A BRIEF ACCOUNT

OF THE

HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES

OF

LAHORE.

PART I.

N. B.—The Work will be completed in three Parts.

PART II. will contain a description of the different buildings in and about Lahore, topographically arranged, together with copies of the Inscriptions, &c.

PART III. will contain Statistics and other miscellaneous information.

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PREFACE.

THE following brief account of the History and Antiquities of Lahore has been drawn up at the request of the Hon'ble Sir Robert Montgomery, K. C. B., and it is hoped will be useful to those who have not time or opportunity to collect the information for themselves.

Apart from its connection with the stirring events of the last twelve years, Lahore is a city which must be interesting to the student of the History and Architecture of India. Situated on the high road from Affghánistán, it has been visited by every Western invader, from Alexander to Shah Zemán; it was the focus of the first struggles between Hindúism and Mahommedanism, and the centre of a confederation which for upwards of two centuries successfully withstood the progress of Islám; it was for years the capital of the Ghaznevides, and for a time of the Moghul Emperors; the place of Arjun's martyrdom and of Ranjít Singh's rise. Historians and Poets of the East and of the West have united in the praise of its size and splendour. Abulféda, in the fourteenth century, had read of it in the pages of Ibn Alatír as "a city great among the cities of India." Abulfazl, in the sixteenth, describes it as the "grand resort of people of all nations." "If Shíráz and Ispáhán," says an old local proverb, "were united, they would not make one Lahore." The traveller Thevenot, who saw it in A. D. 1665, the period of its decline, states that a short time before his visit the city with its suburbs covered an area of three leagues in length. Bernier notes the magnificence of its palace, the length of its streets, and the height of the houses as compared with those

at Agra or at Dehli. Our own Milton places Lahore among the

> "Cities of old or modern fame, the seat
> Of mightiest empires,"

which met the eyes of the repentant Adam from the hill of Paradise ;* and Moore has built up amid the "palaces, domes and gilded minarets" of Lahore a city of enchantment sacred to the loves of Lalla Rookh and Feramorz.†

Modern Lahore, it is true, far from realizes the glowing description given above. In size and populousness it is far inferior to Lucknow, Dehli, Agra, and even to Amritsar. The circuit of its walls does not exceed three miles, and its population, at the last census, was given at about 90,000. The streets are narrow and wormlike, and the general aspect of the city, with the exception of its northern front, is neither imposing nor picturesque. But a closer acquaintance with the city and its environs will tend considerably to modify the first impression and give some colour to the extravagant descriptions given above. That Lahore formerly covered a far larger area than it does at present is at once apparent from the number and extent of the ruins which cover the face of the surrounding country. From the city walls to Shálimár, Meean-Meer and Ichra—a circle with a radius of

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* ———— "from the destined walls
Of Cambalu, seat of Cathaian Can,
And Samarchand by Oxus, Temir's throne,
To Paquin of Sinæan Kings ; and thence,
To Agra and Lahore of Great Mogul."

Paradise Lost, Bk. xi., l. 387-341.

†"They had now arrived at the splendid city of Lahore, whose mausoleums and shrines, magnificent and numberless, where Death appeared to share equal honours with Heaven, would have powerfully affected the heart and imagination of Lalla Rookh, if feelings more of this earth had not taken entire possession of her already. * * * The Rajas and Omras in her train, who had kept at a certain distance during the journey, and never encamped nearer to the Princess than was strictly necessary for her safeguard, here rode in splendid cavalcade through the city, and distributed the most costly presents to the crowd. Engines were worked in all the squares, which cast forth showers of confectionery among the people, while the artizans, in chariots adorned with tinsel and flying streamers, exhibited badges of their respective trades through the streets. Such brilliant displays of life and pageantry among the palaces and domes and gilded minarets of Lahore, made the city altogether like a place of enchantment."—*Lalla Rookh.*

some three or four miles,—the ground is strewn with debris interspersed with crumbling mosques, tombs, gateways and gigantic mounds. Some conception of the extent of Lahore in its palmier days, as compared with its present state, may be formed from the fact, that of thirty-six *guzars* or quarters into which Lahore is known to have been divided, only nine are included within the area of the modern city ; but a more vivid picture of the desolation which is passed over Lahore will be obtained by a view of the surrounding country from a minaret of the Imperial Mosque or of the Mosque of Wazír Khán. Some have supposed that the actual city, that is, the inhabited portion of Lahore, never extended beyond its present limits, and that the mass of debris which everywhere meets the eye is composed entirely of the remains of tombs and garden walls. This supposition may be proved to be erroneous, not only by the evidence of eye-witnesses, Native and European, such as Bernier, Tavernier and Thevenot, but also from the existence, among the debris, of numerous small wells, such as are constructed in the private dwelling-houses of a closely-packed city ; from the position of the large ruined mosque on the right-hand side of the Amritsar road, known as the Idgáh, or place of assembly upon Mahommedan feast-days. These buildings are almost always erected in the immediate outskirts of a town ; it may be inferred, therefore, that when this mosque was built the city extended as far as its immediate vicinity ; but the city is now nearly three miles off, and the building has long ceased to be the rendezvous of the faithful on their holy days. Again, we have a casual notice, in a Mahommedan writer of Akbar's time, of a certain *guzar* or quarter, which is now desolate and upwards of a mile from the city, as being the most populous quarter of Lahore ; and, lastly, we have the analogy of other Eastern cities, such as Kábul, Tabriz or Ispahán, where the suburbs, that is the portion of city beyond the walls, are far the most extensive and important parts of the town. Upon the whole, it may be considered probable that

in its best days, that is during the reign of Shahjehán, the city must have had a circuit of some sixteen or seventeen miles. The portion of the city outside the walls probably consisted of numerous thickly inhabited spots connected with the city gates by long bazars. The intervals between these different quarters were filled up with tombs, gardens, and mosques, whose remains now form a conspicuous feature in the aspect of the environs of Lahore. The *Motí Mahall* or "Regent-street" of old Lahore is said to have been in the vicinity of the site of the present Civil station, and to this day coins and remains of jewellery are occasionally picked up in that locality after heavy rains.

It is easier to form an idea of the size and extent of the old city of Lahore than of its magnificence. Few cities have suffered more from desolating hordes and from anarchy than Lahore during the last one hundred and twenty years. Eight times did the troops of Ahmad Shah Dúrání pass through Lahore ; Marattas and Sikhs have done their work of destruction, and the buildings, being, for the most part, built of brick, have perished and are perishing rapidly from mere exposure. But it is pretty certain, from the accounts we possess and from the absence of any but insignificant specimens of Hindú and Pathán remains, that, until the period of the Moghul dynasty, the city had no architectural pretensions; on the other hand, in the number and importance of its tombs, the profuse use of glazed tiles and enamelled frescos as an architectural decoration, the recurrence of the bulb-like dome and semi-domed gateway, we have all the characteristics of the Moghul or what may be termed the florid style of Indo-Mahommedan architecture, standing perhaps in a similar relation to the Pathán to that which the decorated style of English architecture bears to that termed semi-Norman. As far as can be judged from existing remains, Lahore can never have equalled Dehli in its public buildings, though the superior size of its private edifices would indicate the existence of more

private wealth. Still, in the Tomb of Jehángír, the Palace of that Prince and of his successor Sháhjehán, the Mosque of Wázír Khán, the Pearl Mosque, the Gardens of Shálimár, and the Bádsháhí or Imperial Mosque of Aurungzíb, will be found no mean specimens of architecture ; and on its north-eastern side, where the Mosque of Aurungzíb, with its plain white domes of marble and tall unadorned minárs, the Mausoleum of Ranjít Singh, with its curvilinear roof, projecting balconies and details, half Mahommedan, half Hindú, and lastly, the once brilliantly enamelled front of the Palace of the Moghuls stand side by side, overlooking a broad and grassy plain,—Lahore can, even now, show an architectural *coup d'œil* worthy of an imperial city ; and could we but imagine the same palace-front, undisfigured by Sikh and English additions, with its coloured frescos fresh and vivid, the river flowing at its base, and eastward, as far as the eye could reach, a massive quay of masonry, with flights of steps at intervals and gardens extending to the water's edge, the now deserted suburbs filled with a thriving population and interspersed with tombs and báradarís rising amid luxuriant gardens, whose gates glittered with many-coloured porcelain, we should form a conception of what we have reason to believe Lahore really was in the period of its prime.

Before proceeding to give a historical account of the city, it may be as well to say a few words respecting the available sources of information. These, it is to be regretted, are few and unsatisfactory. What we know of its pre-Mahommedan history is confined to the casual notices contained in the annals of the neighbouring States of Rájputána and Kashmír, to the glimpses afforded by earlier Mahommedan writers, and to inferences drawn from numismatic evidence. For the period subsequent to the Mahommedan invasion we have, certainly, a connected history to guide us, but the annalists seldom deal in facts of a locally interesting character. The general histories of India, such as those of Ferishta, Nizám-ud-din Ahmad,

Abd-ul-qádir, the Táríkh-i-Alfí, the Iqbálnámah Jehángírí, &c., are little more than a chronicle of wars, court intrigues and murders, and seldom descend to local details; and those of a more local character, such as the work of Abd-ul-Hamíd Láhorí, the Safína-t-ul-Auliya, and the records of the numerous Mahommedan shrines, seem to have been compiled upon the principle of omitting all that is interesting and recording all that is not. Local legends there are, but, for the most part, of so extravagant a character as to be neither instructive nor amusing; the people, moreover, are careless of their own history, and the sarcastic remark of Petrarch regarding Rome in the fourteenth century—"*Nusquam minus Roma cognoscitur quam Romæ*"—is applicable with still greater force to Lahore in the nineteenth.

Under these circumstances the task becomes a very difficult one. Still the Compiler is sensible that he has not done justice to his subject; but if he succeeds in awakening interest and stimulating further antiquarian research, his object will have been attained.

LAHORE, *October* 16*th*, 1860.

The Compiler's acknowledgments are due to Mr. H. Cope, of Amritsar, and also to several Native Gentlemen, especially Diwán Amr Náth, Syud Jemál-ud-din and Pandit Matsúdun, for the assistance they have rendered him in the preparation of this Memoir.

PART I.

HISTORICAL.

Antiquity of Lahore.

THERE can be no doubt that Lahore was founded and rose to be a place of importance long before the period of the Mahomedan invasions of India. Its connection with the earlier cycle of Puránic legends, the testimony of the Rájpútánah chronicles and of the annals of Kashmír, and lastly the coins still discovered among the ruins in the vicinity of the present city, sufficiently prove this.

Date of its foundation.

The exact date of its foundation it is, as may be supposed, impossible to discover, but we may make an approximate guess at the period of its rise to importance from the following considerations.

In the first place, there is no mention of Lahore, nor of any city with which it may be fairly identified, in the writings of the Greek historians of the expedition of Alexander to the East. Burnes would identify it with *Sangala*,* a city mentioned by Arrian as the stronghold of the *Kathœi* or *Katheri*, who occupied the region in which Lahore is situated. But the position of Sangala,—three marches from the Ráví—would appear fatal to such a supposition. Yet there can be no doubt that Alexander embarked upon the Ráví in the vicinity of Lahore, and must in all probability have passed the site of the modern city. If, therefore, any place of importance had existed at that time, it would in all probability have been mentioned. It may be assumed, therefore, that Lahore, if it existed, was a place of no importance at the period of the invasion of Alexander.

On the other hand, from the number of coins of the Menander dynasty of Indo-Bactrian kings discovered among its ruins, it would appear that Lahore was a place of importance at that period.

It may be inferred, therefore, that Lahore was founded or rose to importance some time between the fourth and second centuries B. C.

By whom founded.

From the name of the city itself, from Hindú tradition concerning its foundation, from the testimony of the Rájpútánah annals, and the statements of Mahomedan writers, it would appear that Lahore was essentially a Rájpút city.

Derivation of its name.

Its name appears in Mahomedan writers under the varied forms of *Láhór*, *Lóhór*, *Lóher*, *Laháwar*, *Leháwar*, *Luháwar*, *Lóháwar* and *Láha-núr*; † in the chronicles of Rájpútánah it is mentioned under the name of

* The identification of this place is a bone of contention among Panjábí antiquaries. Wilford would identify it with Kilanore; Masson with Harípa; Cunningham with *Chek*, the old town which stood on the site of the modern Amritsar.

