Emergence of the new rulers was correlated with the decline of Mughal power in the Punjab during the late eighteenth century. They replaced previous Mughal and Afghan rulers by the process of occupation of their territories. In this respect, a political turmoil could be visualized. The new rulers established themselves at a particular place for the base of their political operations, which in turn, rapidly increased the importance of that place. When they occupied towns and cities, many of them were in a state of decline and destruction, owing to the successive invasions of Afghan monarch, Ahmad Shah Abdali. Then, the new rulers realised the importance of the revival of towns and cities. For this purpose, they established peace and order, constructed forts and renewed fortifications and encouraged traders and craftsmen to settle down in towns and cities.

From contemporary and near contemporary writings it is appears, however, that the new rulers including Sikh Sardars and non-Sikh chiefs revived not only the capital cities of Lahore and Multan but also the more important towns such as Gujrat, Sialkot, Peshawar, Batala, Jalandhar, Dipalpur, Wazirabad, Bhera, Satghara, Jalalpur, Jhang, Sri Hargobindpur, Kahanwan, Jammu and Basohli etc. During the

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1 Qazi Nur Muhammad, *Jang Namah*, Chapter 34 (Lines 2, 7, 19), Chapter 35 (Lines 40-41), Chapter 11 (Lines 29-30).
2 Construction of fortress in the newly conquered region was an integral part of the measures for pacification of the feelings of inhabitants. The work of construction was distributed among the various *deras* and besides the masons and labourers, at times the soldiers and non-combatants was also made to work on it: Ram Sukh Rao, *Fateh Singh Partap Prabhakar* (ed. Joginder Kaur), p. 20.
Mughal times they enjoyed some sort of political and administrative status. Their mutual inter-dependence on each other in the sphere of political as well as economic activity, as a whole, effected the fortunes of their nourishment.

More significant and spectacular than this is the fact that some new urban centres and towns grew up all afresh during this period. In this context, however, the development of Ramdaspur comes to the forefront. Others to come up were: Gujranwala, Rawalpindi, Dera Baba Nanak, Kapurthala, Sujanpur, Hallowal, Rahon, Fatehabad, Phillaur, Sayyadwala, Nur Mahal and Pathankot.

City of Lahore was served as a capital of the Lahore province under the Mughals for many centuries. During the third invasion in 1752, Ahmad Shah Abdali taken over Lahore from its last Mughal governor Muin-ul-Mulk. Under the Mughals it had the status of being recognized capital city of the empire.

The successive invasions of Ahmad Shah Abdali and the upsurge of the Khalsa affected the fortunes of the city. Ahmad Shah Abdali had taken first slightly long stay in Lahore when he advanced his march towards the direction of Delhi. During this time, his armies played havoc in the minds of the people, who abandoned it. The twelve localities which were outside the city wall were razed to

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5 Irfan Habib, *An Atlas of the Mughal Empire*, Sheet 4A.

6 Ahmad Shah Abdali seldom stayed above four or five days at Lahore: *The Asiatic Annual Register for the Year 1809*, p. 430.
the ground and in the nine localities inside the city wall only few mansions were survived.⁷

In 1765, Gujjar Singh, Lehna Singh and Sobha Singh occupied the city of Lahore and parcelled out it among themselves. Lehna Singh took the citadel with Masti, Khizri, Kashmiri and Roshnai gates. Gujjar Singh got the area from Kabuli Mal’s mansions to the Shalimar garden. The southern part of Lahore, upto Niazbeg, was occupied by Sobha Singh.⁸ After establishing themselves at their respective portions they, first of all, concentrated their attention towards the rehabilitation of the city. Priority was given to the establishment of peace and security in the city. They issued a proclamation that whosoever oppressed the subjects would be punished strictly.⁹ The area from Kabuli Mal's mansion to the Shalimar Garden was the residing place of thieves and anti social elements before it was occupied by Gujjar Singh.¹⁰ The Sardars rode through the bazars of the city with sticks in their hands and beat out each plunderer they found. They spared no pains in providing peace to the people and busied themselves whole heartedly in the duties of administration.¹¹ Afterwards, they started the work of constructing buildings, mansions and forts. Gujjar Singh built Qila Gujjar Singh and invited people to reside there.¹²

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⁹ Soon after the occupation of Lahore by the three Sikh Sardars, plunder of the city was started. At this Chaudhari Rupa alias Bishan Singh and Maharaj Singh, Hafiz Qadir Bakhsh and Mian Muhammad Ashiq and other prominent personalities of the city waited upon the Sardars and beseched that ‘the city is called the Guru's cradle. If you look after it, you will prosper but if you ruin, no profit is going to accrue to you’. The Sardars impelled their innate respect for the Guru at once and thus issued a proclamation for the purpose of maintaining peace and order: Surjit Singh Gandhi, *Sikhs in the Eighteenth Century*, pp. 297-298.


The next step they took in the direction of repopulating the city was that they persuaded people of various places to settle down here. They realised the importance of traders, businessmen and craftsmen. The presence of traders and craftsmen resulted in the increase of economic transactions. Gujjar Singh laid forty wells for the supply of water and got constructed 15 shops and 150 houses. Out of these 150 houses, 20 houses were of flower gatherers, 8 of leather dressers, 2 of Hindu shopkeepers, 1 each of a blacksmith, a carpenter and a barber, and the rest were of the peasants. From the occupation of Lahore by the three chiefs in 1765 to the first invasion of Zaman Shah there appeared considerable stability in Lahore. In this time, however, sporadic campaigns between the various chiefs did not affect the fortunes of city's economic life. After the occupation of Lahore by Ranjit Singh Sukarchakia in 1799, the process of stability and growth continued.

During the late eighteenth century, the development of Ramdaspur, now called Amritsar was marked by a phenomenon which brought about its status in the lines of first and foremost in terms of the elevation of Darbar Sahib (Golden Temple) and the city of Amritsar. These places claimed allegiance of the whole Sikh community. Primarily being reputed for the religious capital of the Sikhs, and most important centre of pilgrimage for the Sikhs, it played a very vital role in the Sikh struggle for independence. It had always been a centre of attraction and inspiration for the Sikhs throughout their struggle. The Sikhs assembled in great numbers at the time of Baisakhi and Diwali to consult their military operations.

