁰

After the return of Adina Baig Khan, another force under Mir Momin Khan was dispatched in the direction of the *Lakhi* jungle where the Sikhs were reported to have taken shelter. The Muslim troops were harassed by the Sikhs and consequently Mir Momin was recalled. A fresh expedition was sent under Husain Khan. The Sikhs were inveigled into the trap, ultimately were defeated.

In the winter of 1753 A.D., the Sikhs renewed their raids with greater vigour and infested the very environs of Lahore. Mir Monnu undertook an expedition in person and marching out of Lahore to a distance of seven *kos* encamped near village Tilakpur, situated on the bank of the Ravi. The Sikhs on getting this intelligence, dispersed in all directions, but they were chased by the officers of Mir Monnu and many of them were killed by being beaten with wooden mallets. At times Adina Baig Khan sent forty or fifty Sikh captives from the Doab District; they were as a rule killed with wooden hammers. Mir Monnu did not long survive these events and suddenly died by falling from his horse in *Muharram* 1167 H/1753. But according to Tehmas Quli Miskin, he was poisoned to death following a treason planned by Bhakkaari Khan who was at that time staying in Lahore and wishing to become the Nazim of Lahore province.⁸¹

Mir Monnu's widow, Murad Begum, also called Mughlani Begum, showed enough courage to ward off the results of Bhakkaari's intrigue. She proclaimed her son, Aminuddin, a child of three years old, as viceroy of Lahore under her own guardianship and thus Bhakkaari Khan missed the chance of becoming the Nazim of Lahore. Then she sent a letter to Ahmad Shah Temur in Delhi with the proposal that her minor son, Muhammad Amin Khan be appointed as the Nazim of the Lahore province. After receiving her letter Ahmad Shah Temur, in spite of the fact that he had already handed over the provinces of Lahore and Multan to Ahmad Shah Abdali, held his court in the *Diwan-i-Khas* of Delhi and, after consultations, appointed his three years Prince Mahmud Khan the *Naibul Sultanat* of

the provinces of Lahore and Multan, and minor Muhammad Amin his assistant. He also sent a *khil'at* to Muhammad Amin Khan through his messenger, Mir Jamiluddin Khan. He entrusted the administrative affairs of the state to Munim Khan but the real administrator was Mughlani Begum.

Mughlani Begum and Mir Mo'min Khan were not satisfied merely with the appointment order issued by Ahmad Shah Temur the Mughal emperor. She, therefore, got another order from Ahmad Shah Abdali through the envoy of Jahan Shah, the governor of Peshawar. Bhakkaari being at Lahore watched all these proceedings quietly and did not give up his ambition of becoming the Nazim of Lahore. To gain popularity, he also founded the Sunehri Mosque in Dabbi Bazar in 1753 A.D. He persuaded Prime Minister at Delhi, Intizam ad-Daula, brother of Mir Monnu to remove Mughlani Begum from the administration of Lahore and appoint him as the Nazim of Lahore. Since Intizamul Daula also did not like Mughlani Begum, his sister-in-law, to be the ruler of Lahore, he, therefore, issued order of Bhakkaari Khan's appointment as the Nazim of Lahore. But she refused to submit to these orders and did not handed over the province to Bhakkaari Khan. Consequently, Bhakkaari Khan resolved to take control of the Province by force. Mughlani Begum busied herself to ward off this danger. First of all, she enhanced the pay of the soldiers. She was able even to win the favour of Khawaja Mirza Khan who was a strong supporter of Bhakkaari Khan. She even removed Khawaja Mirza Khan from Lahore with his appointment as the *Faujdar* of Eminabad. Then she, through an intrigue, arrested Bhakkaari Khan and confined him in his own house under the supervision of Khawaja Sa'id Khan. She was successful in overcoming all these troubles. But unfortunately her son, Muhammad Amin Khan, died in May 1754. The Begum, however, did not lose her heart and wrote letters to Delhi as well as to Kabul beseeching her own appointment as the Nazim of Lahore. Ahmad Shah Temur, could not attend to her request. But soon after he was dethroned by emperor Alamgir-II, who instead of her, appointed Mir Mo 'min Khan the Subedar of Lahore and Multan provinces on the 25th October, 1754. But she did not follow even those orders of the Emperor. Lahore thus had two administrators, Mir Mo'min Khan and Mughlani Begum. Consequently, there was chaos not only in Lahore but every where in the province.

