

**THE PESHAWAR UNDER
THE DURRANIS
1747 - 1818**

BY

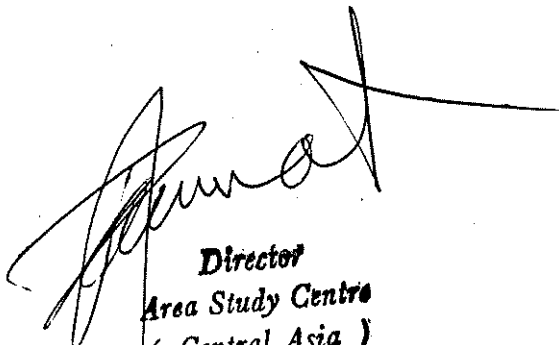
RAZIA SULTANA



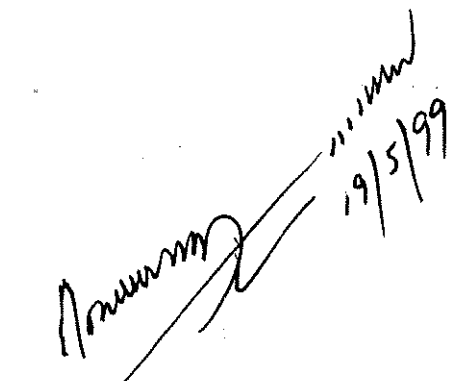
**AREA STUDY CENTRE
(CENTRAL ASIA)
UNIVERSITY OF PESHAWAR
PAKISTAN
1998**

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بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ


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**A thesis submitted to the Area Study Centre
(Central Asia), University of Peshawar
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY,
IN
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PREFACE

Durrani emerged as paramount power on the political scene of West Asia in 1747. It was a unique phenomenon in the history of Afghan nation. They took start from a small kingdom based at Qandahar and turned it into a huge empire, comprised of parts of Central Asia, Persia, India including the main-land of present day Afghanistan.

Durrani kings were war lords, who derived their grandeur from the successive military operations in the neighboring countries. Though they were mostly successful in all directions, however, Indian Possessions of the same empire were of great benefit, both in terms of land and financial resources, which India contained in abundance. Those resources were in the course of time used for the consolidation and sustainability of their rule. From the second half of eighteenth century till the turn of that century, the hegemony of the Durrani's rule was felt and acknowledged by the local as well as the foreign powers, interested in the region.

In fact, the success of Durrani arms in the East was made possible by having a timely hold of Peshawar. An area situated in the North west of India and touching the eastern borders of Afghanistan at

length. Its conspicuous geo-strategic position always kept the Durrani forces at an advantageous point. Similarly, being the second capital of the empire, it had political clout as well, due to which the rulers, the ruled and foreigners were attracted towards it.

Keeping in view the scope and significance of this period, (The rule of Durrani Kings at Peshawar, 1747-1818), an effort has been made to explore and research the said period, and portray a complete picture of the rise and fall of the Durrani rule, having Peshawar as a vital component of it. So that the posterity should be exposed to its glorious past, in order to learn lesson from the deeds of their predecessors, as well as their mistakes for which they paid duly.

It was an interesting but comparatively difficult project, especially search and reading of the Persian/European manuscripts. While carrying it out, I consulted several Libraries at Peshawar such as, Central Library of Peshawar University, Islamia College Library, History Department Library, Pushto academy Library, AKBAR (an Afghan agency) Library, Area study Center Library, Peshawar museum library and Archives library. In search of some valuable primary sources I travelled to England as well. During my stay, which stretched over three months, I did research material at the Oriental and India office collection. I

consulted libraries of, SOAS, (School of Oriental and African studies), St. Catherine College Library (Cambridge University) and the Library of Royal Asiatic Society. This exposure immensely benefited my research and person.

Nonetheless, I would like to pay my gratitude to all those who, supported me during the course of my research. My special thanks are due to Professor Dr. Mohammad Anwar Khan, my supervisor, whose advise and kind guidance helped me in the completion of the dissertation. I am truly indebted to my friend, Bushra Hamid, Lecturer in the Institute of Management Studies, University of Peshawar, whose support in all spheres of my research and person gave me boundless confidence. I am thoroughly grateful to my friend Nasreen Ghufra, assistant Professor, International Relation Department, Peshawar University, her timely guidance, especially in proof reading and comments on the initial draft, helped me in the fulfilment of this uphill task. I am also grateful to Mr. Salim Quraishi, head of the Modern South Asian section, at the India office collection, (British Library), his guidance on all the Persian/ European manuscripts and secondary sources, available at the India office library, was of immense help. I owe thanks to, Professor Christopher Bayly, Head of History Department at the St. Cathrine college, (Cambridge University), his guidance, especially on the

European manuscripts benefited my research immensely. The kindness of Mr. Ihsan Ali, Chairman Department of Archaeology, whose contacts in London made my visit to England possible, owes to be thanked. Of my family members, I am duely thankful to my younger brother, Younas Khan, who took and accompanied me to several Libraries. His patience through out was incredible. I am thankful to my parents, their prayers made my work easy. Once again, I owe gratitude to all those friends and well wishers who helped me during the completion of my work.

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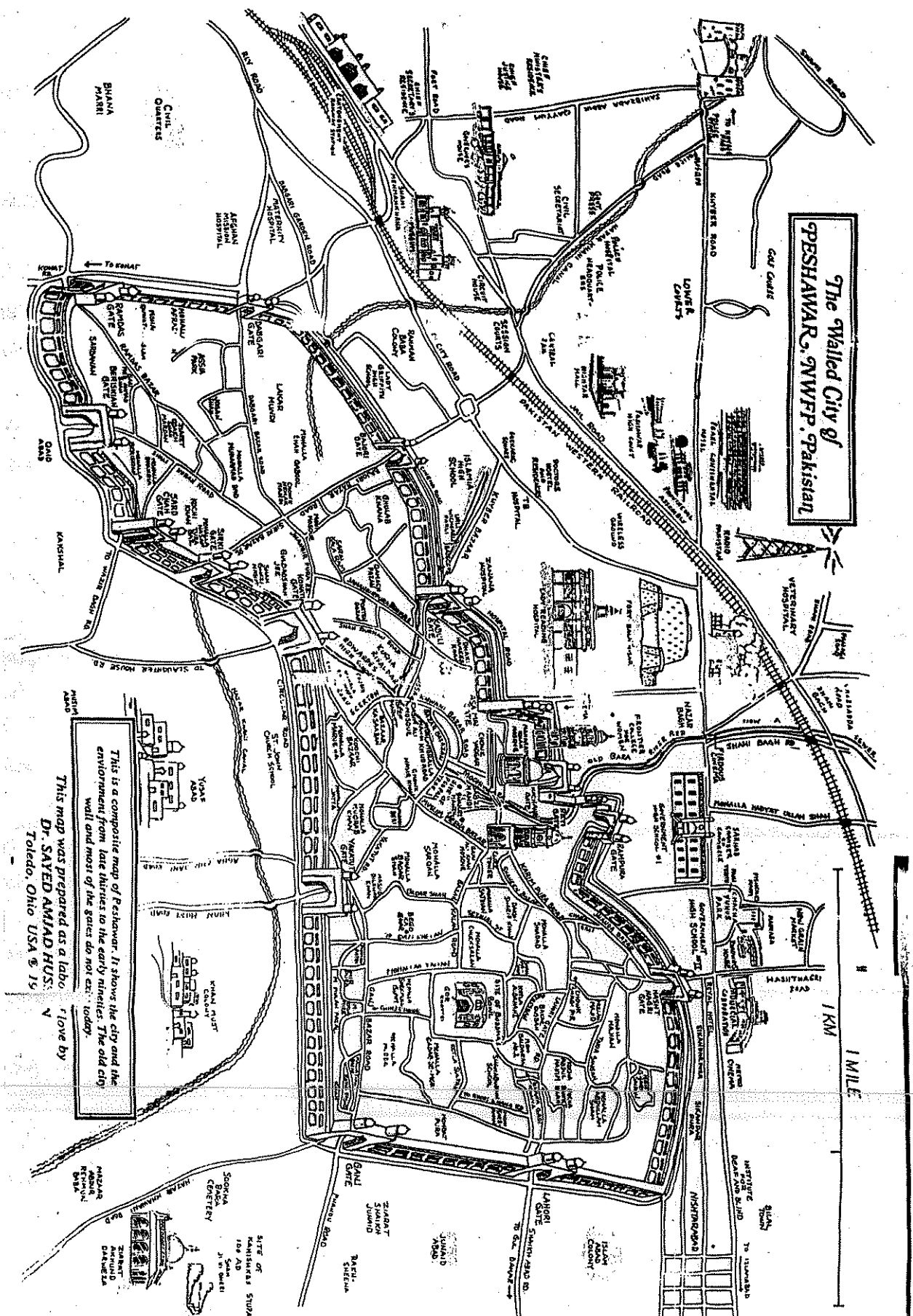
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The Walled City of
PESHAWAR, NWFP, Pakistan

This is a composite map of Peshawar. It shows the city and the environment from late thirteenth to the early nineteenth century. The old city wall and most of the gates do not exist today.

This map was prepared as a labor of love by
Dr. SAYED AMIAD HUSSEIN
Toledo, Ohio USA & 15

INTRODUCTION

History and geography are so closely inter-related that it is believed, those ignorant of their geography their history forget them completely. Keeping in view the significance of this point, the geographical location of the Valley of Peshawar has to be explained first. It extends from the river Indus to the Khyber mountains. It is bounded on the north and north-east by Karamar hills which separate it from the Valleys of Swat and Buner. To the north and north-west are rugged looking Mohmand and Malakand mountains. On the west stands the Khyber mountains overlooked by the Tartarra peak. To the south, a continuation of hilly boundary, Charat hills, which branches from Sofaid Koh and runs to the Indus. The lower portion of this branch separates the Valleys of Peshawar and Kohat. To the south-east, the only portion not bounded by hills is, the river Indus which divides it from the Chach Plain in Rawalpindi and Hazara region.

Administratively, Peshawar was one of the fifteen Hukumat-e-Alas, smaller provinces of Durrani's empire, other than that, the empire had eight Vilayats, bigger provinces also. The Valley of Peshawar was one of those many Valleys which were part of Peshawar province, for example, the Valleys of Swat and Kohat etc. The present province of

NWFP and the Peshawar province of Durrani period was one and the same, territorially, except Derajat. Darajat, itself had a status of separate Hukumat-e-Ala within the Durrani administrative system.

Also, the nomenclature of the Peshawar Valley requires to be explained briefly. The ancient name of the area was Gandhara, which was derived from one of the progenitors of Aryan colonists in India. Later, it was known as Bagram, the term was traced to a Hindu ruler, who ruled this territory in the past. There were other names also, for instance, Purshur, Pesh'awar and Pekhwar, which had its own peculiar definitions. However, it is important to be noted that, since long the Valley is popularly known as Peshawar which means, the frontier town.

The inhabitants of the Valley of Peshawar were mostly Pushtoons, who were racially Afghans. Prior to Pushtoons Dalazaks were the people who inhabited this area, they were also considered Afghans by origin. Similarly, migration of Pushtoon tribes to the Peshawar Valley was quite fascinating however, their settlement in the area was completed by the end of 16th century. Moreover, those of the Pushtoon tribes, who settled down in Peshawar were, Yusufzais, Khattak, Mohmand, Khalil and Gigiani.

Peshawar, being a border territory remained at the cross roads. It had been governed by different people during the long course of history. Not mentioning its ancient masters, only preceding to the Durranis, it was ruled first by Mughals and then by the Persians. Sikhs came afterwards and English became the possessors of its soil further later.

In fact, Durranis got the control of the Valley from the Persian mercenary, Nasir Khan. But that should be viewed in the back drop of Durranis political ascendancy, first on the native scene, which began with the death of Nadir Shah, the Persian monarch, 1747. His death, became a prime cause of the carving out of the modern state of Afghanistan. The prominence of Abdalis as bodyguards to Nadir Shah made them enemies of their Persian counterparts, Qazalbashis. The Qazalbashis murdered their monarch out of sheer jealousy, because they felt he was more inclined towards his Afghan bodyguards. In those circumstances, it was not advisable for them to stay in Persia any more. So, they left for their own country and on the way the elders among them realized the need to establish a state of their own. Upon their arrival at Qandahar they seriously thought over the issue, and unanimously agreed on it. However, who would be selected to rule?, still needed to be resolved. For that purpose several meetings were held. At the end of these series of meetings, and the intervention of a saintly

man Sabir Shah, the selection of Ahmed Khan was finalized. Ahmed Khan belonged to the Saduzai clan of Populzai tribe. He was a young man of 23, at the time of his accession. Apart from other reasons which contributed for his selection were, sobriety of temperament and composure of manners.

After becoming the first king of the Afghans Ahmed Khan, who became Ahmed Shah by then, devised certain basic principles of his policy, from which he did not deviate till the end, for instance, concentration of all powers in the sovereign's hands, and the exercise of authority was never realized without the advice and support of his leading tribesmen, of whom he constituted an advisory council. Along with that, he always avoided to interfere in the internal matters of the various tribes. On the contrary, their respective chieftans were made responsible for their immediate problems. Later, the deviation from that policy by his successors caused the disintegration of the empire and the dynasty of Durrani also vanquished.

Ahmed Shah Durrani ruled for twenty-six years, his reign was basically full of military enterprise, comprised of a great number of military expeditions, which he carried out in the eastern and western side of his kingdom. In fact, the opportunity to materialize such ambitions,

was offered by the circumstances, for instance, the declining Mughal empire in Hindustan and the vanquished Saffavids in Persia.

Though, he equally tried his arms in the western part of his dominion but, his successes in the east were glorious. He undertook ten expeditions against the Indians between the years, 1747-69, of which nine actually took place while the tenth one had to be called off, due to the war weariness of the soldiers and illness of the King, (Ahmed Shah Durrani).

Peshawar came into the possession of Durrani when the founding Father, Ahmed Shah, won it from Nasir Khan, who till last tried his best to protect it from the onslaughts of the rival. However, in spite of his hard efforts Peshawar fell to the Durrani forces and Nasir Khan had to evacuate the area for Hazara, later, even from there, he was forced to leave. Ahmed Shah's conquest of Peshawar was made possible by his superior generalship and appropriate use of stratagem. For instance, he effectively utilized the Afghan sentiments of nationalism, who were inhabiting the territory stretched from Kabul to the plains of Peshawar. They unanimously sided with him, instead of supporting his rival, Nasir Khan, who was fighting for the cause of Mughals.

After occupying Qanahar, Ghazni and Kabul, Peshawar was the fourth important city which came under the control of Durrani empire. Through out their rule it remained an integral part of the Durrani administrative system, therefore it has to be viewed within the framework of the governmental system of Durrani empire, otherwise the actual position of Peshawar will not be explained properly. Militarily, it played a very significant role during the Durrani rulers war operations in Hindustan. It was a major military outpost of the Durrani forces, which provided a strong base for achieving their imperialistic designs in India.

Ahmed Shah was succeeded by his second son, Taimur Shah, who ruled for twenty years, 1773-1793, that was considered a period of peace and prosperity. Though he was an excellent soldier but, by temperament he had no likeness for war. At the outset of his rule, he took two major steps, one of them was shifting of the capital from Qandahar to Kabul and another was, declaring Peshawar as a winter capital of the Durrani rulers. He used to reside in Peshawar for four months yearly. This measure was perpetuated by the later Durrani kings.

Peshawar gained a lot of prominence soon after becoming the second capital of the Durrani. For example, beautiful palaces were

erected for the royal family in Bala- Hissar, gardens and reservoirs were built which added to the beauty of the city. The famous Wazir Bagh, still reminds the grandeur of that Period, which was laid out by the renowned Fateh Khan Wazir. Peshawar, flourished both politically, and economically. But culturally it could not make any significant progress, due to intermittent chaos, political instability and religious intolerance. Literary activities did not flourish under the state patronage, whatever in piecemeals happened was on private level. Monumental legacy of the Durranis is also not rich, though it is believed that if Sikhs had not demolished the buildings and gardens the posterity would have witnessed some very beautiful edifices, which were erected during the reign of Durranis. Similarly, the overall law and order situation was not satisfactory, because frequent wars and feuds had been going on among the chiefs of various tribes.

Politically, Taimur Shah's reign was peaceful, however, two revolts occurred against him, one of them, happened when the ruler was in Peshawar for spending his winter. It was of a serious nature and caused great trouble to the ruler and the ruled, because the Shah had to protect his life and secure his throne. While the public, who were busy in their daily business, and knowing nothing about the insurrection, got massacred during the conflict. This incident had created great confusion.

Taimur Shah's likeness for Peshawar, was recorded by Olef Caroe, "Taimur Shah was taken ill on his way up to Kabul from Peshawar, and died in the spring of 1793. He had loved Peshawar but has left there no name of honour for tribesmen still say of him that he was a Persian and no Pathan. Yet here is no doubt that the establishment of the Durrani winter capital at Peshawar was the beginning of long story only now coming to an end"¹. It reflects that the likeness of Taimur Shah for the Peshawar had not been reciprocated by its inhabitants in the same coin.

Shah Zaman and Shah Shuja, both being the sons of a Yousafzai lady had more attachment with Peshawar. They always relied upon the support of eastern tribes during their troubled times. When they were wanderers, the hilly-country around Peshawar provided them asylum. Both of them kept Peshawar as their principal residence, and enhanced its magnificence. Shah Shuja ruled for six years, 1803-9. When he lost the throne to his half brother Shah Mahmood in 1809, he made many attempts to regain it. Of thirty battles which he fought, almost half were fought for the recovery of Peshawar which is a testimony of his unfaded love for the Valley.

¹ Olef Caroe, *The Pathans 550 B.C. - A.D. 1957*, Oxford University Press; Karachi, 1985, p:263.

Moreover, the inhabitants of Peshawar had seldom been a cause of trouble to the Durrani rulers. They had never frustrated the marches of Durrani forces, passing through the plains of Peshawar, for carrying out their military expeditions in Hindustan. On the contrary, a great number of them would join the Durrani forces which strengthened them. So, apart from geo-strategic importance of the area, its man power also played a very significant role in the building up of the Durrani empire. Anyhow, the same could not be said about the inhabitants of the hilly-country, situated in the vicinity of Peshawar. They created troubles for the Durrani rulers during their military operations in India, and usually the matters would resolve between the two by striking a deal through which these mountain dwellers would receive a share of the spoils procured from the successful military exploits by the rulers of Afghanistan.

The governmental system of the Durrani was autocratic, "a government in which one person exercises power unrestricted by either law or other persons. The term has also been applied to the concentration of such political power in a small group, such as committee, junta or collective leadership"². But its spirit was benign and based on well-being. The founder of Durrani empire, Ahmed Shah

² *Encyclopedia Britannica*, Vol. 1, p:669.

would not take a step without consultation of his advisory council, which was consisted of the leading Durrani chieftans, nine in total. Interference in the affairs of the tribes was forbidden, those were governed by the concerned tribal chiefs. Hakims of the Vilayats and Hukumat-e-Ala had autonomy within their jurisdiction. Durrani's empire was comprised of eight Vilayats and fifteen Hukuma-e-Ala, the former were, bigger in size, while the latter were smaller. The Hakims of lower administrative units also enjoyed freedom within their concerned realm. At the village level the local Khans and Maliks would look after the administrative matters, on behalf of the provincial government. However, in the post-Zaman Shah period the general condition of the administration and law and order was precarious, and the people suffered.

The elements of decay started taking ground in the later part of Taimur Shah's reign. His sensuality confined him to his extensive heram, which was quite harmful for his person and the dynasty. The four outlying provinces of Afghanistan Turkistan, Khurasan, Sind and Punjab started slowly and gradually moves for independence during his reign. Being peaceful by nature he could not suppress those rebellions with iron hand. It gave confidence to the other administrative units of the empire, to throw away the yoke of Durrani's supremacy. Even his subjects were not happy with his pacific nature. They were martial by

nature and soldiers by profession, therefore, they were fed up of respite from war, prevailed during Taimur's reign.

Taimur Shah, died in 1793, his death heralded a serious calamity. Since, he left behind numerous sons of which twenty-one were from legal wives and on the death of their father each of them stood up as a true claimant to the throne of Afghanistan. However, Humayun Mirza, Mahmood Mirza and Zaman Mirza, were the potential candidates. Humayun Mirza, being the eldest bore a good chance but circumstances made Zaman Mirza the next ruler of Afghanistan. Zaman Mirza, fifth agewise, but his governorship of Kabul and being incharge of the treasury, gave him an upper hand to bid for the throne. The Barakzai head Payenda Khan also declared his support for Zaman, which was a strong factor in making him the third Durrani king of Afghanistan

Zaman Shah had all the qualities of a capable ruler, however his haughty attitude made him a failure. At his accession people predicted that the time of Ahmed Shah would be revived. However, fratricidal wars and domestic conflicts did not allow him to accomplish his lofty programmes in the field of war and administration. He had made many attempts to recover the lost territories in Hindustan, between the years 1793-99, but everytime he had to leave the military operation in the

middle and come back to the capital, in order to suppress an insurrection caused by a brother.

Zaman Shah committed a political blunder which ruined the Saduzai dynasty. In fact, the nobility, being highly upset with the policies of interference, in their tribal matters and ignoring their influence and significance, they planned a plot. Payenda Khan, the chief of Barakzais, led the conspiracy while others, the chiefs of Alizai, Nurizai, the deputy Munshi Bashi, the chief of Qazalbashis and the chief of the eunuchs had joined him. Despite strict vigilance, they managed to hold meetings in the shrine of a holy man. The objectives of those meetings was,

- a. To replace Zaman Mirza with Shahzada Shah Poor, as king of Afghanistan.
- b. Thenceforth, the headship of the kingdom would be elective.
- c. If a king failed to come up to the expectations of those who enthroned him, would be removed.

Since, the plot came into the notice of the minister, Wfadar Khan, therefore it utterly failed to achieve its cherished goal. The partners in the treason met the same fate as others who committed the same crime, all of them were executed.

Killing of the leading men created a stir, their relatives became ferocious, especially, the elder son of Payenda Khan, Fateh Khan fled from Kabul to Grishik, a strong hold of Barakzais between Qandahar and Herat, in order to unite his other kins men to avenge the murder of his father. Thence, the supportive role of the Barakzais came to an end and they turned to be the king-makers. After joining Mahmood Mirza in Persia, Fateh Khan found a real chance to overthrow the government of Shah Zaman. Mahmood Mirza being failed to oust Zaman Shah, was spending his life as a fugitive in Persia. Fateh Khan gave him hope and confidence of becoming a sovereign, once again.

On the other side, Zaman Shah was unaware of all these developments, led his forces towards Kashmir, in order to recover that area. By the time, he came to know about the magnitude of the problem, created by the two, Fateh Khan and Mahmood Mirza, Qandahar fell to their combined troops, and they were marching towards Kabul. Zaman Shah got bewildered, fled to a nearby fort of Mullah Ashiq, from where he was caught later and blinded. Zaman Shah was replaced by Shah Mahmood, 1800, that was the achievement of Fateh Khan not of Mahmood.

Mahmood Mirza after becoming Shah, rewarded the services of Fateh Khan by appointing him as his minister and himself indulged in mary-makings. The younger brother of Shah Zaman, Shuja Mirza, who was a governor of Peshawar at that time revolted but he was no match to the superior generalship of Fateh Khan. Soon, Peshawar fell to the adherents of Mahmood.

Meanwhile, another noble Shir Mohammad Khan got prominence during the reign of Shah Mahmood. He wanted to be appointed as the minister of the empire, his desire however, was turned down by Shah Mahmood, which made him revengeful. He created a difficult situation for Shah Mahmood, with the support of the chief Sayed of the mosques, who did not like Shah Mahmood's tendency towards the Qazalbashis, whom the Syed called heretics. A sectarian conflict was raised, which was so severe that it toppled the government of Shah Mahmood in 1803.

Shuja Mirza came as the next king, who was duly supported by Shir Mohammad Khan. Shuja ruled for six years. During his reign Fateh Khan was again instrumental in creating troubles for the king. All the times he was busy in siding with Kamran Mirza or Kaisar Mirza, the nephews of the king. But he was actually interested in bringing back Shah Mahmood on the throne of Kabul.

In the mean time, Shuja developed jealousy with his minister, Shir Mohammad Khan, therefore he usually thwarted his ideas and programmes. Once, when Shir Mohammad Khan came back from a successful expedition of Kashmir, he was ordered by the king to join him as soon possible, because he wanted to send an expedition against Sind. Though the Wazir tried his best to stop the king but in vain. As a result, not only Shir Mohammad disobeyed the king but in his absence declared his nephew, Kaisar Mirza as the king. Shuja soon came back and defeated the rebels. Shir Mohammad lost his life, which made his candidate to renounce the claim for the throne. Kaisar Mirza asked to be forgiven, he was not only pardoned but reinstated as the governor of Qandahar

Meanwhile, the first English mission, led by the Honorable Mount Stour Alphanstone, met Shah Shuja in Peshawar in the year 1809. The objective of the mission, was to take the Durrani government into confidence against the prospective Franco-Persion invasion of India.

Soon afterwards, grave events took place, for instance, an army which was sent to Kashmir to suppress an insurrection, was routed. At the same time news reached that Mahmood captured Qandahar and was moving towards Kabul. Shah Shuja tried his best to collect the forces in

order to give battle to the rival forces, which he did, but failed. The defeat of Shujā near Gandamak was decisive. The shrewdness of Fateh Khan enabled Mahmood to ascend the throne of Afghanistan for the second time. Once again he left every thing at the disposal of Fateh Khan and himself renewed the life style he used to practice before. Fateh Khan was all in all, he appointed all his twenty brothers on important posts, some were appointed as governors of provinces others to the high administrative posts in the government

For a while everything seemed normal but soon an incident took place which proved fatal for the integrity of the empire. The governor of Herat, Haji Ferozuddin, requested the central government to help him against the Persians. Shah Mahmood sent Fateh Khan to quell the danger. Fateh Khan, after reaching Herat took over the charge himself and sent the previous governor under an honorary escort to Kabul. Also, the house of the governor of Herat was insulted, while the usurpers were searching for the treasury. This blunder on the part of Fateh Khan, doomed his career. Receiving the news about that, Shah Mahmood issued the orders to arrest Fateh Khan and lance his eyes. These orders of the king were complied with. Fateh Khan was caught and blinded by the son of the king, Kamran Mirza.

Following which, the country was engulfed by revolt, all the twenty brothers of Fateh Khan raised the standard of revolt. Shirdil, Kohandil and Purdil seized Qandahar. Azim Khan and Dost Mohammad Khan captured Kabul and Ghazni, Jabbar Khan occupied Kashmir and the four brothers, Yar Mohammad, Pir Mohammad, Sultan Mohammad and Sayed Mohammad became the masters of Peshawar. Nevertheless, Peshawar remained an integral part of the Durrani empire till last, despite going through frequent turmoil in the last two decades of Durrani rule. It parted when the whole empire dismembered in 1818.

Moreover, the role of regional and local forces was also prominent in dismantling the empire of Durrani. Uzbeks and Persians were instrumental in causing difficulties to the Durrani rulers. However, a local insurrection created enormous problem, which was started and led by the Ghilzais. Though it had been suppressed in 1802 completely, still it did great harm to the trouble stricken Durrani empire.

In Punjab, Sikhs were a source of constant trouble, however, their rise on the political scene of India was slow and gradual. They were a docile community which became insurgents, due to the constant persecution by the later Mughal rulers. Their Gurus, religious leaders, were murdered and on community level also they were deprived of basic

amenities of life. This policy of discrimination by the Mughals made the Sikhs formidable. The last three battles of Ahmed Shah, were fought against the belligerence of the Sikhs in Punjab. He left the matter unsettled with them and died soon afterwards. Among his successors none but Zaman Shah had the talent to cope with them, he made a few attempts but by then, he was caught in a dilemma. For instance, domestic strife and the rise of other regional powers kept him confined at home. The revival of Persians under Qajars, who established a dynasty as early as 1795 and the cautious imperialistic designs of the English in India, who made successful efforts to keep the Durrani ruler away from its Indian front had also played a negative role. Meanwhile, Sikhs became formidable in Punjab, all these threats posed a great challenge for Zaman Shah to confront.

However, in the beginning Sikhs had the capacity but, they lacked a common cause and a strong leader, which they found in the person of Ranjeet Singh. He became prominent in 1799, when Zaman Shah appointed him as his viceroy of Punjab. Ranjeet Singh took the opportunity of the internal troubles of the Durrani and declared its independence very soon. However, later the disintegration of the same dynasty in 1818, provided him another opportunity to claim the territories of the Durrani empire as a matter of right.

Meanwhile, the absence of strong government at Kabul encouraged them so much, that an important province of the Durrani, Peshawar was raided by the Sikh forces in 1818. While, in 1823, when the army of the ruler of Kabul Mohammad Azim Khan was defeated by the Sikhs near Nowshera, Peshawar became completely a dependency of the government of Punjab. Still, the government of Peshawar was left in the hands of the previous governors, the Barakzai Sardars, on the condition that they would pay tribute and acknowledge the suzerainty of the Sikh ruler of Lahore.

By that time, another factor entered into the political arena of Peshawar, the Hindustani Mujahideen, led by Sayed Ahmed Brailvi, whose main objective was, to deliver the believers from the oppression of the infidels, the Sikhs. His encounters with the Sikh forces and later the Barakzai Sardars created chaos and anarchy in the region. He had been revered by the Pathans for his sanctity and religious bearings, however, when they realized that he was interfering in their customs and traditions, they revolted against his rule and, killed his supporters. The Sayed was finally forced to leave the Valley for some other place. He took refuge in Balakot, where, later on, he, along with his handful followers, was slaughtered by a Sikh general Sher Singh in 1830.

The Valley of Peshawar had been governed by the dependants of Sikhs, from 1823 to 1835. Sikhs took over the charge in their own hands quite late. The frequent threats of military encroachment against Peshawar, by the ruler of Kabul, Dost Mohammad, forced the Sikh leaders to bring major change in their policy towards its north west frontiers. Consequently, Sikhs became the governors of the Valley directly in 1835, while, Jagirs were assigned to the Brakzai brothers, in Doaba, Kohat and Hangu.

Dost Mohammad Khan made yet another attempt to get the control of Peshawar in 1837. Both the armies met near Jamrud, during the conflict, the Sikh commander Hari Singh Nalwa was killed, Sikhs dispersed, while the Kabul troops left the field and were not pursued by the Sikhs. So, the encounter ended in a draw, none of the parties actually won it. Anyhow, it was the last military attempt made by the ruler of Kabul for the possession of Peshawar.