† An anonymous writer in the Annual Register for 1809 states that he was told at Lahore that the former name of the city was *Ella-núr*, but I can find no written authority for this.

Loh-kót, and in the Deshv Bhág, a compilation from the Puránas, drawn up by order of the erudite Rája Jye Singh Siwáe, of Jyepore, it is called *Lavpór*. The form *Láha-núr* is probably a Mahomedan corruption, and occurs only, as far as I am aware, in the writings of Amír Khosro, the bard of Dehli; * *Lohâwar* is the oldest and probably the most correct form of the name, as it is the form under which it appears in the writings of Abú Ríhán al Barúni, a contemporary and companion of the Emperor Mahmúd of Ghazní, and one who is known to have been well versed in the literature of the Hindús. The termination *âwar* is, no doubt, a corruption of colloquial Sanskrit *áwara*, meaning a *fort* or *enclosure*, which is found as a termination in the names of many other Rájpút cities as, for instance, *Peshâwar*, † *Rájâwar*, commonly called *Rajore*, and *Sonâwar*, and may still be traced in the Maratta term *awár*, *a court-yard*, and the Hindí and Panjábí *bár* or *várá*, a *cattle-pen* or *fence*. *Lohâwar*, therefore, must signify the "Fort of Loh,"‡ and the name will thus correspond in signification with the *Loh-kot* of the Rájpútánah chronicles.

Local Hindú tradition regarding the foundation of Lahore.

According to Hindú local tradition, Lahore was founded by *Lav* or *Loh*, the son of Ráma, and púja is still done to Síta, Ráma's wife, as mother of Lav, the founder of Lahore. In other words, its founders were Rájpúts of the Solar race.

This local tradition is confirmed by the testimony of the Mewar annals. According to them, the founder of the royal line of Mewar was, *Keneksen*, a Solar Rájpút Prince, who migrated from Lahore about A. D. 144. Moreover, the Solankhi tribe of Anulhára Pattan and the Bháttís of Jessalmer, whose name is still borne by one of the city gateways, point to Lahore as the seat of their earlier location. Further, we have the testimony of Mahomedan Historians that, at the period of the Mahomedan conquest, Lahore was in the possession of a Rájpút Prince.

Mahomedan local tradition.

On the other hand, there is a Mahomedan tradition that the present city and fortress of Lahore were founded by *Mallik Ayáz*, the friend and counsellor of Mahomed of Ghazní, and his tomb by the

* Since writing the above, I have found another instance of this form Lahanúr in the records of a Mahomedan shrine founded in the time of Bohlol Khán, Lodí.

† The derivation of the first syllable of this word has given rise to considerable discussion. Some of the more sanguine affirm that it is a corruption of the name of Porus of antiquity. Others who profess to take a "common sense" view of the subject would regard the first syllable as identical with the Persian پیش *pesh* and hold that Pesháwar means nothing more than "advanced fort" or "frontier post." Against the "common sense" view of the subject there are unfortunately one or two fatal objections. In the first place, the derivation of Pesháwar from *pesh*, *in front*, involves the combination of a Persian and Sanscrit root; in the next place it is to be remembered that by all early writers the name is written *Persh*-áwar or *Parash*-áwar, not *Pesh*-áwar; and, further, the name appears in the itinerary of Hwan Thsang, the Chinese traveller, who visited the Punjáb in the 7th century A. D., under the form PU-LU-SHA-PU-LO, which is nothing more than Chinese rendering of *Purushpúr*; *l* being invariably substituted for *r* by the Chinese.

‡ In like manner Kussoor is resolvable, into *Kush-áwar*, or Fort of Kush; Kush being the name of the brother of Lav.

Taksáli Gate is still revered by Mussulmen as the burial-place of the "Œkist" of Lahore.

How reconcileable.

These two traditions may be reconciled by supposing that the original Hindú city of Lahore did not occupy exactly its present site, or that the city had been deserted or destroyed before its final capture by the Mahomedans and founded by them *de novo*. There are reasons which make it probable that the first of these suppositions is correct, and that the older city stood somewhere in the vicinity of the existing village of Ichra, or about three miles from its present site. In the first place, there is a tradition among the inhabitants of the villages of Ichra and Mozung to this effect; in the next place, the old name of Ichra was *Ichra-Lahorè*, which is still to be found, it is said, upon old documents; and lastly, the oldest and most sacred Hindu shrines* are to be found in this locality.

Pre-Mahomedan History of Lahore.

Beyond the fact of its Rájpút origin, hardly anything can be recorded of the history of Lahore until the period of the Mahomedan invasion. In the Rája Taranginí, Lahore is mentioned as a dependency of Lalitaditya, the renowned sovran of Kashmír; in the Deshv Bhága abovementioned, it is recorded that, at the end of the Dwárpar or brazen age, Bhím Sen fought Ban Mal, Rája of Lahore, a mighty Prince, with an army of 10,000 horsemen, and after a struggle of three days took him prisoner and made his kingdom tributary; and in the ballad poetry of the northern border, "the forest near Lahore, then called Udinagar," figures as the battle-ground where Rassalú, son of Sal-Vahn, the eponymic hero of Syálkot, fought and slew the monster Rákhas. These stories cannot, indeed, be considered history, but they show the intimate connection of Lahore with the semi-mythic period of Indian history. Numismatic researches tend to show that Lahore formed a portion of the kingdom of Menander and his successors; that it fell successively into the hands of the Scythic dynasties of Azes, Kadphises and Kanerkis, and subsequently under the rule of a Sassanian dynasty of Princes, who reigned between the fourth and seven centuries A. D. It is possible that Kanerkis, whose coins are numerous at Lahore, and whose date is given by Prinsep as about 100 A. D., is the same as the Keneksen of the Mewar chronicle, and the *Kanishka* of the annals of Kashmír, in which case Lahore must have been the capital of the third Scythian dynasty.

Early struggles with the Mahomedans.

However, this may be at the period of the first Mahomedan invasion, in the latter part of the seventh century of our era we find Lahore in possession of a Chauhán Prince of the family of Ajmír. In A. D. 682, according to Ferishta, the Afgháns of Kermán and Pesháwar, who had, even at that early period, embraced the religion of the prophet, wrested certain possessions from the Hindú Prince. A war ensued, and in the space of five months seventy battles

* I allude to the *Bhairo-ka-Sthán* and the *Chandrát*.

were fought with varied success, until the Afgháns having formed an alliance with the Ghakkars compelled the Rája to cede a portion of his territory. The next mention of Lahore is in the Rájpútánah chronicles, where the Bússas of Lahore, a Rájpút tribe, are mentioned as rallying to the defence of Chittore when besieged by Mussalman forces in the beginning of the 9th century. At length, in A. D. 975, Sebektegín, Governor of Khorasán and father of the celebrated Mahmúd, advanced beyond the Indus. He was met by Jeipál, Rája of Lahore, whose dominion is said to have extended from Sirhind to Lamghán, and from Kashmír to Multán. By the advice of a Prince of the Bhátti tribe the Rája formed an alliance with the Afgháns, and with their aid was enabled to withstand the first invasion. On his succession to the throne of Ghazni Sebektegín repeated his invasion. A battle ensued in the vicinity of Lamghán. The Rája was defeated, and made overtures for peace. His terms were accepted, and persons sent on the part of Sebektegín to receive the balance of the stipulated ransom. On reaching Lahore Jeipál proved faithless, and imprisoned those commissioned to receive the treasure. On receiving intelligence of his perfidy, Sebektegín, in the words of Ferishta, " like a foaming torrent hastened towards Hindústán."

Another battle ensued, in which Jeipál was again vanquished and retreated, leaving the territory to the west of the Níláb or Indus in the hands of the invader, and chagrined at his double defeat performed the Hindú sacrifice of *Johar** or devotion, by burning himself to death outside the walls of his capital.

The invader did not retain the conquests he had made, for in A. D. 1008 a confederation, headed by Anangpál,† son of Jeipál, again met the advancing army, now commanded by Mahmúd, son and successor of Sebektegín, in the vicinity of Pesháwar. In the battle which ensued the naphtha balls of the Afghán army, according to a conjectural reading of Ferishta's text, spread dismay among the Hindú soldiery, who fled with a great slaughter. But Lahore was allowed to remain intact for thirteen years longer. Anangpál was succeeded by another Jeipál, called by Al Barúní Nardjanpál, while Mahmúd pushed his conquests into Hindústán. But in A. D. 1022 he suddenly marched down from Kashmír, seized Lahore without opposition and gave it over to be plundered. Jeipál II. fled helpless to Ajmír, and the Hindú principality of Lahore was extinguished for ever. A final effort was made by the Hindús in the reign of Modúd, A. D. 1045, to recover

Lahore taken by Mahmúd, of Ghazni.

* The suicide of Calanus, the Indian, at Pasargadæ, and that of Zarmanochegas at Athens (Strabo Lib. XV., Chapter 1)., are other instances of the performance of this rite. But we need not go back to antiquity for examples ; only the other day a peasant of the Kángra District, a leper, deliberately burnt himself to death. According to the official report " one of his brothers handed him a light and went away, a second brother watched the burning, and a third thought it a matter of such small interest that he went about his usual avocations."

† He is called by Ferishta *Anandpál*, but *Anangpál* has the authority of the Rájpútánah chronicles and the Puránahs. *Anang* means "incorporeal" or "unsubstantial," hence *Anangpál* is translated by Tod "supporter of a desolate abode"—an ominous name for the monarch of a falling dynasty.

their lost sovereignty, but after a fruitless siege of six months they retired without success, " and thus," says Al Barúní, " the sovereignty of India became extinct, and no descendant remained to light a fire on the hearth."

Social and political results attending the introduction of Mahomedanism.

From the above account it will be seen that the princes and people of Lahore played a prominent part in that long-continued struggle between Mahomedanism and Hindúism which marks the introduction of the former into India. While Persia was vanquished in three successive battles, and Egypt and the north coast of Africa in less than fifty years, it took upwards of two centuries before Mahomedanism had established a footing across the Indus. The strong social action and re-action which have taPen place beween the two religions in this part of India may be traced to the fact that the establishment of Mahomedanism was thus gradual, and the comparative tolerancy of the earlier Mahomedan dynasties of India is perhaps referable to the same cause*—the result of those long struggles in which Lahore was so conspicuous ; for history shows that the steady resistance of a people to the religion and customs of their conquerors will, as was the case with the Moors in Spain, teach even bigots the necessity of toleration. Even now the Mahomedan of the Punjáb is perhaps less bigoted, and the Hindú less grossly superstitious, than elsewhere ; and it is remarkable that two of the boldest reformers which India has produced, Gorakhnáth and Nának, were natives of the Panjáb.

Early Mahomedan period.

During the reigns of the first eight Princes of the Ghaznevide dynasty Lahore was governed by Viceroys, but in the reign of Masaúd III. (from A. D. 1102-1118), the seat of Government was removed to Lahore, as the Seljuks having deprived the house of Ghazní of most of its territory in Irán and Turán, the Royal family were compelled to take refuge in their Indian possessions. Lahore appears to have remained the seat of empire until transferred by Mahomed Ghorí, the founder of Ghorian dynasty, to Dehli in A. D. 1160. The Ghaznevides, especially the later ones, appear to have been a tolerant race, and to have adopted the " conciliation policy " towards their Hindú subjects ; we find them employing troops of Hindú Cavalry, and some of them even adopted on their coinage the titles and written character of the conquered race ; and their popularity may further be inferred from the continual disturbances which arose at Lahore after their expulsion. Three localities at Lahore are traditionally connected with the Ghaznevide period, and are looked upon as places of great sanctity,—the tomb of Mallik Ayáz, before alluded to, who is said to have built up the walls and fortress of Lahore miraculously in a single night ; the tomb of Syud Izhák, in the quadrangle of Wazír Khán's mosque ; and lastly, the tomb of Dádá Ganj Baksh, a learned divine of Baghdád, the St. Odo of his day, who accompanied the victorious army of Mahmúd,

* See the remarks in Elphinstone's History of India, Book V., Chapter 1.

of Ghazní, in the character of spiritual adviser, and died at an advanced age at Lahore. Whatever may have been his deeds, he has unfortunately had no Robert Wace to chronicle them. He has left a work entitled "*Kashf-ul-mahjúb*," the "Revelation of the Hidden," but it does not reveal a single fact connected with the history of his time.