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17 John Malcolm, Sketch of the Sikhs, p. 95.
18 J.S. Grewal & Indu Banga (tr. & eds.), Early Nineteenth Century Punjab, p. 133.
19 George Forster observed that ‘even at the low ebb to which the Sicques had been reduced by the destruction of their force and the death of their leader, they had continued to resort secretly to Amrut Sir’ and at subsequent periods when the attention of the imperial forces diverted to other issues, ‘the Sicques were not molested in visiting their favorite place of worship: A Journey from Bengal to England, Vol. I, pp. 313-314.
20 Q. Craufurd, Sketches Chiefly Relating to the History, Religion, Learning, and Manners of the Hindoos with A Concise Account of the Present State of the Native Powers of
The Sikhs from all walks of life used to throng to this place to have a holy dip in the sacred tank and make offerings in cash and kind at Harmandir Sahib.21 Here, every important gurmata was passed by the Sikhs and accomplished that successfully.22 When Ahmad Shah Abdali invaded Amritsar in 1762 in response to the reiteration for the increasing power of the Sikhs, the normal life of the city was effected, as a whole. He marked his footprints in the precincts of Darbar Sahib and totally blew it.23

After sometimes, the Sikhs started reconstructing the Darbar Sahib and other buildings in Amritsar. Charhat Singh Sukerchakia was then placed in charge for restoring and rebuilding the Darbar Sahib and its holy tank. According to George Forster, ‘the mosques that had been ever rebuilt or restored to use by the Mahometans, were demolished with every mark of contempt and indignation; and the Afghans, in chains, washed the foundations with the blood of hogs. They were also compelled to excavate the reservoir at Amrut Sir, which in the preceding year they had filled up. The Sicques, however, keenly actuited by resentment, set a bound to the impulse of revenge, and though the Afghan massacre and persecution must have been deeply imprinted on their minds, they did not, it is said destroy one prisoner in cold blood.’ 24

21 Khushwaqt Rai, Ahwal-i-Firqa-i-Sikhan, IO 3897, f. 16.
22 Ibid., ff. 55, 77 and 177; John Malcolm, Sketch of the Sikhs, p. 120.
23 The Harmandir Sahib at Amritsar was destroyed and desecrated by Ahmad Shah Abdali on three or four occasions. Every time it was rebuilt through the collective body of the Khalsa: J.S. Grewal & Irfan Habib (eds.), Sikh History from Persian Sources, Tulika, New Delhi, 2001, pp. 44-45; Qazi Nur Muhammad in the version of the Jang Namah indicates that Ahmad Shah Abdali earlier caused great destruction to the Chak Guru and in this context he damaged the cupola: Qazi Nur Muhammad, Jang Namah, Chapter 25 (Lines 17-28) and Chapter 25 (Lines 32-33); Waris Shah mentions the desecration of Chak (Guru Ram Dass) at the hands of Ahmad Shah Abdali: Waris Shah, Hir Waris (ed. Shamsher Singh Ashok), p. 162.
24 George Forster, A Journey from Bengal to England, Vol I, p. 321; During these days (in 1764) a large number of people have arrive at Chak Guru (Amritsar) to celebrate the
collected money and built Harmandir on its earlier plinth at the cost of Rs. 9, 70,000.\textsuperscript{25} On the other hand, the construction of houses which were previously begun, there started further preparation for building other houses.\textsuperscript{26} In April 1764, when the Sikhs gathered at Amritsar to celebrate Baisakhi, further impetus was given to the work of construction. At this time, Jassa Singh Ahluwalia took the initiative and he spread a sheet of cloth in front of Akal Takhat and placed on it an amount of Rs. 9,00,000, the total money which fell into his hands at the time of the sack of Sarhind. Other Sardars also contributed an amount of Rs. 5,00,000. The total money was handed over to Des Raj to undertake the work of construction.\textsuperscript{27} After the year 1765, Darbar Sahib and other structures attached to it became a hub of the activities of the Sikhs. The Sikh Sardars started building the Amritsar township afresh and pooled their resources for rebuilding and renovating the Darbar Sahib.\textsuperscript{28} In this context, however, Jassa Singh Ahluwalia took special attention. Besides providing the building materials for the reconstruction of Harmandir, he appointed mutsaddis, ardasias, and granthis at the Harmandir, the Akal Bunga and other shrines in Amritsar. His successor, Bhag Singh, constructed the third storey of the Akal Bunga and also gave Rs. 10,000 for covering some portions of the Darbar Sahib with gold plates.\textsuperscript{29} Following the example of Jassa Singh Ahluwalia, other Sikh Sardars also appointed regular granthis for the recitation of the ‘Holy Granth’.\textsuperscript{30} Apart from the reconstruction of Central Township, the Sikh Sardars built bungas around the Darbar Sahib. The famous bungas of the Bhangis were: bunga Charhat Singh (1790), bunga Karam Singh Chhina (n.d), and bunga Chichawalia festival of Diwali. A fresh building is being constructed on the previous model and kullah bearers of Durrani are being seen as labourers there: Akhbarat-i-Mutfarga, MS. No. 521, f. 120; J.S. Grewal & Irfan Habib (eds.), Sikh History from Persian Sources, p. 194.