Over all, during the Sikhs rule, the law and order situation was in a terrible shape. People were against their rule and looked at them with contempt. They cared less for maintaining good governance or law and order situation, instead their chief concern was the collection of maximum amount of revenue from the public. They would collect the

taxes from the people with cruelty. Apart from, regular taxes surpluses, advances were also collected from them. Similarly, their justice system was tyrannical. The spirit behind punishment was harshness, not to bring the culprit to book, or check recurrence of crimes. Their rule was confined to the city proper only, the rest of the territories were left to the local Khans and Maliks who looked after it on their behalf.

In fact, monetarily Peshawar was a lucrative province of the Sikh state, until it was not taken into direct control. Thereafter, excessive expenditure left no room for any saving. The distant areas were given to the local chiefs on the condition that the revenues of those localities would be remitted to them. While, the revenues which they received from Peshawar proper and its immediate vicinity, were usually spent over day to day expenses, a greater part of it had frequently been used for winning the deserters to the Sikhs side.

Peshawar remained a bone of contention between the Sikhs and Durrani for quite some time, but it had never been a source of trouble between Durrani and English. The British arrived in the Valley later. Till the life time of Ranjeet Singh, the British had showed no intention to cross beyond the Satlej. Because they were bound by a treaty of friendship, which was concluded between them in 1809. Similarly,

English were cautious imperialists, secondly Sikhs state of Punjab was a strong buffer between the British and Durranis, thirdly, British leadership was contented with the Sutlej as a border between the Sikhs and them respectively.

However, Post-Ranjeet Singh scenario of the Lahore Darbar was troublesome, for instance, Khalsa became dominant and uncontrollable, the administrative set up collapsed due to the incapability of the higher authorities. Keeping in view all this, British felt the need to bring some major changes into their policy towards the Sikhs State of Punjab. Consequently, British started military preparations, the immediate military posts were strengthened with arms and ammunition, and the size of the military was also enlarged. Similarly, the appointment of Major Broadfoot, as an agent of Sikh affairs, explained the intentions of British. Soon after his appointment, he declared the Cis-Sutlej possessions of Lahore under the British protection.

Anyhow, initiative for the encounter was taken by the Sikhs not British. The Khalsa was in high spirits and even the common Sikh was as loyal to the national cause as he was during the days of Ranjeet Singh. In fact, the insincerity on the part of leadership sunk the sailing ship of Sikhs. Gulab Singh, Tej Singh, Lal Singh and Sher Singh Sindhanwala,

who were leading the Sikh community at that time, were deceitful. They, instead of strengthening their own people joined hands with the enemies.

Four battles were fought between the Sikhs and the British between the years, 1845-46. Sikhs were numerous, well-trained and willing to fight for their interest, but they were lacking in a patriot leadership. For example, during the battle of Aleewal, fought on January 28, 1846, Gulab Singh on one hand incited the Sikhs for renewal of the hostilities, while on the other hand he entered into negotiations with the British. The clauses of that understanding were humiliating, for instance,

- a. The Sikhs army should be attacked by the English.
- b. When beaten the military should openly be abandoned by its own government.
- c. Passage of Sutlej should be laid open to the British.
- d. Road to the capital should be laid open to the victors.

The battle of Subraon was fought between the two, under the above-mentioned circumstances. During the battle the height of insincerity of the Sikh leadership can be judged from the fact that a body of British cavalry was watching Tej Singh, the Sikh commander, to ascertain his dedication to the British cause. Following which, Tej Singh

instead of leading fresh men to strengthen his troops, fled on his first assault and either accidentally or deliberately sank a boat in the middle of the bridge of communication. Anyhow, failure of Sikh forces at Subraon was decisive. In the end, a treaty was concluded, whose provisions were,

- a. Dhuleep Singh would continue to be regarded as a friendly sovereign.
- b. The country between Beas and Sutlej would be retained by the conquerors.
- c. A million and a half sterling must be paid as some indemnity for the expenses.

The young Raja tendered his submission to these clauses on 20th February, 1846. The British army arrived at the Sikh capital, and within two days of it, a portion of the citadel was garrisoned by the English regiments.

Meanwhile, internally there was a conflict over the question of Premiership. Gulb Singh and Lal Singh both wanted to get the high post. However, later Gulab Singh struck a deal with British and obtained Kashmir and hill states from the Beas to Indus, which were cut off from

the Punjab Proper for a million pounds sterling. And Lal Singh became the minister of state once again.

Just like other parts of Sikh state of Punjab, Peshawar also came under the control of the East India Company, except Kashmir, which was sold to Gulab Singh. Colonel Lawrence was appointed as political assistant to the resident at Lahore in 1846, and George Lawrence was sent to Peshawar in 1847, in order to perform his duties as a friendly advisor to the native officials.

However, when the Sikh army surrendered in 1849, the Sikhs nominal rule came to an end. Peshawar was taken into direct control by the British authorities, and Colonel Lawrence was appointed as the first deputy commissioner in April, 1849.

In the back drop of the preceding introduction, the objectives of this study are:

1. To present a whole picture of the rise and fall of the Durrani rule and to view Peshawar from a broader perspective.
2. To analyse the position and role, Peshawar played during the Durrani rule.

3. To review the events occurred between 1747-1818 in the region from a new angle.
4. To bring into limelight the cultural and administrative aspects of Durrani period as has not been researched before.

CHAPTER I

THE RULE OF DURRANIS AT PESHAWAR

RISE OF DURRANIS

Sometimes, tragic incidents lead the course of events to a positive note, the same had happened in case of Nadir Shah Afshar's murder who was a Persian king and had risen to power in 1732 after deposing Shah Tehmasp, the last Saffavid ruler of Persia.¹

طالکده افغانه بنظر سابقه ارادتی که بپانواده احمد شاه داشتند و پس از آنکه کار نادر شاه افشار پیاپی شد اتفاق نموده او را بر سر سلطنت افغانستان مشکن ساخته۔

چون نادر شاه را سلطنت ایران مصفی و مسلم شد و از ترتیب امور و تنظیم ثغور این مملکت فراغت حاصل کرد عزیمت قلع و قمع طالکده غلیجائی را نموده خواست۔

(Hussain Shirazi Karbalai, *Tarikh-e-Ahmed Shah Durrani*, P.5)

A man of great talent but in the later part of his rule too much suspicion made Nadir Shah paranoid which became an ultimate cause of his death. However, another main cause of his assassination was the enmity of his Qazalbash bodyguards who annoyed with him on the ground that he was more inclined towards their Afghan counterparts.

Nadir Shah in fact fell a victim to the swords of his Persian bodyguards who entered into his tent and murdered him in October, 1747.²

Nadir Shah excelled in the art of warfare its ample example was the extent of his rule which stretched from Persia upto the heart of India. However, his death nailed the coffin of Persian glory and its immediate rise on the regional scene seemed a far cry.

Though for a while, the Abdali body-guards of Nadir Shah, got furious at the murder of their master and fighting broke out between the two groups however, soon afterwards, they stopped and left for their native land. Before leaving, they rescued the royal family from the clutches of the murderers, got their blessings and galloped for home.

The death of Nadir Shah provided an opportunity to the Afghans to establish their own kingdom, for which they had been striving since long. Meanwhile, keeping in view the seriousness of the situation they started discussion on the same matter while on the way. Finally, they reached to the conclusion that since Persian supremacy vanished with the death of Nadir Shah, and the Mughal empire was also declining so, it was an ideal time to set up an independent state for themselves. This lofty idea was unanimously endorsed by all the Abdalis.

Similarly, after reaching Qandahar several meetings were held on the issue of establishing of an Afghan kingdom, at the tomb of Shaikh Surkh in which the heads of the Abdalis, the Ghilzais, the Baluchis, the Hazaras and the Qazalbashis participated. In this connection, eight meetings were held, of which nothing positive had come out. However, in the ninth meeting the prominence of two candidates was quite obvious, Ahmed Khan Saduzai and Haji Jamal Khan Mohammadzai. Selection between the two seemed difficult as both were personalities of high stature. However, Ahmed Khan had a good chance because he was, "descended in a direct line from Saddo, who had been an ambassador to Shah Abbas the Great, whereas Haji Jamal Khan's ancestor, Mohammad, was only a companion of his in that embassy. Then his second next ancestor, Khawaja Khizar, son of Saddo, was the national saint of Afghan tribes. Last, though not the least, was the eminence to which his forefathers had risen as chiefs of the Abdalis."³

Anyhow, the final selection of Ahmed Khan was made possible by the intervention of a saint Sabir Shah, who came forward and said, "why this verbose talk God has created Ahmed Khan a much greater man than all of you. He is of the most noble of Afghan families. Maintain, therefore, God's work for His wrath will weigh heavily on you if you destroy it".⁴ Haji Jamal Khan withdrew his candidature at that

moment and Ahmed Khan was unanimously chose by all the participants as the first king of Afghans. A small ceremony was held, Sabir Shah, the saint, built a mound of earth saying, "This is your throne," plaited a circlet of wheat straw, and placed it on Ahmed Khan's head, saying, "this is your crown".⁵ At the end of the ceremony the Dervish proclaimed him Badsh-e-Durr-i-Duauran, (King, the pearl of the age). Ahmed Khan later amended the title and was contented to style himself as Durr-i-Durran, (the pearl of pearls). Also the Abdalis (the tribe of Ahmed Shah) was named as Durranis at that occasion, he further emphasised that thenceforth no one should call them by their old name.

However, the formal coronation of Ahmed Khan was held in the mosque at Qandahar early in the month of July, 1747. "The ceremony of his coronation was of the most simple kind, the Mullah of the highest rank poured a measure of wheat on the head of the new monarch announcing to the assembled Afghans that he was the chosen of God and nation. This emblematical investiture of the regal power", writes Ferrier in the middle of nineteenth century, "is followed to the present day amongst the Afghan tribes each time they elect a chief; the signification which is attached to this ceremonial is that abundance and prosperity will result from the acts of him whom they make the depository."⁶ In the mean time, Ahmed Shah took the opportunity of this conspicuous

occasion and assumed the royal title of Shah in addition to that of Durr-i-Durran, thereafter, he was known as Ahmed Shah Durrani.

Meanwhile, an important event took place which gave enormous strength to the newly established state of Durrani. It was the arrival of Persia bound revenue caravan led by Mohammad Taqi Khan Beglarbegi, in the vicinity of Qandahar. They were unaware of the murder of Nadir Shah and were therefore, caught without bloodshed by Ahmed Shah. The treasury which was of two crores rupees, consisting of money, diamonds and shawals, loaded over three hundred camels escorted by Afghan guards, was seized. However, a detail story had been elaborated as, "a day before Ahmed Khan's arrival at Qandahar, there had arrived in the city Mohammad Taqi Khan Sherazi, Beglarbegi to Nadir Shah in Sindh and the Punjab, Muhammad Saeed, a representative of Nawab Zakariya Khan of Lahore, and Nawab Nasir Khan of Kabul, with a treasure of two karors of rupees in money, diamonds and shawls, carried by three hundred camels under escort of an Afghan guard. It was intended for Nadir, and the custodians had encamped in the city to rest for a few days and to collect five hundred animals for their onward journey. No intelligence could have been more welcome to Ahmed Khan at this time. He immediately sent out jarchis, or public coriers, to announce the news of Nadir's death and to proclaim his own election to

independent kingship of the Afghans. He then seized the convoy and also the elephants and other property and distributed the contents amongst the officers and men of his army and other employees of his government."⁷ However, Ahmed Shah treated Mohammad Taqi Khan with kindness, impressed of which, later he and his comrades joined the service of the Durrani king.

The booty had been distributed between officers and men of his army and other officials of his government. "This great liberality, says Ferrier,"on his part did more for his future career than all his private virtues and noble origin. Several tribes who has not yet positively recognised his election, but the chiefs of which were on this occasion, the recipient of his generosity, now attached themselves to his person and he profited by this feeling of unanimity to consolidate his power, and during the first year of his reign to raise a large army with which he subsequently marched on Kabul to capture it".⁸

PESHAWAR CAME UNDER COMPLETE POSSESSION OF DURRANIS

At the out set Ahmed Shah was the king of Qandahar only, Herat was out of his control, Ghazni and Kabul were in the hands of Nasir Khan, a Persian mercenary. The detail events in this case, explained

that," Nawab Nasir Khan of Kabul had been set at liberality and confirmed as the governor of that province. He was an ambitious and intriguing man and, as is borne out by his subsequent career, he could not appreciate an act of grace towards him. Although he had left with Ahmed Shah his elder son as a hostage for good behaviour, he had no intention to fulfil his promises. Soon after his return to Kabul, he left for Peshawar according to one tradition, under the orders of Emperor Muhammad Shah of Dehli and began collecting troops to oppose the plans of His Majesty. He originally ruled Kabul on behalf of Muhammad Shah, but when that province was transferred to Nadir Shah, he was allowed to continue in its government. Now he refused to recognize Ahmed Shah as the successor of Nadir Shah in Kabul and to fulfil the promises made at the time of his release; and on the top of it, he declared himself in favour of the Mughal. It was said that he had offered the hand of his daughter in a state of helplessness as a prisoner in Qandahar. As to the payment of five lakhs of rupees agreed upon, the Afghans of Kabul, who later on deserted his cause, had expressed their inability to raise the money, and had urged upon him to fight the Durrani. Nasir Khan, thereupon, sent back the five Durrani guards who had come along with him for the money, and went away to Peshawar for military preparations".⁹

Keeping in view this situation, Ahmed Shah had to devise an extensive plan in order to materialize his ambition of building up an empire. The time was ripe for the action because the show of liberality demonstrated by Ahmed Shah had already won over the Afghan tribes to his side. They started joining his service in bulks and soon his army swelled and its number reached up to forty thousand. It gave Ahmed Shah an impetus to embark upon a career of conquests.

Being an Afghan Ahmed Shah had a clear head and straight forward approach. Similarly, he was well aware of the mentality and character of the Afghans therefore, he opted for a series of military campaigns to turn their attention from domestic affairs and keep the warring people busy in foreign conquests.

Moreover, the situation in the neighbouring countries was equally favourable. The great Mughal and Uzbek empire had been humbled by Nadir Shah and were in the final stage of decline. The warlike Baluchis were subjugated and there was no fear of opposition from them. In fact, it appeared that they would join the Durrani to make a union instead of anyone else. The political situation in Iran was precarious, feeling threatened from Iranians seemed quite absurd at that time.¹⁰

Following the plan, Ahmed Shah left Herat for some other time and marched upon the province of Kabul which was governed by Nasir Khan at that time. It was in fact the refractory behaviour of him which forced Ahmed Shah to first take arms against him. Nasir Khan, as mentioned before, was originally a Mughal governor of Kabul but at the time of Nadir Shah's invasion after a feeble opposition he submitted to the conqueror. Nasir Khan was therefore, reinstated in his position by the Persian invader. However, after the death of Nadir Shah he again went over to the Mughal side and refused to acknowledge the supremacy of Durrani ruler. Keeping in view the situation, it became imperative on Ahmed Shah to teach him a lesson. Ahmed Shah first, marched on Ghazni which was governed by a deputy of Nasir Khan. He could not resist the rival army's onslaught for long and surrendered, that way Ghazni came under the occupation of Durrani without much difficulty.

Nasir Khan at that time, was in Peshawar and making all sorts of preparations to oppose the Durrani forces with full might. Some more details about his activities were, "Nasir Khan had, however, been making preparations at Peshawar to oppose the Durrani. While submitting to the Mughal Emperor, he had appealed to him for troops and money. He had also raised recruits from among Hazarah and Uzbek tribes. On the other hand, Ahmed Shah had been writing to the Afghan

chiefs throughout the country ever since his accession and they had been fired with a national sprite. He had also entered into communication with the Afghans in Kabul who had, evidently, assured him of co-operation. They would not fight for the Mughal against the Afghan. Even the leading Persian families in the Bala Hisar citadel of the capital had entered into a secret understanding with the Afghans, on his arrival at Kabul, under a promise that their chiefs should participate in the official appointments and advantages in the gifts of the sovereign, and be treated in all things on a footing of equality".¹¹ Anyhow, the capital of Nasir Khan, Kabul could not be defended by his deputy, due to the defection of the Afghans to the side of Ahmed Shah. As a result, he fled away to Peshawar and join his master. The fall of Kabul added another province to Ahmed Shah's kingdom.

After occupation of the city, Kabul, a Durrani chief was appointed as its governor. Meanwhile, Ahmed Shah accelerated the pursuit of Nasir Khan during which, the family of Nasir Khan fell into the hands of the Durrani. It had been recorded that, "Nasir Khan's wife, who was the daughter of Zabardast Khan Ali Mardan Khan, fell into the hands of the Durrani, but she was treated with all the respect due to her position".¹² Anyhow, the entire family of Nasir Khan was treated with all respect due to its position. For a while, the Shah kept

himself busy with the establishment of administrative machinery in this new province. Sardar Jahan Khan, who was a commander-in-chief of the Durrani forces, was assigned the duty to march in advance against Nasir Khan.

Nasir Khan based in Peshawar, was in a highly confused state of mind, for he knew that all the tribes on the way to Peshawar would join the forces of Ahmed Shah, because the whole Kabul province, including Peshawar was populated by the Afghans who had openly declared for the Durrani king. Meanwhile, Nasir Khan's imprudent reaction at that moment made him more vulnerable which became an ultimate cause of his loss. The recorded events described in this regard, "The Afghan king established at Kabul, Nasir Khan feared an attack from the Afghan tribes, who was sure, he thought, to join the Durrani on his way to Peshawar. To keep them in check and fear by night-attack upon one of their leading chiefs, Abdus Samad Khan Muhammadzai of the Doaba of Hasht Nagar. This danger removed, he thought he could successfully block the Khyber Pass against the Afghans. Abdus Samad Khan escaped from his fortress to Jalalabad and joined the advance army of the Shah at Lalpura. Nasir Khan, in his fury, sacked the fortress of Hasht Nagar, put most of Abdus Samad Khan's relations and dependants to the sword and returned to Peshawar. The attack on the chief of Doaba and Hashtnager,

Abdus Samad Khan Mohammadzai had left a reverse impact on Nasir Khan's position. Though, Abdus Samad Khan made his escape and joined the ranks of Durrani forces at Jalalabad, as mentioned before his kith, kins were slaughtered by the forces of Nasir Khan. Revengefully, it was under his guidance that Sardar Jahan Khan rushed into the Khyber pass before Nasir Khan could take any effective measures to block it. Ahmed Shah also followed them soon afterwards. Furthermore," Nasir Khan, it seems, could not collect a force sufficiently strong to oppose them with any hope of success. The whole of the Kabul province, including Peshawar, was populated with Afghans who had openly declared for the Afghan king. He, therefore, quietly evacuated Peshawar and crossed over to the east of the river Indus and sought shelter in Chhach Hazara."¹³ Consequently, Ahmed Shah entered Peshawar as a national hero and was acknowledged as such by the Afghan tribes living in that area.

On his arrival at Peshawar, Ahmed Shah had ordered Sardar Jahan Khan not to slacken the pursuit of Nasir Khan till he had driven him out of Hazara. After forcing Nasir Khan to flee from Hazara, Sardar Jahan Khan returned to Peshawar and began preparing himself for military operation in India.

significant task. So, the invading armies of the Durrani ruler, meant for India, would take the momentum on the plains of Peshawar. While, the weary returning forces would found complete respite on its soil.

Among the five Durrani rulers only Ahmed Shah was warrior-cum- conqueror. Taimur Shah had no likenss for war, Zaman Shah had passion for warfare but was caught in the domestic troubles, Shah Mahmood and Shah Suja, were men of indolent temperament, due to which the dynasty was in deep trouble during their reign. How come they be abled to carry out foreign invasions?, they even could not handle their family feuds. In fact, Ahmed Shah Durrani built up an empire, Taimur Shah maintained it and his successors did not have the ability to retain the same.

As it has been mentioned before, Peshawar and the surrounding hilly- country was populated by the Afghans since ancient times. At the call of Ahmed Shah Durrani, who was himself an Afghan, all the tribes supported his cause. They did became a hurdle for the Durrani forces who would cross their country, whenever invading India. But, they did join his invading armies in greater numbers, after making a deal, that way they played an important role in the military successes of Ahmed Shah in India.

Ahmed Shah invaded India for ten times, of which seventh and eighth and ninth were carried out against the Sikh militancy. "The Durrani's army had no sooner left India in 1761 than the Sikhs were abroad, raiding and looting town after town, meeting with little resistance and with such fervour by the native population that the Afghan governors were unable to check them. By the end of the year most of the Punjab was already under Sikh control, and Ahmed Shah was obliged to head back through the Passes once again. With an army made up entirely of Cavalry, he surprised the Sikh Khalsa near Ludhiana and administered a crushing defeat. He then marched on Amritsar, destroyed the temples and defiled the holy places with the blood of cows - an action that had been urged by the Indian princes over the protests of the Afghan leaders, for as a chronicler remarked of the desecration, "nothing is fiercer than a local hound. In the hope of conciliating the Punjabis, Ahmed then left a Hindu, Kabuli Mal, to govern in his name".¹⁴

Ahmed Shah returned to Punjab, again in 1764, with the support of Nasir Khan Baluch, who was supposed to invade from the South. The Durrani forces combined with the Baluchis were again successful against the Sikhs. However, this time, Ahmed Shah appointed a Sikh, Alha Singh, as governor of Sirhind. But, again as soon as the Durrani forces retired the Sikhs reappeared, more stronger than before.¹⁵

نواب نجیب الدولہ بہادر چارنا چار در قصبہ انبالہ رسید بشرف قدمبوس ہمایوں مشرف کشت و بعض مقدس رسانید از اقبال شاہی و سیر فسوں ظل الہی ہیچ خلل غنیمت الحال در ہندوستان باقی نمائندہ جناب اقدس عالی یولایت تشریف فرماید و آرام آسائش نمائند، شاہ دین پناہ صوبدار شہرند را بہ نجیب الدولہ نواب موصوف داخل قلعہ شہرند و امرستکہ سرہ الہ سنکہ جات را کہ ابتدیہ خروج سکنان از ہمیں الہ مذکور روزیہ بہ امرستکہ گفت کہ راجہ این قلعہ بٹالہ و سماچست من سرکردہ قلعہ نجیب اللہ خود را بشما نشان خواہم داد کہ چہ جواب استوار ساختہ ام۔

(Imam-ud-din-Al Hussaini, *Tarikh-e-Hussain Shahi*, P.53)

In 1766, when Ahmed Shah led his army into Punjab, who was by then weary of marching and fighting these "bees without honey," the previous pattern repeated itself. "No matter how often they were victorious in open battles, the Afghans were powerless to crush a movement inspired by religious zeal and supported by most of the people of Punjab".¹⁶

Ahmed Shah made his last attempt in 1769, which if carried out would have been his tenth invasion of India. However, this time he failed to cross the Indus, due to his soldiers weariness of futile warfare, and the king himself was ill too. The plans for the invasion were cancelled and the king returned to his capital at Qandahar.¹⁷ He remained in the battle-fields of India from 1747 to 1769, which speaks a lot about his military might and skill of warfare. Anyhow, all these accomplishments would not have been possible without the support of

Peshawari tribes and the strategic location of Peshawar from where most of the time, they would take a start for invading India.

Taimur Shah, in order to maintain the empire, built up by his father, raided India five times, in 1774, 1779, 1780, 1785, and 1788. As a result of the constant challenge of Sikhs. Some of his campaigns were undertaken in response to threatened vassals who appealed for aid.¹⁸ Among the rest of the Durrani rulers only Zaman Shah had the talent and ambition for war. However, at that time besides, domestic troubles two other factors could equally be made responsible for his failure in the arena of military enterprise, the rising militancy of Sikhs in Punjab and the diplomacy of English whose possessions and rule were by then advanced up to Delhi, the seat of the expiring Mughal power. Zaman Shah failed to reckon with these powers, consequently, the Durrani empire had to be dismembered, which happened within a time lesser than speculated.

Being border territory, the inhabitants of Peshawar were down to earth and well aware of the locality's geo-strategic position. Keeping with tradition, change of loyalties according to the situation was no problem for them. Similarly, quietness on the war front, which was a lucrative source of income for them since long, made them turbulent and

unfaithful, specially the occupants of the mountains. So, in the later period of the Durrani rule these mountains were a permanent place of refuge for the rebels and wandering Durrani princes, could well be called dens of conspiracies and conspirators. Thenceforth, the positive role which the occupants of the mountains played during the building up of the Durrani empire had turned to be destructive.

PESHAWAR BECAME WINTER CAPITAL OF DURRANI RULERS

Ahmed-Shah left behind eight sons, Taimur Mirza, his favourite and chosen heir was second in age to another son, Sulaiman Mirza. At the time of his fathers death Timur was in Herat. Knowing about the death of his father he immediately left for Qandahar and learned on the way that a group of Sardars headed by the old warrior Shah Wali Khan had nominated Sulaiman as their candidate for the throne of Afghanistan. Fortunately for Taimur, his fathers prestige and influence remained strong. As the prince approached to Qandahar the adherents of Sulaiman began to offer their submission to Taimur among them Shah Wali Khan was also included. However, this reversal on the part of the hero of Panipat did not prevent Taimur from having him executed. This initial resolute action of the new king convinced Sulaiman's remaining

followers that their cause was hopeless. Sulaiman along with his adherents retired to India and lived in exile.

The new king, Taimur Shah had been born in 1747 near Meshed. He was a darling of his father therefore carefully schooled in the art of Afghan kingship. Also allied by marriage to a number of neighbouring dynasties. He had much of Ahmed's personal charm. Although, he was a brave soldier he had small interest in war or conquest. Most of his energies were devoted to his extensive harem, consisting of a variety of ladies belonging to different regional dynasties. Too much indulgence in sensuality proved harmful for his person and the dynasty.

One of his initial acts as king was, to transfer the Durrani capital from Qandahar to Kabul. This move has often been interpreted as an attempt by Taimur to remove himself from the centre of Durrani power and the relatives of Shah Wali Khan, from whom he felt threatened and could not rely on them. There were other considerations as well for instance, with Kashmir and the Punjab in Durrani hands, Kabul was nearer the geographical centre of the realm. Also the summer climate at Kabul was more temperate than at Qandahar, and Peshawar was pleasant and accessible as a winter capital.¹⁹

Taimur Shah made Peshawar his winter capital and resided here for four months yearly, during winters. In Peshawar, he kept up his court with great pomp and ceremony. He attracted to it a large concourse of nobles and adventurers from the surrounding countries. For example, many noble families of wealth or religious importance settled in the country, building residences of greater pretensions than those previously existing in the city and adorning them with gardens and reservoirs. Among the local, Qazikhel acquired power in his time, who kept it in their hands till the end. Especially the chief legal and municipal offices were occupied by them. Having power in their hands, made them proud, bigoted and overbearing by temperament. They mostly presumed upon the weaknesses of the king, and became notorious for their corrupt and avaricious character.²⁰

During Taimur Shah's reign, the overall, law and order situation in the Peshawar valley was not satisfactory, due to constant feuds and wars of the chiefs of various tribes with each other. Nevertheless, the Yousafzai tribe remained loyal and continued to pay their revenue through their chiefs, NawShahi Khan and Shahwali Khan of Hoti.²¹

Taimur Shah ruled for twenty years during which there were only two internal revolts. It is a record in the entire history of Afghanistan.