Lahore during the Ghorian and Slave dynasties.

During the Ghorian and Slave dynasties Lahore was the focus of conspiracies against Government; indeed, it appears throughout the subsequent history of Mahomedan rule to have been the rendezvous of the Tartar as opposed to the Afghán party. In A. D. 1241 Lahore was taken and plundered by the hordes of Gengíz Khán, and in A. D. 1286 Prince Mahomed, the accomplished son of Sultán-Gheias-ud-dín Balbun, perished in an encounter with the Moghuls on the banks of the Rávi, and the poet Amír Khosro, the Alcæus of his time, was taken prisoner by his side.

The Khiljí and Toghlak dynasties.

During the Khiljí and Toghlak dynasties Lahore is not conspicuous in the political history of the day; it was once plundered by the Ghakkars, and mention is made of Moghul colonists taking up their abode in the vicinity of the city, and the place of their location is still known by the name of Moghulpúra.

Invasion of Timúr.

The year A. D. 1397 is memorable as the date of the invasion of Timúr, the "firebrand of the universe." Lahore was taken by a detachment of his forces, and from the fact that Timúr did not plunder it in person, it may be inferred that the city was not particularly rich at the time. On his departure Lahore was left in possession of Syud Khizr Khán, an Afghán and native of India, whom he appointed Viceroy.

The Lodí dynasty.

From this period it was alternately in the hands of Ghakkars and the ruling dynasty, until in A. D. 1436 it was seized by Behlol Khán, Lodí, one of the Afghán Chiefs, who rose to power on the dissolution of the Toghlak dynasty, and eventually became Emperor. In the reign of his grandson, Sultán Ibrahím, Daulat Khán, Lodí, the Afghán Governor of Lahore, revolted, and, Count Julian-like, invited to his aid the great Chagatâí, Prince Báber, who had long meditated an invasion of Hindústán, which he claimed as the representative of Timúr.

Lahore taken by Báber.

Báber came, saw and conquered. He was met by an Afghán army composed of the supporters of Sultán Ibrahím in the vicinity of Lahore, but it was speedily vanquished, and the victor, enraged at the opposition he had experienced, let loose his soldiery upon the city, which they plundered and partially burnt. This happened in A. D. 1524. Báber did not remain long at Lahore, but after a halt of but four days marched on for Dehli. He did not, however, get further than Sirhind on this occasion. Daulat Khán, Lodí, who had invited him to Hindústán, being dissatisfied with his reward of a jágír, had already commenced to intrigue against him. He therefore returned to Lahore, and having parcelled out the provinces he had conquered among his Begs, went back to Kábul. The next year Lahore was the hot-bed of intrigues fomented

by Daulat Khán, which it is unnecessary to detail, but the following year Báber again appeared. An attempt was again made to oppose him at the Rávi near Lahore, but the force melted away before it was attacked, and Báber, without entering Lahore, passed on towards Hindústán.

A. D. 1526.

This was his last expedition, and it ended in the decisive victory of Pánipat over the Afghán Army, the capture of Dehli and the foundation of the Moghul Empire.

Lahore at the period of Báber's conquest.

It is disappointing that Báber, who always took care to see what was to be seen, and has, in his autobiography, left such graphic descriptions of Kábul, Samarkand and the environs of Dehli, passes over Lahore in silence. From this it may be inferred that the city had, at that period, no architectural pretensions. The insignificance of the existing Pathán remains confirms this inference.* Two small mosques, of no pretensions, in the heart of the city, the Nímíwála-mosque and the Shiran-wála mosque, are the only remains of the Pathán period, as far as I am aware, existing at Lahore at the present day.

The Moghul period.

The reigns of Humayún, Akbar, Jehángír, Sháhjehán and Aurangzíb, the successors of Báber, may be considered the golden period of the history of Lahore. The city again became a place of Royal residence ; gardens, tombs, mosques, báradarís sprung up in every direction ; the population increased ; suburbs grew up ; until the city became, in the language of Abulfazl, "the grand resort of people of all nations," and celebrated for its fine buildings and luxuriant gardens. To this day almost all that is architecturally beautiful at Lahore is referable to this period.

Æsthetical influence of the Moghuls.

To the Moghuls we owe the introduction of what now form three striking characteristics of the principal cities of Upper India.

Architecture.

In the first place, there grew up with them a new style of architecture, more splendid and elaborate, though less massive than the Pathán, from which it was developed. Bulb-like domes supported on elaborate pendentives ; tall minárs ; lofty semi-domed gateways ; ogee arches with feathered edgings, marble lattice windows, and brilliantly enamelled walls, are the characteristics of this style.

Gardens.

In the next place it is to their love of the picturesque in nature,—a pleasing feature in their character,—we owe the construction of those regularly planned gardens† with their dense foliage, fountains, and imitative cascades, which have excited the admiration of all travellers to the East. Coming from the well-watered valleys and waving foliage of Ush and Andeján,

* It is also confirmed by the fact that the traveller Ibn-Batuta, who must have passed through Lahore on his way from Multán to Dehli, is silent respecting it.

† It is remarkable that there is no Hindí word in common use for "a garden." *Bagh* and *Chaman* are Persian, and *Rauza* Arabic.

Báber regarded with European disgust the dusty, treeless plains of the Panjáb. In his memoirs he bitterly complains of the ugliness of the cities of Hindústán. "They have no walled gardens," he says, "no artificial water-courses;" and he alludes to the impression of novelty produced by the garden he laid out at Agra. "The men of Hind," he says, "who had never before seen places formed in such a plan, or laid out with so much elegance, gave the name of Kábul to the side of the Jumna on which these palaces were built."

Tombs.

Lastly, the same appreciation of natural scenery, combined with that solicitude for their dead, which characterizes Tartar races, led to the erection of those numerous garden-enclosed tombs which form a picturesque feature of the environs of every Moghul city.* The thought they suggest as they rise, dome after dome, from amidst the crowded suburbs,—or what were crowded suburbs,—of DEATH IN THE MIDST OF LIFE is solemn and impressive. At the same time we cannot but reflect that these monuments are, in many cases, the offspring of nothing more than a selfish desire on the part of the deceased to perpetuate his own name,† and we miss the Christian sentiment inspired by the mode in which England deals with her illustrious dead. *There*, in one "temple of reconciliation," the dust of the great and good, of every shade of party or opinion, mingles beneath one hallowed roof; *here*, every noble has a Westminster Abbey of his own, and the separated in life are not united even in death.

Prince Kámrán gave the first impulse to the architectural adornment of Lahore.

Prince Kámrán, the brother of Humayún, when Viceroy at Lahore, seems to have given the first impulse in this direction. He built a house and a garden at Lahore in the vicinity of Naulukka, extending from thence to the river Ráví. It was here probably that Humayún, on his retreat from Sher Shah, the Afghán claimant of the throne, was entertained by his perfidious brother just before his temporary expulsion. A story is told that, as the Royal cortége was crossing the Ráví in flight for the West, his counsellors suggested to Humayún the advisability of then and there despatching the brother, whose faithlessness was one great cause of his misfortunes; but the Emperor indignantly rejected the proposal. A báradarí said to have been built by Prince Kámrán is now used as a toll-house at the bridge of boats. This is the oldest specimen of Moghul architecture in Lahore, but has undergone considerable alterations.

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* This tomb-building propensity is not peculiar to the Moghuls, but the number and importance of these monuments and their picturesque additions would seem to have been owing to their influence.

† This practice of building their own monuments at first sight seems to imply a distrust on the part of these Túrki nobles of the *Pietas* of their heirs. But it must rather, perhaps, be ascribed to the uncertainty, under an Eastern despotism, of transmitting wealth to posterity. Most large incomes were the result either of personal favour or peculation—in either case the fortune generally died with the possessor; we can understand, therefore, why a man, who had been successful in his generation, should be anxious to rear himself a suitable monument—that "necessary adjunct of a Tartar's glory"—before the means to do so had been dissipated.

Sher Shah.

The new Emperor, Sher Shah, appears to have regarded Lahore as a place, from its Moghul partizanship, politically dangerous, and at one time meditated razing it to the ground, and transferring its inhabitants to Mánkot in the Syálkot range ; and, on his death-bed, lamented his not having done so as one of the omissions of his life. The design was again revived in the reign of his successor, but never carried into effect.

A. D. 1554. Humayún returns.

After an exile of 14 years Humayún returned in triumph to Lahore, and was received with every demonstration of joy by the inhabitants. After his death at Dehli in A. D. 1556, and the accession of Akbar, the peace of Lahore was again disturbed by Hakím,

A. D. 1556. Akbar.

the younger brother of Akbar, who descended from Kábul, of which province he was Governor, and seized Lahore in A. D. 1563, but was soon expelled ; in 1581 he made another attempt, but the siege was raised by the advance of Akbar in person. From A. D. 1584 to A. D. 1598, Akbar apparently made Lahore his head-quarters and undertook from thence the conquest of Kashmír and the operations against the Afghán tribes of the frontier.

Akbar at Lahore.

It was during his residence at Lahore that Akbar would appear to have developed to their greatest extent those principles of religious liberality for which he is so conspicuous. His court was the resort of savans of every creed, and religious discussions were the order of the day.* It is related that the Emperor erected two buildings outside the city for the entertainment of devotees of every kind : one, called Khairpúra, for Jews, Gabrs, or fire-worshippers, and Mahomedans, and another, called Dharmpúra, for Hindús. Weekly meetings were held for discussion, in which Bír Bal, Abú-l-faizí, Abú-l-fazl, and other independent thinkers took part. Alchemy, fascination and magic were also practised, according to the Historian,† and the Emperor himself is said to have become an adept in the former art. In the same spirit of eclecticism, Akbar revived the old Persian festival in honor of the sun, and appointed Abúl-fazl superintendent of fire temples. A portion of the building called Khairpúra is still said to remain in the vicinity of Dáránagar on the left bank of the road to Meean Meer ;‡ and there is a memento of the

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* The *odium theologicum* excited by these discussions led sometimes to fatal disputes. In one of them Mullá Ahmad, a learned Shía, compiler of the Táríkh-i-Alfí, was assassinated in the streets of Lahore by one Mirza Fulád. The murderer was sentenced to be bound alive to the leg of an elephant, " and thus," adds the Sunni narrator, " attained martyrdom."—*See* Sir H. Elliot's *Biographical Index of the Mahomedan Historians of India.*

† Abd-ul-Kádir, author of the Táríkh-i-Budáúní.

‡ It is not improbable that there is an allusion to the practice of alchemy at Khairpúra in the following passage in the inscription on the tomb of Meean Meer, which is in the immediate vicinity of Dáránagar :

که خاك درش رشک اکسیر شد

" *The dust of whose portals is envied by the stone of the alchemist.* "

imperial partiality to sun worship in an enamelled figure of the sun visible to this day on the front-wall of the palace.*

Visit of the Portuguese Missionaries.

It was during this period that some Portuguese Missionaries, at the express request of Akbar, proceeded from Goa to the Emperor's Court at Lahore. They arrived with sanguine hopes of christianizing the country. In their journal they describe Lahore as a "delightful city." On arrival, they continue, they were taken to the Imperial residence, situated "on an island in the river;" being introduced to His Majesty, who is decribed as "a man about 50 years old, and white like an European," they presented him with a splendid image of the virgin, and he received it with the greatest admiration. But, notwithstanding this good beginning, their hopes of conversion were not realized, and they eventually returned *re infectâ* to Goa. Akbar's successor, Jehángír, was even more liberal than his father. He allowed some Portuguese Jesuits to establish a mission and build a church at Lahore, and even assigned stipends to the priests. But this liberality ceased after his death; Sháhjehán—a more strict Mussalmán—confiscated the pensions and pulled down the church; but some traces of it still remained when Lahore was visited by the French traveller Thevenot in A. D. 1665.