In view of this situation, Ahmad Shah Abdali, appointed a separate governor of his own in the province of Multan. The territory of Hasan Abdal had already been taken away from the control of Lahore and given over to Ahmad Shah Abdali's Nazim of Peshawar. The four *Mahaals* (Sialkot, Pasrur, Eminabad, Aurangabad of the Punjab) were already under the control of Rustam Khan who was directly under the control of Ahmad Shah Abdali. The territories of Amritsar, Batala, Kalanaur etc. were possessed by the Sikhs. The territories of Kangra and shiwalik hills were ruled by an independent Hindu Raja. In the Jullundhur Doab, Adina Baig was also nearly an independent ruler. As such the rule of Mughlani Begum was confined only to the districts in the environs of the Lahore city.

Bhakkaari Khan, for prison, plotted against Mughlani Begum with the help of Khawaja Muhammad Sa'id Khan. Khawaja Mirza invade Lahore for her removal from the government. Accordingly, he invaded Lahore, defeated her and confined her in her own *haveli*. But Mughlani Baigum did not lose her heart even on this occasion. During her confinement, she arranged to send her uncle, Khawaja Abdullah Khan, the younger son of Abdus Samad and younger brother of Nawwab Zakariya Khan, to the Kabul court of Ahmad Shah Abdali to help her in recovering the government of Lahore. Ahmad Shah Abdali deputed Amanullah Khan, the younger brother of Jahan Khan, the Abdali governor of Peshawar, to help her to proceed to Lahore against Bhakkaari Khan. Khawaja Mirza was defeated and thrown in prison alongwith many others. Thus, Mughlani Begum was once again appointed the Nazim of Lahore and Khawaja Abdullah as her *Najib*. Bhakkaari Khan was tortured to death by Mughlani Begum in 1754. After a few months, Abdullah Khan himself through an intrigue, confined Mughlani Begum in July 1755 A.D., and declared himself the Nazim of Lahore. During his tenure, Lahore had to face an economic crisis as a Punjabi saying goes:-

حکومت نواب عبداللہ نہ رنی چکی نہ رہیا چلھا (چولھا)⁸²

(During the government of Nawwab Abdullah, both the grain grinder and hearth disappeared).

The news of Lahore's capture by Khawaja Abdullah Khan was heard by Adina Baig at Jullundhur. He invaded Lahore but Khawaja Abdullah having no courage to face him, fled to Multan. He occupied Lahore and appointed Sadiq Baig Khan as his *Najib* and himself returned to Jullundur. In the meantime Mughlani Begum from her prison, wrote a letter to Inmadul Mulk, who was a minister at Delhi, to help her. After receiving this letter, Inmadul got a good opportunity to interfere in the affairs of Lahore. He, therefore, wished to recover the province for his sovereign, as well as to obtain his bride. Inmadul Mulk, alongwith the crown prince and a detachment, marched towards Lahore on the pretext of hunting. When he encamped at Sirhind, under the advice of Adina Baig Khan, in the beginning of 1169 H/1755, he sent from Ludhiana a force under the command of the enunch, Nasim Khan, and reached Lahore in two days. Adina Baig also sent his forces with him to Lahore under Sadiq Baig Khan. The forces halted at Shah Ganj in Lahore and then went to Mughlani Begum to salute her. They also delivered a letter to her brought with them from Inmadul Mulk, the minister. She was made ruler of Lahore. She prepared to send her daughter to the minister. But as planned by Inmadul Mulk, Mughlani Begum was at last arrested while asleep in her dwelling and was carried to the camp of Inmadul Mulk, who upon her arrival waited upon her, and begged to be excused for what he had done. Having consoled her, he gave the provinces of Lahore and Multan to Adina Baig Khan for a tribute of thirty *lakhs* of rupees. He also appointed Sayyid Jamiluddin as the *Najib* of Lahore and went back to Delhi on May 9, 1756.