Out of the two, one uprising was organised by a Durrani Sardar, Abdul Khaliq with the support of the Baluchi ruler Nasir Khan, and was suppressed with difficulty. This event had been described as, " Abdul Khaliq Khan Sadozai, who was an old and experienced man, believed himself to be an uncle of Ahmed Khan, to rise against Taimur, and claim the throne. They collected a large army, and Abdul Khaliq marched on Kabul. Taimur had only 6,000 soldiers with him, yet he boldly came out to fight the pretender. When the two armies met, three of the Qandahar chiefs, Mehrab Khan Sherazi, Painda Khan Barakzai and Dilawar Khan Isakzai left their army along with their followers, and joined Taimur Shah. Abdul Khaliq's army was dispersed, and he himself was seized and blinded. Dilawar Khan and Painda Khan were given the titles of Madad Khan and Sarfaraz Khan respectively. The later's elder brother, Rahimdad Khan, had been degraded and deprived of his position as the chief of Barakzai tribe, which honour was now bestowed upon Sarfaraz Khan. Dilawar Khan (Madad Khan) was made the Commander-in-Chief of the whole Afghan army. A few other Durrani chiefs were given responsible posts, but generally Taimur Shah distrusted them after their support of the pretender, and he carefully kept them at a safe distance from himself. Such offices were gradually wrested from them, but nominally they were allowed to retain their claims and privileges. The

offices were filled up with men of other tribes. He enlisted many Kizilbashis and other Persians in his administration"²²

Another was an attempt at a coup, de'tat engineered by the Chamkani Mian Umer, a man of great sanctity. The importance and relevance of the incident was, that it happened at Peshawar, where the king was spending his winter. It had been illustrated that, "After some time he (Taimur Shah) went down to Peshawar to settle unrest in the Punjab, of which reports had been sent to him. He stayed there for a while, enjoying the climate of Peshawar, when a conspiracy was hatched against his life by Faizullah Khan Khalil and a few other frontier chiefs. Faizullah represented to the king that the Sikhs frequently encroached upon their territory, plundered and killed the Muslims, and that he should be permitted to organise an army from the frontier Afghans in order to punish the Sikhs. The king approved the idea, and gave the required permission. Faizulah enlisted about 20,000 men from his own tribe and other frontier tribes. One day, while the king was having siesta after lunch in the Balahisar of Peshawar, Faizullah and other chiefs with their large following suddenly entered the compound of the Fort, and wanted to go into the king's own apartment. The guards stopped them, and said that the king was asleep; but they were bent on forcing entry; the guards resisted; a scuffle followed with the use of arms, and one of

the guards was killed. The noise of the tumult brought the slave-girls on the scene, who ran back immediately, woke up the king and reported the matter to him. The king at once retired to a secluded back part, climbed up the roof, had the wooden staircase removed, and ordered the soldier outside the parapet to enter the Fort without delay, and kill indiscriminately all the turbaned persons there. The orders were carried out to the letter. Many innocent Peshawarites, who happened to be there on business, became the victims of the soldiers' fury. Faizullah Khan was taken prisoner along with his sons; they were put to death".²³

چندیکه از روز کار سلطنت تیمور شاه گذشت فیض الله خان را که رئیس و زمین دار نواحی پشاور بود هوای سلطنت و جلالی بر سر آفتاده با یاقوت خان خواجہ سرا کہ از جملہ معتقدان تیمور شاه بود با چند تن از سرداران دیگر متفق شدہ از روی مکرو حیلت بہ تیمور شاه عرضہ داشتند کہ ایک جمعی از طائفہ سیک در مملکت پنجاب اجتماع و ازدحام کردہ قصد دارند کہ بمسلطان مملکت پنجاب صدمہ و دستبردے بر بند ہر گاہ از طرف شہریار مقرر و جمعی از سپاہ افغانہ را جمع آوری کردہ بدفع و تدمیر آن طائفہ موذی شرر روانہ ہند نمایم تا عباد و بلاد آن مملکت را از شر و فساد آن اشرار نابکار محفوظ و دست تجاوز فرقہ سیک را بالمرہ از بلاد مسلمانین کو تاہ دارند تیمور شاه بکمان اینکہ عرایض فیض الله خان از در صدق و راستی است و در سرش جز ہوای دوختنای سودائی نیست لہذا اورا اجازت بسوق لشکر فرمود فیض الله خان خلیل صدور این فرمان را فوزی برزک و غنیمتی سترک شمرده علی الفور جمعی از طائفہ و عشیرہ خویش را با جمعی از افغانہ ساکنہ نواحی کشمیر و بسیاری از طوائف یوسف زلی کہ تقریباً پست و پتھزار نفر میشدند کرد آورده روزی از روزہا کہ تیمور شاه بعبادت معمولہ صرف نہاد کردہ و در بالا حصار پشاور استراحت نمودہ بود فیض الله خان علی العظمتہ جمیعت خود را برداشتہ داخل قلعہ کہ مقر سلطنت بود کردید در اینہا غافل از اینکہ او بچہ خیال آمدہ است باوی گفتند ایک وقت استراحت پادشاہ است نہ ہنگام سان سپاہ یکجا میروید مگر نمیدانید کہ در اینحال شرف اندوزے حضور برای شما مقدور نیست جواب دادند کہ چون تمہیز این سپاہ بر خاطر خود پادشاہ مکشوف است کہ چہ قدر اہمیت دارد و تاخیر این کار موجب تخریب ممالک شہریار است لہذا خود فرمان دادہ است کہ ہر ساعت اعداد سپاہ شد حاضر پیشکامہ نمودہ و از موقف گذرانندہ و رخصت عزیمت حاصل کردہ دو ہزار نیمہم این را گفتہ و قدم جرات و جسارت پیش نہادہ شمشیر با از نیام کشیدہ تقبل حجاب و خدام پرداختند افغانہ ہریان دی مانند قحط زدگان خود را بمطبخ پادشاہی رسانیدہ مشغول خوردن آن اطعمہ و اغذایہ ملوکانہ کہ تا آنوقت بخواب ندیدہ بودند کردیدند و عملہ و خالیکران مطبخ سلطنتی و مستحقین و خدام دارالظاہرہ پادشاہی را مقتول و مجروح ساختند کنیزکان ترک و قزاق و جمشیدی کہ در حریرای سلطنت بودند از مشاہدہ آن آفتانہ بی باک و سپاہیان کستار کہ ہجوم بحریم سلطنت آورده بودند مضطرب و متوحش گردیدہ فوراً پادشاہرا از خواب بیدار

کردند تیمور شاه چون مشاهده آنحال نمود فوراً از نردبان خود را بالای قبه عمارت بالا حصار رسانیده نردبان را بالا کشید و از آنجا بدست غلامان و قراولانی که در پائین قلعه بودند حکم قتل عام داده و فرمان کرد که یک تن عمامه بسر را زنده نکرانند و هر که را بدست آورند از دم شمشیر بکُزائند فوراً غلامان و خدمه کشیک مسلح بسلاح شده دست بتبع بردند و آغاز قتل عام کردند چنانکه در میان کیرودار جمعی از علمای پیشاور نیز که معمم بعمامه های سفید بودند دوچار شامت آن فرقه شقاوت اثر گردیده بقتل رسیدند و چنان قتل و خویزی شد که تمام محن قلعه و شبستان سلطنت از کشته با پشته ها ساخته و جویها از خون ابدان روان گردید و در این اثنا امیر خان جوان شیر که هنگام ایالت کشمیر بادی نعمت خویش تیمور شاه کمال خیانت با تلافی مثال دیوان درزیده و بدان قناعت نکرده لوای خوسری افراشته بود و شاه لشکرها کشیده ویرا بجنک آورده در زندان بود چون صورت حال را بدان نوج یافت مانند شیر شرزه با پای بسته و شمشیر کشیده از مجلس برآمده و چون شیر ثیان برایشان حمله آورده جمع کثیری را مقتول و پرکنده ساخت و از اقبال تیمور شاه تمام آن سپاه یاغی طاغی یا بنگاک هلاک و دمار افشاده یا رو بفرار نهادند و علاوه بر آنچه در قلعه پادشاهی کشته افتاده بود در نواحی و اطراف پیشاور نیز تا مسافت پنجفرسنگ اجساد کشتگان سپاه بدخواه بود که در راه نیمه راه بنگاک و خون در غلطیده بود چنانچه سواي مجروحینی که فرار کرده بودند عدد مقتولین در آنروز قریب شش هزار نفر بود و خود فیض الله خان خلیل با فرزندانش دست کیر و ذلیل گردیده بفرمان تیمور شاه بقتل رسیدند و شمره کفران نعمت و کفر عصیان و بیعت را چیده و دیدند پس از تفتیش و تحقیق این غائله معلوم شد که میان محمدی پیرزاده و فرزند شیخ عمر ساکن قصبه چکنا نیز در این فتنه و فساد شریک و دخیل بلکه در باطن و سرخیل بوده است بنا بر آن از طرف شهریار فرمان رفت که قصبه مزبوره را غارت نمایند چون سپاه و غلامان تیمور شاه دست به چپاول گشوده آغاز نهب اموال نمودند بشقاوت و درخواست سرداران درانی پادشاه براهل آن بلده رحمت فرموده داد تا لشکریان دست از غارت باز دارند پس از آن محقق و مکشوف گشت که مابه این جنایت و نشاء این خیانت یا قوتخان خواجه سرالوده است و اوازه بخت طینت و کفران نعمت ایجاد این شورش و ایقاد این آتش نموده یعنی او با فیض الله خان خلیل مواضع کرده و گفته بود که من در قلعه را برای تو کشته و بخوابگاه پادشاهی دلالت خواهم نمود و از مطبخ سلطنتی نیز تو و همراهان تو را پلو و انواع طعام خواهم خورانی و بهمین عهد و پیمان تو خود را بخوابگاه شهریار رسانیده کار او را تمام کن و خلعتی را ارمرک او شاد کام بنابر این خواجه مزبور را نیز با کمال سختی و فضاحت بقتل رسانیدند۔

(Hussain Shirazi Karbalai, *Tarikh-e-Ahmed Shah Durrani*, PP.49-51)

Taimur Shah acted on that occasion with firmness and energy which frustrated the evil design of the rebels, who wanted him to be replaced by his nephew Iskandar Mirza, son of his exile brother Suleiman. The conspirators escaped to the hills and took the refuge

there. Of them the Chamkani Mian was spared because, though the plot was traced to him the Pathan tribes would not allow him to be punished, out of the superstitious reverence they habitually paid to members of his class. He stayed in a hill separating Yousafzai from Buner for a few days and was then allowed to return unpunished. However, his other companions were not treated with the same liberality.

Peshawar had never been a less significant valley, its military worth had already been mentioned and its commercial value is known since ancient times. However, Taimur Shah undoubtedly loved Peshawar to an extent that he made it his principal residence during the latter years of his reign. Olef Caroe seconded that point of view when he writes, "Taimur Shah was taken ill on his way up to Kabul from Peshawar, and died in the spring of 1793. He had loved Peshawar but has left there no name of honour for tribesmen still say of him that he was a Persian and no Pathan. Yet here is no doubt that his establishment of the Durrani winter capital at Peshawar was the beginning of a long story only now coming to an end".²⁴ Though, Taimur Shah had great love for Peshawar but his these noble sentiments had not been reciprocated by the Peshawarites because they considered him a Persian and not an Afghan. However, once he assigned to Peshawar the status of a second capital thenceforth, it maintained that position till the end of Durrani rule.

در اینحال نصرت مزاج تیمور شاه از طریق سلامت واعتدال مخرف شده مریض و علیل گردید و چند آنکه اطبای حاذق در مداوات او اهتمام کرده تدابیر عملیه بکار بردند مفید و موثر نیفتاد آخر الامر ای تمام اطبا بر این قرار گرفت که آب و هوای پیشاور با مزاج پادشاهی موافقت ندارد بنا بر این باید حضرت شریاری از اینجا بدارالملک کابل انتقال فرمایند شاید که آب و هوای آنجا با مزاج مبارک مساعد و موافق آید

(Hussain Shirazi Karbalai, *Tarikh-e-Ahmed Shah Durrani*, P.75)

PESHAWAR IN THE LIMELIGHT UNDER SHAH SHUJA

Generally, concentration of a sovereign in a particular town add to it extra-ordinary importance, apart from its political elevation. Peshawar never lost its prominence through out Durrani's rule and remained one of a few principal cities of the their empire. For instance, after Taimur Shah, Zaman Shah also made Peshawar his principal residence. Moreover, Mahmood Shah's interest in Peshawar could not be matched with Taimur Shah or Zaman Shah, reasons might be political and parental. Comparatively, Shah Zaman and Shah Shuja being sons of a Yousafzai lady had more inclination towards the eastern tribes on whose support they could rely. Therefore, for them the centre of attraction was Peshawar only.

As mentioned before, Timur Shah's marriage to a Yousafzai lady gave birth to him two sons Shah Zaman and Shah Shuja, whom were to play pivotal political role in opposition to his sons, born of Durrani

wives. After his death in 1793 the uncounted number of his children of whom thirty-six were from legal wives of which twenty-one were sons, promptly advanced a claim to the throne. However, out of these numerous children of him, three were strongest candidates, Humayun Mirza, Mahmood Mirza and Zaman Mirza. The former two were whole brothers while the later was a half brother of them. Moreover, the first two were the governors of Qandahar and Herat respectively, and ranked first and second in age. Zaman Mirza was agewise fifth in number however, his position as governor of Kabul in possession of the treasury and in command of the royal guard made him a prominent contender. Whereas Humayun and Mahmood were the children of a Sadduzai princess, Zaman's mother was a Yousafzai lady which meant that he had support in the east. All these factors contributed to the ascendancy of Zaman Mirza as the third king of Afghanistan, without much trouble.^{24, b.}

او قایمکه تیمور شاه در پیشاور بود چند فرزند خورد سال داشت که در نزد وی بودند و پسر بزرگ او همایون شاه در اشرف
البلاد احمد شاهی یعنی شهر قندهار حکومت داشت و فرزند دوم شهریار که موسوم به سلطان محمود بود در مملکت خراسان و
هرات حکمرانی مینمود و شاهزاده نامدار که نامش زمان شاه بود در دارالملک کابل بر تیب ولایت عهد نایل بود.

شهریاری بکابل نزول کرد روز بروز مرض تیمور شاه شدت یافته ضعف و نقاہت بر مزاجش مستولی شد و ککب عمرش
نزدیک بانول رسید تا در شب یکشنبه هفتم ماه شوال سال هزار و دویست و هفت هجری فرمان یافته از سرای فانی و سریر
جهانبانی رخت بجهان جاودانی کشید مدت سلطنتش سی و دو سال بود. فرزندان وی بسیار بودند لیکن مشاییر آنها را در اینجا
ذکر مینمایم اول همیون شاه که اکبر اولاد او بود وی مردی عیاش و راحت طلب و همواره در کار کمو و لعب که عاقبت
بجکم زمان شاه چشای او را پروان آوردند و تاسنه هزار و دویست و دوازده حیات داشت دوم محمود شاه که او نیز از زمان شاه
برزگتر بود فرزند سیم پادشاه دینجه زمان شاه بود که از پدر وارث تاج و تخت شد. چهارم شاهزاده عباس - پنجم شجاع
الملک - ششم شاپور، هفتم فیروز الدین که بعد از آن که بزیارت بیت الله الحرام نایل شد بحاجی فیروز الدین کردید.

Having Zaman Shah on throne the trouble time of the Durranis set in. The new king had the ability and energy to overcome the internal problems and also to recover the out going provinces of his empire but Intermittent civil wars caused by the immediate family members prevented him to accomplish this uphill task. However, the significance of Peshawar had not been faded during Shah Zaman's times. It enjoyed the same status as it did during the reign of his predecessor.

Unfortunately, post-Taimur Shah, political scene in Afghanistan was rife with chaos and anarchy. Internecine wars in the royal family for getting hold of the throne of Afghanistan created a situation of civil war, which worsened with the passage of time instead of taking a positive turn. Dynastic interests were crucified at the alter of personal whims. Consequently, the outlying provinces started throwing away the yoke of Durrani rule even its immediate units began defiance.

The political situation in Afghanistan in the beginning of the nineteenth century became extremely volatile. Similarly, Shah Zaman lost the throne and eyes at the hands of a half brother Shah Mahmood, 1800. This act of cruelty was avenged by a whole brother of Shah Zaman, Shuja-ul-Mulk, who was the governor of Peshawar at that time. Being in Peshawar and having with him a part of the royal treasury he

could procure the support of the eastern tribes, which he did. Keeping in view, all these factors the revolt of Shuja was inevitable. He revolted, having at his back a Lashkar consisting of Afridi, Mohmand and Yousafzai tribesmen, proclaimed himself a king.

Shuja-ul-Mulk moved through the Khyber Pass in a bid for the throne. His men met the army of Shah Mahmood commanded by Fateh Khan near Surkh Rud. In the battle, the eastern tribesmen were victorious until they stopped fighting in order to plunder the treasure of their own commander. The confusion introduced into their ranks and undoubtedly in the mind of Shuja, gave Fateh Khan the opportunity to rally his troops once again and to drive the opposing forces out of the field. Shuja took refuge with the Afridis at Tirah Bagh and Fateh Khan occupied Peshawar without any resistance. Another attempt, to recover Peshawar was made on the road to Jamrud, which again proved a failure.

Shuja remained a wanderer for quite sometime. However, in 1803 the events at Kabul took a positive turn in favour of him. An important Durrani noble turned against Shah Mahmood on the question of primiership, who being ambitious wanted to occupy that prestigious post, while the king, Shah Mahmood was not willing to bestow upon

him that position. Further details were, "Shir Mohammad Khan, indignant at this treatment, determined to plot against his sovereign. He soon caused it to be whispered that the king was surrounding himself with heretics; that he was becoming addicted to their vices; that the ruin of the true religion had been discussed and decided upon. The whisper, penetrating every lane, gaining access to every hovel, soon developed into a cry; the cry produced a passionate movement. In the agony of the moment, the chief Syud of the mosques was appealed to by the mob. This man, venerated for his age and his learning, combined to an intense hatred to Mahmood Shah a boundless admiration for Sher Mohammad Khan. Standing on the steps of the mosque, he listened to the people, as with tumultuous gestures and passionate words they shouted the fears for their religion that oppressed them, and then, commanding silence, pronounced the solemn sentence of extermination for all Shiahhs. The effect was electric. That day and the next day the Kizilbashs were attacked with ungovernable rage".²⁵

The hatred of the masses towards the Qazalbashis was resisted vigorously. It was so zealous that, although the Sunnis from through out the country flocked in, to aid their co-religionists, however, the Shias offered very tough resistance. During the conflict, Shir Mohammad Khan and other disaffected chiefs fully supported their adherents.

Similarly, the chief Syed also played an important role in helping the Sunni folk against the Shias, for instance, "he sprinkled the leaders of the attack with the holy waters of Mekka, and promised them the joys of paradise. At the end of the second day both parties were so completely exhausted that they agreed to a suspension of arms".²⁶

In the mean time, ceaze-fire was required by both the parties because, in any of the two cases delay could serve their purpose. The king was waiting for the arrival of Fateh Khan and his army from Qandahar. While, Shir Mohammad Khan, for the arrival of a prince to replace Shah Mahmood. At that moment, of all the surviving sons of Taimur Shah only Shuja Mirza was left from whom energy and capacity could have been expected. A prince of the royal house was urgently needed without whom the ambition of Shir Mohammad could not be materialized. Therefore, before the disturbances had begun or in fact, were looming in the near future, he took in to confidence Shuja Mirza, an alternate candidate for the throne of Afghanistan.²⁷

For about a month the two parties remained in cold war situation, following the principle of, "watch and wait". In fact, the earlier temporary cease-fire was broken by Mahmood Shah's side. Reason being that, he till late could not realise the role of Shir Mohammad in

accelerating the hostilities. Otherwise, Shah Mahmood, knew the talent and military skill of Shir Mohammad Khan, which had been tried by him against the Ghilzais.²⁸

As an opponent, Shir Mohammad should be feared of. If he had been seized, the conspirators would have been without a head. By the time Shah Mahmood realised to capture his arch rival, Shir Mohammad being watchful, detected the plot, and fled from Kabul to the camp of Shuja Mirza. That way the plot of Shah Mahmood to seize him failed. Before he left, he succeeded to convey the message to the chief Syed for the renewal of tumults in the city, with a promise to support him speedily with an army. Following which, the tumults were at once renewed. After about a week's fighting, the Sunnis drove the king and the Qizilbashis, who survived into the Bala Hissar, and occupied the city, the heights, and all the approaches to that fortress.²⁹

"Such was the state of affairs when, on the 12th July, Shuja Mirza arrived accompanied by Shir Mohammad Khan. This astute general persuaded the prince not to enter the city-to encamp outside; and to wait there for Fateh Khan and his army, now daily expected from Kandahar. Not on his immediate entry into Kabul, but on the issue of the battle between him and Fateh Khan, depended whether he or Mahmood

should wear the crown of Ahmed Shah. On the third day Fateh Khan arrived and the battle joined. A daring, dashing horseman, Fateh Khan carried at first all before him. Had his men remained faithful, he would undoubtedly have gained the day. But the great chiefs had had enough of Mahmood. In the very act of following up his success Fateh Khan found himself almost alone. The bulk of his followers had gone over to Shuja Mirza. He turned then and fled. The next day Shuja Mirza, now became Shuja Shah, entered Kabul in triumph, amid the acclamations of the populous, Shi'r Mohammad Khan walking on foot by the side of his horse."³⁰ That's how, the tension between Pushtoons and Qazalbash caused the over throw of Shah Mahmood and the leaders at Kabul invited Shuja to come and ascend the throne.

During Shah Shuja's six years of rule he mostly resided in Peshawar and revived the magnificence of the city. Some very important matters of the state had been decided in the royal palace at Balahissar, for instance, the first ever mission of the British, meant for the Durrani ruler, led by the Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone, met Shah Shuja at Peshawar in 1809. They were received with courtesy and honour by Shah Shuja. The British embassy had several interviews with the Shah, as a result of which a treaty was executed between the British and the Durrani's government, entitled, The treaty with the king of Cabool, dated

17th June, 1809, it continued," whereas in consequence of the confederacy with the state of Persia, projected by the French of the purpose of invading the dominions of His Majesty the king of the Dooraunees, and ultimately, those of the British Government in India, the Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone was despatched to the court of His Majesty, in quality of envoy plenipotentiary on the part of the Right Honourable Lord Minto, Governor General, exercising the supreme authority over all affairs, civil, political and military, in the British possessions, in the East Indies, for the purpose of concerting with His Majesty's ministers the means of mutual defence against the expected invasion of the French and Persians; and whereas the said ambassador having had the honour of being presented to His Majesty, and of explaining the friendly and beneficial object of his mission, His Majesty, sensible of the advantages of alliance and co-operation between the two states, for the purpose above described, directed his ministers to confer with the Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone, and, consulting the welfare of both states, to conclude a friendly alliance and certain articles of treaty having accordingly been agreed to between His Majesty's ministers and the British ambassador, and confirmed by the Royal signet, a copy of the treaty so framed has been transmitted by the ambassador for the ratification of the Governor General, who consenting to the stipulations

therein contained without variation, a copy of these articles, as here under written, is now returned, duly ratified by the seal and signatures of the members of the British Government in India. And the obligations upon both Governments, both now and forever, shall be exclusively regulated and determined by the tenor of those articles which are as follow:

1. As the French and Persians have entered into a confederacy against the state of Cabool, if they should wish to pass through the king's dominions, the servants of the heavenly throne shall prevent their passage, and exerting themselves to the extent of their power in making war on them and repelling them, shall not permit them to cross into British India.
2. If the French and Persians, in pursuance of their confederacy, should advance towards the king of Cabool's country in a hostile manner, the British state, endeavouring heartily to repel them, shall hold themselves liable to afford the expenses necessary for the above mentioned service, to the extent of their ability, while the confederacy between the French and Persians continues in force, these articles shall be in force, and be acted on by both parties.

3. Friendship and union shall continue for ever between these two states. The veil of separation shall be lifted up from between them, and they shall in no manner interfere in each others countries; and the king of Cabool shall permit no individual of the French to enter his territories.

The faithful servants of both states having agreed to this treaty, the conditions of confirmation and ratification have been performed, and this document has been sealed and signed by the Right Honourable the Governor General and the Honourable members of the supreme British Government in India, this 17th day of June, 1809, answering to the 1224 Hegira."³¹

The objective of this treaty was to counter the Frenco-Persian alliance and to prevent them from passing through Durrani's territory, for entering into British India. However, in the spring of 1809 Fateh Khan on behalf of Mahmood captured Qandahar and moved toward Kabul.

Shuja was at that time in the winter capital therefore decided to meet the rebels forces near Gandamak. Here Fateh Khan won a complete victory consequently, Shuja fled to India. During the next three years Shuja made frequent efforts to regain the throne but could get no support even from his former allies, the eastern tribes. Frequent failures

disheartened him to an extent that he gave up his cause and retired to Luddiana (India), where he joined his brother Zaman, the former ruler of Afghanistan, on British pension in 1813.

The paramount position of the Peshawar Valley enabled its rulers to look after the well-being of adjacent territories also. For instance every Durrani ruler including Shah Shuja, after coming down to Peshawar for winter, would tour through the Derajat and Sindh in order to ensure the collection of revenue and settle other matters of government as well.

Shah Shuja was a noble king however, the whole of his life passed in fighting. He fought thirty battles out of which almost half were for the recovery of Peshawar, which establishes his boundless love for the Valley. Though, in most of those battles he faced defeat yet his determination for the cause can not be questioned.

PESHAWAR AS AN INTEGRAL PART OF THE DURRANI EMPIRE

The Durrani ruler took start from Qandahar later Ghazni and Kabul were added to his kingdom. Peshawar was the fourth important city which became part of his dominion. That way the possession of the

Peshawar Valley can be counted among the earliest conquests of the Durrani ruler.

Peshawar remained not only an important military base of the Durrani but also its commercial significance enhanced for which the area had been known since earlier times. The trade and commerce, however, flourished during Durrani rule also. Commercial ties between Peshawar, Qandahar, Herat and Kabul went a long way and were responsible for the prosperity of the rulers and the ruled.

The Valley of Peshawar had never been short of prominence every succeeding Durrani ruler would add a feather to its cap. For instance, the decision of Timur Shah to shift the capital in winter to Peshawar exposed it to political limelight. Being the seat of government for half of a year, the area acquired tremendous development in the arena of culture also. For instance, the contributions of those noble Durrani families who settled down in Peshawar can not be ignored. They added to the beauty and advancement of the area. Beautiful gardens, reservoirs and residences were built which if Sikhs would not have destroyed, would have been a rich cultural legacy of the Durrani for the posterity. The famous Wazir Bagh which still exist, was laid out by the

renowned Fateh Khan Wazir, which reminds about the glory of Durrani rule.

However, the civil war in Afghanistan took a very serious turn in the end, which subsequently led to the disintegration of the Durrani empire. By, 1818 there was nothing like Durrani empire, it was fragmented into small pieces, each governed by a Barakzai Sardar, except Herat which was under the control of former Saddozia ruler Shah Mahmood and his son Kamran.

Consequently, Peshawar went into the hands of Yar Mohammad. Sultan Mohammad, Pir Mohammad and Sayyed Mohammad, who were Barakzai Sardars. Peshawar remained in their control till 1823.³² When partially, the territory was taken over by the Sikh ruler Ranjit Singh, based in Punjab.

THE INHABITANTS OF THE HILLY-COUNTRY AROUND PESHAWAR

As mentioned before, since earlier times the whole of the Kabul province including Peshawar was populated by Afghans who had openly declared for the Durrani king. By virtue of which, Ahmed Shah entered Peshawar as a national hero and was acknowledged as such by the

Afghan tribes living in the contiguous hilly-country. Anyhow, the allegiance of the tribes of Peshawar to Ahmed Shah and his successors was not only out of sheer nationalism but some other factors were also involved. For instance, obtaining political economic favours from the sovereign. The procurement of these facilities was further ensured by the, geo-political condition of the tribesmen and the matrimonial alliances of the royal family with the leading tribes of the area.

Keeping in view this policy, paying of homage by the chiefs of the Yousafzai and Khattaks to the Durrani ruler at that moment was meant for obtaining political benefits. For instance, Abdus Samad Khan Mohammadzai of Doaba had already joined Sardar Jahan Khan, who was a Commander-in-Chief of Durrani forces. Abdus Samad Khan was followed in this case by the chief of Mandar, Fateh Khan of Hoti and the Khans of Toru and Bubzai. Ahmed Shah received those Khans and chiefs with distinction and directed the Mandar chiefs to join his camp with a contingent of five hundred horses, for service in Hindustan. Later, he dismissed them with presents and gifted to them the territories attached to Peshawar extended up to the right bank of the Indus. With the capture of all this area and the submission of the tribal chiefs the boundary of the newly established kingdom was carried to an extent wherever an Afghan tribe was to be found, to the West of the river.

Moreover, the geo-political situation of these people formed their national character such that they were born warriors. At the same time, their shrewd eyes saw the potential of war in the Durrani rulers, therefore, they joined hands with them. So the inhabitants of Peshawar whenever, were called for help by the Durrani rulers they extended their full support. For example, during the second invasion of India Ahmed Shah sent orders in advance to the tribes of Peshawar and its neighbourhood to keep ready for joining him. These orders were complied with by the tribesmen, they met him at their respective stages. Thereafter, it became a normal practice of the tribes of Peshawar and its surrounding area to swell the ranks of Ahmed Shah's armies during his military operations in India.

The southern Afghan tribes of Dera Ghazi Khan and Dera Ismail Khan also acknowledged Ahmed Shah as their king on his return way after meeting with the old tribal chiefs in their respective possessions. After settling the affair of these parts he went back to Qandahar.³³

Despite that, the hill-tribes of the Indian frontier offered resistance to Ahmed Shah during his passage through their territory and back to Afghanistan. According to Olef, "During all these Indian expeditions Ahmed experienced much trouble in and around Peshawar,

and his communications through the passes often subject to interruption, as had been those of Nadir Shah. Elphinstone tells us Ahmed gave all the eastern tribes the name of Berdooraunees, but this nomenclature, if ever used, is never heard today. In dealing with these tribes he enjoyed certain advantages. The prestige of his Afghan origin, the new Afghan kingdom he had built, above all his enlistment and enrichment of the tribesmen by the grant of service in his army, enabled him to surmount dangers which had threatened to submerge even the armies of Nadir. But even he, the first and most powerful of Afghan kings, never sought to subject to his administrative control the mountain tracts of the Karlanri tribes, or even the Valley of Swat. He was fain to adopt Baber's policy of Matrimonial alliances with the daughters of tribal Maliks. And he continued the payment of tolls to the Afridies and Shinwaries of the Khyber, and distributed jagirs to many Yusafzai, Orakzai and Mohmand leaders."³⁴ Moreover, matrimonial alliances worked for certain extent in reconciling the rough inhabitants of the hilly-region, in favour of the Durrani rulers. Ahmed Shah and Taimur Shah both got married with the leading men's daughters of the Yousafzai tribe, due to which this turbulent tribe mostly remained on terms with the Durrani.

Anyhow, during the troubled period of the Durrani empire these hilly tribesmen would provide a place of shelter sometimes to the rebels

and others to the wandering Durrani princes. For instance, Shah Zaman and Shah Shuja took asylum with the Afridis of Chura. Similarly, the rebel Mian Umer of Chamkani took refuge in a hill. He conspired to topple the government of Taimur Shah. His other companions also fled to mountains. Later, the Main of Chamkani was spared due to his religious bearing but others were not. These incidents emphasised on the fact that the tribesmen did change their loyalties in the post- Ahmed Shah period frequently, in order to gain financial benefits and political favours.

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CHAPTER II

DISINTEGRATION OF DURRANIS EMPIRE AND ITS OUSTER FROM PESHAWAR

OUSTER OF DURRANIS FROM PESHAWAR

The role of historical forces can not be ignored in the rise and fall of nations. Dynasties ascend and vanish in a due course of time, that way the process of history goes on. The difference is felt only when a nation deteriorates before the speculated time, or vice-versa. In that connection, the evaluation of events becomes imperative. Moreover, the laws of history are universal but towards the oriental side it has its own peculiarities, especially due to prevailing geo-political and socio-economic conditions. For instance, in the South Asia and South West Asia autocracy remained as the only successful form of government. People had mostly been contented with the authoritarian rulers and seldom rose against their tyranny. They seemed unaware to exercise their power for bringing change. Autocracy, "a government in which one person exercises power unrestricted by either law or other persons. The term has also been applied to the concentration of such political power in a small group, such as committee, junta or collective leadership."¹ So briefly, it is one man or of a small group's dominance

over the helm of affairs. Therefore, it totally depends on the person of that ruler to make or unmake the system, which does not seem a reasonable way of ruling. Autocracy, as a form of government should have long been given up, but due to the ignorance of people and being in the best interest of the rulers it continued till very late. Moreover, the leading minority and the people of the region could not realize the importance of those changes which were taking place out of the region therefore, they lagged behind the other nations of the world.

Being part of the same region, however, Durrani had a different system of ruling. The natural temperament of the people and the Geopolitical condition of the region formed their national character such, that they did not accept sheer despotism. Therefore, Ahmed Shah, the first Durrani ruler established a federal republic where all power was vested in him but he could not move ahead a single step without the consent of his advisors.² He avoided to interfere in the affairs of tribes and the jurisdiction of tribal chieftains. Consequently, his rule secured great achievements in the sphere of nation and empire building. However, the reversal of this policy by his grand son took the empire to the verge of decline.