It was about this period also (A. D. 1584) that Lahore was visited by four of our own countrymen, Messrs. Fitch, Newberry, Leedes and Storey, members of the Turkey or Levant Company. The former left an account of his travels, but whether he gives any detailed description of Lahore I am unable to ascertain, but any notice of Lahore from his pen would be most interesting, as containing the impressions of the first Englishman who visited Lahore, and that at a period of its greatest splendour.

Literature.

The literary circle which followed the Imperial Court appears to have been peculiarly active during its sojourn at Lahore. It was here the voluminous history of Mahomedanism from the earliest period up to the thousandth year of the Hijri era, compiled by order of the Emperor, was finished and revised; and it was here that the translation of the Mahabhárata and the Rája Taranginí into Persian—a work still unaccomplished as regards our own language—was undertaken. I forbear inflicting upon the reader a list of the historians, the poets and the divines who wrote and rhymed and occasionally fought within the walls of Lahore between A. D. 1584 and A. D. 1598, but there is one among them who deserves special mention in a history of Lahore, I mean the Historian Niẓám-ud-dín Ahmad, the author of the Tabáqát Akbarí—the first historical work of which India forms exclusively the subject-matter. He died in A. D. 1594, and was buried in his garden at Lahore. I have endeavoured to find out the tomb of this *célebre*, to whom Ferishta owed so much in the compilation of his history, but without success; even his name and his work are but little known to the modern literati of Lahore.

* Tod mentions a similar decoration at Oodipore. "A huge painted sun of gypsum, in high relief, with gilded rays, adorns the Hall of Audience." This subject will be noticed again hereafter.

It is also worthy of remark that Akbar's able minister, Todar Mall, the best Revenue Officer perhaps the Moghul Government ever had, and the ideal of an oriental financier, expired at Lahore. The visit of the late Mr. Wilson to Lahore before commencing the new era of finance which he has opened was thus historically appropriate.

Architectural works of Akbar.

During his residence at Lahore Akbar enlarged and repaired the fort and surrounded it and the city with a wall, portions of which still remain, though it was almost built *de novo* at the beginning of the present century by Ranjít Singh. In the fort, up to within a few years, there remained some good specimens of the peculiar style of architecture, half Mahomedan half Hindú, adopted by the Emperor, but they are nearly all destroyed ; the *Akbarí Mahal*, or Chamber of Akbar, has been razed to the ground, and the smaller Takht or Throne-room has been so completely transmogrified by modern additions that it is hardly recognizable as an antique building. The massive gateway, now blocked up, leading from the Huzúri Bágh into the fort, was a work of Akbar, and its boldness of design contrasts remarkably with the elegant but somewhat finnikin architecture of the later buildings.

Other architectural remains of this period are the tomb of Shah Chirágh, lately used as a residence by the Deputy Commissioner, and now being transformed into a Government Office. The tomb of Mír Ismáel, once the trysting-place of the Lahore wrestlers, and now the residence of the Lieutenant-Governor ; the tomb of Mússa Shah, by the Railway station plot—noticeable as one of the few specimens at Lahore of purely Pathán design, and at the same time one of the earliest, if not the earliest, instance at Lahore of the use of coloured tiles as an architectural decoration,—a mosque called the mosque of Kála Khán to the right of the road to Meean Meer; another by the Dehli gate, and one or two others of less importance, which will be noticed in the descriptive portion of this memoir. Several Hindú shrines, such as the Tibbíka Shibwálá, were built at this period, but none of them have any architectural pretensions.

Rapid increase of the city in Akbar's time.

During the reign of Akbar, Lahore, as might have been expected, increased greatly in size and opulence. Up to this period, according to a native writer,* Lahore consisted of a number of detached hamlets ; it now 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 ; but outside the walls were long bazárs and thickly populated suburbs which no longer exist ; but some idea of their extent may be formed from the fact that at the time Nizám-ud-dín Ahmad wrote his work, that is, the latter part of Akbar's reign—the most populous quarter of Lahore was the quarter of Langar Khán ;† this

* Amín Ahmad Rází, author of a work called *Haft Iqlím*, dated A. H. 1032, A. D. 1624.

† Langar Khán distinguished himself as Governor of Multán in the reign of Humayún, who in recognition of his services assigned him a residence at Lahore in the locality which still bears his name.

quarter was situated between the Civil Station of Anarkulli and the village of Mozung, upwards of a mile from the *enceinte* of the present city. Another writer of the same period, the celebrated Abúl-fazl,* speaks of Lahore as a very great and populous city, famous for its artizans and the excellence of its manufactures. The climate was considered peculiarly salubrious, and it had two special attractions in his eyes from the fact that musk-melons and ice were procurable all the year round in the bazárs.

Jehángír. A. D. 1606.

The reign of Jehángír commenced with a rebellion, and, as usual, Lahore felt the effects of it. Prince Khosrú, the eldest son of the Emperor, seized the suburbs of Lahore and laid siege to the citadel. His army was quickly defeated by the Imperial troops, and his adherents dealt with with fearful severity. Seven hundred prisoners were impaled in two rows leading from the gate of Lahore, and the Prince was marched past them in mock dignity on an elephant from Kámrán's palace at Naulakka, where he had been temporarily placed, to the fort, where he was kept in close confinement in chains.

Rebellion of Khosrú.

Gúrú Arjún Mal.

The celebrated Sikh Gúrú Arjún Mal, the fourth successor of Nának, and compiler of the Adí Granth, was somehow implicated in the rebellion and was imprisoned; and his death, which occurred soon after, is attributed to the rigors of his confinement; though tradition asserts that having obtained permission from his guards to bathe in the river Rávi, which flowed by his prison, he miraculously disappeared beneath the stream. However this may be, he is regarded by the Sikhs as their first martyr, and his death was one of the causes which changed them from a peaceable to a warlike sect, and instilled into their minds that bitter hatred of Mahomedans which stood us in such stead in 1857. His humble shrine† may still be seen between the palace of Moghuls and Mausoleum of Ranjit Singh,—a fitting locality for the memorial of him who was an unconscious cause of the downfall of the one and the elevation of the other.

Jehángír was fond of Lahore, though one would have thought that the place would not have had very pleasant associations connected with it. In A. D. 1622, he fixed his Court here, and when he died at Rajaurí, in Kashmír,‡ in A. D. 1627, it was his express wish that he should be buried at Lahore. He was buried, accordingly in the garden of Núr-Jehán, his devoted, though imperious wife, and through her exertions the Mausoleum at Shahdrah, one of the chief ornaments of Lahore, was erected in his memory. In the immediate vicinity is the tomb of Núr-Jehán herself, an humble imitation of that of Jehángír, and the tomb of Asof

Jehángír's tomb.

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* In the Aín Akbarí.

† A well, said to have been dug by him, may be seen in the vicinity of the golden mosque; Ranjit Singh built a báolí on the spot.

‡ The author of the *Iqbál-námah Jehángírí* states that his death was the result of a shock on the nervous system brought on by having seen one of his attendants dashed to pieces by falling down a precipice in pursuit of a deer. This is not very credible in one, who, in his own memoirs, gloats over the atrocities committed at the commencement of his reign. Others attribute his death, with more probability, to asthma.

Khán or Asof Jah, her brother, the Historian,* Soldier and Wazír, and, in the latter capacity, in common with his sister, a great opponent of English interests in the Court of Jehángír† at the period of Sir Thomas Roe's embassy.

Both the latter tombs have been almost completely stripped of their marble facings and coloured enamellings by the Sikhs, but the Emperor's tomb has fared somewhat better, though it mourns the loss of an elegant lattice-work parapet of marble, which surrounded the roof and the galleries of the minárs, and must have given a lightness to the structure which at present it does not possess.

It is also asserted that a marble dome once rose from the centre of the roof over the vaulted chamber which contains the tomb, but that Aurangzíb removed it in order to insult the remains of his unorthodox predecessor. However this may be, there is an unfinished appearance about the tomb which detracts considerably from the general effect.

Buildings of Jehángírí.

Jehángír himself built but little, but Lahore has specimens of his architecture in the greater Khwábgáh or Sleeping Palace, the Moti Masjid ‡ or Pearl Mosque, formerly the Chapelle Royale for the ladies of the Imperial harem, but now used as the Government Treasury, and lastly, the tomb of Anarkalli, which, after having served a variety of secular purposes, has ended in becoming the Station Church. The first of these buildings consisted of a large quadrangle with a colonnade on three sides§ of red stone pillars, intricately carved with bracket capitals, consisting of the figures of peacocks, elephants and griffins. On the centre of the fourth side, which overlooked the Rávi, stood a lofty pavilion, in the Moghul style of architecture, and on either side at the point of contact of the colonnade with the outer wall were two chambers with verandahs of elaborately carved pillars supporting a sloping entablature in the Hindú style. In the quadrangle was a garden, with a chabutra or platform of marble mozaic, and beneath the pavilion and colonnades were underground chambers to serve as a refuge from the heat. Sikh and European disfigurements have completely destroyed the effect of this beautiful quadrangle. The pavilion has been transmogrified into a mess-room; the colonnades have been walled in and cut up into quarters; but the two chambers remain in tolerable preservation, and are fine specimens of the Hindú-Moslem style of art usually supposed to be peculiar to the time of Akbar. The mosque of Miriam Makáni or Miriám Zamáni, by the eastern gateway of the fort, is another specimen of the architecture of this period, and, though plain, is interesting as being an example of the transition style between Pathán and Moghul architecture.

The Khwábgáh.

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* He composed a portion of the Táríkh-i-Alfí.

† Until Sir Thomas Roe bribed him with a valuable pearl, after which "all went on well and smoothly."—*Elphinstone's History of India.*

‡ Subsequently Sháhjehán built a bathing pavilion on the side opposite the main building.

§ Usually called the "Motí Mandar."

On the death of Jehángír, Lahore was again the scene of a struggle between rival claimants to the throne, which as usual terminated in the execution of the vanquished. On the one side was Shehriár, the younger son of the late Emperor, supported by the once all-powerful Núr-Jehán, whose daughter by her former husband he had married; and on the other, Sháhjehán, supported by his father-in-law, Asof Khán. Shehriár seized the treasury at Lahore and proclaimed himself Emperor, but he and his adherents were speedily attacked and defeated by the energetic Asof Khán, and the Prince himself, together with the two sons of Jehángír's brother, Danial, taken prisoners. The Prince and his two cousins were put to death at Lahore, and Sháhjehán and his sons remained the sole direct representatives of the house of Timúr.

Sháhjehán. A. D. 1628.

Attempt of Shehriár to obtain the throne.

Defeated by Asof Khán.

Asof Khán now enjoyed a position even more elevated than in the preceding reign, and continued to do so until A. D. 1632, when he failed in the siege of Bíjapúr, from which date he seems to have lost favour, and his decease must have taken place soon afterwards.

Núr-Jehán survived until A. D. 1646, but her influence was extinguished for ever with the death of Shehriár. From that date she lived in seclusion and devoted herself to the memory of her husband. She and a faithful female attendant are buried side by side in a tomb she had constructed during her life-time in imitation of her husband's, and in friendly proximity to the tomb of the very brother who had caused her downfall.

Death of Núr-Jehán.

During the struggles between the sons of Sháhjehán, which clouded over the latter part of the reign of that Emperor, as if in retribution for the atrocities which attended its commencement, Lahore was a warm partizan of Dárá Sheko, the eldest son, and, according to our notions, the rightful heir to the throne. He had fixed his residence at Lahore, and gained great popularity by his engaging manners and generous disposition, and by the interest he took in the welfare of the city, which he improved by the construction of numerous *chauks* or market-places. He himself collected a history of all the holy men and conventual institutions of the place,* and had as his spiritual adviser the eminent Lahore saint, Meean Meer, who, if we may judge of the tenets of the master by those of the disciple, must have been a singularly liberal-minded Mussulmán. When pursued by his brother Aurangzíb in A. D. 1658, at a time when his cause was almost hopeless, Lahore supplied him with men and money,† and when his wife died, during his hurried flight to the Western frontier, Lahore received her last remains. The disasters of his flight to Gújerat, the painful scene near Ahmadábád, as the city closed its gates against him, his betrayal and cruel death, are matters beyond the scope of the present memoir, and the reader is referred for an account of them to the

Lahore during the struggle between the sons of Sháhjehán.

* The work is still extant, but gives no trace of the alleged heretical opinions of its author.