Being annoyed, the Afghan king sent Jangbaz Khan, his general, alongwith Khawaja Abdullah and Khawaja Mirza to attack Lahore. He preferred reconciliation instead of fighting. Then he left for Jullundur. Jangbaz Khan easily entered Lahore on the 14th October, 1756. He appointed Khawaja Abdullah Khan as Nazim and Khawaja Mirza as his *Naib Nazim* and went back.

Hearing the occupation of Lahore by the Delhi Government Ahmad Shah, was much displeased. In the meantime Mughlani Begum who was taken to Delhi and put in prison, wrote a letter to Ahmad Shah Abdali to help her. Abdali, for the fourth time to invaded Lahore. He was prompted in taking this decision by Mughlani Begum, who promised him her full support. The Begum wrote, "In Shahjahanabad goods and cash worth karores of rupees lie buried to my knowledge in the palace of my (late) father-in-law. Moreover, heaps of gold and silver are stored inside the joints of the ceiling. Complete disagreement exists among the emperor Alamgir II, his armies and other nobles. If Your Majesty invades the Punjab and India this time, the Indian empire, with all its riches, will fall into your hands without any obstruction."⁸³

Receiving the letter, Ahmad Shah Abdali started from Qandhar sometimes in 1070 H/end of 1756 and reached Lahore. He drove Adina Baig Khan out of Lahore, who, being unable to resist, fled towards the waterless desert of Hansi and Hissar. Ahmad Shah who marched to Delhi, on his return in the same year, took up the administration of Lahore into his own hands, and appointed his son, Temur Shah, in the government of Multan and Lahore, with General Jahan Khan, as his adviser and left for Qandhar.

Adina Baig Khan, who had assisted the Delhi Minister in recovering Lahore again appeared on the scene. Opposed to the Afghan interests, he established himself in the Jullundhur Doab, and began to enlist the Sikhs in his service.

Prince Temuer and the General, now fully convinced of his abilities, invited him to Lahore. But this invitation was not accepted by Adina Baig Khan. The following morning Marhatah troops along with Adina Baig's troops entered Lahore. Adina Baig Khan's victory was celebrated at Lahore by beat of drums on the *Ramazan*, 1171 H/May, 1758, with great enthusiasm.

Adina Baig Khan had hardly settled down in Lahore when Ahmad Shah Abdali came back to India to avenge the defeat of his son. When he received the information that Jahan Khan was coming to deal with him, Adina Baig Khan immediately fled to the hills for security. But after the departure of Ahmad Shah Abdali from India, Adina Baig Khan retraced and re-established himself in the Doab. The Rohillas also mutinied against Adina Baig Khan under Qutb Shah, and the Afghans of Malerkotla joined them under their chief Jamal Khan. Adina Baig Khan faced the rebellious lot and won the battle. Adena Baig, fixed his headquarters at Batala, and appointed his own governors for the provinces of Multan, Thatah, and Lahore. The administration of Lahore was entrusted to Khawaja Mirza Khan.

The Delhi court conferred upon him the title of Zafar Jang Bahadur, treating him as an independent chieftain. Adina Baig Khan died on the 11th of *Muharram* 1172 H/September 15, 1758.

In Lahore Khawaja Mirza Khan was busy in settling the government affairs but the Sikhs were the sort of rebels and robbers that the governor could not cope with them. The Qizilbash chiefs, he had enlisted from Temur Shah's army, joined the Marhatah. They invited the Marhatah to Lahore, tempting them with money, and placed Nawwab Khawaja Mirza Khan in confinement. They then sent their troops cleverly into the city of Lahore to seize it and also imprisoned Khawaja Sa'id Khan, the brother of Khawaja Mirza Khan. Jankuji, the Marhatah leader, entrusted the government of the province of Lahore to a Marhatta, called Sama. Sama, after reaching Lahore, applied himself to the task of government, and pushed on with his troops as far as the river Attock.