Keeping in view, all these facts the rise and fall of the Durrani empire seems a transparent phenomenon. Events obviously, played a predominant role in the process of decline. Therefore, its evaluation will further make the picture clear. There is a saying that power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely. If Shah Zaman, after ascending the throne had pondered over this saying and acted moderately the situation would have been different. His drastic strides towards the reversal of the state policy, introduced by Ahmed Shah and maintained by Taimur Shah, proved fatal for himself and the dynasty. The predecessors of Zaman Shah concentrated the authority in their hands with the support and advice of leading tribes men. They never tried to interfere in the independent life style of tribal chieftains. Ignoring the power and influence of the tribes men, was absolutely inadvisable for Zaman Shah. Haughty attitude blinded him to an extent, that dynastic interest was overlooked in the face of personal prejudices.

Even Taimur Shah can not be spared in this case, being sensual he kept himself busy in the harem, which cost him dearly, in person and the dynasty. The four outlying provinces of Afghanistan Turkistan, Khurasan, Sind and Punjab started sporadic moves for independence during his period.³⁰ H.W Bellow summed up the reign of Tamer Shah in these words, " During the twenty years of Taimur's reign the empire

brought together by his father rapidly fell to pieces. The Punjab under the rising power of the Sikhs, Sind under the Talpur, and Baluchistan under the Kmbarani Khan, one after another ignored the upstart Durrani empire, whilst the Persian districts of Ghain, Birjand, Tabbas, and Zawah fell back to Persia."^{3b} Being indolent and peaceful by nature he could not suppress them with an iron hand. This attitude of him gave confidence to the other administrative units of the empire to throw away the yoke of Durrani supremacy.

However, despite all this defiance and slackening of state control over its components, "Afghanistan, as Ferrier remarked," at the death of Timoor Shah, comprehended the principalities of Cashmeer, Lahore, Peshawar, Kabul, Balkh, Khulm, Kandahar, Mooltan, Herat; those of Kelat and Baluchistan, as well as Persian Khorassan, acknowledged her as suzerain Scinde also, though not having paid for five years the tribute agreed upon by Mir Fethi Khan, chief of Talpooras, was nevertheless classed as amongst the number of her dependencies".^{3c} Taimur Shah's lack of interest in war had not been appreciated by his people. For a while, they were contented with the peace but later on its persistence was intolerable because Afghans were professional soldiers. Moreover, Taimur Shah's numerous sons were responsible for igniting the civil war, which worsened by stages. Specifically, during the years of 1800 to

1818 the dynasty had been engulfed by the dark clouds of civil war through which no light of normalcy could be seen. Keeping in view the prevailing circumstances, fragmentation of the empire seemed the only predictable phenomenon.

FRACTIONAL WARS AMONG THE RULING DYNASTY

It seems ridiculous to blame Ahmed Shah for not consolidating the empire on a sound footing. On the contrary, lack of ability on the part of his successors, to look after the exploits of their predecessor ought to be considered as an instrumental factor in this case. Similarly, absence of the law of progenitor was not unique with the Durrani, Moguls, the contemporaries in India, had the same deficiency despite that, they remained on political scene for a very long time. Disregard towards state affairs, indolence, sensuality on the part of the emperors, the subsequent fratricidal wars and the constant insurrections by the regional and local forces drowned the trouble stricken ship of the Durrani.

Peshawar, being counted as one of the earliest conquests of the Durrani ruler, had gone through enormous trouble during the civil war in Afghanistan. Every now and then its ruler and governor would change

which caused disturbance in the law and order situation and affected the normal administrative set up. This situation however, did not reduce the significance of Peshawar. For instance, even during the troubled time, a prince aspirant for the throne of Afghanistan would take start from Qandahar after getting a hold of that he would strive to occupy Kabul and Ghazni. However, a Durrani ruler never felt secured or satisfied without having hold of Peshawar.

Keeping in view, the importance of events in any case, a serious notice should be taken of the incidents that took place preceding to the accession of Shah Zaman which, created a situation equivalent to the war of succession. All the surviving sons of Taimur Shah, who were twenty-one in total, from legal wives, stood up for claiming the kingship of Afghanistan. Though the support of Payanda Khan, head of the Barakzia clan, and the influence of the royal ladies ensured the contention of Zaman Mirza, yet the rest of the princes did not renounce till they spent a few days in confinement at Balahisar on a daily ration of dry bread and water. This starvation diet had severe implications. Soon after that, they came to terms and acknowledged the selection of their brother, Shah Zaman as their sovereign.⁴

However, the new king was not yet secured he had to reckon with two half brothers, Humayoon Mirza and Mahmood Mirza governors of Qandahar and Herat respectively. They had the potential to become formidable rivals. After settling matters at Kabul Shah Zaman set out for Qandahar, both the armies met at Kalat-i-Ghilzai. A battle ensued, in which Humayoon was completely defeated and fled for refuge to Baluchistan. Later, Humayoon Mirza made another attempt to seize Qandahar, with the assistance of Talpuries of Sind. Though, he was betrayed by the Afghans and his efforts to secure the throne bore no fruit yet it forced Shah Zaman to leave his expedition against Punjab in the middle, in order to suppress the insurrection in Qandahar.⁵

Meanwhile, Humayoon was defeated at Qandahar and while fleeing to India was caught at Multan by a contingent of horsemen. On the way his eyes were pierced upon the orders of Shah Zaman. That way, the fate of Qandahar was settled, but Mahmood had still to be tackled with, who was in Herat at that moment. Zaman Shah was about to continue his march in that direction- when news reached him that the outlying provinces on every side were showing symptoms of independence from the centre. Feeling then, that his presence was urgently required at the capital, Zaman Shah patched up a truce with

Mahmood Mirza and returned to Kabul, though insincerity prevailed on both the sides.⁶

بقصبة لیه آورد و صورت حال را فوراً بحضرت شاه زمان عرصه کرده اورا بدین فتح بشارت داد شیریار بلا تامل حسن خان قزلباش پیشقدمت را که رئیس خدام حضور بود مامور فرمود که رفت چشمای همایون را پروان آورده و او را هو دجی نشانیده روانه کابل نماید۔ خان قزلباش بقصبة لیه رفت بفرمان جاتبان جنان پین همایون را بجرم اینکه با پادشاه زمان دعوی هم چشی و همسری داشت پروان آورده۔

(Hussain Shirazi Karbalai, *Tarikh-e-Ahmed Shah Durrani*, P.93)

Being ambitious and unforgiving, Zaman Shah resolved to march through the Bolan Pass into Sind in order to punish the Talputies, who assisted Humayoon Mirza against him. But he had hardly entered Sind when he heard that his brother Mahmood was marching against him to cut him off from Afghanistan. Foregoing, then, the pleasure of crushing Sind, he compromised the arrears of tribute due to him for one-third of their amount. Simultaneously, he confirmed the Talpuri chief, Fateh Ali Shah, in the government of Sind and hastened back to Qandahar.⁷

Mahmood Mirza intended to march on Qandahar but hearing about the arrival of Zaman Shah he changed the mind and took up a position first in the Sial-band range in order to confirm the movements of his brother. Knowing that his brother was but three marches from him, he broke up and moved into the plains. The two armies met at the

village of Gurak, not far from Girishk, the strong hold of Barakzai. The battle was hotly contested but the defeat of Mahmood was obvious. Following which, first he fled to Farrah thence to Herat, where he obtained apology from his brother, and was allowed to continue his government at Herat.⁸

Once again, he pushed forward as far as Lahore and was about to invade India, when the news that Mahmood had revolted and was threatening Qandahar forced him to return. After coming back, he bought over one of Mahmood's chief generals, occupied Herat and forced his half brother to flee for refuge to Persia.⁹

دولت خواہان و صدقای پادشاہ کہ در ہرات و قندھار بودند پیوستہ از ہر طرف عرایض بحضرت دی تقدیم داشتہ و بسمع شہریار میرسانیدند کہ سلطان محمود حاکم ہرات آغاز طغیان و بنای عصیان نہادہ ہمہ روزہ ساز سرکشی و مخالفت میکند و یسکن کہ اگر جلو فسقہ خرداد گرفتہ نشود رفتہ رفتہ بزرگ گردد و او دشمنی سترک شاہ زمان چون انجیر را بتواتر استماع نمود مقاصد پنجاب و تنہہ طائفہ سیک و کرد کلچیان ہندوستان رہ مہمل و معطل گذاشتہ از حسن ابدال بحمت تقدیم دفع فتنہ سلطان محمود متوجہ خراسان کردید

(Hussain Shirazi Karbalai, *Tarikh-e-Ahmed Shah Durrani*, P.44)

چون شاہزمان ہرات از وی گرفتہ نماز خفتن بود کہ مع برادرش شاہزادہ فیروز الدین و ولد فیروز الدین شاہزادہ قاسم و پسر خود شاہزادہ کامران و معتقدان خود موازی صد سوار از طرف عراق روانہ ایران شدند از راہ ترشہز و یزوبکاشان نزوح علی شاہ رفتند شاہ ایران حرمت کما بقی دربارہ شاہزادہ نمود مہملدار تعیین نمود و دلداری داد مدت چند وقت در انجا بود۔

(Abdul Karim Bukhari, *Tarikh-e-Asai-e-Markazi*, PP.23-24)

Zaman Shah, had made more than one march to Punjab with the intention of expelling the Sikhs, who had become formidable, but the rebellious activities of his brothers always called him back. Had his brothers been co-operative or even indifferent just like Feruzddin, a half brother and a governor of Herat, Zaman Shah would have revived the magnificence of Durrani rule.

Meanwhile, after quelling the insurgence of the outlying provinces and subduing his rival brothers, Zaman Shah was at the zenith of his power. Apparently his policy based on severity seemed successful, however, in reality it had undermined the roots of his power.¹⁰ In the back drop of these events, Zaman Shah committed a political blunder which if would have been avoided could save the dynasty from catastrophe.

DESTRUCTIVE ROLE OF BARAKZAIS

Time and circumstances do not remain static they change. Change, might not necessarily be positive it can be vice-versa. Keeping in view this point, the role of Durrani nobility ought to be seen in the same perspective. Ahmed Shah Durrani became the king of Afghans because Haji Jamal Khan, Barakzai withdrew his candidature in his

favour. Thenceforth, his tribe upheld the tradition of its predecessor and served the Durrani rulers loyally. Their support had been a constant source of motivation specially for Ahmed Shah and Taimur Shah, in materializing their ambitious designs, in the field of war and statecraft. Even Zaman Shah, the third Durrani ruler, owed his selection to kingship to Payanda Khan Barakzai.

Shah Zaman's reversal from the policy of his father and grand father proved an utter failure. Crushing the power and influence of the tribal chieftains was a political blunder which he committed imprudently. The discontent caused by this policy had long been fomenting. It came to the surface at the close of the year 1799. A conspiracy was hatched by the leading mind of the great clan of Barakzai, Payanda Khan, who was associated, in this case, by the chiefs of the Alizai, Nurizai, the deputy Munshi Bashi, the chief of Qazalbashis and the chief of the eunuchs." The espionage exercised by Wafadar Khan was so rigid that it was all but impossible that five men of such consideration should meet without exciting suspicion. There was however, one place free from the inquiring eyes of his agents. This was the house of a Dervish of renowned sanctity, accustomed to receive visits from chiefs, and to close the door when the number of his visitors had reached six. These meetings excited no suspicion. Could the Dervish be gained the

conspirators could meet at his house and arrange their plans. The conspirators gained him". However, despite strict vigilance they managed to meet in the shrine of a holy man, and devised a plan to overthrow Shah Zaman. They agreed on three points,

1. Zaman Shah should be deposed and replaced by his brother, Shahzada Shahpoor.
2. Thenceforth, the crown should be elective, the chiefs of the tribes alone having a right to vote at such election.
3. The sovereigns who should prove unworthy of trust reposed in them might be deposed by the chiefs.

However, it could not be materialized because, "of the six leading conspirators five were men whose solid nerves were proof against the fear of failure and its consequences. The sixth had the heart of a hare. Safe had he remained quite, the rustle of the hounds in the covert nearly killed him. To quiet the beatings of his timid heart he went to the minister and confessed all. The minister was equal to the occasion. He showed neither exultation nor alarm: but the following morning, inviting the conspirators separately to the palace, he seized and executed them. Prominent among his victims was Payandah Khan."^{11a} The same incident is related by Mohammad Sadick, an agent to Malcolm, British envoy to

court of Persia in these words," Zaman Khan had put to death three Afghan and three Kazalbashi chiefs at Qandahar on the 1st of Ramazan- The Afghan chiefs were Serfaraz Khan Barickzay chief of 12000, Mohammad Azeem Khan Ali Kouzay chief of 4000 and Zeht Begy chief of 2000. The Kuzelbashes were, Ameer Aslam Khan and Jaafer Khan of the tribe of Jiwansher and Zaman Khan Moony, the Ria Bashy".^{11b}

If out of the six conspirators, one who was timid at heart, had not gone to the minister of the king, Wafadar Khan, and would not confessed all the plan, they would have successfully materialized their plot. However, After the failure of the conspiracy, the minister invited the conspirators to the palace, in order to be executed. Still, vengeance of the minister and his sovereign did not end there. Orders had been issued to seize all the chiefs of Mohammadzais, particularly the chief of Barakzai clan. Meanwhile, the chief of the Barakzais, Fateh Khan the eldest son of Payanda Khan managed to escape to Girishk, after receiving timely warning. Thence, he moved to Tebbes in Khurasan, where he joined Prince Mahmood, who had been hopeless of obtaining any aid from the Persian king, for getting hold of the throne.¹²

فتحی خان ولد پائنده خان در حین که پدرش را در قندهار گرفتند بآبادان و جمع افغانیه کریم بخشند یکسر ویکران بسلک ایران نزد شاهزاده محمود رفتند۔

(Abdul Karim Bukhari, *Tarikh-e-Asai Markazi*, P.27)

Fateh Khan joined hands with Mahmood and thenceforth,^{12.b} the course of events in Afghanistan took a perilous turn. That noble, Fateh Khan, who turned vindictive, assured Mahmood of the support of Barakzais and induced him to make another bid for the throne. The young Barakzai chieftain realised that, it was the only way of truly avenging the murder of his father. Mahmood Mirza and Fateh Khan were joined by Barakzai Alizai and Nurzai tribesmen. Following the advice of Fateh Khan, Mahmood after securing the support of the Durrani tribes marched on Qandahar and occupied it after a siege of forty-four days. Meanwhile, Shah Zaman did not pay any heed to the rising disturbances in the West. On the contrary, he was in a mood to recover Punjab and Kashmir, both of which had revolted. Benting upon, to send an expedition to Kashamir, the Shah after occupying Peshawar, dispatched an army of fifteen thousand men for the recovery of that area. Unfortunately, that army could not meet success and was totally routed.¹³

Not fearing of Mahmood's revolt because troubles stirred up by him had always been put down easily. Zaman Shah, left his main army under Shuja Mirza at Peshawar and returned by ordinary marches to Kabul. Reaching Kabul, he came to know about the real situation. Mahmood was at Qandahar and all the principal tribes had declared for

him. Disappointed of the prevailing circumstances, Zaman Shah proceeded to a small fort held by Mullah Ashak, a dependent of the Wazir, Wafadar Khan. Despite being in a very awkward situation he managed to collect thirty thousand men, of which fifteen thousand men were provided by Ahmed Khan Nurezai. The presence of Fateh Khan in the camp of Mahmood made a visible difference. His wisdom and stratagem worked and the main commander of Zaman Shah, Ahmed Khan was gained. During the battle he along with his followers deserted and sided with Mahmood. Knowing all this, Zaman Shah fled to another fort held by the same Mullah Ashak. Meanwhile Mahmood occupied Kabul and Zaman Shah was made a prisoner on the espionage of Mulla Ashak. Zaman Shah was blinded by Asad Khan, a brother of Fateh Khan,¹⁴ that way the Barakzais avenged the murder of their father. However, they were not contented with that only, because now they assumed the role of king-makers. Moreover, Zaman Shah was not killed but his other companions were beheaded.¹⁵

صورت واقعہ را بہ پیشاور یوزیر و زمانشاہ عریضہ نمود و اما شاعرزادہ محمود بدور قندہار آمدہ ہزار عسکر لجاڑہ مجتمع شدند دو ماہ بعد قندہار را مسخر نمود میر علی خان و شاعرزادہ حیدر چون دیدند کہ امداد نیست شہر را کڈاشتند بہ پیشاور نزد زمان شاہ رفتند تا اولو کہ شاہ آمد در منزل سر میدان شتود کہ احمد خان سردار پیش قراول مع عسکر قزلباشیہ نزد شاہ محمود رفتند زمانشاہ از انجا کریمت تا اولو کہ در قری خیر بلقہ رفت اہل قلعہ انرا گرفتند در عرض راہ دیدہ جہانمین او را باطل ساختند در بالا حصار کابل محبوس کردند و شاہ محمود در قندہار ماند پسر خود شاعرزادہ کامران را پیش جنک نمودہ بود چون خبر آمد کہ احمد خان سردار نزد شاعرزادہ کامران آمدہ از قندہار کوچ نمود بلا استحالہ بکابل رفت و در مسند جہانبانی تکیہ زد۔

(Abdul Karim Bokhari, *Tarikh-e-Asai Markazi*, PP.27-28)

Mahmood after becoming the king, brought slight changes among the top slot, for instance, Fateh Khan Barakzai and Akram Khan Alizai were made the principal ministers. Abdullah Khan Alizai was sent to Kashmir as governor and Kamran Mirza, son of the king, was despatched to Peshawar to take possession of that place and to seize Shuja Mirza, who accomplished the task by defeating the forces of Shuja Mirza due to the superior command of Fateh Khan. Consequently, Peshawar fell to the adherents of Mahmood Shah and its residents found a period of respite for a while.¹⁶

شاه محمود بکابل نشست و عسکر بالای پیشاور بجنگ شاهزاده شجاع فرستاد شاهزاده شجاع تاب استقامت نیاورد منہزم بجانب
کوهستان پیشاور نزد جماعہ یوسفزی غلجائی رفت، پیشاور نیز فتح شد۔

(Abdul Karim Bokhari, *Tarikh-e-Asai Markazi*, PP.27-28)

Fateh Khan Wazir, throughout that period of Mahmood Shah's kingship, remained in Qandahar and levied money from Kashmir, Peshawar, Kohat and Banu. As in capital city the influence of his counterpart, Akram Khan was dominant. However, in the later stage when Akram Khan Alizai died Sher Mohammad Khan, son of Wazir Shah Wali Khan, the Wazir of Ahmed Shah, arose as an aspirant for the post of Wizarat but Mahmood Shah reserved the seat for none but Fateh Khan. Meanwhile, he ruled with the aid of the Qazalbashis, who

were disliked as Shiah. It was Sher Mohammad Khan who with the support of chief Syed of the mosques toppled the government of Mahmood on the plea that Mahmood was the supporter of Qazalbashis, the heretics. Consequently, Shuja Mirza took over as the new king of Kabul.¹⁷

سواخ این وقایع جنایت چون اعزه مردم کابل در رعیت و خوانین درانی کوهستان بهی و تنای با اتفاق و حمایت و اعانت و سرپرستی و اشفاق و الطاف بندگان ما را دریافتند و مردم رعیت از ظلم و تعدی قزلباشیه و عملیای بدو کردار پائی آنها و بیفوری شاه محمود جان بلب رسیده بودند - لاچار شد دعوی مذهب نموده و جنگ سنی و شیعه را در پیش نمودند چندین جنگها نمودند و مردم بسیار از طرفین کشته شدند تا آنکه کار بجائی رسید که حکم شاه محمود را از کابل برداشته منسوخ نمودند و در بالا حصار محاصره کردند بندگان ما در انوقت از زرمتم کوچ کرده در التور که نزدیک بلوگرد است تشریف فرما شدیم عالیجاه حاجی رحمت الله خان فودلزای برکاب نصرت انتساب مشرف گردید در ثانی کل محمد خان بامیرزای و عطا محمد خان ولد مختار الدوله برکاب اشرف مشرف شدند عرض نمودند که عالیجاه شیر محمد خان مختار الدوله نزدیکت که برکاب یوسی کامیاب گردد - در همین اثنا مختار الدوله و بعضی خوانین دیگر از شهر کابل از نزد شاه محمود مزار شده، برکاب حاضر شدند بعد ازان مردم کابل بلوای عام نمودند -

(Shuja-ul-Mulk, *Memoirs of Shuja-ul-Mulk*, P.15)

Shuja owed his crown to Sher Mohammad Khan therefore that nobleman became the prime minister. Shah Shuja was suspicious by nature, open to flattery he developed jealousy with his Prime minister. and started frustrating the measures proposed by Sher Mohammad Khan.

Not surprisingly, Fateh Khan Barakzai wanted to join the camp of Shah Shuja for instance, when Shuja marched on Qandahar he persuaded

Kamran Mirza to abandon the place and flee to Herat while himself remained to make his submission to the king. A very favourable opportunity now offered to Shah Shuja to gain the loyalty of the Barakzai, which he did not. Fateh Khan left the court in disgust and retired to his fort at Girishk.¹⁸

Meanwhile, Shah Shuja made certain changes at the top governmental level. For instance, the governorship of Qandahar was entrusted to his nephew, Kaisar Mirza, son of Zaman Shah. Ahmed Khan Nurizai was appointed as the prime minister. After making these arrangements he led an army of thirty thousand and left for Peshawar in order to assert his suzerainty over the outlying provinces of Kashmir and Sind. But before he had marched from Peshawar, intelligence reports reached him that Qandahar had revolted. This revolt was the work of Fateh Khan- the Fateh Khan whom Shuja had failed to conciliate.¹⁹ The governor of Qandahar Kaisar Mirza being weak and ambitious was induced by Fateh Khan to imprison Ahmed Khan Nurizai and strike for the crown. Following the advice of Fateh Khan, Kaisar Mirza seized Ahmed Khan Nurizai and revolted. However, strangely enough at the time of setting out for Kabul he released the insulted prisoner from confinement and entrusted to him the government of Qandahar. Ahmed Khan indignated at the treatment he had received from Kaiser Mirza,

invited Kamran Mirza from Farrah and made over Qandahar to him. Shah Shuja returned, defeated Kaisar Mirza and marched back to Peshawar. While on the way, he again received the news that Kaisar Mirza and Fateh Khan had again occupied Qandahar. Shah Shuja returned once more. This time Kaisar Mirza renounced Fateh Khan, asked to be forgiven, pardoned by the king and reinstated as the governor of Qandahar.²⁰

The options of Fateh Khan were yet to be exhausted. After fleeing to Herat he tried on Firuz-u-din Mirza, another half brother of Shah Shuja, to rebel. Shah Shuja however, sent an army in time against him, being cautious by nature Firuz-u-din accepted the terms of semi independence and returned to Herat.²¹

From his castle at Girishk the chief of the Barakzai had renewed his intrigues with the weak Kaisar Mirza, who was hesitant to make a choice between the two, either to dethrone his uncle and get the throne promised by Fateh Khan or to capture the person of Fateh Khan and receive certain rewards from his uncle. Weak as he was, opted for the second choice and seized Fateh Khan. "He resolved to seize Fateh Khan. Becoming the, prodigal of his promises to that chieftain, he engaged, if he would only come to Qandahar to confer with him, to place himself

entirely in his hands. Fateh Khan, suspecting nothing, assented, and accompanied by his younger brother, Dost Mohammad, a youth whose resolute character already gave promise of the future which awaited him, entered Qandahar and was graciously received by Kaisar. But as he was leaving the princely presence some of the attendants precipitated themselves with such violence on the chief of Barakzais that he was thrown to the ground, and lost several of his front teeth. He was then gagged and placed in confinement. Dost Mohammad Khan and his followers attempted to rescue him, but failing, they forced their way into the city, summoned the few Barakzais who were there to join them, and attacked the citadel. They were repulsed, however, and retired to Girishk".²² But Fateh Khan, though in prison was more than a match for Kaisar Mirza. After requesting Kaisar Mirza to visit him in prison, Fateh Khan painted the delights of ruling in such glowing terms that he won the prince over. Fateh Khan was released and sent back to Girishk to make preparations for a march on Kabul.

Though Fateh Khan openly was engaging sides with Kaisar Mirza and Kamran Mirza, in fact, he was bent upon restoring Mahmood on the throne of Afghanistan. Mahmood in prison needed to be released for that he was warned to trust only the Qazalbashis. But, before the escape of Mahmood had to be accomplished Kaisar Mirza had returned to his

peaceful ideas and Kamran Mirza had raised the standard of revolt. It was this news which summoned Shah Shuja back from Peshawar. However, disturbances in the West enabled Shah Shuja to occupy Qandahar unopposed. Meanwhile, hearing about the return of the successful forces from Kashmir led by Wazir Sher Mohammad Khan, Shah Shuja immediately returned to Kabul, who had long been jealous of that nobleman. While Sher Mohammad Khan and Shah Shuja were engaged in discussion over whether to undertake an expedition to Sind or not, Mahmood succeeded in escaping from the Bala Hissar. Shah Shuja did not take a serious notice of that incident, and despite Sher Mohammad Khan's disagreements, he left Kabul for Sind. Sher Mohammad Khan disobeying the king remained at Kabul and took an opportunity of the absence of the king, proclaimed Kaisar Mirza as the king. A detail events had been recorded in this regard, for instance, when Shir Mohammad Khan came back after a successful expedition from Kashmir," there he (Shuja) announced to Shir Mohammad his intention to proceed once more to Sind. The wazir protested, pointing out the numberless affairs which required his attention. The discussion lasted some days, and while it was going on Mahmood Shah succeeded in effecting his escape from the Bala Hissar, secreted himself for several days in a tomb, and when suspicion had been diverted from Kabul he

galloped off, escorted by Dost Mohammad and a band of chosen followers, and plundering three caravans en route, gained Girishk. Careless of any immediate danger from Mahmood, Shah Shuja, despite the opposition of Shir Mohammad Khan, proceeded to Sind. Shir Mohammad, disobeying the orders he received to follow him, remained at Kabul."²³

In fact, the vigour which should have been directed to a common cause which was maintenance of authority and the good of the kingdom came to be employed by the king and the minister for their own purposes. The story did not end there, the angry Wazir, took another outrageous step, "Shir Mohammad took an early opportunity of proclaiming the Shah's nephew, Kaisar Mirza, king. The conspirators then marched upon Peshawar, and occupied it. On learning these events Shah Shuja turned back from Sind and marched along the border towards Peshawar. In the plain bearing the same name he found the rebel army encamped. Negotiations were entered upon, but they were fruitless. Both parties preferred the arbitration of the sword. On the third March, 1808, the two armies joined. Shir Mohammad Khan carried at first all before him, but, attempting with too small a force to seize the king's person, he was shot dead. His death was fatal to the cause for which he lost the life. The partisans of Shah Shuja rallied and gained the

day. This victory was followed up with vigour. Kaisar Mirza, vigorously pursued, submitted and was pardoned."²⁴ The same year Mahmood's attempt to seize Qandahar, was foiled. Soon after that, Shah Shuja came back to Peshawar in order to receive a British mission.

While the British mission was at Peshawar, grave events occurred in and around the kingdom. For instance, an army led by Akram Khan to suppress the rebellion in Kashmir was routed. Similarly, it had been preceded by the intelligence that Shah Mahmood had captured Qandahar. And the army which had been sent to Kashmir constituted the only available force to check their progress. Shah Shuja used every endeavour to raise troops, and by the middle of June, set out for Kabul. But Patch Khan and Shah Mahmood were faster than him. They marched on Kabul, took it and thence set out for Peshawar. A hot battle ensued between the two armies near Gandamak. Its result was doubtless, Akram Khan was killed and Shah Shuja fled to the mountains leaving the field to his rival. The same year he was completely driven out of Peshawar.²⁵

Mahmood became the king of Kabul and its dependencies for the second time. He had learnt nothing and forgotten nothing, after becoming the king he grovelled in the disreputable pleasures and left

power and patronage in the hands of Wazir Fateh Khan Barakzai. Fateh Khan was all in all, taking opportunity of his position he appointed his twenty brothers on important posts. Some of them were made in-charge of the governments of Baluchistan, Qandahar, Peshawar, Ghazni Bamian and Kashmir respectively. Herat alone remained for the moment under a governor not his kinsman. His other brothers assisted him in the administrative affairs of the kingdom.²⁶

Moreover, on the second accession of Mahmood Shah the two princes, Kaisar Mirza and Kamran Mirza had made their submission to him. Being son of the sovereign Fateh Khan intended to entrust the government of Qandahar to Kamran Mirza. Meanwhile, avenging an old grudge Kamran Mirza, assassinated his cousin Kaisar Mirza, due to which Fateh Khan declared him to be incapable of public office, and refused him the government of Qandahar. This insult rankled in the mind of Kamran and he longed to avenge it. An opportunity was provided towards this end, by the arrival at Kabul of Mahmood's own brother, Haji Firuz-u-din, former governor of Herat. He had been deprived of his government by Fateh Khan and was sent to Kabul under honourable escort. " But then the Wazir made one of those errors for which he was noted, in total disregard for its possible consequences: he seized the considerable treasury that Haji Firuz-ud-din had amassed at Herat, and

sent his youngest brother, Dost Mohammad Khan, into the Haji's Zanana (harem) in search of further spoils. This rash act, the most serious possible by Afghan standards, was perhaps enacted on the initiative of Dost Mohammad, who at the time was the wildest and most daring of the Barakzai brothers, and was known as Gurkek," a little wolf."²⁷

"At any rate, the young Sardar undoubtedly went beyond his instructions when he tore a famous jewelled girdle from about the hips of a girl who happened to be the daughter of Shah Mahmood and the sister of the heir apparent, Kamran Mirza. News of this, when it reached Kabul, was infuriating to the Shah's son Kamran, who was already a personal enemy of Fateh Khan and who also dismayed by the power his father's indolence had permitted the wazir to exert. Kamran, as it happens, was an unlovable character, who according to a contemporary was, 'fond of drinking spirits as well as bhang and opium and who spent the whole of his life in ornamenting himself and also in the company of boys whom he loved most tenderly.'²⁸

Although Fateh Khan might well disregard such an opponent, he had failed to anticipate the effect of his breach of Afghan morality upon the sodden Mahmood. When Kamran was joined in his importunities by

others of Fateh Khan's enemies at the Afghan court, Shah Mahmood roused from his torpor and ordered the wazir's arrest. The commission was given to Kamran, who set out immediately for Herat".²⁹ As mentioned before, hearing about that incident Mahmood Shah got furious and ordered that the eyes of Fateh Khan should be pierced. These orders of the Shah were carried out by his own son Kamran Mirza. A Conspiracy worked in this case when Fateh Khan was caught, disarmed and deprived of sight, 1818.