† Among his adherents was Har Rai, the seventh Sikh Gúrú,

graphic pages of Bernier, or the more discriminating narrative of Elphinstone. His name is still held in affectionate remembrance at Lahore, and the costly Bádsháhi Mosque, built at Lahore by Aurangzíb a few years after this event, has ever been held in disrepute, because built from the "spoils of blood," that is, from the proceeds of the confiscated estates of Dárá ;* a remarkable instance of the strong and lasting hold which personal attachment and sympathy with personal wrong has, in some cases, in the minds even of Asiatics.

Prosperity of Lahore during the reign of Sháhjehán.

During the reign of Sháhjehán, Lahore, though no longer the *dar-ul-hukúmat* or capital, was still a place of importance. It lay on the route of the imperial marches to Kashmír, and was the arsenal and rendezvous of the armies despatched to Balkh and the North-Western Frontier. It therefore still continued to increase in size and splendour. The palace was enlarged and beautified under the superintendence of Asof Khán. A smaller Khwábgáh was erected adjoining the western side of that built by Jehángír. It consisted of a quadrangle, enclosed on three sides by an arcade, in the Moghul style of architecture, the centre of the fourth side being occupied by a light marble pavilion, with lattice windows looking towards the river. In the inner space was a garden, with fountains flowing into marble receptacles inlaid with flowers wrought in precious stones. The arches and the chambers into which they led have suffered the same fate as those in the Khwábgáh of Jehángír; even the marble slabs upon the walls have received the usual coating of whitewash, but the pavilion remains in tolerable preservation, and is an elegant specimen of the palatial architecture of the time. In front of this pavilion, outside the palace walls was a platform raised on arches,† called the *árz begí*, where the Omra assembled every morning to receive the commands of his Imperial Majesty, who showed himself at the lattice window immediately above to the multitude assembled beneath.

Addition to the palace.

The smaller Khwábgáh.

The Saman Búrj.

To the left of the Khwábgáh was erected the range of buildings with octagonal towers, the largest of which is called, *par-excellence*, the Saman Búrj,‡ and contains the small though costly marble pavilion, inlaid with flowers wrought in precious stones and known by the significant name of Nau-

* The mosque was converted into a powder magazine by Ranjít Singh, and has only lately been restored to the Mahomedans; but the boon is but little appreciated by them.

† It is now used as a stable.

‡ *Saman* is an abbreviation of *musamman*, (مثمن) *octagonal*; similarly, *Táj Mahal* is a corruption of *Mumtáz Mahal*. It is by no means certain that the building now known as the Saman Búrj is that to which the name was originally applied. Current report says that there was another lofty tower, detached from the main building, which was so called, and, indeed, unless the language of the inscription on the Háthipaun gateway is inordinately hyperbolical, such would appear to be indicated by it. The inscription runs as follows :—"The king * * ordered a tower to be erected, which in height should be beyond measurement and conception, like unto the highest heaven. In beauty, loftiness and excellence such a tower never has been, and never will be seen under the sky." This is hardly applicable to the building now known as Saman Búrj.

lakka,* or the pavilion which cost nine lakhs; and the celebrated Shish Mahal, used by Ranjít Singh as a reception room, and historically interesting as the place where the sovereignty of the Punjab was formerly made over to the British Government. A new gateway was opened into it for the Emperor's private use, called the Háthipaun gateway, which is now the only entrance into the fort. A winding flight of steps, sufficiently broad to allow of an elephant's ascending—hence the gateway's name—led to this portion of the palace, through a garden which covered the space now occupied by the fort magazine, and suggested a comparison with the hanging gardens of Babylon. Opposite the pavilion in Jehángir's Khwábgáh a hammám or suite of bathing rooms was erected, which served not only for the purpose indicated by the name, but also as a cabinet council chamber; and in the centre of the fort enclosure, the once stately building, known as the *Takht* or Throne-room of Sháhjehán, now vandalized into a barrack; this was the Diwáni A'm or Hall of Audience where the Emperor daily sat in state to transact business, or in official parlance, held kutcherry; as His Majesty took his seat the musicians in the *Naqár khánah* struck up a martial strain, and a glittering pageant of men, horses and elephants, so graphically described by Bernier, passed in review before him; but, meanwhile, there issued from an empty tomb immediately in front, a voice reminding the Shah-in-Shah that he too must die like other men.† The procession, according to Bernier, lasted for upwards of an hour; but notwithstanding the time wasted in these absurdities, a large amount of business was got through, and the Emperor, with all his love for show and splendour, never remitted his vigilance over the internal government. Of Aurangzíb, indeed, it is said that "the appointment of the lowest Revenue Officer of a district, or the selection of a clerk in an office was not beneath his attention," while he planned each campaign, issued instructions during its progress, fixed on points of attack, and regulated the movements of every detachment or convoy.

The Shish Mahal.

The Takht.

The palace was now, in size and interior magnificence, worthy of an Imperial residence; its front extended some five hundred yards along the banks of the river, which then flowed near its base; but the dull red brick of which it was built was unsuited to the Imperial taste; the whole palace front was accordingly covered with brilliantly coloured designs in *kási* or porcelain-work, executed upon hard cement so as to resemble mozaic. These designs are not simply confined to patterns but include, in defiance of Mahomedan orthodoxy, the figures of men, horses and elephants, engaged in scenes chiefly of a sporting character, and also symbolical representations of zodiacal signs and of the angels, who, according to old Persian mythology, presided over each month and each day of the year. Among them we recognize the

Coloured designs on the palace front.

* This was built subsequently by Aurangzíb.

غره مشو که ملك لله است

Pride not thyself for the kingdom is of God.

† Portions of the *Naqár-khánah* or Band-stand still remain, but the empty tomb has within the last few years experienced the fate which it was intended to typify.

dragon-form *Hastabar*, representing the constellation of that name, and *Jadí*, the oriental Capricorn. But most conspicuous perhaps are four figures of the rising sun over the arched compartments in front of Jehángír's palace. These would appear intended to represent the divine *mihr*, or genius of the Sun, in whose honour two important festivals, that of the *nauroz*, at the vernal equinox, and *mihrgán* at the autumnal, were held. In like manner the frequently-recurring ornament of salvers filled with fruit and flowers would appear to be suggested by the offerings presented on those festive occasions ; and the vessels of water and baskets of viands, which form a common decoration of the walls of Moghul tombs,—that of Jehángír, for instance,*—are perhaps referable to the same origin ; for we know that it was an old Persian custom to place offerings of food and drink on the tops of houses and high places to conciliate the spirits of departed friends.

Historical interest of the designs.

The designs are thus interesting for two reasons,—first, as exhibiting the open contempt in which the strict rules of Mahomedanism forbidding the representation of living beings were held ; and in the second place, as indicating a strong recurrence to old Persian superstitions and mithraic symbolism at the period of their construction. They further completely corroborate the statements of cotemporary writers, such as Abd-ul-Kádir, Abúl-fazl and the Portuguese Missionaries, who all notice the assiduous worship paid to the sun and heavenly bodies by the earlier Moghul Emperors. This tendency to mithraism was not, however, confined to the Emperors of Hindústán. A mithraic emblem adorns the Hall of Audience at Udipore, the Lion and the Sun have from a remote period been the heraldic emblems of the Persian empire, and in the title *Sáhib-i-Qirán*, or *Lord of propitious Constellations*, assumed originally by Tamerlane and afterwards adopted by Shahjehán, and inscribed by him upon the entrance into his palace at Lahore, we have similar relics of the religion of Zoroaster.

Origin of the art called Káshí.

It may not be uninteresting in this place to say a few words about the origin and history of the art called Káshí, or more properly Qáshí, by which the architects of the day were enabled to compensate to some extent for the want of stone material and the consequent impossibility of sculpture, and to give to plain brick walls that appearance of costliness and durability which in an architectural point of view is essential to success.

The use of glazed tiles as an architectural decoration is common all over Persia, and is not uncommon in the Mahomedan cities of India ; and we hear mention of porcelain towers among the architectural works of Chinese races ; but I have been unable to discover any history of the use and progress of this art or of its introduction into India.

As far as my very limited observation extends, the art would appear to have been introduced from China by the Moghuls.

* A native gravely told me that the vessels were decanters, and intended to indicate the wine-bibbing propensities of the deceased Emperor.

The earliest instance of its use which I can discover is the celebrated mosque of Tabríz, built about the end of the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth century of our era, after the conquest of Persia by the Moghuls. The next perhaps is the tomb of Mohammad Khudabendah at Sultaniah, which was built by the successor of Gházán Khán, the builder of the mosque at Tabríz.

From this date the use of glazed tiles became common in Persia, but it was not for upwards of two centuries from this time that it was introduced into Hindústán.

Báber, writing in the sixteenth century, speaks of a mosque at Samarkand "covered with porcelain of China" as a novelty, indicating thereby at once the supposed origin of the art, and also that it was not in common use at the time he wrote in Affghánistán and the adjacent countries.

The earliest instance of the use of this mode of decoration at Lahore is the mosque of Shah Mussa, built in the reign of the Emperor Akbar; the colours of this the oldest specimen are as vivid, and the decoration as perfect, as in any of the later ones. But Káshí did not come into general use until the time of Shahjehán; at the same time the art took a new form. Encaustic tiles were to a great extent disused, and the designs executed upon a hard kind of cement. This, being probably a cheaper process, led to the almost universal adoption of Káshí designs as an architectural ornament. There is hardly a mosque, or a tomb, or a gateway built during this period whose walls are not covered with them. Strange to say, after the reign of Shahjehán it became entirely disused, and the art may be said to be lost in the Panjáb. Coloured tiles are still manufactured in Lahore and Multán, but the colouring is very inferior, and the process of executing coloured designs upon cement is altogether unknown.

The Mosque of Wazír Khán.

The finest existing specimens of Káshí work are to be found in the mosque of Wazír Khán, built in A. D. 1634 by Hakím Ali-ud-din Wazír Khán, a native of Chiniot, who, although a Panjábí by birth, rose during the reign of the liberal-minded Shahjehán to be Governor of Lahore, as well as Court physician. In gratitude for his unlooked-for prosperity under the rule of a stranger, he erected the mosque, which bears his name, at a great expense, over the remains of an old Ghaznevide saint. Artists, it is said, were sent for expressly from China to execute the Káshí work, and the mosque was pronounced, according to a writer of the day,* "a mole on the cheek of the city of Lahore."

Other architectural works of the period of Shahjehán.

Shálamár Garden.

Besides the architectural works above described, the following may be mentioned as belonging to the period of Shahjehán:—The gardens of Shálamár, the Versailles of the Panjáb, designed by Ali Mardán

* Suján Singh, who, however, makes no allusion to the story about the Chinese artists. The employment of Chinese is improbable in itself, as there are no traces of Chinese style in the designs or their execution; on the other hand, the origin of the tradition is easily accounted for by the fact that Káshí is popularly known as "China-work."

Khan, the celebrated canal architect, in imitation of the garden of that name built by Jehangír at the sources of the Jhelam in Kashmír; the Tomb of Ali Mardán Khán himself; the gateway leading to the Gulábi Bágh, or "Garden of Rosewater," whose beauty, was such, according to the inscription, that—

Tomb of Ali Mardán Khán.

Gulábí Bagh.

"The tulip marked itself with the spot [of envy],"
"The flower of the sun adorned it as a lamp;"*

the tomb and shrine of Abd-ul-maâli; the Idgah by the Railway Station plot; the tomb of Miyán Mír; the báradarri of Wazír Khán, the gateway of which is now turned into the Station Museum; and lastly, the gateway commonly called the "Chauburji," once the entrance into the garden of Zebinda Begam, a learned daughter of Shahjehán, and, what is more, an authoress who, in her shady retreat on the banks of the Ráví, composed a volume of mystical poems which are still read and admired by the learned in the Panjáb and Hindústán.†

Abdul Maâli's tomb.

The Idgah, &c., &c.

At the date of the accession of Aurangzíb in A. D. 1658, Lahore must have fallen off in wealth and populousness from what it was in the days of his predecessors. The absence of the Court and the foundation of Jehánábád, or new Dehli, had drawn away the bulk of the artificers and trading population to that more favoured locality, and when Bernier passed through it in A. D. 1664 the houses had begun to look dilapidated, and the long streets of the city to be disfigured with ruins. It was still, however, the capital of the most important Wazirat of the empire, and benefitted by the occasional presence of the Emperor during his march to Kashmír at the commencement of the hot season.