In the beginning of the year 1173 H/August, 1759 Ahmad Shah crossed the Indus with a large force come to attack at India. Finding themselves incapable of fighting the Afghan troops, Sama Marhatah, Siddiq Baig Khan and widow of Adina Baig Khan, all took to flight. Lahore was without a ruler. On entering it, in the *Safar* 1173 H/September, 1759, Abdali appointed Haji Karim Dad Khan, the nephew of his prime minister, Shah Wali Khan, the governor of Lahore. Thus, finally the connection of Lahore with the Mughal Empire of Delhi came to an end. Abdali conferred the governorship of Lahore 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. In the meantime Haji Karim Dad Khan, the governor of Lahore, was summoned by Ahmad Shah Abdali to his presence, who on leaving Lahore handed over the charge of the city to Diwan Surat Singh, in accordance with the instructions received from his successor Sarbuland Khan. Sarbuland Khan reached the Doaba, he wrote to Diwan Surat Singh be always on the alert in Lahore. Surat Singh wrote back that he could guarantee Lahore's safety and it was advisable that another deputy be appointed in his place. Nawwab Sarbuland Khan sent Amir Muhammad Khan, son of Mir Momin Khan, with a force of 500 foot and horse, to Lahore to take over the charge of the city from Diwan Surat Singh.

No sooner had Amir Muhammad Khan taken the charge of Lahore, the Sikhs sent a message to the deputy-governor that if he agreed to pay a stipulated sum they might leave the city in peace. Amir Muhammad Khan managed to send them Rs.30, 000 out of the revenues of Ahmad Shah Abdali and the Sikhs retired.

Ahmad Shah, after his conquests, set out for Qandhar on the 16th *Sha'ban*, 1174 H/March 13, 1761. 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 Khan to make good this loss of money, but later on he excused him. Before leaving the Punjab, he appointed Sarbuland Khan the Subahdar of Multan and Khawaja 'Ubaid Khan to that of Lahore. As soon as Ahmad Shah Abdali crossed the borders of the Punjab, the Sikhs infested

the very neighbourhood of Lahore. They quickly occupied Lahore.

As said before, after the death of Aurangzeb in 1707 A.D., the saga of the great Mughals also came to an end. History of Lahore during the later Mughal period for about one hundred and fifty years is a story of decay and demise of a great Mughal city. The political control of the centre over Lahore was just nominal. The government of Lahore was left to its own initiative and resources to meet any danger. Absence of the central authority, made Lahore a battlefield among the rival factions of nobility aspiring to control Lahore, on the one hand, and between the government of Lahore and the rising militant Sikhs, the Afghan invaders and Marhatah mercenaries on the other hand. So, the political history of the period, is very dismal. The imperial court at Delhi took little interest in the affairs of the Punjab. The Afghans were not willing to make Lahore their permanent seat. Thus, Lahore, in the long run became a source of plunder and loot both for Sikhs and Afghans. Finally it slipped out of the hands of Mughals and Abdalis in 1766, when three Sikh out-laws captured and made it a seat of their principality

Lahore and its people, during this period, suffered from chaos and treachery. In 1738, Nadir Shah invaded the city, followed in 1748 by the first of eight invasions of Multan-born Ahmad Shah Abdali within a short period of sixteen years. In 1758, Marhatah invaded and plundered Lahore at the invitation of Adina Baig Khan. As a consequence of such incessant invasions, a state of chaos and confusion prevailed in Lahore and other parts of the Punjab. As such the mobility of the social and cultural life in Lahore became almost stagnant.

These days of anarchy and disorder left a deep imprint upon Lahore as a whole and on the walled city in particular. First of all, Abdus Samad Khan and his family abandoned the Fort and the walled city and shifted to their new residence in the fortified Begumpura. As the wealth of Lahore shifted to Begumpura, the walled city was reduced to a poor quarter. It was for the richness of Begumpura that, when Nadir Shah invaded Lahore in 1738, the target of his looting was Begumpura and not the walled city. Nevertheless, a few prestigious buildings were built within the walled area in this period. The areas behind Kashmiri, Khizri and Yakki gates and partly Delhi gate, for the first time, came into the lime light on account of the residences of the elites and also partly due to its comparative proximity to Begumpura, the new seat of the Government, and partly for having a river defense line on the north. Thus, Nawwab Zakriya Khan, Governor of the Punjab was the first to build a palace like house inside the Yakki gate for one of his favourite court singers. It was called initially *Haveli Kallo Bai*, but later on came to be known as *Haveli Ahluwalia*. Inside Delhi gate, another prestigious *haveli*, of Mir Jawwad, a military commander during the reign of Zakriya Khan (1737-1745) was constructed. Kabuli Mul, Governor of Lahore (1763-1767), built his spacious *haveli* between Chowk Dabbi Bazar and Moti bazaar near Chowk Rung Mahal. In the predominantly Hindu locality of bazaar Hathar, inside Shah Almi gate, the two brothers