\textsuperscript{25} Surjit Singh Gandhi, Sikhs in the Eighteenth Century, p. 655.
\textsuperscript{26} J.S. Grewal & Irfan Habib (eds.), Sikh History from Persian Sources, p. 194.
\textsuperscript{27} Surjit Singh Gandhi, Sikhs in the Eighteenth Century, p. 290.
\textsuperscript{28} Ibid., p. 656.
\textsuperscript{30} Surjit Singh Gandhi, Sikhs in the Eighteenth Century, p. 656.
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(1799) and *bunga* Nihal Singh Attariwala (1800).\(^{31}\) Besides, the Shaheed and the Nirmala had constructed their *bungas* upon the reservoir of Harmandir Sahib.\(^{32}\) There were many Sikh Sardars who built their fortresses as well. Prominent among them were Jassa Singh Ahluwalia, Bhag Singh (1783-1801), Jassa Singh Ramgarhia, Charhat Singh and Mahan Singh Sukerchakia and Hari Singh Bhangi.\(^ {33}\) Hari Singh Bhangi adopted Amritsar as his headquarters.\(^ {34}\) Jhanda Singh Bhangi (1765-1774), who succeeded Hari Singh Bhangi, built a fort behind the *loon mandi* known as Qila Bhangian or the fort of the Bhangis.\(^ {35}\) Gujjar Singh laid the foundation of Qila Gujjar Singh.\(^ {36}\)

In addition of the Sikh Sardars, the Udasis saints established the *akhara* of Santokh Singh in close proximity to the Harmandir Sahib in the early 1760s. The influence of the Udasis with the peasantry is evident from the fact that a small portions of the grants Udasi received from the *zamindars*. With the establishment of the rule of the Sikh Sardars the Udasi saints received numerous grants in the form of land.\(^ {37}\)

Another aspect of the development of Amritsar was reflected in the construction of the *Katras* by the various Sikh chiefs. The Sikh chiefs and men of consequence\(^ {38}\) built about a dozen of *Katras*. The land provided for the construction of *Katras* to different Sardars including the Bhangis and the Sukerchakia was

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\(^{32}\) John Malcolm, *Sketch of the Sikhs*, p. 94.


\(^{35}\) This fort was actually completed by Ganda Singh (1774-1775) who succeeded Jhanda Singh: Surjit Singh Gandhi, *Sikhs in the Eighteenth Century*, pp. 25 & 455.


\(^{38}\) J.S. Grewal & Indu Banga (tr. & eds.), *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*, p. 132.
allocated by Jassa Singh Ahluwalia while he himself retained the government and administration of Amritsar. The name of the Katra was sometimes kept on the name of its founder. These Katras were located in the vicinity of the Darbar Sahib which attached to their sentiments of piety. The Sikh chiefs encouraged traders and craftsmen to reside in Katras. In this case, they wanted to make some profit from the commercial transactions by levying a some kind of duty on them.

Each Katra had covered large areas; it had an independent market of its own; residential buildings of inhabitants; appointed officials for maintaining security as well as for economic transactions; each Katras was administered by the Sardars or his nominee independently; and each Katra, represented the estates of a chief within the limits of which its owner was supreme.

Jassa Singh Ahluwalia laid the foundation of the Ahluwalia bazaar. Soon after, it was enjoyed an unquestioned and sustained reputation as a trading centre. He constructed Katra Ahluwalia in 1774. Jassa Singh Ahluwalia fully realised the importance of building apartments in Amritsar and did not want to separate the interests of Kanwar Bhag Singh. Therefore, he directed Kanwar Bhag Singh to construct the fort, a bunga and a Katra in Amritsar. Guru Ka Katra near Harmandir Sahib was constructed. It is also known as Guru Bazaar. It was dedicated to the

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40 J.S. Grewal & Indu Banga (tr. & eds.), *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*, p. 132.
41 Surjit Singh Gandhi remarks that the spending any amount of money on the city by the Sikh Sardars gave them spiritual satisfaction and feeling of elevation. See his *Sikhs in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 656.
45 It is interesting to note that Bhag Singh was nominated as the successor of Jassa Singh Ahluwalia at a diwan held at the Akal Bunga: *Ibid.*, p. 62. This probably created a psychological impact on the minds of the people of Amritsar and consequently enhanced the importance of Amritsar as well as Akal Bunga.
Bhag Singh constructed the third storey of the Akal Bunga and plating it with gold.\textsuperscript{47}

In order to get the Katras well populated, traders and bankers of Noharia community were invited from Jagraon to settle here. Built up shops were allotted to them. Even today, these Noharies form a chunk of the population of the city. In Katra Ahluwalia the distinguished persons who had their shops, business firms and houses were: Ramanand, a prominent sahukar, the Akhara of Mahant Parmanand, the haveli of Bawa Mal Das and the Dharamshala-i-Jauharian. Gulab Singh was appointed as thanadar. He was assisted by a number of soldiers. Soon, he established reputation for justice and redressal of grievances. Bulaki Ram was appointed for the management of taxes. As a result, traders and bankers from various other places also began to settle here. Thus, the population of the city increased.\textsuperscript{48}

Jai Singh Kanhiya, probably in collaboration with Haqiqat Singh of Fatahgarh Churian and Amar Singh Kingra embellished the city of Amritsar by building in it a spacious Katra which came to be known as Katra Kanhiyan. Jai Singh Kanhiya had employed Missar Chajju Mal (after whose name a lane still exists) who looked after the administration of the Katra. He reduced the custom duty and thus attracted many merchants who settled in this Katra.\textsuperscript{49} To the west of this Katra, Jaimal Singh, son of Sardar Haqiqat Singh, constructed a haveli around which emerged some houses and the area consequently developed into a Katra which was called Katra Jaimal Singh. Similarly, Sardar Amar Singh Bagga, an ally of Jai Singh Kanhiya, built a new Katra in the north of the Harmandir Sahib. This Katra was adjoining to Katra Kanhiyan and came to be known as Katra Baggian.\textsuperscript{50}

Jassa Singh Ramgarhia established his Katra in the south-east of the Harmandir Sahib which came to be called Katra Ramgarhia. Area covered by Katra


\textsuperscript{49} V.N. Datta, \textit{Amritsar: Past and Present}, p. 24.