Reign of Aurangzíb.

In the fourth year of his reign, the city having suffered a good deal from the encroachment of the river, Aurangzíb 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 Ráví available for the gardens which lined its banks. The work is compared by a cotemporary writer to the "rampart built by Secander Dhulkarnein against the incursions of Gog and Magog"; and, as a rampart, indeed, it proved most effectual; for it not only effected the object of saving the city from destruction, but frightened away the river altogether; so that in a few years the inhabitants saw, with dismay, the Ráví change its course, and retire a mile away from the city, leaving the quay upon

The "bund," or quay of Alumgír.

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* خوش آن باغے که دارد لاله داغش *
گل خورشید میزیبد چراغس

The Inscription thus romantic in its commencement goes on to relate that the garden was laid out by the Emperor Shahjehán in memory of his—wet-nurse! It is a good specimen of the *chiar-oscuro* style of composition favourite amongst Persian poets.

† The work is entitled the "*Diwan-i-Makhfi.*" Vide Appendix, where a few specimens of its contents are given.

which so much had been spent, and about which so much had been written, ignominiously high and dry. From that date, I believe, the main stream of the river has never flowed in its old channel, though occasionally an arm of the river has taken a circuit along its old course, and at the time of annexation there was still a small stream flowing under the fort walls. The remains of the quay or " bund " of Alumgír, as it is called, are still traceable between the north-east end of the fort and the village of Bhogewál.

The Jamá Masjíd.

In the year A. D. 1674 Aurungzíb was engaged for upwards of two years in a war with the Afgháns of the north-west frontier. In order to supervise the operations his presence in the Panjáb was continually necessary ; it was during his visits to Lahore during this period that the construction of the Jamá Masjid, the most striking building in Lahore, whose white bulb-like domes and colossal minars may be seen for miles, was undertaken. Its architect was Fidáe Khán Khokah, who held the post of Master of Ordnance to His Majesty. As a work of art, it is not to be compared with the Imperial Mosque at Dehli, though at first sight it has some resemblance to it. The absence of side entrances and the position of the minarets at the four corners of the quadrangle give the building a very stiff appearance, and we miss the graceful subordination of part to part, which is so pleasing in the Dehli mosque. There is, moreover, a poverty of detail ; the *riwaq*, or colonnades at the side, are plain in the extreme, and the minars, divested of their cupolas, which were so shattered in the earthquake of A. D. 1840 that they had to be removed, have some resemblance at a distance to certain unpoetic structures common in manufacturing towns in England. At the same time the effect of the arcade of red sandstone adorned with marble tracing, with the tall semi-domed arch in the centre, seen through the elegant gateway resting on a broad flight of steps, which meets the eye of the spectator from the Huzúrí-Bágh, is very fine ; and in defence of the architect it may be remarked that many of the defects may be ascribed rather to the " orthodoxy" than to the bad taste of the designer. The arrangement of the mosque is in fact a recurrence to that of the exemplar mosque of El Walid at Mecca, from which that of the Dehli mosque is a tasteful departure.

It has already been mentioned that the building was turned into a magazine by the Sikhs, and only recently restored to the Mahomedans, who, however, to a certain extent, shun it as an " Akeldama."

The architectural History of Lahore may be said to close with the reign of Aurangzíb and the completion of the Jamá Masjid.* Later attempts, such as the golden mosque of Bikhari Khán and the palace and tomb of Khán Bahádur at Begampúra, only show how architectural

* It is difficult to understand why an economical prince like Aurangzíb should have lavished so much money in the erection of these expensive works in a city which was not his capital. Possibly the popular account may be correct, *viz.*, that it was done as a peace-offering to the *manes* of Dárá Sheko, and to pacify the people who were aggrieved at his cruel death. There is another story current that Aurangzíb built it in order to eclipse the beauties of the mosque of Wazír Khán.

taste fell with the fall of the empire, and became a mongrel style, half Mahomedan and half Hindu.

Lahore after the death of Aurangzíb.

From the death of Aurangzíb on to the accession of Ranjít Singh the fate of Lahore was singularly unfortunate. As capital of an outlying province, it was naturally the first to suffer from the weakness of the decaying Moghul empire; ruled over by Governors inadequately supported, it became the *point d' appui* of Sikh insurrections, and, like a second Ariminium, the "iter ad bella" of every invader from the West.*

A. D. 1712.

Almost immediately after the death of Aurangzíb the Sikhs, who had been kept under during his energetic rule, broke out into insurrection under a leader by name Banda, and at length seriously threatened Lahore. The Emperor Bahádur Shah, the son and successor of Aurangzíb, marched to Lahore with a view of crushing the rebellion, but died before he could achieve any decisive success over them. One of the gateways of Lahore, the "Shah Alumí" gateway†, was called after his name, and the fact is some testimony to the popularity of this prince, whose tolerancy was a great contrast to the bigotry of his predecessor. It has been said indeed that "had Bahádur Shah, and not Aurangzíb, succeeded on the decease of Shahjehán, the family of Timúr might have still sat on the throne of Dehli."

His death was followed by the usual struggle among the sons; Azim-usshán, a younger, but more popular, son, endeavoured to seize the throne and oust his elder brother Jehándár. A conflict ensued between the brothers and their respective partizans outside the city walls; Azim-usshán was driven from the field, and fled precipitately to the Rávi; which he endeavoured to cross upon an elephant. But the river, being swollen, and rapid from the melting of the snows, swept him away elephant and all.

But his death was not unavenged. Seven months afterwards Jehándár was prostrate before Farokshír, the son of Azim-usshán, who had marched up from Bengal with a large army, and by him sternly put to death.

The struggles between Jehándár and Farokshír for the imperial throne and the dissensions and intrigues in the court of the latter encouraged the Sikhs to further excesses; they defeated the Governor of Lahore in a pitched battle, and it became necessary for even the *fainéant* Farokshír to take some measures for their repression; he appointed Abdul-Samad Khán, a Turáni nobleman and an officer of known vigour, to the Viceroyship of Lahore; he obtained a brilliant success over the rebels, and took Banda himself prisoner and despatched him to Dehli. Abul Samad was succeeded in the Viceroyship by his son, Zikaríya Khán, under the title of Khán Bahádur, and for twenty-one years the Panjáb was peaceful; the weakness of the court of Dehli

Successes of the Sikhs.

A. D. 1717—1738.

* ——— quoties Romam fortuna lacessit
Hoc iter est bellis.—*Luc. Phars.*

† It was formerly called the "Bherwala" gateway.

turned the Viceroy into a satrap, who, safe for a time in his fountain-lulled palace at Begampúra, viewed with complacency the failing powers of the sick man and the rise of the Marattas.

Invasion of Nádir Shah.

At length in November A. D. 1738 the citizens of Lahore heard with dismay of the approach of a new enemy from the West led by the Turkomanní warrior Nadir Kuli Khán, who from his home by the fountain Margáb, in the vale of Azerbijan, issued forth the conqueror of Khorasán and Meshed, the Lord of Persia, and vanquisher of the house of Timúr.

On the 18th November A. D. 1738 he crossed the Indus," passed rapidly, without boat or raft, the Jhelam and Chenáb, rivers"—writes his Secretary, Mirza Mehdi,—" furious as the ocean or as an arm of a destructive sea," and pushed on for Lahore. A faint show of resistance was made at Wazírabad, and again in the vicinity of Lahore, but to no purpose; and at length the invading army encamped in the gardens of Shálamár. Zikaríya Khán, the Viceroy, had no particular affection for the court of Dehli, and was soon convinced that discretion is the better part of valour. He brought twenty lakhs of rupees and a vast array of elephants and presented them before the throne of the invader, and the result was that Zikariya was confirmed in his Governorship, and Lahore was this time unpillaged.

Nádir Shah at Lahore.

On the 29th December the troops of Nádir Shah quitted Lahore *en route* for Dehli. The prostration of the Moghul empire by the ensuing victory of Karnál and sack of Dehli gave fresh courage to the Sikhs, who had been restrained during the vigorous rule of Abd-ul-Samad and Zikaríya Khán; but the latter was now dead, and his son and successor, Yuhiya Khán, was less fortunate. A marauding band of Sikhs had collected at Eminábád, a locality fraught with sacred recollections to their minds; here is the shrine of Rori Sáhib* marking the spot where their Gúrú, Nának, in performance of a vow of penance, knelt down and prayed upon the hard ground. Troops were sent by Yuhíya Khán to disperse them, but the Sikhs, inspired by the *religio loci*, fell upon the detachment with fury and overpowered it. The news of this disaster exasperated the Viceroy, who dispatched another overwhelming force under the command of Laghpat Rae, which succeeded in defeating the insurgents. A number of prisoners was brought into Lahore and executed on the north-east side of the city, then known as the horse-market: but since the period of Sikh rule by the name " Sháhid Ganj," or place of martyrs; and the scene of the execution is marked by a shrine erected to the memory of Bhai Tárú Singh, the chief martyr, who, though offered pardon if he would consent to have his long hair cut, persistently refused, and died.

A. D. 1746.

* *Rori* means " hard ground," and the expression Rori Sahib is an instance of a habit characteristic of oriental races of personifying *localities*. Thus we have *Amritsar-ji Durbár-Sahib*, *&c*, just as if an Englishman were to speak of " My Lord Parliament House." The Gujranwala district abounds in localities thus " canonized " as being associated with some act in the life of Nanak—*e. g.*, *Nankanah Sahib*,—the place of his birth; *Balkarira Sahib*, the place where he spent his youth; *Malisthan-ji*, the tree beneath which he slept; *Kiari Sáhib*, where he tended his herd of cattle.

A. D. 1748.

Two years from this event a more powerful enemy appeared before the walls of Lahore in the person of Ahmad Shah, the successor of Nádir Shah, who had no sooner established himself on the throne than he marched an army into India; the Viceroyship at Lahore was then a bone of contention between the two sons of Zikaríya Khán, Yuhiya and Shah Nawáz Khán, while the Court of Dehli looked on, too weak or too inactive to interfere. To aid his cause, Shah Nawáz encouraged the advance of Ahmad, recollecting that his father had not fared badly at the hands of the Western invader.

Ahmad Shah takes Lahore.

So Ahmad Shah advanced; but his army was small, and Shah Nawáz Khán, having prevailed over his brother, thought better of his treachery. He met the invading forces, was disastrously defeated under the walls of the city, and Ahmad took possession of Lahore.*

From this time until the establishment of Ranjit Singh upon the throne Lahore was subject to periodical invasion, pillage and depopulation, and was thus reduced from a mighty city to little more than a walled township set in a circle of ruinous waste. Quarter after quarter became gradually deserted. The wealthy residents of "Guzar Langar Khán" relinquished their "country seats," and retired for safety within the city walls; the merchants fled in numbers to Amritsar; the artificers were dispersed,—some following the invading armies on their return march to Kábul, others to Hindústán. At length the inhabited portion of the city was confined to the area surrounded by the city wall.

The first invasion of Ahmad, having passed Lahore, met with a check in Sirhind, and the conqueror returned the way he came; Mír Mannú, son of the Dehli Wazir, who had distinguished himself in the battle, was appointed Governor of Lahore.

Second invasion of Ahmad Shah.

Third invasion.