Diwan Jaspal Rai and Diwan Lakhpat Rai (of Kot Lakhpat fame), built their own *havelis* separated by a street called Diwan Lakhpat ka Phala. All these four *havelis* were constructed during the reign of emperor Muhammad Shah (1719-1748). The *Diwan Khana* and a *tawaila* (stable) of the two brothers, were located in the Paparr Mandi Bazar, close to Shah Almi gate. The old Bherwala gate was later on named Shah Almi gate in the memory of Muhammad Mu'azzam Shah Alam Bahadur, emperor of Delhi who died in Lahore in February 1712.A.D.⁸⁴

During the reign of Muhammad Shah, another prestigious building was constructed in Lakarr Mandi (Timber Market) inside the Mochi Gate. It was built by Mir Bahadur Ali, Mir Nadir Ali and Mir Babur Ali, the three brothers, the nobles in the court of Muhammad Shah. It was named as *Mubarak Haveli*.

Among public buildings, Golden Mosque inside Kashmiri Bazar is only one building on record that was constructed during this turbulent period. Built by Nawwab Sayyid Bhakkaari Khan, a noble, during the viceroyalty of Mir Monnu (1748-1753) in 1753. This small mosque was erected after dismantling a part of the Shrine of Pir Balkhi in order to provide a direct passage to the mosque.

After the centre of government was shifted from Lahore fort to Begumpura, we do not hear much about the former. Secondly, whatever building activities we observe, these were concentrated in areas lying behind Yakki gate, Delhi gate, Mochi gate and Shah Almi gate. No major activity is reported in the areas lying west of the line from Shah Almi gate to Masti gate. Probably it was already a very congested area.

Lahore had definitely developed physically in this period but to a negligible state. Abdus Samad was the only governor who took interest in expanding Lahore, on the north-east between Baghbanpura and Kot Khawaja Sa'id/Pervaizabad. With the foundation of his palaces, *hammams*, gardens, mosques etc., this area was fully populated in this reign. The population at the point swelled gradually and also incorporated the aforesaid *Mohallas*. This newly populated *Mohalla* was later called Begum Pura after the attribution to Abdus Samad's mother, Sharf an-Nisa. With the addition of her mosque and tomb known as Begum Shahi Mosque and Sarw Wala Maqbara, tombs of Nawwab Zakariya Khan and Mir Mu'inul Mulk well-known Mir Monnu (1166 H/1752), its population expanded further. *Masjid-i-Naqiban* presently located in Qila Gujjar Singh, Masjid Nawwab Zakariya Khan lying on the north-east of the shrine of Madho Lal Husain, Suneri Masjid or golden mosque, situated at the meeting point of Kashmiri and Dabbi Bazaars, built by Sayyid Nawwab Bakaari Khan, Masjid Muhammad Amin, located at the back of shrines of Bibi Pakdamian and a garden and tomb of Pir Muhammad Adalti (location unknown), a garden and tomb of Nawwab Jani Khan, son of Nawwab Qamaruddin Khan, minister of the Mughal emperor Ahmad Shah, a garden and tomb of *Amirul Omra* Husain Ali Khan, a noble of Farrukh Siyar's reign, are said to be other addition to the Lahore city in this period. The area amid the shrine

of Hazrat Eishan, an older saint of Nawwab Zakaryat Khan's family, also became populous during this reign.