Ramgarhia included Ramsar and Lakshmansar, Gali Loharan, Gali Tarkhanan and Chauk Kumharan. Similarly, Sardars of Faizzulpuria misl Khushal Singh and Sahib Singh established Katra Faizzulfurian in the later years of the eighteenth century and it remained in working and existence as an independent unit under Sardar Budh Singh in the early 1810s.\textsuperscript{51}

The Bhangi chiefs were largely responsible for enlarging the city of Amritsar. Many insignificant and obscure places were converted into a place of attraction by them. For the beautification of the city, Jhanda Singh contributed very well. He made a garden known as bagh Jhanda Singh and laid down fine bazaars. Ganda Singh, brother of Jhanda Singh, enlarged the city with many notable edifices. Similarly, Gulab Singh (1782-1800) also enlarged it. They established their Katras, encouraging traders and craftsmen to reside in them. They built forts around them with separate gates and lines of demarcation.\textsuperscript{52} The chiefs used to hold their courts in their respective Katras which provide justice and gave help in the smooth functioning of administration.\textsuperscript{53}

First Katra of the Bhangi chiefs was constructed by Hari Singh which came to be known as Katra Bhangian. It began flourishing during Ganda Singh’s times when he encouraged immigration to the Katra from the surrounding areas. The Katra of Desa Singh was nearby that. Karam Singh, popularly known as ‘Dulu’ also constructed a Katra, which came to be known as Katra Dulu. There was a Katra Nihal Singh built by Nihal Singh Attariwala, a jagirdar of Gujjur Singh and Sahib Singh Bhangi.\textsuperscript{54} From the establishment of Katras by the various Bhangi Sardars it is appears that every Katra represents the personal estate of the Sardars and within the limits of each Katra the supremacy of the Sardar was prevailed.

These Katras were given further impetus to the increase of economic activity. On the one hand, almost all the economic transactions were carried out here. Owing to the main centres of trade, mercantile goods were imported and

\textsuperscript{51} Loc.cit.
\textsuperscript{52} Veena Sachdeva, \textit{The Rule of the Bhangis (1765-1810)}, M.Phil. Dissertation, pp. 25, 27 and 83-84.
\textsuperscript{53} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 81.
\textsuperscript{54} \textit{Ibid.}, pp. 83-84.
exported from here as well as it provided all the necessities to traders and craftsmen. On the other hand, the numbers of its inhabitants were increased at this time which effected the nature and level of economic activity. Around Amritsar, in the closing years of the eighteenth century, there emerged nearly a dozen townships. It is pointed out, however, that the economic condition of Amritsar appeared stable when we came to the fact that it became a major centre of manufactures and trade before the end of eighteenth century. Its conquest by Ranjit Singh in 1805 began a process which eventually unified it into a city.

The Mughal province of Multan had been taken over by Ahmad Shah Abdali in 1752. However, he installed Shakir Khan, son of the Mughal governor of Zahid Khan, a Saddozai Afghan, for the governorship of the province. After some time, Shuja Khan, brother Shakir Khan, was succeeded to the governorship in 1766. Timur Shah nominated Haji Sharif Khan as the governor of Multan. Soon, Jhanda Singh Bhangi invaded Multan and occupied it. After recovering Multan from Jhanda Singh in 1780, Timur Shah appointed Muzaffar Khan, the son of Shuja Khan, for the coveted post of governor.

When we analyse our contemporary and near contemporary sources it is appear that Multan was an important centre of manufacture and trade during the early eighteenth century. According to Sujan Rai Bhandari, different types of professional persons lived here and every variety of grains was exported and imported from here. The traders brought horses of Arabi origin through Kandahar and sold them at the markets of Multan.

It is appears, however, that the stability maintained by these governors provided the basis of prosperity which in turn resulted in the revival and growth of

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Multan in terms of growing manufacturing and trading activities during the late eighteenth century. The articles Multan received by importation from different areas and regions consisted of pearl, gold thread, elephants teeth, broad cloths, nutmegs, cloves, mace, copper, vermilion and drugs. The merchants from Multan and Kandhar exported horses in considerable numbers to Jodhpur, Jaselmer and Bikaner. Some merchants sell their horses at Shikarpur which was a very considerable mart for horses.

John Griffiths counts piece goods, white cloths and chintzes of all kinds among items manufactured at Multan. Besides this, silk and cotton articles, particularly the richer varieties of lungis, lacha, khes, gulbadan, brocades, tissues, woollen carpets, shoes, pottery, ivory stuffs and saddles were manufactured. The adjacent regions too, according to John Griffiths, produced various kinds of grain, cotton and indigo and fruits for the local markets.

In addition to, Multan was an important centre of learning because Lutaf Ali of Bahawalpur was learning poetry from Nur Muhammad of Multan in 1800. Similarly, the tomb of Khwaja Bahaudin at Multan was a popular centre of the

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62 Ibid., p. 226.
There were many followers of Zinda Shah Madar, the founder of the Madari Sufis.  

Batala appears to have attained its maximum growth during the early eighteenth century. Its main bazars, the Chakri and the bazar-i-kalan, bazar-i-sarrafan and mandi were in existing conditions. Many muhallas had sprung up around the old mound and in the reign of Muhammad Shah a new wall was erected around the town, with its main gate on the eastern side. Within this walled town lived not only the Hindus and the Muslims but later on the Sikhs in its broadly marked muhallas. Some muhallas were predominantly inhabited by the Muslims and others predominantly inhabited by the Hindus. But the sales of houses and shops were sometimes transacted irrespective of the religious affiliation of the vendor and the vendee.

During the late eighteenth century Batala did not lose its importance as an urban centre under the Kanhiyas. The rule of the Kanhiyas provided the bases for the development of trade and various types of crafts in Batala. Batala on the one hand was well connected with the hilly region through Pathankot and on the other with Hoshiarpur and Sialkot. But its most important link was with the city of Lahore through Amritsar to which it was connected with the distant markets of Delhi and Multan. In addition to, it was served as a market for the agricultural produce of the surrounding area.

Growth of Batala may be explained largely in terms of its central position which sustained its importance as an administrative headquarters and also as a centre.