At the close of A. D. 1748 Ahmad again crossed the Indus, but the invasion was warded off partly by the bold front assumed by Mír Mannú at the banks of the Chenáb and partly by diplomacy. The following year it was renewed with better success. The invader marched, without opposition, to Lahore, and halted a short distance from the suburb of Shahdarah, where Mír Mannú had entrenched himself. He crossed the river, however, at a ford higher up, and proceeded to invest Lahore,—his own camp being fixed in the vicinity of the Shalamár gardens. For four months Mír Mannú made a good defence. At length, however, as provisions and forage began to fall short, he imprudently risked a general action. On the morning of the 12th April 1752 he marched out of his entrenchment and took up a position near the village of Mahmúd Búti; a battle ensued which was sustained for some hours with doubtful success on both sides, but at length the tide was turned by a charge of

* At the back of the Jamá Masjid there is the tomb of one Sábir Shah, who was put to death for advising the people to submit to Ahmad.

the Duráni horse, and Mír Mannú retired into the citadel.* The next morning, however, finding further resistance hopeless, he repaired to the tent of the conqueror to make his submission, when the following dialogue is said to have taken place:—"How is it," said Ahmad Shah, "that you have not, long ere this, come to do homage to your lord and master?" "Because," replied Mír Mannú, "I had another master to serve." "And why," rejoined the Shah sarcastically, "did not your master protect you in this hour of need?" "Because," replied the other proudly, "he knew that Mír Mannú would take care of himself." "And supposing," continued the Shah, "you had been victorious?" "I should have put you in an iron cage and sent you prisoner to Dehli," was the reply. "And now that I am victor, what do you expect at *my* hands?" "If you are a tradesman," said Mír Mannú, "sell me; if an executioner, put me to death; but if you are a prince, be generous." The conqueror, struck with admiration at the dauntless bearing of his youthful adversary, called him the Rustam of India, decorated him with a jewelled sword, and confirmed him in the post of Viceroy of the Panjáb.†

A. D. 1752.

But Mír Mannú did not long live to enjoy his newly-acquired title; he died soon afterwards, leaving an infant son and a widow. The latter succeeded as guardian; for a time she vainly endeavoured to keep friends with both Kábul and Dehli; at length, however, her duplicity was discovered, and the Dehli Vizier summarily put an end to her intrigues by having her seized in her own house and carried off a prisoner.‡ This ungallant act afforded the Duráni a pretext for a fourth invasion. Lahore was occupied without opposition and placed under the conqueror's son, Prince Timúr; but an act of intolerance on his part in defiling the sacred tank at Amritsar roused the fury of the Sikhs, now a rapidly-rising sect. Sikh horsemen swarmed round the city walls and assumed so threatening an aspect that Prince Timúr thought it prudent to retire, and Lahore for the first time fell into the hands of the Sikhs. Their leader, Jussa Singh, a carpenter, at once assumed the prerogatives of sovereignty, and struck a coin bearing the inscription "Coined by the grace of the Khalsah." Their occupation this time was short-lived; they

Fourth invasion. A. D. 1755-6.

A. D. 1756-8—Lahore in the hands of the Sikhs.

* The scene of the battle is marked by a large square brick tomb. This, say the neighbouring villagers, was erected by the last surviving son of Aziz Beg, a person of distinction in Mír Mannú's army, who with his five other sons fell in the battle. They say that, being unable to recognize the bodies of his father and brothers, to make sure, he collected the bones of all those slain in the place where the fight was thickest, and buried them in a large vault below the tomb. The plain around is still strewn with human bones.

† His memory is held in great repute by Mahomedans, but detested by the Sikhs, whom he treated with great severity. He was buried near Shahid Ganj, where the remains of his tomb may still be seen; in the reign of Sher Singh the Sikhs in a moment of religious phrenzy dismantled the building, and dug out the remains of Mír Mannú and scattered them to the winds.

‡ Bikhári Khán, who built the *Soneri Masjid*, or Golden Mosque, in the city of Lahore, was a favourite of this lady; but, having in an unlucky hour incurred her displeasure, was by her orders surrounded and beaten to death with shoes.

were expelled by a new enemy in the shape of the Marattas, under a chief named Ragoba, whom Adinah Beg Khan, the deputy of Mír Mannú, had invited to his assistance. With their help he was installed on the viceregal throne, but he enjoyed his success but a few months; he died leaving a name still held in some respect as that of the last Moghul Governor of Lahore.*

Lahore taken by the Marattas.

A. D. 1758.

The success of the Marattas led to a fifth invasion from Ahmad Shah, which resulted in their disastrous overthrow at Pánipat in A. D. 1761. One Buland Khan was made chief magistrate at Lahore; but the Government machinery was powerless, and the Sikhs again assumed a formidable appearance, and besieged his successor, Obeid Khan, in the fort of Lahore. A sixth descent of the Duráni scattered the Sikh forces and inflicted on them a terrible slaughter near Ludiánah. He returned *viâ* Lahore and left one Kabúli Mul governor, and the country ravaged by Sikh horsemen. The success of the Sikhs in Sirhind led Ahmad Shah to undertake his seventh invasion; but he retired somewhat precipitately without having effected his object. Kabúli Mul was ejected, and the Sikhs again became masters of Lahore.

A. D. 1759.

Sixth invasion.

Seventh invasion.

In A. D. 1767 Ahmad Shah made his eighth and last invasion but had to retire without success, harassed by the ever-present Sikh Cavalry.

Eighth invasion.

During thirty years following the final departure of Ahmad Shah the Sikhs were pretty much left to themselves, and increased in wealth and numbers. They gradually divided themselves into independent *misls* or bands under the command of hereditary chieftains with a common place of meeting at Amritsar, which was to them what the Amphictyonic Council was to the Hellenes or the fountain of Feronia to the tribes of Latium. Lahore meanwhile was portioned out amongst a triumvirate of Sikh chieftains named respectively Gujar Singh, Lena Singh and Sobha Singh, who are spoken of to this day as the "three hákims." The former had his stronghold in a brick fort between Shalamár and Lahore, which still bears his name; Lena Singh in the citadel, and Sobha Singh in the garden of Zebinda Begum, which he turned into a fort now known by the name of Nawakote. At length in A. D. 1797 the spell was again broken. Shah Zemán, the successor of Timúr on the throne of Kábul, but known in aftertimes as the blind exile of Ludiánah, and the brother of the unfortunate Shah Shujah, made a new attempt to establish a Durani empire from Kábul to the Ganges. His advance created the liveliest sensation not only in the Panjáb, but even in the Council Chamber at Calcutta, Governor-Generals wrote long minutes, augmented the native army and laid the

A. D. 1767-97.

The three Hákims.

Invasion of Shah Zemán.

* His tomb and garden still remain.

foundation of that chronic state of apprehension which ended only in the expedition to Affghánistan.

In the beginning of the cold season Shah Zemán appeared before Lahore, and the tall sheep-skin cap of the then youthful warrior is still recollected as he rode upon a prancing steed on the plain fronting the palace. But his expedition was cut short by bad tidings from home, and he returned after exacting a subsidy of 30 lakhs from the few wealthy merchants who still remained. The next year it was renewed with no better success ; but it is interesting as being the first occasion on which Ranjít Singh, son of Maha Singh, chief of the Sukherchakiya Misl, came prominently into notice, and made the first step towards obtaining the sovereignty of the Panjáb by securing from the retiring Duráni emperor a formal grant of the chiefship of Lahore. The history of Lahore is henceforth contained in the history of its great ruler, Máharája Ranjít Singh, the events of whose life are fully detailed in the now familiar pages of Murray, Cunningham, and the "History of the Panjáb;" from this period therefore it is not proposed to give more than a brief resumé of events.

Rise of Ranjít Singh.

In A. D. 1799 Ranjít Singh became master of Lahore, which was then in possession of Sirdár Chait Singh, the son of the "Triumvir" Lena Singh, after a short struggle in which Ranjít Singh was aided by the treachery of the leading men.

In A. D. 1801 he assumed the title of *Sirkár*, established a mint, and commenced his career as a sovereign. But the Lahore of which Ranjít Singh was now sovereign was a very different place from the Lahore of the Moghul period. From a mighty city it had sunk to the position of a mere township, and even within its dilapidated walls it was but sparsely inhabited ; outside was ruin and devastation. The only signs of life were two Sikh forts, built to overawe the country round about, and a few scattered hamlets,—one peopled by the descendants of a hardy clan of Beloches who had settled at Lahore in happier times, and another by a few peasants who clung to the site of the old Hindú city.* Perhaps the best idea of the contrast between Lahore of the Moghul Emperors and Lahore of the commencement of this century will be afforded by placing in juxta-position the account of the city as given by Abul-fazl in the reign of Akbar and that given by an European Officer who visited it in A. D. 1809. "Lahore," says Abul-fazl, "is a very large and populous city. The fort and palace are of brick and lime, and when this city was for some time the seat of Government many other capital buildings were erected and gardens laid out in taste and elegance ; it became the grand resort of people of all nations, and their manufactures were brought to the highest pitch of perfection." Through His Majesty's (Akbar's) encouragement "gardeners were brought from Irán and Turán, who cultivated the vine and various kinds of melons. The manufacturers

* In the village of Ichra there is still a watch-tower built in troublous times as a look-out against Sikh marauders.

of silk and woollen carpets were introduced, together with that of brocades;" in short, "here could be obtained the choicest productions of Irán, Turán and Hindustán."

Extract from the Diary of an Officer who visited Lahore in A. D. 1809 :—"*29th May.* I visited the ruins of Lahore, which afforded a melancholy picture of fallen splendour * * Here the lofty dwellings and musjids which not fifty years ago raised their tops to the skies, and were the pride of a busy and active population, are now crumbling into dust, and in less than half a century more will be levelled with the ground. In going over these ruins I saw not a human being; all was silence, solitude, and gloom * * This city in the days of its glory must have been most splendid."

In A. D. 1802 Ranjít Singh obtained the celebrated gun Zamzamah, a huge piece which Ahmad Shah had used in the battle of Pánipat, but had left behind at Lahore as too unwieldy to take back to Kábul. The gun had hitherto been in possession of the most powerful of the misls, the Bhangís of Amritsar, and came to be regarded as the talisman of Sikh Empire. Hence its capture by Ranjit Singh added greatly to his prestige.* From this period the tide of success flowed on apace; Jhung, Kusúr, Patánkot, Syálkot, Gujerát felt the power of his arms, and the chiefs of Multán, Jálandhar and Kassaulí were glad to ward off an attack by timely submission and acknowledgment of Ranjít Singh as lord paramount.

In A. D. 1812 he became possessed of the person of Shah Shújah and of the Koh-i-núr, effectually opposed the hitherto irresistible progress of Affghan invaders, and re-occupied the fort of Attok.

In A. D. 1814 he suffered his first reverse in an attempt to conquer Kashmír, but he so far succeeded as to obtain from the Governor a formal recognition of the paramount authority of the Lahore Darbár.

In A. D. 1818 Multán was besieged and taken, and the province annexed to the empire of the Máharája. In 1819 Kashmír was at length conquered. This was followed by the annexation of the Panjáb, and in 1823 by the capture of Pesháwar.

Ranjít Singh died in A. D. 1839, lord of the Panjáb from the Sulaimanni range to the Sutlej and from Kashmír to beyond Multán, an empire little less in extent than that of Jeípál, having a regular army and three hundred pieces of artillery—in fact his rule may be considered an improved edition of the old Rájpút dynasty. This empire he raised by his own personal character, working upon a vigorous social confederation, and, as other empires which have been similarly constructed, it was destined to perish *mole suâ*.

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* The gun was used by Ranjít Singh at the siege of Multán in A. D. 1818, where it is said to have done great execution. From that time it was stationed by the Dehli Gate of the city until the year before last, when it was removed to its present position in front of the Museum. It is still regarded with superstitious reverence as an "incarnation" of Mahadeo, and occasionally its muzzle may be seen with a garland and a lamp—the pious offering of some old Sikh. It has a long inscription in Persian, a translation of which is given in Part II.

Being based upon no national idea, with no leading principle to give it coherence,—for the consolidating system of its founder had destroyed the bond of union which once existed in the yearly Gúrumata or assemblage of Sikh chieftains at the Sácred Tank,—without even the prestige of antiquity, the moment the directing power was weakened the fabric of government fell to pieces. The very source of its strength, the fine, well-disciplined army, became the cause of its destruction. Thus, from the period of Ranjít Singh's death to the date of the occupation of the Panjáb by the English troops we have the melancholy spectacle of a bold and vigorous nation—

"In suâ victrici conversum viscera dextrâ."

As might be expected, it is difficult, as it is useless, to attempt to analyse the motives which influenced the several actors in the political drama which followed the decease of Ranjít Singh; indeed the most remarkable fact is the almost total absence of anything like a political faction. There was, to a certain extent, what may be called a Dogra party, composed of the Jammú family, who had risen into importance in the later years of the Máharája, with their adherents, and the Khálsah party, represented by the Sindawalias, who were related to the family of Ranjít Singh. But neither of these parties dreamt of such a thing as the public good. Personal or family considerations and zenanah intrigues were the mainspring of their public acts, and their first object was to curry favour with the army.