Soon the country was engulfed by revolt caused by those twenty brothers of Fateh Khan who were appointed by him on key posts. "Dost Mohammad marched by direct road on the capital. Mahmood, roused from his debaucheries, fled to Ghazni, leaving the defence of the capital to his grandson, a son of Kamran. But the grand son of Mahmood was no match for the brother of Fateh Khan. His troops were beaten and Kabul was occupied. A few days later Dost Mohammad was joined by his brother, Mohammad Azim Khan. Meanwhile, Kamran, hearing of the invasion from Kashmir and of the flight to Ghazni, had marched from Herat, with all his available troops, on that fortress. Arriving there, he gave them a few days to rest, and then set out for the capital with twelve thousand men. Mohammad Azim Khan and Dost Mohammad could only command one third of that number, but they had marched

towards Ghazni, and now with their small force they met Kamran and took up a position to bar his progress. That night, however, all the troops of Kamran passed over to the Barakzai brothers. Kamran fled to Ghazni, roused his debauched father, and forced him to evacuate the fortress with his valuables, a few followers, and his prisoner. That prisoner was the blinded hero, Fateh Khan".³⁰

"Up to this moment that noble man had borne without reply, without a sign of feeling, all the insults and all the taunts which had been freely lavished upon him. In that respect the royal Sadozais, whom he had served so faithful, had done their worst; whatever they might do now, they could harm him no more. But their vengeance was not yet glutted. When they saw the edifice which Fateh Khan had built, and which Fateh Khan had sustained, falling upon them to crush them, because they had rendered Fateh Khan powerless, they added the last outrage to the many which had preceded it. Halting, as they fled towards Kandahar, at the first stage where they deemed themselves momentarily safe from pursuit, the two Saduzais, the contemptible father and the brutal son, summoned their captive before them, and ordered him to use his influence with his brothers to stop the pursuit, and to calm the storm which they had raised. Then, for the first time, did Fateh Khan break his long silence: " I have nothing more to do," he said , " with the affairs of

this world. In losing my sight I have lost my influence over others." The wretched Mahmood then gave the signal for his death. Kamran struck at him with his dagger; the miserable sycophants who still adhered to him followed suit. Then, still living, they flayed him, disjoined his members, and struck off his head. His remains, collected in a sack, were subsequently interred at Ghazni.³¹ Upon the occurrence of that tragedy, Fateh Khan's brothers, Shirdil, Kohandil and Purdil joined hands and escaped to Girishk, the stronghold of Barakzai, in order to ensure support from their tribesmen. Fateh Khan's murder put a seal on the political ascendancy of the Saduzai for ever. The empire of the Durrani fragmented, Mohammad Azim Khan held Kabul, Dost Mohammad held Ghazni, Purdil held Qandahar, Yar Mohammad Khan was in Peshawar and Jabbar Khan at Kashmir, except Herat which was in the control of Shah Mahmood and his son Kamran Mirza, acknowledging Persian supremacy. The remaining thirteen brothers of the deceased wazir were in different parts of the country, were engaged in struggle to gain their share from the exploits.³²

THE ROLE OF INTERNAL AND REGIONAL FORCES

A house divided within itself is usually encroached by the outside forces. Afghanistan in the first two decades of nineteenth century

presented the same picture. Taking advantage of its internal chaos the regional and to some extent the native elements bided for their supremacy at the stake of the integrity of Durrani empire. As the size of Durrani empire was very huge because the founding father of the empire extended it up to Kafirstan and the Oxus on the North, to Kashmir, the Suttlej and the Indus on the east, to the sea on the south and to Persia and Khorasan to the west.³³ So a capable head and a vigilant eye was needed to look after it. Moreover, there is a saying that to achieve some thing is difficult but to maintain it is more difficult. Unfortunately, the children of Ahmed Shah could not prolong the supremacy of the dynasty and as a consequence the existence of the empire jeopardized. Towards the east, even during the life time of Ahmed Shah, Sikhs became problematic in Punjab. He tried his best to crush them which he could not, due to old age and illness. Taimur Shah as has been mentioned before was not interested in warfare but still Sikhs militancy forced him to take arms against them. His five expeditions which took place between 1774 and 1788 were against the constant challenge of the Sikhs in Punjab. However, he also failed to eliminate the Sikhs, instead they became formidable. Finally, Ranjit Singh, a Sikh leader was appointed as a viceroy by Zaman Shah in 1799, in order to settle the Sikh problem for ever, though it proved a great folly.³⁴

It was Sikhs under the shrewd leadership of Ranjit Singh, who captured the eastern portion of the Durrani empire and declared their independance. The valley of Peshawar which was adored and kept as a winter capital by the Durrani rulers was snatched from them by none but the Sikhs. The Saduzais and even Barakzais strived their best to recover Peshawar once again but the Sikhs hold was so stiff that they could not recapture it, even the warlike Dost Mohammad Khan remained as an aspirant of the recovery of Peshawar tilllast. However, the loss of this important part made the Durrani empire a handicap. Sind was also a constant source of trouble towards the end of Durrani rule though Kalhuras, the ruling tribe, were replaced by Talpuris another prominent Sindi tribe, however, the non-payment of revenue by the Sindis kept the Durranis busy in reducing them to submission, which they gained on the condition of forgoing the revenue of Sind.

On the western side of the empire, the Qajars emerged as a new force. They established their dynasty by 1795 in Persia. The Durrani rulers did not realize the revival of Persia, at a right time, which was a folly on their part. As a result at the first accession of Shah Mahmood Khurasan and Mashed were in Persian control. Herat was under constant threat of Persian invasion. In 1805 the Persian army under the command of Mohammad Khan Qajar moved on Herat and then withdrew after a

mismanaged campaign. However, Haji Firoz-ud-din was enough shaken by it that he agreed to pay Tehran a small yearly tribute.³⁵

Encouraged by this gesture, Fateh Ali Shah the new Persian king decided to send another army against Herat. In 1816 a large force was mustered at Meshed and placed under the command of Hussain Ali Mirza, a son of the Shah. Durrani countered the attack through Fateh Khan Wazir. " Having secured Herat, Fateh Khan marched against the Persians. The two armies met on the plain of Kafir Kalat near the frontier of the two states, some seventy miles from Herat. The Persians fought well, but they could not withstand the repeated charges by divisions of the Afghan horse, and about 4 o'clock in the evening, having lost, it is said, ten thousand men killed, wounded and missing, they left the field. An accident alone prevented the victory being decisive for the Afghans. As he was urging on the pursuit, Fateh Khan was struck in the mouth by a spent ball. The shock stunned him, and his followers, believing him to be dead, abandoned the pursuit. Practically, however, the victory was a substantial one, for, for some to follow, the Persians cared not to mention the name Herat."³⁶ Nevertheless, due to political disunity in the country, Herat remained vulnerable against Persian onslaughts, unless it finally accepted the supremacy of Persia at the dismemberment of Durrani empire.

The Uzbek Khanates, Maimana, Andkhui, Balkh, Bamian and Badakhshan were seized by Ahmed Shah Durrani between 1751-52, reinstated the former governors on the condition of acknowledging Durrani empire's suzerainty and payment of annual tribute. They have seldom been a cause of trouble for the rulers but towards the end of the empire they also became problematic and for quite a number of times raised a standard of revolt. For instance, on the accession of Shah Zaman they revolted, crossed the Oxus and defeated the Durrani deputy of the Shah. However, Shah Zaman not only quelled the insurrection but made them to renew the treaty of peace concluded between the Uzbeks and Durrani before. In 1802, they again crossed the Oxus in order to demonstrate their declaration of independence. However, their rebellion was completely suppressed the same year near Balkh and they were driven across the Oxus river.³⁷

British entered India in the garb of traders. However, later the political situation in the country ushered upon them the idea to get the hold of the reins of government. They had no fears from any local force, the Marhathas, Sikhs and even the Mughals, to be a hurdle in materializing their imperialistic designs except the warlike Durrani. Feeling threatened from the military might of Zaman Shah the Court of Directors of the East India Company, whose possessions and rule by then, 1796,

advanced up to Delhi, dispatched a mission to the court of Qajar for utilizing the Persian monarch as a counterpoise to the dreaded designs of the Durrani ruler. Zaman Shah was thus kept at home through fear of the Persian on his Western Frontier.³⁸

Apart from, domestic conflict among the Saduzai brothers for capturing the throne of Afghanistan, an indigenous element, the Ghilzais, created a lot of trouble for Shah Mahmood. Although since, the inception of Durrani empire the Ghilzais were loyal and assisted whole heartedly Ahmed Shah Durrani in carrying out his military designs in the east and west of his kingdom however, in the end just like other chiefs they also wished to assert their supremacy. It had been recorded that, "at the time of the accession of Mahmood Shah, the representative of that family and chief of the Ghilzai tribe was Abdurahman. He was not an ambitious man. But the tribe had long been disaffected, jealous of the supremacy of the Durranis, eager to recover the sceptre passed from their hands. The substitution of Mahmood for Zaman, of an indolent man for a tyrant, they regarded as propitious to their views. At the time of Mahmood's accession many of the Ghilzai chiefs happened to be in Kabul. They soon detected that the pear was ripe, and at once began to plot to secure the crown for Abdurahman Khan. That chief, though not ambitious, could not refuse the proffered dignity".³⁹

"The tribes, prepared beforehand, broke out at once into revolt; and their leader, mastering the royal garrison at Kandahar, started up the Valley of Tarnak for Ghazni and Kabul. (October, 1801) Hearing of the insurgents, the governor of Ghazni left his strong position to meet them in the Valley. He was defeated and driven back into the town. Attacked here, he defended himself with such skill and courage that the Ghilzais, leaving a small force to watch the garrison, directed their course Shilgarh and Zurmal into the Logar Valley and ascended this towards Kabul".⁴⁰ Mahmood Shah had been unaware of all these developments taking place within his dominion. He came to know about the insurrection of the Ghilzais when they were making preparations to attack Ghazni. Shah Mahmood being extremely upset, as he had a few troops to cope with the situation, was desperately looking for a capable person to get him out of this trouble. The only capable general in Kabul, who could meet the challenge was, Shir Mohammad Khan. But he was in confinement under suspicion of high treason. Mahmood had no option but to release the suspected traitor and placed him at the head of small number of troops, which were available at that moment. Mahmood could take the command himself, but he did not opt for leaving the capital defenceless. Under these circumstances, "Shir Mohammad Khan set out by way of Argandi and Maidan, but learning that Ghilzais had taken the

route of the Logar Valley he altered his course, crossed into that Valley, and met the enemy at the foot of the Sajaon Pass. Noting that the Ghilzais were coming on in tumultuous disorder, he drew up his men in three divisions, one in front, the other two supporting it in half echelon on either flank in the rear, and the whole covered by camel swivels. The Ghilzais advancing in tumultuous mass, the swivels opened fire upon them. But they pressed on, passed the swivels, and threw themselves on the leading division of the Kazilbashis. The weight of the attack and overpowering numbers of assailants forced this division, and the Ghilzais, had they had a general, must have gained the day. But pressing on too far, the two flanking divisions of Kizilbashis wheeled inwards, and gave time to the first division to rally. Thus attack on three sides the Ghilzais had to fall back. They retired, in good order, to a fort belonging to their tribe, six miles distant, and receiving reinforcements during the night, they resumed the march in the morning by another road, and reached Kila Shahi, within a few miles of the capital, the same evening. Had they at once marched on the city they might have taken it. But instead of marching on the city they set to work to plunder the villages in the neighbourhood, thus giving time to Shir Mohammad Khan, to whom they had given the slip, to make a forced march and interpose between

them and Kabul. The next morning that general attacked and defeated them with great slaughter".⁴¹

The insurrection was momentarily stemmed, however, it was completely suppressed a little afterwards. In fact, the Ghilzais issue got settled in four pitched battles. The last of these, fought at Mulla Shahi on the 11th May, 1802, which proved decisive. Thence, the Ghilzais, renounced their aspirations for the supreme authority, and have ever since acknowledged, the supremacy of the Durrani as rulers.⁴² These regional and internal forces had done great harm to the integrity of the Durrani empire. It will be no exaggeration to mention that domestic conflicts set the interest of the dynasty on fire and foreign uprisings worked as sprinkling of oil on it. The combination of these forces, was more than enough to take the empire to fall. However, Peshawar being an integral part of the Durrani empire remained intact till last, despite going through frequent turmoil in the last two decades of Durrani rule. It fragmented, when the whole empire dismembered in 1818.

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CHAPTER III

SIKH - DURRANI CLASHES FOR THE POSSESSION OF PESHAWAR

The policies of coercion and persecution had generally been followed by the despotic rulers in the past. However, the excessive use of such policy usually made the masses repulsive. The Sikhs, who were a very peaceful religious community had gone through the same process during the later Mughals period. The cold blooded murder of their religious leaders and the general plight of their community indignated them to become militant. Similarly, the failure on the part of later Mughal rulers to pacify their hard feelings compelled the Sikhs to defy.

On the other hand, a combination of circumstances was leading the Mughals towards the final stage of decline. Weakling of the Mughals created a power vacuum. Some local forces for instance, Marhatas, Sikhs and even Jats struggled hard to fill the gap. However, the ambition of Marhatas to become the master of Hindustan had been shattered by Ahmed Shah Durrani in the third battle of PaniPat, 1761. They failed to recover from that humiliation. Jats were numerically insignificant and could not make any difference without joining another major force.

However, Sikhs being a formidable power in Punjab left long lasting imprints on the contemporary and forthcoming history of the region.

The Sikhs ascendancy in Punjab could well be connected with the shrewd leadership of Ranjit Singh. Prior to that, they had been striving hard to be recognised as a separate entity, and heavily relied on militancy. They did succeed in harassing the Mughals on one side the Afghans on the other however, they lacked in having a leader under whose banner they could make a common cause against an enemy and could acquire political power. In Ranjit Singh, they found the leader they required at that moment.

Nevertheless, through belligerence and guerrilla warfare persistent occupation of territories is out of question. Materializing the aim to establish a government on a permanent basis on a particular piece of land needs a foresighted leadership, well-planned policy and some regular resources to keep the ball rolling. The Sikh leaders preceding to Ranjit Singh were petty war lords who would keep in check the encroachment of rival armies and similarly, would take delight in plundering incursions. Ranjit Singh had the ability to unite the scattered Sikh factions in order to establish a state, of the Sikhs by the Sikhs and for the Sikhs. The occurrence of succeeding events approved the

capability of the Sikh leader, Ranjit Singh, for materializing the prime ambition of the Sikh community.

Moreover, the rise of Sikh as a political power might not be understood unless to view it in the backdrop of Ahmed Shah Durrani's last three expeditions which were meant for the elimination of Sikhs in Punjab, 1764-69. Though in the battles the Durrani forces were successful but in the guerrilla warfare they were no match for the Sikhs. However, there is no doubt, that Ahmed Shah had utterly failed to vanish them completely.¹

After the death of Ahmed Shah in 1773, his successors except Shah Zaman, were indolent and involved in pleasure-seeking activities, consequently, their grasp over Punjab relaxed, and the Sikh confederation became closer and more vigorous. Moreover, the Durrani rulers contentment with whatever had been achieved by the predecessor, kept them at home, which gave a time of respite to the Sikhs from the onslaughts of Durrani forces. They utilized that time for stabilizing their rule in Punjab.²

Even Shah Zaman's domestic troubles, kept him away from protecting the integrity of his Indian possessions. For instance, he tried to invade India three times, 1795, 1797 and 1799, during his reign but

he could not accomplish his task due to insurrection created by his brother, Mahmood.³ Similarly, a threat from Persia, as a result of diplomatic moves of the English, who were the cautious aspirant of India's political power, had a desirable effect. The English diplomatic mission to Persia for inducing its rulers to encroach upon the western part of Durrani kingdom in order to divert their attention from Hindustan was quite successful.⁴ Shah Zaman's invasion of India in 1797 remained incomplete due to the same reason. However, it can be assumed that if Shah Zaman had not been in dilemma, he had the talent to check the Sikh insurrections. Since, he had been restricted by his circumstances he found a solution in appointing a Sikh leader, Ranjit Singh as his governor of Punjab.⁵

As mentioned before, Ranjit Singh being a talented Sikh leader, started availing the opportunity, offered by the internecine wars in Afghanistan. Its ample example was, that he began claiming the territories of the Durrani rulers. Initially, being vassal of the Durrani empire he ought to accept its suzerainty. However, after refusing to yield Kashmir to the Sikhs in 1812 by Fateh Khan Wazir, made Ranjit Singh too annoyed to throw off the yoke of Durrani supremacy. This act of defiance on the part of Sikh leader went unpunished,⁶ which proved a great blunder on the part of rulers.

Meanwhile, the absence of strong government at Kabul encouraged the Sikhs immensely. The disintegration of the Durrani empire in 1818 proved to be a windfall for the Sikhs. Following which, they successfully raided through Peshawar and in 1823 the Valley of Peshawar up to the gates of Khyber Pass was under the control of Sikhs. However, keeping in view the hard resistance from the inhabitants of the Valley and some other intricacies for instance, the intrigues of Barakzai Sardars, for a while, he reinstated its previous governors, Barakzai Sardars, as tributaries of the Sikh government.⁷

THE EMERGENCE OF SIKH POWER IN THE VALLEY OF PESHAWAR

"Peshawar remained in a constant state of excitement and confusion, passing from one ruler to another none of whom could exercise much real control over its wild occupants"⁸. This time Sikhs had appeared upon the scene. By 1818, they had over-run the Valley, as far as the gates of the historic Khyber Pass. This act of the Sikhs did not go unnoticed. Azim Khan, the Barakzai ruler of Kabul, determined to try his strength with this new power, advanced with a large army from Kabul to Peshawar in 1823. Sikhs were ready for the encounter. Ranjit Singh with the choicest portion of his army crossed the Kabul

river at Akora. Then, marched up the left bank, sent Kharrak Singh with the reminder of the force by the right bank to hold in check the troops expected from Peshawar. On the other side, Azim Khan having despatched his brother Sammand Khan to raise the Khattaks and Yousafzai who readily obeyed the summons, followed himself by a forced march to Nowshera. He found Sammand Khan already engaged with the enemy on the plain to the north of the Kabul river, between Nowshera and Pir Sabak, but was unable to join him on account of the stream. The Pathans fought with desperate valour, but were no match against the superior numbers and discipline of the Sikhs. However, frequently rally upon some adjacent low hills, the Pathans bore down bravely upon the enemy who began to waver towards evening, but regained their advantage when Ranjit Singh seizing a standard, led them to the victory himself. The last attempt was made at sun set by a party of 200 Yousafzai, who fell gallantly fighting. In this action 10,000 Pathans are said to have been slain. Sikhs fought with such vigour that the Afghans were keep on saying, "Toba, Toba Khuda khud khalsa shud, which means, ' God forbid, but God himself turned a Khalsa. "^{9a} Sikhs casualties were also great, including the loss of a gallant old Sikh soldier, Phula Singh, on the battle-field, who was the intrepid leader of the Akali immortals.^{9b} The Sardars, Azim Khan and Dost Mohammad

Khan who had not taken part in the contest fled to Kabul and Ranjit Singh advancing to Peshawar made the four brothers at that place his tributaries and after a short stay withdrew beyond the Indus. Azim Khan, who master-minded this military undertaking against the Sikhs, did not long survive the humiliating defeat. After his death Dost Mohammad obtained the chief authority at Kabul, who was equally aspirant to obtain Peshawar as part of his kingdom. He made two planned attempts in this regard, the details of which will be jotted down later.¹⁰

BARAKZAI BROTHERS AS DEPENDANTS OF THE SIKHS

In 1826 Fateh Khan's younger brother, Dost Mohammed consolidated his power in Kabul. Peshawar, already, as a result of the dismemberment of the Durrani empire, 1818, fell to the four brothers, Sardar Yar Mohammad, Sultan Mohammad, Sayyed Mohammad and Pir Mohammad. They continued to rule in Peshawar till Sikhs overpowered them.¹¹

Meanwhile, the query who would possess the Valley of Peshawar, became a cause of conflict between the Barakzai Sardars and the Sikhs. Constant attempts by Ranjit Singh, leader of the Sikhs, for getting hold of Peshawar created anarchic situation in the Valley. This

state of affairs further aggrieved when Azim Khan Barakzai was defeated by Ranjit Singh in 1823. Following that victory, Ranjit Singh advanced upon Peshawar and captured it. Instead of ruling the Valley directly he confirmed its old rulers as his tributaries. On the condition that they would pay an annual tribute and acknowledge the overlordship of the the government of Punjab. Thence, for quite some time, Sikhs remained contented with their actual territorial occupation which laid east of the Indus. The Valley of Peshawar had gone through immense trouble during the years, 1824-35. The major cause of chaos was the incapability of the Barakzai Sardars, whose disregard towards administrative matters and their mutual jealousy gave way first to Sikh ascendancy in Peshawar which followed by the arrival of Hindustani Mujahideens led by Sayed Ahmed Barailvi for the deliverance of the believers of the Valley from the Sikhs, whom they considered infidel. This triangle of forces guided by divergent motives worsened the already chaotic situation. On top of that, Sikhs annual visitation for the collection of revenue had never been less than a severe calamity. On that occasion Sikh army would demolish the buildings, uproot the beautiful trees and plants, using them as fire wood, destroy the gardens and enormous killing of innocent people would create a havoc.

Sikhs were a military power of Punjab, their rise and stability both were linked with the amount of force they maintained. Similarly, force and coercion do not go by the laws of morality. The prerequisites for that are absolutely inhumane. The Sikhs had definitely followed the same rules, during their supremacy in Punjab and over the Valley of Peshawar.

Moreover, after twelve years of maximum autonomy enjoyed by Barakzai Sardars as the tributaries of Sikhs at Peshawar, the Valley had been taken into direct control by Sikhs, when in 1834, the ex-king Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk made an attempt to recover his kingdom, by an attack on Qandahar, Ranjit Singh seized upon Peshawar and captured it. Thenceforth, till 1849 Sikhs were the undisputed master of the Valley of Peshawar.¹²

However, despite being out of government the influence of the Barakzai Sardars in the Valley of Peshawar was such that the Sikhs had to won them over through lavish favours. They had been assigned Jagirs to the amount of four and a half lacs of rupees by the Sikhs, for instance, Sayed Mohammad received Hashtnagar, Pir Mohammad, Doaba and Sultan Mohammad Kohat and Hangu.^{13a}

About the person and character of Sultan Mohammad Khan Munshi Mohan Lal relates," Sultan Mahomad Khan, The present governor of Peshawar, commonly called Sardar, is a man of middle stature. He has passed the meridian of life, and is a man fond of luxury. He is notorious for his lewdness, and is always surrounded by females both married and unmarried. He is careless of his country and government, and is always employed in ornamenting himself with splendid and precious robes, on account of which he is called Sultan Bibi,(or lady), by Dost Mahammad Khan, the ruler of Kabul, who I hear is a very just and heroic man. Sultan Mahammad Khan has thirty children, and as many have died by various illness. From the multiplicity of his children you may guess the number of his wives."^{13b}

THE APPEARANCE OF SYED AHMED BARAILVI ON THE SCENE OF PESHAWAR

It was 1824 when," an individual made his appearance in the valley, whose short but adventurous career affords an illustration of the simplicity and superstition which has always rendered the Pathans an easy prey to the artifices and schemes of anyone who laid claim to superior sanctity. This was Syed Ahmed Barailvi".^{14a}

The Khalifa, (Syed Ahmed), was bigoted to the Mohammadan superstition. Having been brought among superstitious people, and having been even taught to prefer martyrdom to denial of belief, he was an enemy to the infidels or Sikhs.^{14b}

He was a zealous Muslim, trained in the teaching of Shah Wali Ullah, a renowned religious leader of Muslims in the eighteenth century. The ambition of the Sayed was to play a role of a deliverer against the prevailing infidel elements. Accordingly, Jihad was thought to be the only way left to bring normalcy in the lives of Indian Muslims. After, collecting men and material, he decided to follow the proper route for materializing his plan. He travelled by Shikarpur and Kabul arrived amongst Yusafzia in 1824, sticking to his mission, which was to wage war of extirpation against the infidel sikhs. Soon, he managed to recruit a huge army in order to uphold the superiority of the divine faith. Keeping in view, his zeal the admirers of him had high hopes. It was so overwhelming that even the four Peshawar Sardars also felt the influence. Since, they were longing to free themselves from their Sikh oppressors therefore, they joined the crusade. Consequently, the ranks of the Mujahideen swelled by numerous adventurers. Confident of his position, the Sayed marched on Sikhs through Nowshera and met them near Saidu.¹⁵

On the Sikhs side, Budh Singh Sinduwalea, an old warrior, led the army who was all prepared to give battle to the fanatics. The position of the Syed was also strong but a deal between the Sardars and Sikhs worked and turned the tables on the Mujahideen. The Durrani Sardars deserted the Sayed on the condition that if they kept aloof, their country would not be taken from them. They were threatened also of Ranjit Singh's approach, which they were told, would seal the fate of the Sardars, as governors of Peshawar. This stratagem had the desired effect, because the Durrani, led by Yar Mohammad, fled at the commencement of the battle. Treachery on the part of the Sardars, decided the day in favour of Sikhs. Muslims were slaughtered in great number, each Sikh killed fifteen to twenty of the runaways. And Syed Ahmed fled by Lundkhwar to Swat whence he kept up a desultory and annoying warfare with the Sikhs, directed against their convoys and small detachments. However, this defeat did not affect the Pathan's loyalty to him and he again managed, in a few months, to collect several thousand followers.¹⁶

Upon the invitation of some of the Khans he returned to Yusafzai country, taking up his residence with Fateh Khan of Panjtar, he commenced a series of exploits, which eventually placed in his hands the whole power of Yusafzai and the neighbouring hills. He first quarrelled

with Khadi Khan of Hund whom he killed and took possession of his fort and property. However, the principal chief in Yusafzai at that time was Ahmed Khan Hoti, who being an opponent of the Sayed, met with the same fate at his hands. By then, the Sayed seated himself so firmly as to take tithes from the Yusafzais, and his power was such as to enable him to oust or uphold anyone at his pleasure. Several of the most powerful and independent of the Khans derived their authority from him, amongst whom was Mir Babu Khan of Sudham. The army of Sayed Ahmed Barailvi was not very large, composed chiefly of Hindustani fanatics, but whenever he required he could summon a host of Pathans.¹⁷

Looking upon Durrani as enemies, he kept them constantly under alarm by threatening Hashtnagar and inciting the khybaris to annoy them on that side. Many of which took service with him being inimical to the Barakzai Sardars who had stopped the allowances formerly paid to them by the Sadduzai princes.¹⁸

Declaring the Durrani as his enemies, he took arms against them. Consequently, an encounter took place between the Sayed and the Barakzai Sardar Yar Mohammad Khan, who the Sayed thought had sacrificed the cause of his religion by swearing allegiance to, and accepting the service from the Sikhs. Sayed Ahmed appeared in the

field in great strength, sent a party at night under Maulvi Ismail to surprise his enemy. The attack was completely successful, Yar Mohammad received a mortal wound, his forces were put to flight and his camp together with six guns was taken as booty. The Sikh, however, directed that the city had to be delivered over to Sultan Mohammad Khan, brother of Yar Mohammad Khan.^{19a}

The Sayed now possessed almost regal power which he exercised with vigour, maintained solely by the influence he had acquired over the minds of his subjects. Meanwhile, he got hold of Pinda Khan of Amb, whose help the Sayed needed in the face of an impending expedition against Sikhs. He required a passage through the lands of Pinda Khan, however, as a result of Pinda Khan's flight the Mujahideen occupied Amb and strengthened the fortification of the place.^{19b}

The Barakzai Sardars, in 1829, having received support from Kabul once again made an attempt to expel the Sayed. Anyhow, a timely assistance in the shape of a large force at Hoti had decided the day in the favour of Mujahideen. The Sardars fled to Peshawar, followed by the Sayed who, threatened Peshawar, traversing through Hashtnagar, Doaba and Michni. Occupation of Peshawar was made possible for the Mujahideen by the invariable support of Bahram Khan, one of the Khalil

Arbabs hostile to Barakzai and Faizullah Khan HazarKhaniwala. Especially, the latter due to whose efforts negotiation took place between the two parties. Consequently, the Sardars acknowledged the supremacy of the Syed and received him at Peshawar as a Master of the Valley. The victorious Syed remained in the city for three days only. Leaving for Panjtar, he left Maulvi Mazhar Ali as his deputy at Peshawar.²⁰

Seated at Panjtar, attended by his followers, he avoided all stately pretensions and maintained a life of austerity and devotion. However, his stern regime was not tolerated by even the Pathans, who were ready to lay their lives at his slightest gesture. The superstitious reverence which they had for the Sayed, advocated that he possessed the faculty of silencing guns and rendering bullets harmless. However, that did not work in the face of insolence during the collection of tithes by his soldiers and the interference with Pathan customs and usage. The Afghans have retained many peculiarities contrary to Mohammadan law and usage. The strictly orthodox, Mujahideen, had been shocked at the open sale of the daughters carried on by Pathan. Syed Ahmed ordered to prohibit this practice immediately. He decreed that all Pathans should give their daughters in marriage at an early age without receiving money. In the absence of any other alternative the girls might be claimed

by their nearest relatives. However, he found too late that he was thereby exceeding his limits.²¹

Consequently, the Yusafzais remonstrated and threw off the yoke of allegiance. They hatched a plot and accordingly, slaughtered all the soldiers and agents, appointed by the Sayed, through out the country. Maulvi Mazher Ali and Faizullah Khan HazarKhaniwala met the same fate. The excited Yusafzai chiefs, in the pursuance of the Sayed flocked to Panjtar. But the timely aid of an ally, Fateh Khan, saved him from the brunt of the rebels. The broken-hearted Sayed, with a few followers first fled to Tahkot and then shifted to the Valley of Pakli.²²

Thus, ended his partial ascendancy of little more than four years over the Valley of Peshawar. However, his Hindustani followers did not betray him, they flocked to him in his new settlement. However, the same year, 1830, Sher Singh bringing an army from Kashmir, gave battle to the Mujahideen near Balakot. Syed Ahmed and his companion Maulvi Ismail with Bahram Khan, the Khalil Arbab, were all killed on this occasion.²³ So, the charisma of the Sayed and his movement came to an end. His followers in Hindustan have, however, difficulty in believing yet, that he is dead, there is a legend amongst his followers and disciples

that he went away alive and is yet to reappear for the extirpation of the infidels.²⁴

SIKHS BECAME THE REAL MASTERS OF PESHAWAR

The victory at Nowshera, 1823, against Azim Khan, ruler of Kabul, gave way to Sikhs as the new rulers of the Peshawar Valley. Ranjit Singh being prudent, avoided to take the reins of government in his own hands, allowed the previous rulers, Barakzai Sardars, to continue as governors. While the reversal of this policy took the life of an intrepid Sikh commander, Harri Singh, 1837.