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of trade and manufacture.\textsuperscript{70} Besides, the patronage of the Kanhiyas was largely responsible for the prosperity and stability of the town.\textsuperscript{71}

In 1766 the town of Jalandhar fell into the hands of the Faizullpuria \textit{misl}, then led by Khushhal Singh. His son and successor, Budh Singh built a masonry fort in the town while several other leaders fortified themselves in its suburbs. Budh Singh seized Phillaur and made it the capital of his territories. Similarly, Tara Singh Ghaiba ousted the Muslim Rajputs from Nakodar and he built a fort and made himself master of the surrounding territory.\textsuperscript{72} Jassa Singh Ramgarhia developed the township of Sri Hargobindpur as the seat of his government.\textsuperscript{73}

Gujrat situated on the imperial road, had been a prey to the advancing and retiring armies of Ahmad Shah Abdali. As a consequence, it suffered decline and destruction. In the early eighteenth century, Gujrat was an important centre of trade and industry.\textsuperscript{74} It was situated on land route linking the Mughal empire with the land of the Safavids and the Central Asian countries.\textsuperscript{75}

Gujjar Singh, the founder of the principality of Gujrat, had defeated the Gakkhar chief of Gujrat in 1765 and occupied his territory.\textsuperscript{76} He took possession of the city but did not sack or ravage it at all.\textsuperscript{77} Then he adopted Gujrat as his headquarters.

Gujjar Singh paid attention for reconstruction and rehabilitation of the town. For the security of its inhabitants, he renewed fortifications and strengthened the walls.\textsuperscript{78} For the promotion of trading and manufacturing activities he built fort and

\textsuperscript{71} J.S. Grewal, \textit{Miscellaneous Articles}, p. 132.
\textsuperscript{74} Muzaffar Alam, \textit{The Crisis of Empire in Mughal North India: Awadh and the Punjab 1707-1748}, p. 151.
\textsuperscript{75} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 181.
\textsuperscript{76} \textit{Gazetteer of the Gujrat District 1883-84}, pp. 15-16.
\textsuperscript{77} A.C. Elliot, \textit{The Chronicles of Gujrat}, p. 20.
\textsuperscript{78} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 20.
invited traders and others to reside inside. At that time, the artisans of Gujrat were skilled in all kinds of crafts. The blacksmiths, for instance, used to make swords of a good quality. For the supply of water Gujjar Singh got built some baolis. These were: the baoli of Wahawali; another near the tomb of Shah Daula, built in 1783 by Rani Raj Devi; the baoli near Islamgarh built in 1774. Near Islamgarh, Gujjar Singh had garrisoned his fort.

He maintained good government because he knew fully well that law and order was essential for the progress of his territory. All the contemporary authorities declare unanimously that the cultivators in particular and the people in general flourished under his rule. To cite an example, ‘the names of Gujjar Singh and Sahib Singh were often on the mouths of people of Gujrat because of their just and good rule. In fact, they seemed to follow an enlightened and liberal policy’. Agriculture was encouraged and the people were assisted in every way to settle down to their previous pursuits.

In this context, the names of a few prosperous and famous men of Gujrat during the rule of Gujjar Singh are worth mentioning here. Diwan Dilbagh Singh Sial, Lala Ram Kaur Kakrah, Mehta Bhawani Das Badhera, Mian Muhammed Saleh, Mehta Chet Ram and Mehta Devi Sahai were the names of the prosperous and well known persons. Devi Sahai, a Brahman, was a very able teacher of composition, Arabic and Persian grammar and the account keeping. These examples reflected a some kind of stability in the environment of Gujrat. It is remembered here, however, that when we take notice of Gujjar Singh’s activities of reconstruction and rehabilitation of the town of Gujrat, it can be visualized simultaneously with the process of reconstruction and rehabilitation of Lahore.

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81 Ibid., pp. 81-82.
82 A.C. Elliot, The Chronicles of Gujrat, p. 29.
84 Gujjar Singh held a part of the city of Lahore: Rattan Singh Bhangu, Prachin Panth Parkash, p. 403.
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Before his death in 1788, Gujjar Singh had started residing in Lahore, leaving Gujrat in the hands of his eldest son, Sahib Singh. Under Sahib Singh’s time it enjoyed the same standard of revival and growth as under the administration of Gujjar Singh.

During the time of Ahmad Shah Abdali, the Sikhs raised a tumult, sacked the city of Sialkot and razed its mansions to the ground. Its houses were deserted and its population was dispersed.

After sometimes, Jiwan Singh, Mohar Singh Attariwala, Natha Singh Shahid and Sahib Singh occupied the city and fort of Sialkot. They turned their attention to repopulating the city. They divided the city of Sialkot amongst themselves, covering each locality, lane and shop. They brought back the dispersed people to rehabilitate the town. From their measures, it appears that the trading, artisan and business community also resettled here because Sialkot had already been a leading urban centre during the early eighteenth century. In this respect, it is pointed out that the proportion of the trading, artisan and business communities had increased considerably.

Ganesh Das mention some of the famous men of Sialkot who contributed to the population and popularity of the town. In this connection, qazi Badr-ud-din, Lala Inder Bhan who was man of letters and learning, Lala Moti Ram who being reputed for his elegance of his composition and poetry and Lala Narain Das, Brahmin who showed a high level of attainment in the elegance of his style, Mian Imam Bakhsh, Agra Sethi, Ram Dial and Dial Singh were added who had close affiliation with

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85 In the last decade of the eighteenth century Sahib Singh was one of the most powerful Sikh chief, particularly after the death of Mahan Singh Sukerchakia.

86 J.S. Grewal & Indu Banga (tr. & eds.), Early Nineteenth Century Punjab, p. 83.

87 Ibid., p. 84.

88 Muzaffar Alam, The Crisis of Empire in Mughal North India: Awadh and the Punjab 1707-1748, p. 181; During the reign of the Mughal emperors, Sialkot was considered a famous seat of Islamic education and learning. Maulvi Abdullah, second son of Allama Abdul Hakim was reputed for his knowledge in the sphere of worldly and spiritual aspects: Sujan Rai Bhandari, Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh (tr. Ranjit Singh Gill, ed. Fauja Singh), p. 81.
Wazirabad was founded by Wazir Khan in the time of Shah Jahan but the town rise in importance when it was fallen into the hands of Gurbakhsh Singh, a retainer of Charhat Singh Sukarchakia, at the time when later extended his power in the northern parts of the district of Gujranwala. Sardar Gurbakhsh Singh and his son Jodh Singh repopulated the city and it became a flourishing place again. The prominent persons of Wazirabad were: a Brahman qanungo, Baqi Shah Aulia who became known for his power of miracle. In addition to, three persons such as Daim Shah, Hafiz Hayat and Mai Durgo became famous for their divine knowledge. Regarding the Sikh Gurus, the dharamshala of Guru Hargobind Sahib which was called Kotha Guru was famous and a large number of pilgrimages visited the place.