The successors of Ranjít Singh threw themselves alternately into the hands of the one party or the other as it suited their interests or caprice, and it thereupon became the object of the party out of favour to put their rivals "out of the way." The first act in the drama was the murder of Cheit Singh, a minion of the imbecile Kharak Singh, Ranjit Singh's successor.* This was done in pursuance of a concerted design between Nau Nihál Singh, the heir-apparent, and the Jammú party, but no sooner had the object been attained than Nau Nihál turned against his friends.

Kharak Singh died in 1840; Nau Nihál Singh, who, there is reason to believe, had hastened his father's death by poison, was the same day killed by the fall of a portion of an archway† as he was proceeding on foot from witnessing the cremation of his father's remains. The ashes of the father and son rest side by side beneath two small domes to the left of the mausoleum of Ranjít Singh.

The death of Nau Nihál Singh was followed by a struggle between the mother of the deceased prince in concert with the Sindawalia party and Sher Singh, a disowned son of Ranjít Singh, aided by Dhyán Singh, the Jummú prince and favourite of Ranjít Singh. The *soi-disant*

* The unfortunate man was murdered whilst sleeping in the verandah in front of the "Takht," or Throne, in the Fort, from which the Moghul Emperors administered justice.

† The archway was close by the tomb of Ranjít Singh, and led through another archway into the Hazúri Bágh; it has been since pulled down. Nau Nihál Singh was a young prince of great vigour and activity, and had been virtually ruler during the last six months of his father's life. He has been called the "Hotspur" of the Panjáb.

queen-regent, aided, strange to say, by Gúláb Singh, the brother of Dhyán Singh, held the fort, and it became necessary for Sher Singh to besiege them. The siege lasted four days, from the 14th to the 18th January 1841. The main attacks of the besiegers were made in the Hazúri Bágh, where Sher Singh took up his position in the then unfinished marble pavilion* in front of the massive gateway of Akbar.

Twelve cannon were directed against the fort walls, and zambúrahs or light guns used in the mountain warfare of Kashmír were mounted on the tops of the minarets of the great mosque of Aurangzib, which overlook the fort. The bombardment resulted in the submission of the queen and her party and the coronation of Sher Singh.

Sher Singh, in his turn, fell a victim to a coalition between the Sindawalias and the Dogra chiefs. On the 15th September 1843 he was assassinated by Ajít Singh, the Sindawalia chief, while inspecting levies at a county seat called Shah Baláwal, whose marble lattice window still bears the impress of the bullet which passed through his heart.†

Having succeeded in their attempt, the Sindawalias forthwith turned their hands against their late ally, Rája Dhyán Singh, who was shot down and cut to pieces, within an hour of the death of Sher Singh, at the summit of the ascent into the fort from the Hazúrí Bágh.

This led to a second siege of Lahore by Híra Singh, son of Dhyán Singh, aided by the Khálsah army, animated by the prospect of high pay and plunder. The wall was breached; Ajit Singh, the assassin, sprung over the north-east angle of the fort, and was cut to pieces in the place where he fell; Lena Singh, already wounded, fell into the hands of the soldiery, and was shot and hacked to death.

For a little more than a year Híra Singh was virtual ruler in the name of Dhalip Singh, the son of the Ráni Chandán, a queen of Ranjít Singh; he fell owing to a personal quarrel with the Rání and unpopularity with the fickle Khálsah army. He fled with his adviser, Pandit Jallah, pursued by Jowáhir Singh, the Rání's brother, and troops of Khálsah horse; from Shahdrah a close pursuit was kept up for some twelve miles, until the unhappy Pandit fell from his horse from exhaustion and was cut to pieces.‡ Híra Singh continued his flight, and headed his pursuers, but, imprudently stopping at a village to get a draught of water, was surrounded and slain after a desperate resistance. Jowáhír Singh, in his turn, became unpopular with the "prætorians" of Lahore, and was deliberately shot on parade. Lál Singh, the paramour of Raní Chandán, then became nominally Wazír, but the Government was really the will of the army at Lahore. Irritation at the defensive preparations made by the English Government, restlessness and desire for plunder led to the invasion of our territories on the 11th December

* The building still bears the mark of bullets and three-pound shot fired from the fort-walls on this occasion.

† Sher Singh was far inferior in ability to his predecessor, Nau Nihál Singh; the most remarkable feature in his character was his love of dress; he is said to have invented a very gaudy silk pattern, which still bears his name.

‡ There are different accounts of this affair; but this is the one commonly received

1845, the battles of Moodkee, Ferozeshâh, and Sobráon, and the occupation of Lahore; and then at length—in the words of a local ballad—"sorrow was silenced, and the Sikh empire became a story of the past.*"

Architecture, &c., of the Sikh period.

The architecture of the Sikh period is, like their language, substantially Hindú, overlaid with Mahomedan details, blended without taste. Their palaces are further disfigured by small angular chambers, perched generally on the highest point of the building to catch the breeze in the hot weather. These have their original in the mud huts of the peasantry,—the abode of the fathers or grandfathers of nearly all the modern Sikh nobility. But Ranjít Singh, unpolished and unlettered as he was, had an idea that architecture was a good thing. Accordingly he stripped the Mahomedan tombs of their marble facings, and sent them to adorn the temple at Amritsar. He restored the Shalamár Gardens, which had gone to ruin during the troublous times of Ahmad Sháh; but at the same time laid ruthless hands upon the marble pavilions by the central reservoir, and substituted structures

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* The above quotation is taken from a spirited ballad current at Lahore descriptive of the invasion of the British territories by the Sikhs and the subsequent battles. The whole is too long for insertion, but the following extracts will show the style of the composition, and a native view of the motives which actuated the Sikhs :—

The queen mother (*i.e.*, the Rání Chandán) cried out from her inner chamber—
"What will become of me?
Ye clamour for high pay, O Khálsah,
But take ye the pay of former days."

The Sikhs said No! and straight took counsel
To destroy Dehli at a blow;
But God careth not for the designs of man,
He heedeth no one!

Then cried the Sikhs—"Make ready your powder;
First destroy Firozepúr,
Then loot gold and hang long earrings in your ears,
Yea, right big ones!"

So amid the neighing of colts and mares
They commenced their march—
Few patriots, but many plunderers,
Burning for pillage.

Then said the Juts,—
The huge-thighed, stout-limbed Juts—
"We are the falcons, the Feringhís our quarry,
Bring them to us!"

But when they crossed the ford,
Lo! a mighty host;
Balls fly thick in the air,—
This was the style of warfare.

Then fought the Sikhs and the dark Purbeahs;
The bracelet, the necklace, and the earring
Were blended together in close conflict—
All was confusion.

of brick and white-wash in their stead. He turned the sarai which separated the fort and palace from the Jama Masjíd into a private garden, and placed therein the beautiful báradarrí, which remains to this day the architectural *chef d'œuvre* of his reign.* Besides the above a few hideous Shibdewalas, the erection of his wives or favourite dancing girls, and a few tasteless additions to the fort, comprise all the architectural works of the period of Ranjít Singh. One of the latest specimens of Sikh architecture is the mausoleum of Ranjít Singh and of his son and grandson. The building is, as usual, a mongrel design, half Mahomedan and half Hindú, and does not bear close inspection, but the effect at a distance is not unpleasing. A lotus carved in marble set beneath a canopy marks the spot where the ashes of the Lion of Lahore are laid. Around it are nine smaller ones in memory of those who were burnt alive upon his funeral pyre.†

Such is a brief account of the history of Lahore from the earliest times up to the period of British occupation. Albeit a city which has been the seat of mighty dynasties, and boasts an antiquity little short of that of ancient Rome, its history is little more than a chronicle of war upon war, intrigue upon intrigue, crime upon crime; and the most instructive portion of history,—the history of the people, their laws, their customs, and the machinery of their government,—is well-nigh a blank. We know that as in the physical, ‡ so in the moral history of the Panjáb great changes have been at work. Buddhism, Brahminism, Mahomedanism have successively infused themselves

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Then the Sikhs fled to their tents,
But they set up a good watch:
They wrote down the names of the dead,
And said—"We will fight again!"

"Mark out a boundary, O Khalsah!
Call in the runaways!
Yea, we will fight again!"

Then wrote they to the Rája [Gúláb Singh],
"Come thou and command us;
Our honour is not lost;
Lead us, and we conquer."

But the Rája replied with sarcasm—
"Do as you think best;
First conquer Hindústan,
And then, perhaps, I'll come."

They fought a second time, &c., &c.

* The building was the joint production of a Mahomedan and a Hindú. The materials were taken from the tomb of Asof Khán, at Shahdrah, and that of Zebinda Begam at Nawakote.

† The last recorded "suttee" which has taken place at Lahore was on the occasion of Dhyán Singh's murder. But in Kashmir an attempt at a suttee was made, as late as in 1857, on the death of Dhyán Singh's brother, Máharája Gúlab Singh; thousands of persons had assembled, and the victims were ready, but the energetic remonstrance of the Civil Commissioner, Captain Urmston, prevented its occurrence.

‡ There is reason to believe that years ago the climate was more humid and the vegetation more rank than at present; even as late as the 16th century the country between Pesháwar and Lahore abounded with rhinoceros.

into the mass of the people, but by what steps we know not. The people once renowned for truthfulness have become renowned for perjury and deceit,* but the history of this change is hidden from us. But darkness such as this broods over the most interesting periods of the life of almost every nation, and what is here observed of the history of Lahore is only a repetition of the remark of Hallam, as he closes the history of the middle ages, that "we can give a minute description of a tournament or a coronation, but cannot recover the genuine history of mankind."

The future of Lahore.

Under these circumstances it is a pleasure to turn from the barren record of the past and speculate upon the future of Lahore.

Some years yet will have to elapse ere the magic wand of Anglo-Saxon civilization shall have completely charmed into life again the dreary expanse of crumbling ruins which still surround the modern capital of the Panjáb.† But a good beginning has been made; houses and gardens begin to dot the waste; the once solitary mounds ring with the sound of the Volunteer rifle, or are being utilized as ornamental adjuncts of a Botanical Garden; metalled roads pierce the rugged debris, converging to a point where a handsome Railway terminus worthy of Euston Square or Paddington rises upon a spot till lately marked only by memorials of Mahomedan bigotry and Sikh fanaticism;‡ costly Sarais, with accommodation for the European as well as the Native, have been built. A Canal flows within three miles of the City; a Medical College, Museum, Library and Reading-Room, two bi-weekly Newspapers, and numerous Printing Presses attest the progress of European ideas; the closely packed City itself, with its narrow winding streets and over-hanging houses, is cleansed and cared for in a way which would put to shame half the towns of the European Continent; and lastly, the very house which was the focus of dark intrigues in the late period of anarchy is transformed into a School, where the sons of Sikh and Pathán nobles are taught the language and science of the Western world. In twenty years what, under Providence, may we not hope for!

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* Not only the Greek Historians, but even Abul-fazl remarks upon the truthfulness of the inhabitants of India.

† To an outsider it seems strange that, after annexation, Amritsar should not have been chosen as our political capital instead of Lahore. At Amritsar there is unlimited room for expansion, and a fertile soil unimpregnated with saltpetre and undisfigured by debris. At Lahore we are cramped up on one side by the river, on the other by a large and almost unculturable waste. Besides, in a commercial point of view, Amritsar is far the more important city of the two; a few silk-weavers and gold wire-drawers, the descendants of those planted here by Akbar, are the only remnants of the once vast manufacturing population of Lahore; all the great mercantile houses are in the former city.

‡ The Railway station is in the immediate vicinity of Shahid Ganj and the tomb of Mir Mannú; singular to relate, during the progress of the works a traditionary foot step of "Muhammad" was accidently obliterated.

END OF PART I.

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A BRIEF ACCOUNT

OF THE

HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES

OF

LAHORE.

PART I.

N. B.—The Work will be completed in three Parts.

PART II. will contain a description of the different buildings in and about Lahore, topographically arranged, together with copies of the Inscriptions, &c.

PART III. will contain Statistics and other miscellaneous information.

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