During that period, the Sikh army would only visit the Valley for collecting the annual revenue, which had to be paid by the inhabitants of Peshawar in cash and kind. No fix amount was levied in this regard, whatever, they deemed fit would grab from the people. During those years Sikhs had nothing to do with the administration and welfare of the people. Their major concern was to plunder and loot the resources of the Valley in order to utilize them for the consolidation of Sikh rule in Punjab.

Anyhow, Sayed Ahmed Barailvi and his followers had not been taken very seriously by the Sikhs. It seems that they did not pay much

heed to his power and influence. Though, they fought a battles against him but later seeing the rivalry between the Sardars and the Sayed, they turned to be vigilant spectators, and let them settle the score between themselves. This policy of the Sikhs bore fruit, the Sayed had to flee along with his few followers. Among other reasons of his flight from Peshawar, one was definitely the antagonism of the Barakzai Sardars, disheartened of which the Sayed disappeared from the scene.

However, the complete elimination of the Sayed and a few of his deciples had been taken place by the Sikh commander, Sher Singh, at Balakot, 1830. Disappearance of the Mujahideen and the regular flow of revenue from the lands of Peshawar, kept the Sikhs contented. However, a major change had come into that policy by the year 1835. The cause of that change was Dost Mohammad Khan's preparations to fight against Sikhs for the possession of Peshawar. Though, he made an unsuccessful attempt and retreated back to Kabul, due to the treachery of his brother, Sultan Mohammad, however, this incident uncover two important facts upon the Sikhs, that Durrani rulers of Kabul still had the ambition to capture Peshawar, consequently, proper defence of the Valley became imperative for the Sikhs government. The need to take the direct control of the Valley of Peshawar had deeply been felt and in 1835-36 the reins of government of the Valley were in hands of the Sikhs.

Hari Singh, a brave Sikh commander who was familiar with the area and its people since long, had been appointed as the first Sikh governor. Having the administrative charge in his hands he began to strengthen his position by building a fortress on the site of Bala-Hisar and garrisoned it. They had sought to strengthen their position by erecting a new fort, called Futhheghur, near Jamrod, opposite the Khyber Pass. The fort of Attock was also repaired and cannoned with a force. Despite all those efforts for establishing the Sikh rule on firm grounds, the Sikhs utterly failed to achieve their objective.²⁵

The law and order situation was in shambles. People sternly resisted their tyrannical rule, for instance, many Arbabs, known people of the area, fled to the hills where they organised predatory bands and introduced subversive activities in the Valley. Roads were unsafe and to be outside the vicinity of the city during dark was not out of danger. The Sikhs rule was absolutely unpopular among the residents of the Valley. Another factor which further impopularized and destabilized their rule, was the presence of Sardar Sultan Mohammad in Bajaur, who being excellent intriguer, would create problems for the Sikh government, for instance devising schemes with a chief of Bajaur, Mir Alim Khan and the upper Mohmand in order to create troubles for the Sikhs in Doaba. At the same time, following the policy of duplicity, keeping the

correspondence open with the Sikh headquarters at Lahore, in the hope of recovering the possession of the Valley for himself. Keeping in view, the difficulties and expanses for maintaining Peshawar, Ranjit Singh reconciled with the Sardar and granted him a fief consisting of, Hashtnagar, half Doaba together with Kohat and Hangu.²⁶

Meanwhile, Hari Singh, having immense contempt for the Pathans, decided to occupy the post of Jamrud in order to vigilantly observe the movements of the tribes, and to thwart their subversive plans in time.²⁷ However, its impact on the government of Kabul was totally different. The Amir took it as a preliminary step for further advance on his territories. Similarly, the presence of his two brothers, Sultan Mohammad and Pir Mohammad in Lahore was enough to strengthen the apprehensions of the Amir. In order to check the moves of Sikhs, the Amir of Kabul sent an army against the Sikhs under the command of his son Akbar Khan. A hot battle ensued during which Hari Singh Nalwa, the Sikh commander badly wounded and died the same night. However, the victory could not be claimed by both the parties, because the forces of Amir left the field that night and the Sikhs did not pursue them.²⁸

However, it served the purpose on both the sides. It clarified two things for the Amir of Kabul, that Sikhs were not interested to cross

beyond the Khyber Pass and secondly, they were strongly based in Peshawar and had no intention to let it go out of their hands. Thence, the Amir of Kabul did not march on Peshawar and kept busy in the consolidation of his kingdom. On the other hand, Sikhs realized that they were strong enough to be defeated by forces of Amir of Kabul. Consequently, they remained the unmolested masters of the Peshawar Valley till the British overthrew them in 1849.

SIKHS ADMINISTRATIVE SET UP IN THE VALLEY OF PESHAWAR

The Sikh administrative set up was comprised of three territorial zones, which could be identified from the actual exercise of power. The first was the core zone, the heart-land of the Punjab, which extended from the Sutlej to the Jehlum. This was the first to be occupied and was the closest to the capital. Practically the whole of this zone had come under Ranjit Singh's control and management by 1810. The later conquests made in west Punjab, specially between the Indus and the Jehlum, constituted the intermediate zone which included the Subas of Multan and Kashmir. The third one was the Peripheral zone, comprised of the territories on the borders of the kingdom, such as Peshawar, Hazara, Dera Ismail Khan, Dera Ghazi Khan and Bannu-Tank.^{29a}

The control of the centre on the peripheral area of Hazara, the suba of Peshawar and other administrative units of the north-west frontier region was even less than what it was in the intermediate zone. For one thing the trance-Indus districts of Peshawar. Kohat, Bannu, Dera Ismail Khan and Dera Ghazi Khan were taken under direct management and control only in the last seven or eight years of the reign. Hazara was brought under direct administration much earlier but most of time there was one rebellion or another going on in this difficult mountainous tract. The suba of Peshawar as well as the districts of the region were toughest areas to be administered. They were constantly exposed to danger from the Amir of Kabul and the several unruly Pathan tribes inhabiting the mountainous valleys of the Sulaimans. More often than not troops had to be commissioned to coerce people into paying their taxes to the Government. The state of affairs such as this and the region's long distance from the capital naturally demanded that the chief administrators on the spot should be entrusted with a much greater degree of independence of action than elsewhere so that they might be in a position to deal effectively with the local problems. That is why Hari Singh Nalwa and after his death in 1837, Avitabile were given a considerable free hand in the discharge of their administrative responsibilities. But again this does not mean that they were entirely left

to themselves to use this discretion in any way they liked. Because this borderland was a very sensitive area and vitally involved the question of security of the state as a whole, Ranjit Singh could not afford to ignore it. In fact, as was absolutely necessary for him, he kept a constant and vigilant eye on the happenings of the region. Quite a large proportion of his armed forces were stationed at strategic points in the area, mostly in and around the city of Peshawar which was the most vulnerable spot in that whole territory. This means that besides the governor of Peshawar suba, there were several other high dignitaries of the state either encamped there or on their way to Peshawar or returning from there to Lahore. Through them and also by means of his intelligence people the Maharaja always managed to keep himself well posted with up-to-date information about the border areas. And there are cases on record when Maharaja did not approve of the decisions of the Nizam of Peshawar and reversed them. For instance, when Avitabile penalised some residents of Peshawar by imposing a fine on them and demolishing their houses, General Ventura was ordered to reach Peshawar in great haste to make Avitabile return the two hundred rupees he had unjustly taken from the Khattris of the place and rebuild, at his own expense, not exceeding 15,000 rupees, the houses demolished by him.^{29b}

In fact, Sikhs administrative set up in the Valley of Peshawar was based on superficial arrangements. For instance, they were the real rulers of the city of Peshawar only, through strong Sikh military garrison, stationed in the fort. Other than that, Shabkadar and Bara forts were maintained as military out-posts. The rest of the Valley had been retained by the local chiefs, under Sikh overlordship. Reason being, hard resistance from the people of the Valley against Sikh rule and heavy expenditure on large scale administrative set up.^{29c}

Moreover, Ranjit Singh, remained contented with the policy of greater autonomy to the west of the central zone of the kingdom particularly across the river Indus, where different clans and tribes (mostly Pathan), had developed over the centuries very potent and compact brotherhoods, power was exercised by the local bodies far more effectively. Although, acknowledging the Khalsa supremacy and paying all demands made by the Sikh governor, each Khan was still a despot so far as the management of his Khanship was concerned, and imposed taxes, levied fines, in many instances punished capitally without further responses. The authority of the Lahore government was always admitted and often asserted but subject to that admission the people were left to wrangle among themselves and to settle their own disputes with sword

and dagger. Tribal authority was relied on to keep society together and prevent anarchy, and revenue was the only care.^{30a}

Suitable under the circumstances, through this policy the Maharaja killed two birds with one stone, tried to lessen the annoyance of the people and reduced his anxiety also. Allotment of Jagirs to the Barakzai Sardars of Peshawar, was a prudent decision on his part. For instance, assignment of Hashtnagar to Sayed Mohammad Barakzai, saved the Sikhs from direct contact with the turbulent Mohammadzais and all the petty frontier tribes connected with Swat.^{30b}

Similarly, the Sardars presence in Doaba prevented them from the restless Mohmands. Only a portion of that area was retained by the Sikhs for the security of which garrison was cannored and a fortress was built by Tej Singh in 1837. The chief men, Arbabs, of Khalil and lower Mohmand were assigned large grants of lands. Strict care was observed in assigning to them the Jagirs, which were consisting of villages immediately under the hills, in order to be kept as a buffer zone between the turbulent tribesmen and Sikhs. Ranjit Singh showed practical statesmanship and excellent grasp of the realities of the situation and introduced the administration as was in tune with practices and the prevailing conditions there.^{31a}

Anyhow, similar grants were made to the chiefs of remote and powerful villages because collection of revenue was extremely difficult from those parts of the country. After forgoing the revenue of those areas Ranjit Singh secured his rule in the frontier region.^{31b}

In the Yusafzai country the Sikhs could not establish themselves permanently. No troops were stationed there and no direct or constant management was set up because that would have embroiled the Sikhs in a prolonged struggle with those tribes. Kohat and Hangu were assigned to Sultan Mohammad Barakzai, since that area was occupied by savage tribes therefore, no interference was made in that territory. State share, however, from the nearer parts of Peshawar was collected by the Sikhs themselves.³²

With regard to the land in the province of Peshawar, it is said that except from the peculiar rich lands the government demand never exceeded one-third and usually averaged one-fourth or one-fifth and fell even lower down to one-eighth of the crop.^{33a}

To be more specific, at Peshawar, the land revenue system of the Sikh was the same as it had been before. However, in 1837 the state demand was slightly raised by Tej Singh. Since the situation in the area was precarious therefore its full realization was not possible.

Consequently, in 1838 General Avitabile reduced the amount. In the following year the situation stabilized so, a minimal increase of one-fifth was introduced. As a result, the revenue raised to nearly nine lacs of rupees. Until, 1842 these rates continued with little alteration, when Tej Singh who succeeded Avitabile, increased the amount of state share.^{33b}

A fixed revenue was received from the Yusafzais along with some extra fees. The total amount drawn from the region of Peshawar, was ten lac rupees.³⁴ No material and general change was subsequently made in the revenue system, until the British took over.

Moreover, the revenue of the villages had to be submitted to the Arbabs and influential chiefs or in the absence of such men the land was leased to Hindu capitalists. The nominal share of the produce, claimed by the government was one-half but that was not final, extra fees were demanded and advances had to be adjusted. The revenues were mostly collected in kind. General prosperity was lacking besides, strife and litigation were common. Similarly, bloodshed over water, used for irrigation, was also very frequent, because government officials involved in nepotism, would favour the high and wealthy at the expense of smaller land owners.³⁵

During Sikhs rule, the law and order situation within the Peshawar Valley was in a terrible shape. Sikhs hardly attempted to maintain the internal order of the locality. Similarly their attitude towards the Muslim clergy-men was based on prejudice, for instance, Shahamat Ali records," formerly several grants of land were allotted to the Mullahs and Sayeds; but since the introduction of the Sikh rule many of them have been resumed, which has added much to the revenue. Among others, Mullah Najib, a pensioner of the British Government, has suffered great loss in the resumption of his lands. Poor man! in his old age, and with a large family, he deserved rather to be relieved than distressed; but the Sikhs I believe, appear more willing to injure the Mullahas than any other Mahomedans because they are considered the only persons who inculcate war against the Sikhs. Mullah Najib, however, is not of these; and enjoy a small pension from the British Government for services performed to Mr. Elphinstone."^{36a}

Moreover, Blood feuds between large administrative units, villages and families were unchecked. At the most, government interference would be up to levy fines only. Inroads and raids from beyond the frontiers usually remained unavenged, unless driven to desperation by their constant recurrence. Even then, the tribes of the plain would retaliate under the guidance of their own Arbabs and

Maliks. The Pathans, in fact, continued to govern themselves by their own code of life, which is devolved to them by their forefathers. The laws of that code offered to their wild natures a mode of avenging wrongs and adjusting disputes more suitably than the courts of infidels. The Sikhs failed to reduce the occurrence of crimes and bloodshed. Similarly inroads were not checked unless those were directed against the Sikhs.^{36b}

The Sikhs system of justice at Peshawar can be well understood from a few instances been observed by the onlookers, for instance, Henry Durand relates, "Avitabile, the Nizam of Peshawar had been performing judicial functions when the latter visited the former. He writes, "I called upon Avitabile and found him employed in giving decisions with his judges around him. Two Qazis, two Hindus and two Sikhs formed his conclave."^{37a}

Avitabile used to administer justice in Gorkhatri. He was a man of very strong character showed great acuteness and common sense and was dreaded beyond any other man in Peshawar.^{37b}

Moreover, Sikhs system of punishments was cruel and severe instead of, demonstrating the sense of justice and certainty. For instance, a thief could hardly ever escaped with life, they would certainly be

hanged. Similarly Honigberger relates that, "Muslmans, relaying on the presence of a Christian governor Avitabile, once broke the Sikh law against cow-killing, whereupon Avitabile hanged them, remarking that through he himself saw no crime in the matter, he was bound to carry out the Sikh laws".^{37c}

Sikhs followed a policy of blood and iron in this part (Peshawar and the surroundings), of their kingdom. They would frequently destruct the refractory villages and the gibbets out side the city walls, kept up the fear of their arms. The members of hill tribes were considered a race for extermination, and were invariably sent to gallows upon apprehension. Sikh severity can be judged from another example, Karm-ud-din Khan of Chamkani held his Jagir on the condition that he should produce annually twenty Afridi heads.^{37d}

Consequently, Sikh rule was hated by the common men as well as the chief-men. For instance, the Arbabs and Maliks constantly fled to the hills in order to defy the Sikh government. Tax evasion and conducting a system of warfare on the border, if strong enough, were their normal activities. However, such men were usually restored to their former position with favours and enrichment. The case of Mohammad Khan Arbab has to be mentioned here, who fled to the hills of Adam Khel

Afridis, where he remained for four years. In his absence the Sikh appointed somebody else to the Arbabi of that area but he was unable to control the tribe's matters. Therefore, Mohammad Khan was recalled by General Avitabile in 1840, under the guarantee of a Jagir of Rupees 6,000, subsequently increased by Tej Singh and Sher Singh to Rupees, 8,550.³⁸ Similarly, the Khalil Arbabs, behaving in the like manner, were also recalled with a guarantee of 12,000 Rupees Jagir, the revenue of which was remitted to them.³⁹

Keeping in view, all the hazards, which the Sikh government faced during its tenure, if they had evacuated the Valley at the death of Hari Singh Nalwa, the first Sikh governor of Peshawar, who had an ability to handle the refractory residents of the Valley, that would have been in the best interest of the Sikh government. Hari Singh was daring enough to check the members of hill tribes with iron hand. His death was the signal of Sikhs failure in the frontier country.

Similarly, no financial gains were secured by Sikhs, after holding the direct control of the Valley. Most of its parts were retained by the local chiefs, even the revenue obtained from the area where Sikhs were strongly seated, was spent on winning over the turbulent citizen of the Valley. Maintaining their rule in Peshawar did not serve the interest of

the Sikhs, if their presence was advantageous for the region in the long term, that is a different story.

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CHAPTER IV

DURRANIS ADMINISTRATION AT PESHAWAR

a. Cultural Administration of Peshawar Under the Durrannies:

The administrative set up of Durranis in Peshawar can not properly be understood unless the basic principles of its government be mentioned. Similarly, its central structure also need to be reviewed. As a matter of fact, their administrative structure was mainly based on two principles which were, concentration of state power in the king's hands, to be exercised in consultation with the tribal chiefs, on the condition that each would provide a contingent in case of war for which certain fixed sum would be paid to them in acknowledgement of their service. Secondly, assignment of complete autonomy to the tribes through their respective chiefs in their internal tribal matters, so that the independence of the tribes and tribesmen be guaranteed.¹

Moreover, being inspired from the Persian political system, the governmental pattern of Durranis was established upon the same model,^{2a} with slight alterations in order to make it according to their own requirements. Mountstuart Elphinstone confirmed it when he wrote, "The officers of the court and household are very numerous. Their

establishment is formed exactly on the model of Naudir Shaush's.^{"2b} Similarly, following the tradition of Mughals in India and Saffavide in Iran, the Durrani did not have any, " Dasturul- Amal, (descriptive account of administration),^{3a} so, it had the same repercussions on them as it happened in case of Mughals and Saffavide. According to Mountstuart Elphinstone," But, as they have no statute law, (except that of Mahomet), and no public records of the proceedings of their government, it is impossible that any regular constitution should have grown up among them. There are , however, some established customs and opinions respecting their government."^{3b} Mostly, their governmental system was kept in operation on the customs/ usages and the orders of the monarch, which he issued from time to time.

Moreover, the nature of the Durrani government was despotic, monarchical and Islamic.⁴ Despotic in the sense that all powers were vested in the king, the rule continued within the same dynasty therefore, it was monarchical. Furthermore, the supremacy of Islamic law prevailed in all public and private matters therefore it was Islamic also. The power, however, for maintaining the integrity of the state was, derived from strong military establishment. Along with that, the element of nationalism had also been found predominant in the policies of Durrani rulers. All the dealings of the Durrani monarchs with the tribes

were based on the spirit of Afghan nationalism which was quite fruitful for the ruler and the empire.

Moreover, for perpetuating their rule the Durrani required a permanent and strong financial resources which they planned in a regular manner. Otherwise, being a land lock country they could not afford to sustain their rule for long period. Similarly, the leader of the nation was aware of the fact that for political stability economic strength is essential. Keeping in view all this, the mode which they devised for materializing financial gains was, successive military incursions in the neighbouring countries, an opportunity of which was provided by the declining empires of Mughal in the east and Saffavide in the west, respectively.

Following the first principle of their governmental system, the founding father of the Durrani empire constituted a council of nine Durrani chieftains without whose consultation and advice he would not adopt any measure of importance. Anyhow, the first advisory council was consisted of, Shah Wali Khan Bamezai Ashraf-ul-Wuzra or the Prime minister, Sardar Jahan Khan, war minister and the Commander-in-Chief, and Shah Pasand Khan, Amir-i-Lashkar or (chief of the army). Some other Sardars, such as Barkhurdar Khan, Abdullah Khan and Nur-

ud-din were honoured and raised to high offices in the newly constituted state.⁵

Through out their ascendancy, the basic governmental system of the Durranis did not change, however, some superficial changes were introduced in it by the successive rulers of the same dynasty. While frequent shifts in the policies were not uncommon with them, which reflected the difference of the personality and style of each ruler.

CIVIL ADMINISTRATION OF THE DURRANIS

The civil administration of the Durranis can well be divided in to three compartments, central, provincial and local. Each part of it needs serious attention only then the provincial set up of the Durranis in Peshawar can properly be understood.

CENTRAL GOVERNMENT

The head of the central government was the king. Being all powerful, he had the fullest control of all departments of the State, whether civil or military. The reading of the Khutba and coining of Sikka were the exclusive privileges of the king. Similarly, the management of the political affairs of the government at home and

abroad was also his jurisdiction. Moreover, the right of war and peace and of entering into treaties rested exclusively with the Shah. All high appointments were made by the king himself. He, however, consulted his Majlis, advisory council, in all important matters.^{6a}

Mountstuart Elphinstone further explained about the king and kingship in these words, "The crown is hereditary in that branch of the house of Suddozye which is descended from Ahmed Shauh. There does not, however, appear to be any rule fixed for its descending to the eldest son. When a king dies, it has been usual for the great Dooranee Sirdars present at the court, to meet and consider which of his sons is to succeed. They are determined by the will of the father, and by the age and character of each of the princes, and their voice secures the possession of the capital, and gives a great advantage to the prince in whose favour it declares; but the practice of conferring the different great governments on the king's sons generally leads to a contest, which is decided by the wealth, abilities, and popularity of the rivals. The king's title is Shauhee Doorree Doorraun, but it is only used in treaties and other public instruments. In general, he is merely styled Shauh or Padshauh, (the King), and the common people often call him by his name, Mahmood or Shuja, without any addition at all. The court is called the Derree Khauneh, which is like Durbar in India, and Aulee

Kaupee (sublime porte), in Turkey, signifies the gate, a form of oriental adulation which implies that a subject ought to intrude no further into the palace even in his thoughts.^{6b}

THE MAJLIS

The Shah was assisted by a council of nine chiefs who advised him in all matters of general policy, civil administration and military operations. The members of that advisory Council were generally drawn from amongst the chiefs of the leading Afghan tribes. Those selected members held office for life and lost it only on the extreme displeasure of His Majesty. Their sole duty was to discuss and deliberate on matters forwarded to them by the Shah and to submit their resolutions on the same to him.⁷

Despite being an absolute ruler, the founder of Durrani's empire, Ahmed Shah, always carried his Majlis with him and seldom disagreed with them. The result was that to the last moment of his life the members of the Majlis stood by him in all matters of internal administration and external policy.⁸ However, deviation from that tradition, ruined his successors and caused the decline of the empire.

THE PRIME MINISTER

The immediate assistant of the Shah, as executive head of the state was, his Prime minister, called Ashraf-ul-Wuzra.^{9a} As per rule, according to Mountstuart Elphinstone, "The Vizier ought to be appointed from the clan of Baumizye, and from the family of Shauh Wullee Khan; but this rule was departed from by Shauh Zemaun, who made a Suddozye Vizier, and by Mahmood, who has bestowed that office on Futteh Khaun Baurikzye."^{9b} Anyway, the duties of the wazir were, to advise the Shah whenever required to do so, to enforce the orders of the king, to exercise a general supervision over all departments of the government and to direct and manage the political affairs of the government at home and abroad, were part of his job. The Prime minister had not necessarily been called as Ashraf-ul-Wuzra, at times he was called as Wazir-i-Azam (the grand minister), Amir-i-Kabir (the highest of the nobles) and Mukhtar-o-Mushir (commissioner and adviser).^{9c}

ROYAL SECRETARIAT (Dar-u-Tahrir Hazur BadShah)

The Royal Secretariat or Dar-u-Tahrir Hazur BadShah, was directly under the control of the Prime minister. It was in fact the clerical

department of the Prime minister. All farmans, orders and correspondence of the Shah and the Prime minister were written, copied and registered by this department, it was also responsible for the maintenance and preservation of all official records. The officer in charge of the secretariat was known as Munshi Bashi or Sar-Munshi. Some times, the Secretariat was mentioned as, Diwan-i-Insha, or Dar-ul-Insha instead of, Dar-u-Tahrir Hazur BadShah.¹⁰

FINANCE DEPARTMENT (Wizarat-i-Maliya)

The Finance Department during the reign of Ahmed Shah was the largest of all civil departments. And, "the whole revenue of the Caubul, in the settled times, may be reckoned at something near three crores of rupees; but of this upwards of a crore is remitted to different half-subdued princes, who are content to hold their revenue as a grant of the king's but who never would have consented to give it up to them. This description of revenue can not be considered among the king of Caubal's resources. The real revenue falls a good deal within two crores."^{11a}

Anyhow, all direct and indirect revenues, all matters relating to agriculture, irrigation, royal estates (the Khalsa), loans for agriculture known as Taqavi, public works, grain stores, mints, treasuries, etc.,

were dealt by this department. Accounts of receipts and expenditure of all the different department, except of the Tahwilat, or the monies advanced to the War Department for making purchases on behalf of the government, were collected and compiled by the Finance Department.^{11b}

The head of this department, the Finance Minister was called, Diwan Begi or Diwan-i-Ala. The khazanchi or khazanadar (treasury officer) was another important official of the Finance Department. He had in his custody all cash and other valuables in kind. In addition to that, some important documents pertaining to revenues of the government and the farmans of the Shah were also kept by him. Moreover, following the orders of the competent authorities of the state the Khazanchi had to make payments and keep records of it.¹² There were other high and low level officials also, without whose presence the finance department could not run.

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE, (Mahkama-i-Shariya)

The law and justice at the centre was administered by the chief justice called, the Qazi-u-Qazzat. In addition to his prime duties, he had to supervise the work of police official who were responsible for the maintenance of law and order in the country. The Qazi or the judge was

assisted by eight Naib-Qazis (deputy judges) and Muftis (givers of fatwas or expounders of Muhammadan Law), in addition to a number of katibs or clerk. Another important official of, Qazi-Khana, was called, Darogha-i-Bazaar, whose duty was to fix market prices and to superintend weights and measures.¹³

INTELLIGENCE SERVICE

The secret service of the Durrani worked with remarkable efficiency and promptitude and kept the Shah fully posted with up-to-date and reliable intelligence from all quarters of the empire. This service was not confined to men alone, intelligent women were also taken into it. The women section was a very important one, because much of the secret information was secured through these women. The chief of the detectives was called the Harkarah Bashi, while the central office of the news-service was known as Jama-Akhabar with the Darogha-i-Daftar-i-Akhbar at its head. However, the name of the Intelligence Department was not openly mentioned.¹⁴

SMALLER OFFICIALS

In addition to ministers in charge of big departments, there were a number of smaller officials attached to the royal court and camp, for example, Ishak-Aghasi Bashi (Master of Ceremonies),

Arz Begi Bashi, Ajarchi Bashi (public announcers), Mehmandar bashi was the officer responsible for receiving and entertaining royal guests and for looking after the maintenance and establishments of the guest-houses. Nazir Khana-i-tuam superintended the royal kitchens, arrangements for royal dinners and entertainment were also part of his duties.¹⁵

Other smaller officials were, Urdu bashi, PeshKhanachi or incharge of the advance arrangements of the Shah's camp, Nasaqchi Bashi or head of the royal body-guard, Nadim-i-Khas or Musahib-i-PadShah or confidant and privy counsellor of the Shah.

Khwaja-sara Bashi, chief of the eunuchs, Tabib Bashi, the physician to His Majesty. Similarly, Mir Akhwar Bashi, the superintendent of the Stables, Darogha-i-Daftar-i-Akhbar and Harkarah Bashi, incharge of communication and postal office and Zabt Begi Bashi, the Superintendent of public Security. In addition to these, there were a

number of other petty officials such as Sandooqdar Bashi or keeper of the royal wardrobe and jewels, Peshkhidmatgar Bashi or head of the household servants, Qabushi Bashi or gate keeper of the royal departments etc.¹⁶

Anyhow, the department of police and the post of kotwal did not exist separately during the reign of Durrani rulers. Similarly, there is no mention of such officials as Amir-i-Shurat (chief of the police or prefect), Shahana (a provost, head of the police), Asas (chief of the night patrols), Mir Shab (Night-master), Mir Shabgir (head of the night watchmen), Kotwal (police inspector or magistrate), etc. The duties of police were entrusted to military detachments, stationed in cities and towns.¹⁷

PROVINCIAL/ LOCAL GOVERNMENT

The size of the Durrani empire was large, its frontier to the North reached up to Amu Darya (the Oxus river) and the mountains of Kafiristan, to the South to the Arabian sea and the Gulf of Oman, to the Khurasan, Iran and Kerman in the West and in the East to Sirhind and the mountains of Tibet. So, for better administration the country was divided into several territorial units. The larger provinces were called,

vilayats and smaller, Hakumat-i-Ala. Their position might be compared to a governor's province and a commissioner's province in the political set-up of India,¹⁸ during the British period. The following were the divisions of the country:

Vilayat	Hakumat-i-Ala
Qandahar	Farah
Herat	Maimnah
Kabul	Baluchistan
Mazar-i-Sharif	Ghazni
Khurasan	Lughman
Badakhshan	Peshawar
Punjab(Lahore)	Dera Ismail Khan
Kashmir	Dera Ghazi Khan
	Shikarpur
	Siwi
	Sindh
	Chach Hazara
	Leih
	Multan
	Sirhind ¹⁹

The governor of a Vilayat or Hakumat-e-Ala was called, "Hakim". The appointment of the governors and the commander of troops called, Amir-e-Lashkar or Sardar, was made by the Shah through royal farman. Mountstuart Elphinstone opined, "The eighteen, (Provinces), most important are each governed by a Haukim, who collects the revenue and commands the militia, and a Sirdar, who commands the regular troops, and whose duty it is to preserve the public tranquillity, and to enforce the authority of the Haukim and Cauzy, when the Haukim is a Dooraunee, he usually holds the office of Sirdar also."^{20a}

The rest of the subordinate officials were appointed by local governors after seeking the advice of ministers of the central government or sometimes directly through the Shah's orders. The Hakim, governor of a vilayat was assisted by one or two deputies called, Naib or Peshkar. At times, as mentioned before, especially when the governor was a Durrani, he was also the commander of the troops, stationed in the province. Ordinarily, the commander of the provincial troops was directly under the Commander-in-Chief of the governmental forces.^{20b}

The provincial governor of a vilayat, who was considered to be the viceroy or representative of the king and was called Naib-ul-

Hakumat, was practically independent within his territories. All that the central government expected of him was the maintenance of peace and order in the province, and the regular payment of state dues into the central treasury after deducting the expenses of the province. He had, however, no power of awarding death sentence or of reducing the strength of troops allotted to his province. A governor was removable at pleasure except when he had contracted for the revenue, in which case he was left till the end of the year. The same rule was applied in case of Sardar, or the commander of troops, but it was usual with the Shah to keep such offices in particular families. A royal prince being the governor of a vilayat, had two extra privileges, reading of khutba and coining of sikka in his name.²¹

In addition to the Amir-i-lashkar, the following officials worked under the governors in provinces:

Qazi, the judge, administrator of law

Qaladar, the commandant of the fort and its garrison

Daftrin, the keeper of the civilian office

Bajgir, Mudir-i-gumarkat, the revenue collector Mir Akhwar,

Naqliya, the superintendent of stables, transport officer

Mir Ab, the harbour master or superintendent of rivers

Mamur-i-Khalisajat, the commissioner of royal estates

Mastaufi, the auditor of accounts

Kalantar-i-Shahr, the mayor of the town.²²

Practically, the central government exercised very little control over provincial governors except that the finance department occasionally called for statements of accounts, checked and compared the various items of income and expenditure, in order to see that government dues were regularly deposited into the central treasury, in case of embezzlement explanations had been called from the officer concerned.²³

Moreover, a vilayat was divided into Mahals, which were further sub-divided into towns and villages. The in-charge of a Mahal was also called "Hakim", appointed by the Shah himself. In towns and villages the administration was carried on by local chiefs called, Khan, Malik, Sarkarda or Sultan, on behalf of the provincial governors. Like a feudal lord, a Khan was practically independent in his place. He collected his revenue in whatever way he could. Begar (forced labour) and suyursat (contributions in kind), were common. The people, however, had three ways to escape from the tyranny of a Khan.