There is a parwana of Hakumat Singh which refers to a mandi at Kahnuwan which belonged to Baba Sarwan Nath. From this reference of mandi we can easily infer that there was a market place in the town of Kahnuwan. Presumably, a market must have been developed on a piece of land granted to Baba Sarwan Nath.

From contemporary writing we find that the town of Peshawar was a large, populous and opulent city which was governed by an Afghan officer under the rule of Timur Shah and his son Zaman Shah. They constantly came to this place in the cold weather and added many new buildings to the fort. The appointee remitted

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89 J.S. Grewal & Indu Banga (tr. & eds.), *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*, pp. 86-87 and 100.
90 Wazirabad was in a flourishing state till the reign of Muhammad Shah. With the rise of the Sikh power the population of Wazirabad dwindled: *Gazetteer of the Gujranwala District 1883-84*, p. 87.
93 B.N. Goswamy & J.S. Grewal (tr. & eds.), *The Mughal and Sikh Rulers and the Vaishnavas of Pindori*, Document XVIII.
revenue of seven lacks of rupees to Kabul. Peshawar from its strategic position linked on the one hand with Persia and Afghanistan and on the other with the rest of Hindustan. As a result, Peshawar became ‘an important mart and the residence of wealthy merchants, especially of the shawl dealers, many of whom disliking the dangerous and tedious route of Kashmir’, were here ‘enabled to make their purchases at a moderate advance on the first cost’. George Forster found a society of Jews at Peshawar who was living at their ease and in the enjoyment of an unreserved protection. The markets of Peshawar were abundantly supplied with provisions of an excellent kind, particularly the mutton which was the flesh of the large tailed sheep.

It is appears, however, that the town of Pak Patan considerably gained importance because this was the seat of the Chisti Order popularised by Saikh Farid-ud-Din Ganj Shakar. According to Waris Shah, this was the most popular centre of pilgrimage in the Punjab and people went there to fulfill their desires and vows. From the case of Pak Patan it is likely to be assume that sometimes religious sentiments also provide an initial incentives for the growth and development of the town.

The fortunes of Jammu marks the symptoms of increasing influence which can be visualized in the form of changes introduced by Ranjit Dev. Ranjit Dev dominated much of the politics of the hills during the late eighteenth century. During the invasions of Ahmad Shah Abdali many people of the Punjab, ordinary inhabitants as well as the men of trade and wealth, migrated to Jammu with their families, leaving their homes behind. They sought and found refuge in the protecting care of the gracious Raja who showing fairness and provide justice to each one in the territories of Jammu. He was quick to acknowledge the political supremacy of Ahmad Shah Abdali and to help him in his campaigns. As a reward, he was able to

96 Ibid., p. 57.
97 George Forster comments that though the city was so much frequented by merchants and travellers, it had no karavanserai. He procured admittance into an old mosque: Ibid., p. 58.
occupy considerable territories in the plains. At one stroke, he got the *parganas* of Jafarwal, Sankhtra and Aurangabad. At a latter stage, he occupied the submontane area of Chawinda, Chaubara, Gangowal, Daultabad, Kathua and Hamidgarh in the districts of Sialkot and Gujrat. It is generally agreed that for sometime at least Ranjit Dev was able to receive tribute from all the hill chiefs ruling between the rivers Jhelam and Ravi and some of the hill chiefs ruling between Ravi and Sutlej.\(^99\)

Besides the achievements in the political sphere, Ranjit Dev was also conscious of the potentialities of economic speculation. Raja Ranjit Dev’s sense of justice and equity and his virtue and graciousness was such that the merchants and other respectable men from all quarters came to Jammu in large numbers, and settled down there. His administration provided incentives to traders and merchants by extending towards them some concessions as well as encouraging and defending their interests.\(^100\) Indeed, moneyed men gathered there in such large numbers that heaps of gold coins lay openly in the shops and no one cast so much as an evil glance on them. Women laden with jewellery could move about freely and without fear, anywhere they pleased. Everyone was spending his days in peace and comfort. It is said that as many as ten thousand shops flourished in the *bazaar* of Jammu. The prominent Khatri millionaires like Lala Bedi Das, Jawala Das, Mal Hiranand Gonu Shah, Jog Das, Shahzada Mal Milkhi Shah and the father of Bahar Singh Badhera had come to reside in Jammu.

With these favourable policies, Jammu became a flourishing city and a very important centre of trade and commerce in the early 1770s.\(^101\) This probably was a source of Ranjit Dev’s strength and influence, and, thus elevated him to the status of the highest peak in terms of power.

This stability and changes in the fortunes of Jammu effected by the various factors. First was the removal of the Mughals authority from the political scene of the Punjab and the hills which gave an opportunity not only to Ranjit Dev but also to various other chiefs to establish and extend their influence as far as their satisfaction

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was concerned. Secondly, the resources of the principality of Jammu were relatively large and its rulers possessed rather exceptional abilities.

Several Sikh and non-Sikh chiefs recognized in the process to the revival and growth of *qasbas*, towns and cities. Karam Singh Nakkai, for instance, reconstructed Satghara which had been sacked around 1745 and abandoned by its inhabitants.\(^{102}\) He constructed a brick wall around the town. \(^{103}\) The town of Bhera was repopulated by Dhanna Singh Kalalwala to whose share it fell in at the time of division of the territory by the Sikhs. \(^{104}\) Similarly, Dipalpur was developed under Daud Khan; Jalalpur were revived under Rahmat Khan Waraich; Jhang under Walidad Khan Sial.

Besides the development of Ramdaspur, there were other towns and places which also cropped up during the period of study. They owe their development largely to the manipulating skill of the new rulers of the Punjab who adopted these places on the basis of their own choice.