References

1. Thornton, "Lahore: A Descriptive Note", in H.R. Goudling, *Old Lahore*, Lahore: Universal Books, N.D., (Reprint), 60.
2. Ibid, 57.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid, 58.
5. Ibid, 57.
6. Ghulam Sarwar Lahori, *Tarikh-i-Makhzan-i-Punjab* Lahore: Dost Associates, 1996, 218; Kanhayya Lal, *Tarikh-i-Lahore*, Lahore: Majlis-i-Traqqi-i-Adab, 1969, 33; both of these authors hold that *Tuhfatul Wasil* was written in 435H/1044 A.D., the time of Sultan Masu'd I, Ghaznavi (1040-48 A.D.), but this is not correct as Sultan Masu'd had died in 431H/1040 A.D. The book might have been written in the times of Sultan Madaud Ghaznavi, son of Sultan Masu'd. The book, however, contained biographical sketches of scholars belonging to Sultan Masu'd's period.
7. Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan, *Maqalat-i-Sayyid Ahmad Khan*, ed. Maulvi Ismail Panitani, Lahore: Majlis-i-Traqqi-i-Adab, 1962, 6: 33.
8. Ibid.
9. Ibid. 34.
10. Sarwar Lahori, *Makhzan-i-Punjab*. 218.
11. Thornton, "Lahore", A Descriptive Note, 60.
12. Muhammad Qasim Firishta, *Tarikh-i-Firishta*, Urdu trans., Abdul Hayyi Khawaja, Lahore: Sh. Ghulam Ali and Sons, N. D.
13. *Hududul Alam*, ed Minu Chihri, Tehran, 1340 S, 69
14. Fakhr-i-Mudabbir, *Adabul Hurb wash Shujaat*, ed., Ahmad Suhaily Khawansari, Tehran: Shirkat-i-Nasbi-wa-Shurka, 1344 S, 311.
15. Ibid. 307-311.
16. Ibid.
17. Also spelt as 'Jindrat
18. Fakhr-i-Mudabbir *Adabul Hurb wash Shujaat*, 309.
19. Abdur Rehman, *The Last Two Dynasties of Shahis*, Islamabad: Quaid-i-Azaim University, 1984, 351.
20. Gardezi, *Tarikh-i-Gardezi*, ed Abdul Hayyi Habibi, Tehran: Dunya-i-Kitab, 1363S, p. 79; Muhammed Nazim, *The Life and Time of Sultan Mahmud of Ghaza*, Lahore; Khalil and Co., 1973 (reprint), 270.
21. Firishta, *Tarikh-i-Firishta*. 26; *Majma'al-Ansab*, 25.
22. Rehman, *The Last Two Dynases of the Shahis*, 133
23. Siraj Minhaj, *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* ed., Raverty, 1: 73.
24. Ibid. 14
25. Rehman, *The last Two Dynases of the Shahis*, 135.
26. Siraj Minhaj, *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, 14.
27. Ibid.
28. Abul Fazl Bahiqi, *Tahrikh-i-Bahiqi*, ed Khalil rahbar, Teharn: Sadi Sarai Akhwan, 1st Edition., 523.
29. Ibid.
30. *Firishta*, *Tarikh-i-Firishta*, 1: 31, Gardezi, *Tarikh-i-Gardezi*, 79.
31. Fakhr-i-Mudabbir, *Shajratul Ansab*, London, 1927., (in correctly, it has been published under the title

Tarikh-i-Fakruddin Mubarak Shah).