1. People could refuse to accept the decision of a Khan and appeal to higher judicial officers at the capital of the province.
2. In case of disagreement with a Khan, they could shift themselves to the village of a rival Khan.
3. In case of excessive taxes and tyrannical extortions, they could complain to the governor of the province, to a minister of the central government or to the Shah himself.²⁴

Individual action on the part of a complainant seldom had any effect upon the Khans who wielded considerable influence with the higher officials of the provinces. It was only when agitation assumed the proportions of a mass movement that it would move the provincial or the central government. The result of such an agitation generally was the dismissal of the offending Khan and his replacement by another. The new appointment would definitely take place with the approval and consent of the people.²⁵

Anyhow, justice system of Durrani was based on Islamic principles. Keeping with that, the Qazis administered justice in the cities according to the Islamic law.^{26a} According to Mountstuart Elphinstone, "Justice is administered in cities by the Cauzee, the Mooftees, the Ameeni Mehkemeh, and the Darogha of the Adawlut. In civil suits, the Cauzy

receives complaints and sends a summon by an officer of his own to the defendant. The cause is tried according to the rules and forms prescribed by the Shirra or Mahommendan law, modified by certain acknowledged parts of Pooshtoonwullee, or customary law. In doubtful cases, the Mooftees give their law opinion supported by quotations from books of authority".^{26b} He further recorded, " The Mohtesib inflicts the punishments prescribed by the Mussulman law, on persons who drink wine, or are guilty of similar irregularities: in Peshawar he does the duty of the Darogha of the Bazars. There are Mohtesibs who go circuits twice or thrice a year in the country and inspect the conduct of the inhabitants. "^{26c}

But, in the rural areas, the cases of acknowledged crime were decided by a jury of the village elders called, "jarga," which corresponded to the " Panchayat" of the Punjab villages. The cases wherein crime was not acknowledged, were referred to the Qazis. The punishments awarded by the Qazis were inflicted by the Muhtasib.^{26d}

DURRANIS ADMINISTRATIVE SET UP AT PESHAWAR

The administrative set up of Durranis in Peshawar was on the same lines as it was in the other parts of the empire. The in-charge of the province was a Hakim, whose prime responsibilities were,

- ☐ To distribute the land on lease.
- ☐ To collect the taxes and deposit it in the royal treasury.
- ☐ To sign important documents, (an office was kept for that purpose).
- ☐ To command the forces of the province, (cavalry, Artillery and Infantry).
- ☐ To administer justice, in this case the following officials would help him.
 - a. Qazi
 - b. Naib Qazi, both of them had to investigate and decide cases, civil and criminal, in accordance with the Islamic law.
 - c. Mufti, to deliver verdicts
 - d. Mustasib, to check public health, weights and immorality.
 - e. Shaikh-ul-Islam, the conversion would take place through his office.

All those officials were supposed to keep the record in black and white, and stamp it in order to protect it from alteration. The officials concerned received salaries from the royal treasury. In case of securing justice there was a provision to make an appeal to the king. For that matter, Khan Mullah had to be approached, who would look into the

case and decide it in accordance with Islamic law. On the other hand, cases within the villages were handled by the local heads. But in criminal cases the Hakim was supposed to take the decision after consulting the Qazi.²⁷

Monetarily, Peshawar did not disappoint its masters, during Shah Zaman's period the total annual revenues of the area was amounted to Rs 11,91,000. Its total expenditure was 8,96,000 and 2,95,000 were remitted to the royal treasury. However, these figures varied from time to time.²⁸

However, in the later part of the Durrani rule the Valley and its inhabitants had gone through enormous trouble, due to civil war in Afghanistan, which affected every sector. Particularly, the disregard of the king towards the public well being can be judged from an incidence which took place during the reign of Shah Mahmood's second term. Peshawar had witnessed a severe famine. Two reasons were made responsible for its occurrence, an attack from a fatal insect cicada which erupted from Kabul and secondly low percentage of rain fall. Consequently, the prices of the commodity rose and six to eight seers of grain was sold for a Rupee. Later, the rates further soared and only four seer flour could be bought for a rupee. A time came when the

availability of flour or food grain in the market became next to impossible. The situation became so grave that no difference was made in fine or low quality of flour, both were sold for the same price per seer, in the market. The ruler of Peshawar at that time, Shah Mahmood who was an absolute despot, initially paid no serious heed for resolving the problem. However, when the crisis prolonged, he consulted one day his premier, Fateh Khan Wazir, on the same issue, after securing his advise he delivered orders for the construction of a building close to Qila Bala Hissar, so that the poor people should be provided an opportunity to earn their bread. That was, however, sheer miscalculation of the crisis on the part of the ruler. In fact, people had the money but flour was not available, so they were dying of hunger. This situation intermittently continued for four years' 1812-1816. Meanwhile, Shah Mahmood kept himself almost ignorant of the crisis, did not even contact the neighbouring countries in order to provide for his people the much needed "wheat" on emergency basis. No agitation no violence had been demonstrated by the masses against the irresponsible attitude of the ruler, because public lacked awareness about their rights and previliges.²⁹

Anyhow ensuring the availability of basic necessities of life to its citizens, was the prime duty of Shah Mahmood's government. If it could not guarantee that on normal rates, it had no right to stay in. Though,

people were not directly responsible for his ouster from the government, but natural justice prevailed. People, who deeply hated his rule took a sigh of relief after his dismissal. However, the subsequent, Sikhs rule was equally looked upon with contempt by the inhabitants of Peshawar, due to cruelties and disregard towards public duty. Life and property were also not safe during their supremacy in Peshawar. Consequently, they also had to vanish and they did.³⁰

Similarly, the rule of Barakzais was on the same pattern, justice was rare. The wealthy were robbed for instance, the Mafidar Mula and Mulana would collect fodder for their horses and other cattles from the farmers per force. However, during Sikhs rule besides a Qazi a Pandath was also appointed, so that the cases of the Hindus should be decided in accordance with their Dahram Shashtra. Here also, the Hakim would decide the cases on the criminal side. Moreover, Azan and cow slaughter were prohibited in Peshawar. Those who committed these crimes were dealt ruthlessly.³¹

Anyhow, the people of Peshawar felt complete respite from such problems when British took over as rulers of the area. Thence, the availability of all food grains especially, wheat, flour and other edibles was no more a problem. Later, the law and order situation was also

normalised. Administrative set up had been established on strong platform. Keeping in view, all these factors, the achievement of higher goals needs attention but basic necessities, law and order and normal administrative set up should be guaranteed to the masses on top priority basis.³¹

MILITARY ORGANIZATION OF DURRANIS

The founding father of the Durrani empire, Ahmed Shah was an imperialist whose might and greatness was based on military power. Therefore, he was required to maintain a strong and well organised army, in order to accomplish the extensive territorial designs of him. His successor, Taimur Shah though not of the same nature as his father, still he needed strong military establishment to safeguard the empire, he received from his predecessor. Zaman Shah, followed the foot prints of his grand father and tried to revive the old glory of the Durrani for which he had to keep an organised and huge military establishment. However, in the later part of Durrani rule just like other departments, control of the rulers over military slackened, it became disorganised, instead of providing strength it caused troubles by joining one party and another.

The military organisation of Durrani was such that the over all in-charge of the army was minister of war, but in reality it had been looked after and led by the Sipah Salar who sometime would be called Sardar-i-Sardaran, his position was next to the king.^{33a} Mountstuart Elphinstone further explain the position of same officer," There is sometimes an officer called Sirdaree Sirdaraun, who takes rank of all the Sirdars, and commands every army where he is present. Shauh Mahmood has conferred this office on Futteh Khaun."^{33b} The Sipah Salar had to perform the following functions,

- a. To organise
- b. To train
- c. To plan and conduct operations during war

Similarly, the well-fare of the soldiers was also one of the main concerns of him. Reason being that, that the loyalty and discipline of the army depended upon the attention paid by the officers to their person and requirements.^{33c}

Moreover, the Sipah Salar had been assisted by a number of deputies who looked after different branches and a variety of departments of the army at the head quarters, known as Daftar-i-Nizam. Some of the important military officers were,

- a. Suyursatchi or quartermaster general.
- b. Qurchi Bashi or Director of arsenals
- c. Mir Akhwar Bashi or head of transport office, etc

In fact, the whole army was divided into two, Regular army or Askar-e-Munazzam and Irregular army or Askar-e-Ghair Munazzam. Regular force was one-third of the total army, which was further divided into three categories, Cavalry, Infantry and Artillery. The recruitment of the regular forces was on voluntary basis for life. Their salary arrangements had not exactly been known, slightly could be gathered from different sources that soldiers were paid in coin and kind. The arms, horse and transport equipment were supplied to them by the government, only the price of the horse was usually recovered from them in small instalments. Similarly, a soldier was required to arrange for his food and fodder for his horse.³⁴

There was a provision for vacations also, a soldier except during war, was allowed to stay at home for three months per annum. For the remaining period he had to stay with his regiment at the cantonment, busy in his military training and practice. Traditionally, the army had to station at the capital, Qandahar later Kabul, only a portion of it was detailed for duty to the provinces, for instance, the Hakim of Peshawar

during Zaman Shah's period commanded a contingent of 3,000 horses with nine pieces of canon. In addition to that, he could collect 4,000 horse and 11,000 foot in time of emergency. Apart from the masonry fort of Peshawar, there were many small forts, which were enough for proper defence of the area.³⁵

Anyhow, the troops cantoned at the capital were categorize as:

- a. Ghulam-i-Shah or Royal cavalry
- b. Kashakchian or Bodyguards
- c. Qalawur or Scouts
- d. Ghulam-i- Khana or Royal bodyguards.

One-third of the Ghulam-i-Khana were Qazalbashis who were considered the best part of the royal bodyguards. They had been preferred over Afghans for their loyalty. They had no tribal connections or party alliances in the country therefore, their faithfulness was doubtless. Similarly, Peshkhidmatgars, were the immediate personal servants of the Shah, who were usually drawn from among the Ghulams.³⁶

The ratio of cavalry and infantry was three-fourth and one-fourth respectively, of the regular army. Artillery, was the strongest branch of

Shah's army, the victory at the third battle of Panipat, 1761, was due to the superior artillery, which Ahmed Shah kept. Anyhow, numerically it could be included into cavalry. Its Commander was called Topchi Bashi.^{37a}

Regarding cavalry Mountstuart Elphinstone recorded, "Almost the whole of the regular troops are cavalry. The horses belong to the men. Except about five hundred Peshkhednuts (Personal servants of the king), there is not one man mounted on a horse belonging to government. The chiefs have each some Peshkhednuts, mounted on horses belonging to them, and equipped at their expense. These are the best mounted and armed of the whole army. They are generally Kazzilbashes."^{37b} Durrani's army had a small corps of elephants also, whose function was, to transport goods/ artillery guns and to break the lines of the enemy, whenever required.^{37c}

The actual position of the army is however, recorded in the Journal of Mahomed Sadick, "From inspection of the Daftars kept at Kabul in the time of Timoor Shah it appears that the army consisted at that time of, 41,000 horse, during the days of Zeman Shah the number lowered to 12,000 horse, but in reality it was not more than 10,000 horse. The artillery in camp consisted of 12 Baals field pieces and 500

Zumboorruches to fire from camels, however these were also very badly equipped and there were not above 400 men to the 500 camels. The king owned extra-establishment consisting of the Nakkara Khana, elephants, palanquins, shatars tents etc, were very splendid and magnificent."^{37d} Mountstuart Elphinstone also remarked about the situation of Durrani army," The king of Caubul is said to have many guns, but Shauh Shuja had only five, when he took the field at Peshawar in 1809. They were much worse in all respects then any I have ever seen among the native armies of India."^{37e}

The Irregular army or Askar-i-Ghairmunazzam or Eeljauree constituted two-third of the whole army. Usually, a prince, a minister an official or a tribal Khan was assigned the duty to raise certain number of troops and provide them to the Shah at call. The official in-charge would receive revenue of a huge Jagir in order to equip the soldiers with arms and horses, whose price had been recovered from them in instalments.^{38a} The Eeljauree of Peshawar, recorded Elphinstone, has , however, been several times called out by the king, particularly on all expeditions against Cashmere. That of Cabul has also been called out on military service. The number of the Eeljauree of these two provinces seem to be nearly equal, and have been of different amount from four to six thousand each, according to state of circumstances."^{38b}

Moreover, the internal organisation of the Irregular levies was exactly the same as that of regular troops. They were under the direct orders of Naib-ul-Huhumat of a Vilayat, then minister for interior and minister for war. However, during war times they were under the command of the commander-in- chief.^{39a}

Anyhow, the actual situation of the military during the days of Zaman Shahcan can be learnt from the answers of Mahomed Sadick, an agent, to the queries of Captain Melcolm, a British envoy for Presia," When Zemaun Shah took the field last year most of the Kuzzalbashes refused to accompany him, saying that they have neither houses nor sums, and that their poverty was so great they had been obliged to turn away their wives not being able any longer to support them."^{39b}

As long as Durrani rulers were militarily strong and their army was well organised they ruled undisputedly. By the time other factors overwhelmed the person of the rulers and the dynasty, army also deteriorated, which caused great harm to the empire. And, the military which initially was a source of strength became a cause of decline.

CULTURAL ATTAINMENT OF PESHAWAR UNDER DURRANIS

The word culture has been defined in various ways, for instance, "Behaviour peculiar to mankind, together with material objects that are part of this behaviour. Culture consists of language, ideas, beliefs, customs, codes, institutions, tools, works of art, and so on."⁴⁰ According to many others, culture is simply a way of life of people, which include every thing, that is concerned with man's life. Moreover, the main components of culture are many, however, here, the word culture has been discussed in two perspectives, literary and monumental, in order to high light Durrani's achievements or failure in the same spheres.

LITERARY ACTIVITIES

Despite the great Ahmed Shah being a poet, poetry and prose both could not make substantial progress during Durrani's ascendancy. Many factors could be made responsible for that, for instance, too much involvement in war and later attention to the administrative work, spared him no time to give attention to literary activities. Similarly, during the post-Ahmed Shah period, due to political chaos, civil war and religious squabbles the cultural and literary activities were affected. Consequently, even the work that had been done had little substance, therefore, it had

truly been said that the poets and authors of eighteenth and nineteenth centuries could not maintain the standard of the classical period.⁴¹ In fact, the aforementioned reasons do not seem accurate enough to be considered for less literary activity, because prior to this, history of the same region had the example of Mahmood of Ghazni, who was a warrior king, but art and literature attained tremendous progress during his reign.

In case of Durrani, there were no clear reasons, which might be accepted exactly in the context of negligence toward literary work. That's why, the men of letters call this period, an age which was barren of excellence in the sphere of poetry and prose. Whatever, might have been the reasons underneath, Pushto poetry and prose had the reflection of the society prevailed during those days.⁴²

So far as the medium of expression adopted by the literary men was concerned, Dari was a court language, but whatever, had been written in the form of poetry or prose, that was in Pushto also. Especially, in area of Peshawar, Pushto was spoken and people preferred to write in the same language. Some prominent poets and authors of Ahmed Shah Durrani's period were,

- a. Nurul-Ain Waqif, wrote a Qasida on the person of Ahmed Shah.

- b. Nizamuddin Ishrat- ShahNama-e-Ahmedi, which consisted of six hundred pages and was completed in 1773.
- c. Mohammad Mosani- Tarikh-e-Ahmed Shah
- d. Imam-ud-din Hussaini- Tarikh-e-Ahmed Shah Durrani
- e. Qazi Nur Mohammad- Jang Nama
- f. Qabil Orakzai- Manajat (For Ahmed Shah)
- g. Tehmas Khan Tehmas, was an author of three books, for instance, he authored Ahmed Nama. He was basically a literary figure of Taimur Shah's period.⁴³

Those prominent poets of Durrani rule, who mostly resided in the Peshawar were, Pir Mohammad Kakar, who was a court poet of Ahmed Shah Durrani and author of Diwan-e-Pir Mohammad Kakar, an excellent figure in his field. Faiz Mohammad Kakar was also a court poet of Ahmed Shah. Hafiz Alpuri was a sufi poet and belonged to the reign of Taimur Shah. In his Diwan there were some couplets which explain the political situation of that period, for instance, in one of such couplets, the revolt against Taimur Shah in Peshawar had been mentioned, specially the key figure of the revolt Faizullah Khan had duly been addressed. He was the only poet of significance during the reign of Taimur Shah in Peshawar Province. Other known poets of that age were, Najeeb, Mian Mohammadi Sahibzada, Bedel and Abdul Azim Ranizi. In total, some

two hundred poets contributed to the literature of that period, among them were both poets of prominence and ordinary.⁴⁴

In fact, style wise Pushto poetry was influenced by the Persian pattern, for instance, Gazal, Rubai, Masnavi and similarly other forms were derived from the Persian literature, which had been adopted by the pushto poets in such a way that these seem to be original.⁴⁵

Though, lesser work had been done in prose, in comparison with poetry, still there were some works, for instance, Murad Ali Sahibzada's Tafseer-e-Yaseer and Dost Mohammad Khan Khattak's Tafseer-e-Hussaini, which was translated in Pushto, could be presented as an example. Similarly, some magazines on religious subject were also written, for instance,

- a. Rasheed-ul-Bayan
- b. Dur Majalis
- c. Miraj Nama
- d. Mujezat etc.

These works were mostly popular among the women folk in Peshawar, due to which literacy rate of Pushtoon women was higher than men.⁴⁶

Another important but strange point which needs to be mentioned, that literary activities in any form were not patronised by the royal family of the Durranis. They did have court poets and scribes but as such this activity had not been given due recognition and support by them. However, on private level, men of letters patronised the literary societies and personalities, for instance, the house of Mian Umer Sahib and his illustrious son Mohamadi Sahibzada, made significant contributions in this field. Many, prominent works of that age, in the form of Diwans and other of the same kind, were written upon the request of Mohamadi Sahibzada. The poets and writers were provided with financial assistance, which made them free of monetary problems and could concentrate more on their work.⁴⁷

MONUMENTAL WORKS

Peshawar being an historic city enjoyed prominence since ancient times, almost every ruling dynasty, whether they were Buddhists, Mughals or Durranis, erected an edifice or two as memorial during their rule, in order to be remembered by the posterity. For instance, many monuments of Buddhist origin are still visible in the city and valley of Peshawar at large. Mughals being culturally rich and versatile, focused on building beautiful architectural pieces all over their empire, of which

Peshawar was an important part. Their main contribution in Peshawar were, Shalimar garden, Masjid Mahabat Khan, Garden of Ali Mardan Khan and the reconstruction of Bala Hissar on its present location. After the Mughal, Peshawar became part of the Durrani empire right from its start and remained as its part and parcel till the end.

During the Durrani rule Peshawar had been elevated to higher status, as a province and its main city which was also called Peshawar, as a winter capital. Therefore, it had further been recorded that the nobility and many other families of prominence moved to this area and built houses and other buildings, which were beautifully carved out. They also constructed some gardens and reservoirs, where people would go in order to amuse themselves.

However, whatever remnants are presently visible, that do not tally with the aforementioned statements. Of the monumental legacy of Durrani only the Wazir Bagh, which was laid out by the famous Fateh Khan Barakzai, the Wazir of Shah Mahmood, the last Durrani ruler, still exists, where according to Gopal Das, Muslims went every Friday for merry-making and enjoyment. Sir Alexander Burnes described one such day: " On Friday after our arrival we accompanied the chief and his family to some lower-garden, where we spent the greater part of the day

in conversation. The chief himself sat under one tree, and we ranged ourselves beneath another. Iced Sharbat and confections were brought to us..... In the afternoon we returned to the king's garden, which is a most spacious one, and sat down on the ground with Sooltan Mohammad Khan and his family to partake the sugarcane cut into small pieces We then followed the chief to his family burying ground, where his two elder brothers, Atta and Yar Mohammad Khan, fell in battle, lie interred. The whole branches of the family were present, and offered up their afternoon prayers in a mosque, close to the grave. The sight was an impressive one..... The day finished with a visit to a holy man named Sheikh Iwaz and such is the usual manner of spending a Friday among the Dooranee nobles of Peshawar". Similarly, the residence of Yar Mohammad Khan near Kohati Darwaza⁴⁸ might also be counted as a monument of late Durrani rule. Other than that, nothing of significance can be mentioned in this regard. All what the prominent chroniclers denote was, that the subsequent Sikhs devastation turned the city into ruins, all the beautiful buildings were demolished, especially, the Bala Hissar and the royal palaces erected inside that.^{49a} Munshi Mohan Lal recorded in his Journal about the devastation of Balahisar in these words, " At evening we passed through the city on our route to Balahisar.

This place is seventy feet high, and was lately destroyed and burnt by Ranjit Singh. Its ruins give an idea of noble strature".^{49b}

Bala Hisar had been described as, " Bala Hisar, with its high walls and prominent bastions, stands alone by the side of the Grand Trunk road. At the time of Elphinstone's visit' some handsome structures belonging to the Balla Hissaur, form the southern side; and part of the hill on which that castle stands, is included in the (Shalimar) garden". The gardens , which added to the beauty and decoration of the city were destroyed, trees and plants were uprooted, in order to be used for lighting fire. This situation has rightly been depicted by Elphinstone and Alexander Burnes in their travelogues. For instance," The city of Peshawar, and plain in which it is situated have been so fully and accurately described by Elphinstone.. . . Both, however, had much fallen off since his visit, in consequence of dissension and hostilities with Ranjeet Sigh. Many of the houses of the city were untenanted and in ruins, and extensive tracts of rich land were uncultivated. In the immediate vicinity of the town the Sikhs had inflicted more mischief than many years labour could remedy, by destroying gardens and orchards, and demolishing the walls and channels of irrigation. The Bala Hisar which, at the time of the British embassy, was the occasional residence of the king, and in which their audience took place, was a heap of

rubbish, and the only use made of it by the rulers of Peshawar was as a quarry from whence to procure material for dwellings of their own erection."^{49c}

Similarly, Burnes opined, "I found that the Sikhs had changed everything, many of the fine gardens round the town had been converted into cantonments; trees had been cut down; and the whole neighbourhood was one vast camp, there being between 30,000 to 40,000 men stationed on the plain If, however, some thing be changed for the worse, others are improved. The active mind of Monsieur Avitabile had done much to improve the town and tranquillise the neighbourhood: he was building fine bazars and widening streets." "It was Avitabile who delimited the city by erecting a wall all round while it at was the time of another Sikh Sardar, Kurruck Singh that the Bala Hisar was rebuilt and named "Sumungur".^{50a}

Furthermore, about the destruction of another important site, Munshi Mohan Lal remarked, " I cast my eyes upon a magnificent building , the tempting aspect of which drew me to its side from my road. When I approached the edifice, it appeared to be about seventy feet in height, but it was all destroyed and burnt by Ranjit Singh when he gained a victory over Azim Khan Durrani, ten years ago. It was erected

in the reign of Ahmed Shah Durrani, in honour of Mausam Khan Arbab. Though it is totally destroyed, it still retains the name of Mausam Khan's Kote. It is reported that forty(40) mounds of iron was taken from the gate of this edifice, and swords and other instruments of war were made from it." ^{50b}

In brief, the monumental legacy of Durrani is difficult to be traced in totality because, as has been mentioned, was destroyed by the Sikh annual visitations for extracting the revenues from the locals. If it had been preserved, would have been of value to the posterity.

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CHAPTER V

PESHAWAR AS A BONE OF CONTENTION AMONG THE SIKHS, BRITISH AND AFGHANS

Peshawar, being a frontier territory remained constantly in transition, due to frequent inroads from Central Asia and Afghanistan. Similarly, frequent change of masters had also been responsible for perpetual instability and chaos. However, in the first half of nineteenth century, Peshawar remained a major cause of tension between Durrani and Sikhs, on the question of who would rule it? Though, it had been taken over by the Sikhs in 1823, yet the hostility between the two on the same issue continued till 1837. Meanwhile, several attempts had been made by the Barakzai Sardars, who by that time were the dependants of the ruler of Punjab, for throwing away the yoke of Sikh supremacy. Similarly, the ruler of Kabul, Amir Dost Mohammad Khan, being an aspirant to make the Valley part of his dominion, made two desperate attempts in 1835 and 1837. That, military aggression of Amir Dost Mohammad Khan was foiled by the Sikh soldiery¹ yet the earnest strides of the Barakzai ruler manifested the importance of the Peshawar Valley for the kingdom of Kabul.

The arrival of British in the Peshawar region was a later development. In fact, they never showed their intention to take the Valley part of their Indian possessions till Ranjit Singh was alive. Reasons were many for instance, English were cautious imperialists, secondly, Sikh's state of Punjab was a strong buffer between the English and Durrani rulers of Kabul. Thirdly, English leaders of that time were contented with making Sutlej as a boundary line in the North-West of their sphere of influence.

During the Sikh-Durrani conflict English kept silent and watched it with utmost vigilance. They remained friendly with the ruler of Punjab, Ranjit Singh, through out that period, and viewed Sikh-Durrani clashes as an opportunity to get the overlordship of India. Anyhow, they did not take active part in the conflict, but, being watchful, English did not sit idle they effectively used their diplomatic skills against the local warlords, Sikhs, Marhathas and Muslims. They also successfully contained two foreign powers, French and Russian, whose policy of territorial aggrandizement alarmed the leadership of East India company. Enough diplomatic skill was used in this regard, which ultimately neutralized the might and ambition of French and Russian rulers, who wanted to jointly invade India and grab the possessions of East India Company. Diplomacy, anyhow, of the East India Company

was marvellous at that crucial times. At a time ,it concluded treaties of friendship with Sikhs in Punjab and with Persia in 1809. Consequently, a chance of combat with the Durranis was averted because they were engaged in the west of Afghanistan by Persians.

Within no time, the situation became such that English were the only paramount power left in India, the rest of the local and neighbouring powers got out of the picture, one after another. All these successes of the English emphasised upon the fact that, high goals are achievable through consistency, hard work, and tactfulness. If English had become the masters of the Indian land and resources, their diplomatic skills and watchfulness should be accredited for that. Military capacity of the English was secondary or in some cases negligible in comparison to diplomacy and stratagem. Indeed, English could rely upon soldiers of their own stalk, which were less in numbers. On the other hand, mercenary forces could fight for them battles but not wars. So, in many cases they preferred diplomacy unless fighting became inevitable.

THE EMERGENCE OF BRITISH POWER IN INDIA

English entered into India in the disguise of traders. After establishing East India Company in the early seventeenth century, they

devoted themselves to increase their influence with Mughal court at Delhi. Similarly, having prior information and knowledge about the land and people they used appropriate measures to win over the favours of the king. The importance of the Mughal nobility was never ignored by the English in this regard. Right contacts were established with all those who had an influence at the Mughal court, which bore them fruit at that time and later also.

Keeping in view the commercial importance of India, English were not the only contenders but other foreign companies also showed their interest for instance, Portuguese, French and Dutch etc. Though, others could not compete with the superior trade and imperialistic policies of the English, yet they duly participated in the struggle and did not let the English take the ground easily. Portuguese were outwitted quite earlier, Dutch were no match for the English however, French gave tough time to the English especially in the south of India. Anyway, apart from these factors luck could be considered as a decisive factor in the case of English. In the end they remained the only foreign element to become the political power of Hindustan.

On the Mughal side, the political situation at the court which arose after the death of Aurangzab Alamgir, was such that any shrewd

leader could replace them within no time however, in the absence of any local power a foreign element (English), bided for ascendancy. Being cautious, English were moving slowly and steadily towards the achievement of their set goal. They kept themselves informed about every minute detail of the king and the trends of the court parties. All these tactics provided them a chance to avail the opportunity for strengthening their own position in the India.

Moreover, the puppet Mughal rulers of the later period and the unscrupulous nobility played in the hands of the foreigners which was definitely against the interest of Mughal empire. They sacrificed the interest of the empire for securing personal petty benefits which did real harm to the integrity and sustainability of Mughal rule in India. Keeping in view all these factors, English, the trading community began dreaming to be the rulers of India.

The English policy was to gain territorial power of the Indian soil, which came to the surface after winning a battle against Nawab Sirajud- Dulla in 1757 at Plassy. They became the masters of Bengal,² which was one of the richest provinces of the Mughal empire. The way Bengal was plundered by the English for materializing their designs of territorial extension, was unprecedented.

Similarly, victory, at the battle of Buxer, 1764, against the combined forces of Mughal king Shah Alam and Nawab of Deccan further strengthened the position of the English,³ and they could predict that their dream was not far away to be realised. On the other hand, the position of the Mughal ruler was extremely weak and he fully became dependent on the will of the East India Company.

Furthermore, the defeat and subsequent murder of Tipu Sultan of Mysor in 1798 at Sarangapatam upheld the supremacy of English arms and diplomacy. In a nut shell, English got the hold of Delhi by 1803.⁴ Mughal emperor was only a figure head whose job was to obey whatever the East India Company wished to do through him. Keeping in view all these factors, the realization of East India Company's ambition to become the supreme power of Hindustan seemed not a far cry.