Rawalpindi was a small village before it was occupied by Milkha Singh Thepuria in 1767. He adopted it as his headquarters. \(^{105}\) For defense and security, he fortified the place. He constructed a number of new buildings and employed a large number of workers. \(^{106}\) The Sardar was considerate of the well-being of its inhabitants and as a consequence, people from various places settled here. He also realized the potentialities of the presence of the mercantile community and the profit which they brought from the pursuit of their activities. For this purpose, he invited traders and merchants from Bhera, Miani, Pind Dadan Khan and Chakwal to settle in Rawalpindi. \(^{107}\) Then, a some kind of stability appeared which in turn, had its direct

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\(^{103}\) *Gazetteer of the Montgomery District 1883-84*, p. 36.


\(^{105}\) The principality of Rawalpindi may be regarded as founded in 1767 when Gujjar Singh, Charhat Singh Sukerchakia and Milkha Singh Thepuria led a joint expedition in the Sindh Sagar Doab. The territories of the Gakkhars fell to the share of Milkha Singh: J.S. Grewal & Indu Banga (tr. & eds.), *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab*, p. 16.

\(^{106}\) Ibid., p. 42.

\(^{107}\) *Gazetteer of the Rawalpindi District 1895*, pp. 52 and 255.
link with the prosperity and growth of the town of Rawalpindi. Thus, it became a large town under his administration.

It is believed that Gujranwala was a small town before the rise of Charhat Singh Sukerchakia during the late eighteenth century. Under the prevailing conditions of political turmoil and anarchy, Charhat Singh made Gujranwala his headquarters for defending himself against his enemies and annexing territories. It remained the headquarters of the Sukerchakia misl under both Mahan Singh and Ranjit Singh. Both of them created possibilities of transformation which elevated its status from a town into a city of prominence.

Charhat Singh built a fortress in Gujranwala as the base of his political activity and he was supported by both Dal Singh and Gurbakhsh Singh. In a short time, he defeated first the Mughal governor of Lahore and latter Nur-ud-din and established himself as the leading Sikh Sardar of substantial power. These two sensational victories enhanced his power and prestige and consequently threw their influence upon Gujranwala which became a large and flourishing town under his administration.

When Mahan Singh took control of his misl in 1774, he provided stability to Gujranwala by maintaining law and order and encouraged traders and craftsmen to settle here. Before his death, he doubled his kingdom in terms of army and resources; he maintained sufficient strong military cantonment and clerical staff

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108 Gujranwala was the birth place of both Mahan Singh and Ranjit Singh: Gazetteer of the Gujranwala District 1883-84, pp. 15 and 84.
110 Khushwaqt Rai, Ahwal-i-Firqa-i-Sikhan, IO 3897, ff. 174-175 and 178.
113 Khushwaqt Rai, Ahwal-i-Firqa-i-Sikhan, IO 3897, ff. 174-178.
comprising of about four hundred *mutsadis* (clerks).\(^{116}\)

There is indirect evidence about the growth of Gujranwala, when the prominent persons helped Ranjit Singh in his occupation of the city of Lahore in 1799. It is likely that these citizens were influenced from the politico-administrative framework and the establishment of peace and prosperity by Ranjit Singh in his respective territories.

Dera Baba Nanak developed into an urban centre during the late eighteenth century. Its emergence reveals another dimension of the effects of Sikh rule.\(^ {117}\) Primarily being reputed and identified as the centre of religious sanctity it attached a large number of people from different areas in a time when the Sikh rule was re-established soundly in the upper Bari Doab. In 1787, the establishment was repaired and pilgrims began to visit in large numbers, especially during the fairs of Baisakhi, Diwali and Kartik Purnima. Its establishment also maintained a *langar* for *sadhs* and travellers. All this was made possible by the revenue grants and donations by the Sikh rulers and their *jagirdars* to the descendants of Guru Nanak. Many Khatris and *sahukars* lived here.\(^ {118}\) Besides this, the presence of traders and craftsmen also provided the basis of growth by stimulating their activities.\(^ {119}\)

When Ahmad Shah Abdali withdraws from the Punjab, Rai Ibrahim Bhatti assumed the air of independence. He made Kapurthala as his headquarters. Jassa Singh Ahluwalia encroached his territory and obliged him to submit on the condition of paying tribute. But his inability or refusal to paying tribute compelled Jassa Singh Ahluwalia to take Kapurthala in 1780 and the feelings of Rai Ibrahim Bhatti was satisfied by conferring upon him a *jagir* for subsistence.\(^ {120}\) Then, the town of

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\(^{120}\) Lepel Henry Griffin, *The Rajas of the Punjab: Being the History of the Principal States in the Punjab and their Political Relations with the British Government*, Punjab Printing Company, Lahore, 1870, pp. 504 and 511-512.
Kapurthala was placed under the administration of Kanwar Bhag Singh. At this time, the town of Kapurthala was not in a good condition. Bhag Singh was directed to repopulate it by inviting merchants from other places.\textsuperscript{121}

The flourishing town of Sujanpur in the Shahpur Kandi tract rose to some importance after the break up of the Mughal empire. When Ajaib Rai, the qanuugo set himself up here and at Pathankot as an independent chieftain. The town fell later into the hands of Bagga family. The Bagga family belonged to the Kanhiya misl and Amardas, who obtained Sujanpur towards the late 1760s. Amar Das expired in 1805 and he was succeeded by his son Bhag Singh.\textsuperscript{122} It is likely to be assume that Sujanpur, at that time, had been a tappa headquarters.\textsuperscript{123}

Its development can also be inferred from the fact that Naths of Jakhbar had purchased goods from the town of Sujanpur.\textsuperscript{124} The Naths were exempted from paying custom duties. Gradually there emerged a market in Sujanpur.