32. Ibid.
33. Ibid.
34. Abu Abdullah Muhammad bin Abdullah al-Adrisi, *Nuzhatul Mushtaq Fi Ikhtraqul Afaq* (T. in E.D., I: 84.
35. Muhammad Aafi, *Lubabulul Baab*, London: Brown, 1903, 24.
36. Hashmi Fareed Abadi, *Maasir-i-Lahore*, Lahore: Institute of Islamic Culture, 1956, 24.
37. Siraj Minhaj *Tuhqaat-i-Nasiri*, ; Qasim, *Tarkh-i-Firishhta*, ; Ahmad Yahya Sirshnidi, *Tarkh-i-Mubrak Shahi*, Lahore, 398.
38. Ibid., 303.
39. Babur, *Babur Nama*, ed : Annette S. Beveridge. Lahore; Sang-e-Meel Publications, 1979 (reprint) 151,152; Qasim, *Tarikh-i-Frishhta*, 1: 375-76.
40. Ibid., 154.
41. Jauhar Aftabchi, *Tuzkriatul Waqaat*, Urdu. trans., Sayyid Mui'nul Haq, Karachi: Pakistan Historical Society, N.D.. 11.
42. Abul Fazl, *Akbar Nama*, Calcutta : Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1873-1886, 2: 16-17; Abdul Qadir Badayuni, *Muntakhab at-Twarikh*, Calcutta : Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1864-69, 2: 9-10.
43. Abul Fazl., *Akbar Nama*, 410
44. Ibid., 411.
45. Ibid., 3: 587.
46. Father Pierre do Jarric, *Akbar and the Jeusits*, London: Broadway House, 1926, 61-96.
47. Ibid.
48. Ibid.
49. Ibid.
50. Ibid.
51. Abul Fazl, *Akbar Nama*, 1: 412
52. Muhammaduddin Fauq, 'Masaar-i-Lahore,' Lahore: Naqoosh Press, 1962, 255.
53. St. Thomas Herbert Bart, *Travels*, London: 1677, 69.
54. Ibid.
55. Abul Fazl, *Akbar Nama*, 414.
56. Ibid.
57. Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Eng. trans. Alexander Rojgers, Lahore: Sang-e-Meel, 1971, 1: 283.
58. Ibid.
59. Ibid., 2: 182-183; Mu'tamid Khan, *Iqbal Nama-i-Jahangiri*, Culeutta, 1871, 171.
60. Ibid.
61. The verse is commely attributed to Noor Jahan without any original reference.
62. Muhammad Baqir, *Lahore: Past and Present* (Lahore: Pujabi Adabi Academy, 1984),
63. In 1980s, the excavations in the north-east corner of the buildings of the District Treasury were made to extend the buildings. During the excavations, a terracota pitcher full of silver coins of Akbar's period was discovered from here. This discovery proves that the area was populous during Akbar's reign. The coins were deposited in the Lahore Museum's coin collection.
64. Jahangir, *Tuzuk* 2: 198.
65. D. Plet, *The court of great Mongul*, Eng. trans., J.S. Hoyland, Nuw Delhi, Idara-i-Adabiat, 1975, 87-88.
66. Ibid., 89.

67. Muhammad Shuja'uddin, "Lahore Siyasi Aur Saqafi Tarikh", Lahore: Naqoosh Press, 1962.
68. Syad Muhammad Latif, Lahore : its History, Architectural Remains And Antiquities, Lahore: Shak Mubark Ali (reprint 1892), 89-90.
69. Sujan Rai, *Khulastus Tawarikh*, Urdu trans., Nazir Hasan Zaidi, Lahore: Markazi Urdu Board, 1966, 212.
70. Ibid.
71. Francis Bernier, *Travel in India*, London: 1826, 121.
72. Khafi Khan, *Alantakhabul Labab*, Urdu trans., Mahmud Ahmad Farooqi, Karachi: Nafecs Academy, 1985, 3 & 4: 655.
73. Ibid., 2: 681-83
74. Ibid., 683.
75. Ibid., 344.
76. Ibid., 346.
77. Ibid.
78. Ibid., 347
79. Ibid.
80. Bakhat Mul, *Khalsa Nama*, fols. 71-72
81. He was buried near Shah Gunj in the mansion of Abdul Rahim Khan, son-i-law of Abdus Samad Khan during the reign of Sher Singh the Sikhs in a moment of mad frenzy, dismantled the building, dug the remains of Mir Munno and scattered them to the wind. (Khushwaz Rai in Baqir, Lahore: Past and Present, F.No. 3, 181.
82. Muhammad Shuja'uddin, "Siyasi Aur Saqafi Tarikh", *Naqoosh Lahore Number*, 102
83. Aliuddin, *Ibrat Nama*, Lahore; Punjabi Adabi Academi, 1961,
84. Latif, *Lahore*, 55-56.