The list of towns and cities which grew up in our period are not exhaustive. Pathankot came to serve as the headquarters first of Nand Singh Bhangi and then Tara Singh Kanhiya.\textsuperscript{125} Fatehabad under Fateh Singh Ahluwalia, Rahon under Tara Singh Dallewalia, Phillaur under Tara Singh Kang, Hallowal under Bhag Singh Hallowalia, Sayyadwala under Karam Singh Nakai and Nur Mahal under Charhat Singh Nur Mahlia were some of the places which grew up as urban centres during the late eighteenth century.\textsuperscript{126}

The number of urban centres developed altogether at new places during this


\textsuperscript{124} At that time, Mahant Subodh Nath was on the gaddi of Jakhbar: B.N. Goswamy & J.S. Grewal (tr. & eds.), \textit{The Mughals and the Jogis of Jakhbar}, Document No. XVII.


period was also considerable. For instance, Haqiqat Singh Kanhiya founded Fatehgarh and Narot Jaimal Singh. His brother Mehtab Singh founded Chittaurgarh. Sons of Bagh Singh Hallowalia, Sobha Singh and Suba Singh, built Qila Sobha Singh and Qila Suba Singh respectively. Nidhan Singh Duttu built Daska. Shuja Khan, governor of Multan, built Shujabad, with a fort and a palace. His son Muzaffar Khan founded the town of Muzaffabad in 1794; his daughter Khan Bibi built the fort and town of Khangarh while his son founded Ghazanfarabad.

Nur Muhammad Chattha built Rasulnagar. Under him Rasulnagar flourished and rapidly grow in importance. Sardar Maha Singh captured Rasul Nagar from Pir Muhammad Chattha and gave it the new name of Ram Nagar. He handed it over to his associate and relative Gurbax Singh. Nur Muhammad Chattha’s son and successor Pir Muhammad founded the towns of Alipur, Naiwala and Fatehpur. Alipur was taken by Sardar Charhat Singh from a Muslim chief and named it Akalgarh. He handed it over in jagir to his associate Dal Singh.

Muhammad Yar Bhatti built Jalalpur Bhattian. Daud Khan of Dipalpur, founded Jalalabad after the name of his son Jalaluddin Khan. Ahmad Khan

133 *Gazetteer of the Gujranwala District 1883-84*, p. 89.
138 Veena Sachdeva, *Polity and Economy of the Punjab: During the Late Eighteenth Century*, p. 55.

Turning to the hills Ghammand Chand of Kangra founded Sujanpur. His grandson Sansar Chand constructed a palace and held his court at Tira.\footnote{*Imperial Gazetteer of India: Provincial Series Punjab*, Vol. I, p. 392.} Later the place came to be called Tira Sujanpur. Here, Sansar Chand built a large reception hall with twenty two gates. The chiefs of the twenty two hill states were expected to make their entrance, each through his own door, to pay homage to Sansar Chand whose throne stood at the head of the hall. Sansar Chand encouraged goldsmiths, carpenters and weavers from places outside his kingdom to settle at Sujanpur Tira. In a short time, Sujanpur Tira was vastly improved.\footnote{Gazetteer of the Kangra District 1883-84, p. 254; S.C. Thakur, *Maharaja Sansar Chand’s Letters (To The East India Company)*, pp. 17-18.}

Sansar Chand had several artists in this court and the spectacular period of Kangra School of art flourished under his patronage. Owing to his exceptional interest in painting and great affluence, many painters from the surrounding areas and even from the Mughal court were attracted to the Kangra court.\footnote{S.C. Thakur, *Maharaja Sansar Chand’s Letters (To The East India Company)*, pp. 21-22.} The miniature of the Kangra School depicted many subjects taken from the Hindu epics, and in particular subjects associated with the cult of Krishna: Krishna in his childhood, Krishna among the shepherdesses, playing the flute, his beloved Radha etc. Krishna was always depicted in an unusual shade of pale blue in these miniatures.\footnote{K. Antonova, G. Bongard-Levin & G. Kotovsky, *A History of India*, Vol. 2, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1979, pp. 83-84.}

Similarly, the town of Nurpur was showed some symptoms of improvement during the late eighteenth century. The principal inhabitants were the Rajputs, Kashmiris and Khatris, the last being descendants of fugitive from Lahore who fled from the exactions of Later Mughal rulers. The Kashmiris settled in Nurpur in 1783 driven from their country by famine. They carried with them the national manufacture of their native valley, shawls of *pashmina* wool and made the town

\footnote{S.C. Thakur, *Maharaja Sansar Chand’s Letters (To The East India Company)*, pp. 21-22.}
famous for the production of these and other woolen cloths. George Forster observed that the town of Nurpur was in a state of opulence which reflected the prosperity and progress on account of manufacturing activities.

From the account of George Forster it is likely to be assume that the town of Bilaspur was also in a state of opulence and prosperity. The town of Bilaspur was a well built town, exhibited a regularity which was not often seen in the hills. The streets were paved and houses were constructed of stone and mortar, giving a neat appearance. Similarly, Raja Amrit Pal and his successor Mohinder Pal enlarged Basohli.

The emergent rulers were rather keen to have the traders and craftsmen settled in their territories. The different chiefs competed with one another to induce the manufacturing and trading classes to migrate to the urban centres. For this purpose, they provided all the necessities they needed and gave incentives to promote their interests by extending towards them some concessions according to their requirements. These non-agricultural communities in pursuit of certain portion of profit, thus, were creating the possibilities of non-agricultural surplus, which in turn, linked directly or indirectly to economic advantage. Therefore, the presence or incoming of traders, businessmen and craftsmen in the towns was significant and it strengthened the basis of economic stability which resulted in the revival and growth of towns.

Administrative status was another significant factor in the growth of urban centres. When every chief participated in the acquisition of territories he adopted a place of his own choice as his headquarters. In this context, a some kind of administrative structure came into being.

Industry and manufacturing capacity was even a more important sustaining

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146 Ibid., pp. 239-240.
factor in the continuation of these towns. Almost throughout the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries, there was a considerable production not only in woollen industry in terms of manufacturing coarse blankets, shawls wrappers, losi and lungis\textsuperscript{149} but also the various kinds of other non-textile manufacturing articles such as, paper, daggers and spears and other daily consumption. The manufacturing capacity promoted the interests of traders in terms of export and import. They were complimentary to each other. Thus, the combination of manufacturing and trading activities not only determined the status of the towns in terms of economic stability but also influenced the nature of stratification among the towns in terms of potentialities of surplus production.

\textsuperscript{149} Ibid., pp. 192-205.