THE ENGLISH ASCENDANCY IN PUNJAB

East India Company which by then was no longer a trading company had assumed a great deal of political power. The court of Delhi was in their control and all other contenders, local and foreign, aspirants of the throne of Hindustan were kept at bay. During the year 1809, a treaty of friendship concluded between the Sikh ruler, Ranjit Singh and

English, which brought the boundary of Indian possessions of the East India Company to the banks of Sutlej.⁵ The clauses of the treaty were:-

1. Perpetual friendship shall subsist between the British Government and the state of Lahore. The latter shall be considered with respect by the former, to be on the footing of the most favoured powers, and the British Government will have no concern with the territories and subjects of the Raja to the northward of the river Sutlej.
2. The Raja will never maintain in the territory which he occupies on the left bank of river Sutlej more troops than are necessary for the internal duties of that territory, nor commit or suffer any encroachments on the possessions or rights of the Chiefs in its vicinity.
3. In the event of a violation of any of the preceding articles, or of a departure from the rules of friendship, this treaty shall be considered null and void.
4. This treaty, consisting of four articles, having been settled and concluded at Amrutsir, on the 25th April, 1809, Mr. C.T. Metcalfe has delivered to the Raja of Lahore a copy of the same in English and Persian, under his seal and signature; and the Raja has delivered another copy of the same under his seal and

signature, and Mr. C.T. Metcalfe engages to procure within the space of two months a copy of the same, duly ratified by the Right Honourable the Governor General in Council, on the receipt of which by the Raja, the present treaty shall be deemed complete and binding on both parties, and the copy of it now delivered to the Raja shall be returned.⁶

The treaty apparently seemed very simple and clear, it ensured non-interference in the territories and policies of each other, but between the lines English left enough room through which they assumed certain amount of control over the policies of Lahore Darbar. Similarly, Ranjit Singh's relations with neighbouring states and provinces of Punjab government, Sind, Bahawalpure, Peshawar and Afghanistan were also keenly watched over. Ranjit Singh managed his stately affairs in such a manner that till his death English could not violate whatever they had committed in the form of a treaty. Meanwhile, Ranjit Singh put all his efforts for the consolidation and uplifting of newly established Sikh state. He took those developmental and extentional measures so fastly that by 1813 he converted Punjab into a strong kingdom.⁷ Ranjit Singh met success because he adopted two different policies which were quite appropriate against East India Company and the Durrani rulers of Afghanistan respectively. For instance, diplomacy won him the English

on one side and aggression subsided the threat from Barakzai rulers of Peshawar and Kabul on the other side. For carrying out all these measures Ranjit Singh relied on his military which he raised very thoughtfully.

The death of Ranjit Singh, 1839 proved a death blow to the Sikh state of Punjab. His offshoots were no match for their predecessor. The usual rule which was commonly practised in such circumstances, followed. Incapable rulers were governed by the treacherous ministers, whose own small benefits were preferred over dynastic and national interests. The consequences of such activities were nothing else but the same. Traitors sold the nation at the hands of strangers and the doom of their own race became inevitable.

Those who were at the helm of affairs in the East India Company were contented with the arrangements they had made through a friendly treaty with the Sikhs, in the first decade of nineteenth century. They were still satisfied with having Satalj as a boundary line towards the North-West of their territorial possessions. However, the changes which took place at the Lahore Darbar after the death of Ranjit Singh, made the English realize to make shifts in their policies towards the Sikh state of Punjab.⁸ Even if English were at ease with Ranjit Singh, that was also

due to their own interest, because in him they found a strong military leader who could check effectively the armed incursions of Durrani rulers against Indian territories. In his absence, they could not find anybody else from the same lot to replace him.

At the same time, Sikh courtiers were so unscrupulous that they wanted East Indian Company's officials to take over their dominion, and let them continue under English protection. Last but not the least, though leaders were dishonest but the military and common Sikh was as loyal to the state as they were during the lifetime of Ranjit Singh. During, post-Ranjit Singh period, Sikh leadership was insincere, but, they could not put into practice their nefarious designs in the presence of strong Khalsa army. So, they decided to crush the power and vitality of Khalsa army.⁹ A series of wars with the British were started, in whom they found the ones who could accomplish that cherished task of the deceitful Sikh nobility. These were the circumstances under which the British decided to bring a substantial shift in their policy towards the Sikhs state of Punjab.

SIKH-ENGLISH WARS BETWEEN 1845-46

The British and the ruler of Punjab, Maharaja Ranjit Singh had entered into a friendly treaty in 1809. The terms and conditions of which were followed by both till the first anglo-Afghan war, 1838. However, after the death of Ranjit Singh the policy of the British towards the state of Punjab tremendously changed for instance, William Macnaghtan suggested the dismemberment of the Sikh state and wanted of the English authorities to bestow Peshawar on Shah Shuja. Similarly, Sir Alexander Burnes advocated that Peshawar should be given into the custody of Dost Mohammad Khan. Another plan was also thought out in this regard, which explained the intentions of the British, to march upon Sikh capital and disperse their army in 1843.¹⁰

In 1845, it was a widespread news that English were making preparations to attack the Sikh dominion. Sikh military and masses were well aware of the fact, that English were territorial aggrandizers and their ambition was to conquer Lahore. So, being fearful of the powerful neighbour their power and confidence was shattered in front of the opponents. Consequently, they were defensive in their war preparations.¹¹

The British were apprehensive of the Sikhs in their own way, for instance, the Sikh army became so predominant that the officials could not control them. Similarly, the machinery of the government had broken down due to inability of higher authorities. In the absence of any strong administration the bands of plunderers arose everywhere and insecurity prevailed. In these circumstances the British felt it necessary to protect their own interest.^{12a} Their line of action was based on this pretext, "The Sikh army, whose insubordinate conduct is one of the chief causes of the anarchy and misrule which have brought the Sikh state to the brink of destruction, is about to be disbanded."^{12b} For that matter, they chose the military option, and started strengthening the frontier posts with arms and ammunition. At the same time, through urgent measures the size of the army was also enlarged.

The appointment of colonel Richmond and later of Major Broadfoot as an agent for the affairs of Sikhs, further explained the policy of the East India Company towards Punjab. Major Broadfoot's first step, after becoming an agent of Sikhs affairs, was the declaration of Cis-Sutlej possessions of Lahore under British protection, including Patiala and other principalities. Escheating of the Kingdom of Punjab after the death of Maharaja Dhuleep Singh was also part of the plan.

However, Sikhs authorities were not formally informed about this shift in the policy of the English towards their state.^{12c}

On the other hand the masses of Punjab were assured by the English , a secret report recorded in this regard," The inhabitants of the cities in the Punjab will in that cause, be perfectly safe, in person and property, from any molestation by the British troops; and they are hereby called upon to dismiss apprehension, and to follow their respective calling with all confidence."^{12d}

Moreover these information from the secret reports further explain the war preparations on the side of British," It has been recommended to fortify the castle at Ferozepur on the Sutlej. But this measure was recommended principally with a view to render that town a commercial depot and bazaar in relation with commercial navigation of the Indus. Whatever, may be the views of the Government in this respect, I would recommend, as a measure of military precaution, the construction of a secure work on the site of the castle of Ferozepur. This with a barrack or cantonment at Ludhiana, secured by a good redoubt, would be all that would be necessary in the way of work in the part of the position. The army in this position might maintain itself. It might move forward into the Punjab, whether in an offensive movement with a view to conquest,

or as one defensive, with a view to attack its enemy at the passage of some of the rivers in that country, or to threaten the communication of an enemy advancing from the North-West. The countries of the protected Sikh chieftains would be in the rear of the army; and as they are highly cultivated and fertile would afford supplies of provision and forage during any length of time which it might be necessary to detain the army in that position. These Sikh chieftains, the Raja Patiala and others, ought to be cultivated and their light cavalry taken into the service of the army. They will thus feel an additional interest in the defence of that frontier.¹³"

The occurrence of some incidents, conveyed the intentions of the British to the state of Punjab in a clear manner. For instance, "Ludhiana had indeed, long been occupied by a British detachment, but this, and the subathu garrison, was the sole outpost of the advancing empire in that direction up to the period of Afghan war in 1838. In that year 12,000 men assembled at Ferozepore, which had passed under British protection three years before, for the advance into Khurasan; and a division of troops was left there during the campaign. To support these two posts of Ludhiana and Ferozepore, a reserve was posted at Ambala in 1842. The occupation of Sind in the Meantime threatened Sikh territory at Multan, and a bridge of boats was thrown across the Sutlej

near Ferozepore, while small streams plied on the river. The Sikhs then had come to think their independence menaced and war inevitable, while on their side the English expected to be forced into a collision with the overbearing soldiery of the Khalsa. "14a

Furthermore, in 1845, some horsemen of Multan crossed into Sind in search of marauders, the governor Charles Napier, soon ordered for the preservation of integrity of his frontier from violation.^{14b} This act of the governor of Sind as confirmed as a proof of the desire of the English to bring about a war with the state of Punjab.

Keeping in view this situation the Sikh army and general public were convinced that war with the English was inevitable. But higher Sikh authorities were not willing to take the initiative. Their motives were contradictory to the interest of state and public. They were scared of army's dominance which derived its force from the system of committees. None of the government authorities had control over them, Lal Singh, Tej Singh including Raja of Jammu felt their incapacity to control the troops. Consequently, the chiefs of Punjab Sher Singh Sindhamvalus and others preferred to become tributary of the East India Company instead of being molested by their own troops.¹⁵ They even made up their mind to disperse their military by engaging them into hot

encounters with a compatible power, which was none else but the British.

In fact, the assassination of Maharaja Sher Singh in 1843, and subsequent death of minister Dhean Singh and many other chiefs at Lahore led to the virtual transfer of all power to the disorganised army there assembled, whose power appears to be exercised through committees in the several corps corresponding together and acting in concert.^{16a}

Unfortunately, those military committees could not assess the insincerity of their leaders. In fact, war preparations on the English side which created urgency, that made them not to think themselves but to listen to the exhortations of such mercenary men as Lal Singh and Tej Singh.^{16b}

Anyhow, those were Khalsa contingents who took the initiative against the English. They threatened Ferozpure and crossed the river Sutlej. By crossing the river Sikhs broke the treaty, which was concluded between the two powers in 1809. The attack, however, was not materialised due to Lal Singh and Tej Singh's treachery. They assured the local British authorities of their secret and efficient good will, which turned the tables on the Sikh side.¹⁷

Meanwhile, the Khalsa made a blunder when it suspended the power of the military committees temporarily in favour of executive heads, in order to enable them to take quick decisions during emergency. On the contrary, those unworthy men used that power for making conspiracy against their own people.

Anyhow, between the years 1845 and 1846 four battles were fought between the English and the Sikhs which in the end decided the case in the favour of British. The battle of Moodkee was first of the series, which was fought on December 18, 1845. The town was situated at twenty miles distance from Ferozpur. The strength of the Sikh army was twenty thousand infantry and forty pieces of artillery. The number of the cavalry was between eight to ten thousand horsemen, Lal Singh led the Sikhs side. A hot battle ensued between the two, Sikhs displayed great traits of soldiery but in the end they were repulsed by the British forces with the loss of seventeen guns. However, the success of the English was not complete, their loss in men and material was severe.¹⁸

So, another battlefield was selected to test their arms, that was Pheerooshur, about ten miles from Ferozpur and Moodkee. This time the Sikhs came with full preparations, twelve thousand infantry, eight to ten thousand cavalry and hundred pieces of artillery. On the other hand,

English were contained six to nine pieces of artillery. Similarly, their number was ten times lesser than Sikhs. But they had belief in their good fortune and military skill. During the battle the Sikhs were about to carry the day but the leadership of Lord Gough, the Commander-in-Chief, and Lord Hardinge, Lieutenant-General and second in command, won for British a partial victory and driven the Sikhs from the field. In fact, the arrival of Sikh reserve under Tej Singh provided an opportunity to the Sikhs to recover from the shattered position, but Tej Singh delayed the renewal of hostilities till Lal Singh's force was put to flight. Because, their main objective was to disperse Sikh army not to strengthen it. According to 'Sangat Singh,' The Khalsa force under the command of two misers, Lal Singh and Tej Singh, who proved the arch-j, crossed the Sutlej and entrenched themselves in their own territories in the second week of Dec. 1845. Tej Singh knew that much of the artillery munitions had been tempered with and rendered useless. Tej Singh and Lal Singh conveyed to the local English authorities their secret and efficient good will. Lal Singh sought instructions from the English political agent, Capt. Nicholson, and acted accordingly."¹⁹ Even at the last moment he, (Tej Singh), opted for skirmishes instead of resolute attack. And after a short time he precipitately fled, leaving the subordinates without a leader.²⁰

On the contrary, English deeply felt the might of the Sikh arms and were really apprehensive for the peace and safety of their dominion. Anyhow, if the Sikhs had pressed forward that day they would have won against the almost vanquished English forces, but they did not. As a result the battle was won by the British forces along with seventy pieces of artillery and some other assets including, conquered and confiscated territories.

Though English were twice successful against the Khalsa forces yet they could not shatter the overwhelming power of Sikh army. So, British forces again reinforced themselves and, took up a position which, stretched from Ferozpure towards Hurreekkee. Similarly, Sikh army took the position on the right bank of river Sutlej. Meanwhile, British commander delayed the encounter because they lacked the ammunition and heavy guns. This favourable situation emboldened the Sikhs. Moreover, the Cis-Sutlej feudatories kept themselves aloof from siding with the British. On the contrary, the Raja of Ladwa joined hands with the Sikhs army and sent a force under Runjor Singh, which moved in the vicinity of Ludhiana.²¹

On the 17th of January, 1846, Major-General Sir Harry Smith was sent by East India Company, with a brigade to capture Dhurm Kot in

order to secure smooth transit of grain to English army, which he did. Anyhow, the main objective of Sir Harry Smith was to cover the march of large convey of guns, ammunition and treasure, which was in progress to Ferozpure. But, when it was known that Runjor Singh crossed the Sutlej and threatened Ludiana, he was ordered to proceed to the relief of that place. The Sikhs arrayed their forces at Buddowal, while the English army had a different strategy. It wanted to join Ludhiana brigade before having any encounter with the Khalsa army.²²

While on the way to Ludhiana, English army was attacked by the Sikhs. Skirmishes took place between the two but the British forces were steady in their objective, they did not stop for combat and continued their marches. Sikhs, however, did not pursue them.²³ In the end Ludhiana was relieved from the hold of Sikhs.²⁴

Despite being defeated consecutively, Lal Singh and Tej Singh were deeply worried because of the power and vitality of Khalsa. Meanwhile, on the Sikhs side a political change of importance took place, Raja Gulab Singh was declared the minister and leader of the Sikhs at Lahore. Following which, he visited the capital of the state of Punjab to ensure unity and vigour among the counsels of the Sikhs.

Since, the war objectives of both the sides were not yet achieved, therefore its culmination seemed impossible. Another battle was fought between the two at Aleewal on January 28, 1846. Harry Smith the English general led eleven thousand men against their opponent. The rival party was led by Runjor Singh, a Sikh warrior of Ladwa. A deadly struggle followed, during which Sikhs were driven across the Sutlej. English captured fifty pieces of cannon and returned triumphant from the battle field.²⁵

Duplicity of Gulab Singh on that moment did great harm to the Sikhs cause. On one hand he incited the Sikhs to resume hostilities against English and on the other hand, he entered into negotiations with the leaders of East India Company for peace. The Governor General willingly accepted the offer of Sikhs for negotiations, because it suited him. The limitations of the English were genuine, for instance, it was impossible for the British authorities to subjugate Punjab in one season. Similarly, defeating an army as numerous as his own and laying siege to Multan, Jammu and Peshawar within a few months was full of risks.²⁶

On the other side, the main objective of the English for the moment was, to drive the Sikhs across the Sutlej by force or through the unconditional submission of the chiefs and delegates of Sikh army.

Keeping in view all these factors, the British intimated to Gulab Singh their readiness for the talk, and explained their parameters also. That, they will acknowledge the Sikhs sovereignty in Lahore but in return the Sikh government had to disband their military. Gulab Singh declared his inability to deal with the troops over these terms. However, later a secret understanding was reached between the two, Sikhs and British respectively.²⁷ That secret understanding comprised of the following points,

- a. The Sikh army should be attacked by the English.
- b. When beaten the military should openly be abandoned by its own government.
- c. Passage of the Sutlej should be opened for the British.
- d. Road to the capital should be laid open to the victors²⁸

These terms and conditions were quite humiliating however, since the Sikh leadership was not sincere to its own cause, therefore, they accepted those terms of understanding unscrupulously. Under these circumstances and shameless treason the battle of Subraon was fought on the 10th of February, 1846.

Even this time Sikhs were not lacking in number, training and high spirit for war but there was want of leadership, unity and clear

goal. For instance, at a first place they were ordered to take up a place which was absolutely disadvantageous for the Sikhs side. On top of that, the Sikhs side was led by deceitful Lal Singh who was watched by a body of British cavalry in order to witness how sincerely he would bring about the fall of his own forces. The confidence of the English soldiers was great, because recently they had been successful against the Sikhs.²⁹

At Subraon, Sikh army was caught by surprise when English soldiers opened fire on them just after the sunrise. Moreover, the traitor Tej Singh instead of leading fresh men to sustain the failing strength of his troops on his right, he fled on his first assault and either accidentally or deliberately sank a boat in the middle of the bridge of communication. Despite that, the Sikhs soldiers were not ready to submit. However, in the end the battle was decided in favour of the British.^{30a}

The English high-ups were so delighted by this victory that it was ordered," to commemorate this great victory, (Subraon), the governor will cause a medal to be struck, with " Sobraon" engraved upon it, to be presented to the victorious army in the service of the East India Company, and requests his Excellency the commander-in-Chief to forward the list usually furnished of those engraved,"^{30b}

Soon after that, the fort of Kassur was occupied by the English without opposition. One more attempt was also made by the Sikhs when some twenty thousand of them assembled at Amritsir but it ended up in vain. Power of the Khalsa had been destroyed. Those Sikhs, who were the custodian of treasury, food and ammunition of war brought about the defeat of their army and later openly joined the enemy.³¹

When military option failed the Sikhs warriors opted for negotiations. The latter empowered Gulab Singh to treat with the English on their behalf. Consequently, on 15th February, 1846, the Raja and some other chiefs visited the Governor General at Kassur, where they agreed to the already reached upon points.

The terms demanded and concluded are,

- a. "The surrender, in full sovereignty, of the territory, hills and plain, laying between the Sutlej and Bees rivers.
- b. The payment of one and a half crores of rupees as indemnity for the expenses of the war.
- c. The disbandment of the present Sikh army and its reorganisation on the system and regulations with regard to pay which it obtained in the time of the late Maharaja Ranjit Singh- the arrangement for limiting the extent of the force to be henceforth

employed, to be determined in communication with the British Government.

- d. The surrender to us of all the guns that had been pointed against us.
- e. The entire regulation and control of both the banks of the river Sutlej, and such other arrangements for setting the future boundaries of the Sikh state, and the organisation of its administration, as might be determined at Lahore."³²

These terms were reluctantly accepted by the Sikh delegation. Later, the young Maharaja came and tendered his submission in person on 20th February, 1846. Soon afterwards, the British army arrived at the Sikh capital. And within two days a portion of the citadel was garrisoned by the English regiments. The motive behind that, was to display to the Indians that a vaunting enemy had been effectively humbled. The Governor General being deeply annoyed with the Sikhs, due to constant military incursions from their side, wanted to overawe the Sikhs. For that, he chose Beas as a boundary between the English territories and of Sikhs, instead of Sutlej because the new boundary offered more commanding position to the English against Lahore.³³

The situation on the Sikhs side was same like that of any losing side. Gulab Singh, who was according to the previous arrangements appointed the minister of Lahore Darbar, became more ambitious under the prevailing circumstances, and wanted to dominate the entire Sikh dominion of Lahore. This ambition of his was equally shared by Raja, Lal Singh.³⁴

Meanwhile, Gulab Singh despite being strong, could not maintain his position without British support. English, on the other hand had left him on his own and assured him no helping hand. In the mean time, Gulab Singh suddenly took a turn and asked the Governor General to pay him for the services he rendered for the British cause. English authorities, instead of taking up a hard line with Gulab Singh decided to conciliate with him. On the terms that, Kashmir and the hill states from the Beas to the Indus were cut off from the Punjab Proper and transferred to Gulab Singh as a separate sovereign, for a million of Pound Sterling. That way Gulab Singh was entitled as Maharaja at Amritsir on the 15th March, 1846. While Lal Singh became the minister of Punjab government again.³⁵

Lal Singh and all other traitor chiefs knew that they could not maintain their position without English back, even against the reduced

Sikh army. Therefore, they gladly accepted an arrangement which made the English the immediate masters of the reduced dominion of Ranjit Singh, on the condition that, until the feeble successor should attain the age of manhood they will remain there.³⁶

BRITISH TOOK OVER THE VALLEY OF PESHAWAR WITHOUT BLOODSHED

The Sikh state of Punjab was consisted of four provinces, Lahore, Multan, Kashmir and Peshawar. Its governmental system was consolidated by Ranjit Singh on strong ground. However, the situation did not remain the same after his death. The Sikh-English wars, which were fought between 1845-46 changed the political scene at Lahore Darbar. British East India Company became the de facto sovereign of the Government of Punjab, Consequently, it took an indirect control of all the territories belonged to the Sikh state of Punjab, except Khashmir which was handed over to Gulab Singh as a political favour, for a million pound sterling.

That way Peshawar came under British influence and Colonel Lawrence, who was appointed as a political assistant to the resident at Lahore in 1846, George Lawrence was sent to Peshawar in early 1847, in order to perform his duties as a friendly adviser to the native officials.

However, he was not authorised to interfere in the day to day administrative matters of the province, except when justice could not be obtained otherwise. Similarly, the control of a large and efficient garrison not less than one-third of the army of the Darbar was also given in his hands.^{37a}

Anyhow, Major G. Lawrence's comments, after reaching Peshawar were, "The arrival of British functionaries in this remote and hitherto neglected portion of the empire may be considered its salvation. To such a state had oppression driven the people that all were ready to rise against their rulers, which they most assuredly would have done had they not been deterred by the prompt suppression of Kashmir insurrection. Peshawar had been kept in order under the strong rule of General Avitabile, but he had left in 1843. The treasury was now empty, and the irregular troops were clamorous for pay. The regular Sikh army at Peshawar under General Gulab Singh was, 6,000 strong. Of the other British officers who have been named, Lieutenant John Nicholson was placed in charge of Hazara; General Cort Landt, of the Sikh service, had the script of territory across the Indus, between Peshawar and Dera Ghazi Khan; Lieutenant Edwards was at Bannu in the Derajat. One of Major Lawrence's assistants, Lieutenant Herbert, was afterwards the defender of Attock. The Governor of Hazara was Sirdar Chattar Singh,

father of Sher Singh, both of whom played a leading part in the Sikh rising of 1848."^{37b}

The tenure of George Lawrence, as an advisor of British government at Peshawar went very smooth. However, during 1847 Mashokhel, Mashogagar, Mohamand villages, and Babozai refused to pay the revenue, levied on the ~~them~~ by the Sikh government some times back. The local officials with the support of British authorities resorted to coercion, in order to compel the chieftains of those areas to pay the revenue. The military operation ended successfully and the tribesmen complied to the orders of the government.³⁸

Later, in 1848-49 the Peshawar troops turned rebellious, and Colonel Lawrance had to leave Peshawar for Kohat. At Kohat, he was received very cordially by Sardar Sultan Mohammad Khan Barakzai. However, apparently nice with the refugee, Colonel Lawrence, and his family, Sultan Mohammad on the other hand entered into negotiations with the Lahore Darbar. His habitual duplicity of character made Colonel Lawrence and his family prisoners of the Sikhs, until the termination of the war.³⁹

However, when Sikh garrison surrendered in 1849 the Sikhs titular rule was put to an end. The surrender of the Sikh army has been

recorded in the Journal of a Subaltern in these words," As anticipated, the sight of us brought them to submission, and they are bringing in their arms as fast as possible. By evening, they had all deposited them, and the country was covered for miles with dispersing multitude."^{40a}

Consequently, Peshawar just like other parts of Sikh state were taken into direct control by the East India Company. Colonel Lawrence was appointed as a first deputy commissioner of Peshawar in April 1849.^{40b} The administrative position of Peshawar remained the same as it was during the Sikh rule. However, its separation from the government of Punjab and confirmation as a fullfledge province, under the name of NWFP, was a later development.

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CONCLUSION

Having knowledge of the people and of their past, the establishment of an independent state by the Afghans in 1747, seems circumstantial, however, the role of historical forces could not be ignored here. Perpetual foreign dominance over the region, later called Afghanistan, for centuries, made it inevitable for the natives to establish their own government at that particular historical moment. Unfortunately, Afghanistan had never been ruled by its own people till the Ghilzais short and limited ascendancy between 1714 to 1738. Apart from that, during most of the medieval times till the first half of the eighteenth century, half of its portion had been under the influence of Persians, while the rest was within the control of Mughals, who were basically dominant in Subcontinent. Again, it seems contrary to the developments taking place in Persia and India, whose glory was fading by then, while unexpectedly Afghanistan was taking its foundation as a new state in the region.

Meanwhile, the ascendancy of Persia was retrieved by Nadir Shah Afshar for a little while, who was the most powerful of the leaders in the region till his murder in October, 1747. From Persia to the heart of India, he had his sway over a vast territory. In his absence the area

became leaderless and power vacuum was created. This outstanding situation pushed the Afghans to think over their own position, within the prevailing circumstances. Consequently, they sat together, deliberated and came to the conclusion that a kingdom of their own should be carved out, which had to be led by a leader of their own choice. This grand idea was given a practical shape during a few meetings which had been held at Qandahar. However, the selection of Ahmed Khan Saduzai was finalized by a saintly man, Sabir Shah. That way, the first state of the Afghans came into being, and a leader of their own lot had been selected as their king. This was a unique moment in the whole history of Afghan nation.

This demonstration of sagacity on the part of Afghans bore fruit. Their selectee, Ahmed Shah turned up to be a superb leader in war and peace. Being young, he was challenging. Also, he knew the tactics to channelize the warring nature of his people in a right direction. Similarly, a few other steps of him, taken soon after his selection, were of tremendous consequences. For instance, the basic principles of his policy envisaged, that the concentration of power should be in the hands of the sovereign and, there would be no interference in the internal matters of the tribes. At the same time, having constituted an advisory council, which was comprised of leading tribal chiefs, nine in total,

without whose consultation he would not take a single step, further strengthened his position. Moreover, the social status of the king was no more superior than first among the equals. In fact, these few principles, the most appropriate to the Afghan nature, and tradition, did miracle, a scattered community turned into a nation and it built up huge empire, stretched from Khurasan to the capital of Mughals, Delhi.

In fact, Ahmed Shah and even the lesser Durrani rulers were warlords, despite that, there were several other valid reasons which would prove Ahmed Shah's desire to be a warrior king, for instance, his youth, the confidence reposed by the leading chieftains in him, the warring nature of his people and the liberality, which he showed, soon after his accession. That act of generosity won for him the loyalties of the Afghans. Ahmed Shah, being empowered, knew the art of give and take in the arena of politics, he made his people the shareholders of state spoils and in return bound them to join hands with him in materializing his high ambitions, through a strong knot of nationalism.

Consequently, the rule of Ahmed Shah, which spread over twenty-six years, had been full of military adventure, either in Hindustan or Persia. Being an imperialist, he focused mostly on territorial aggrandizement and comparatively lesser time had been spent over the

building up of administrative institutions. His successor, Taimur Shah, did not express either of his capabilities, in the sphere of military or administration. Having no liking for war, the continuation of his father's policy became impossible. Similarly, being indolent and fond of marry-makings he could not stream-lined the administrative set up of the empire, therefore, in a very short period it succumbed to troubles. By the time Zaman Shah and others took over, it was too late to protect the empire from the clutches of unending tumults.

Keeping in view, his pivotal role as a general and Political leader, Ahmed Shah's, the pioneer of Durrani empire, military successes were tremendous in India as compared to Persia. Since, territorial, and financially India was more profitable as compared to Persia so, by conquering India a huge area came under Durrani control, similarly, immense resources came into their possession, which had been exploited for the general development of the empire. As a result of Ahmed Shah being busy in the battle field from 1747 to 1769, he attained exceptional imperialistic gains, due to which historians rank him with Mahmood of Ghazni, a great general and administrator of the empire of Ghazni in the eleventh century.

The administrative side of the Durrani remained weak, because they could not built up institutions and properly devised systems, which if had been set up, they could prolong their tenure as rulers. On the contrary, since they attained the authority through force so, they had to maintain it through the strength of their arms. However, the moment their military might tarnished, existence of their ascendancy began to be evaded. For instance, the comparison of Ahmed Shah Durrani and Taimur Shah's reign explained the point under discussion. The former based and sustained his governmental system upon the strength of the arms, while the later's indifference towards that, and lack of interest in warfare put the dynasty in trouble.

In fact, autocratic governments totally depend on the person of a ruler, if he is virtuous the state and the subjects flourish but if the case is vis-versa the complete edifice demolishes all of a sudden. when Ahmed Shah set in his political career, he was a king of Qandahar only. But when he was retiring, he was an emperor of a vast empire. On the contrary, his successors took over as the rulers of an empire but by the end of their reigns it reduced to the size of a small kingdom, comprised of a few immediate components. This is a great dilemma, that Durrani could not produce a leader of Ahmed Shah's calibre, circumstances, luck or any other factor could be made responsible for that. Anyhow, if there

had been one, Durrani could sustain their supremacy on the political scene for longer period, and would have been able to leave significant imprints on the history of the region, as happened in the case of Mughals, whose consolidator, Akber, the great, set up the foundation of the empire on such strong footing that people forgot about the actual founder, Zahir-ud-din Baber, who laid the foundation of the Mughals empire in 1526. Even the example of Saffavides is very much relevant in this case.

Ahmed Shah Durrani took up start of his military operations from Indian territories though he could take a start from Persian side also, reasons might be the snobbish attitude of the governor of Kabul, Nasir Khan, towards Ahmed Shah, there were otherwise strong reasons involved, for instance, territorial vastness of the Mughals empire, huge economic reservoirs, awaiting for an ambitious invader and comparatively easy access to those spoils, because of the weak centre. The settlements of Afghan race from Kabul up to Peshawar, whose full support to the cause of Durrani, made it easy for the adventurer, Ahmed Shah, to accomplish his cherished military designs in India. They unanimously declared to side with the forces of Durrani, who were of their own lot, instead of joining Nasir Khan, the Mughal governor of Kabul. The whole province of Kabul, which included Peshawar also

became part of the Durrani kingdom very soon and without much bloodshed, and it remained an integral part of the empire till the end. Nasir Khan had to flee to some unknown junction, might be the Mughal capital, Delhi.

Thenceforth, Peshawar and its surrounding hilly country played a very significant role in the military glory of the Durrani, because most of the expeditions led against India passed through the historic Khyber Pass and the Plains of Peshawar, which established the geo-strategic value of the area fully. Similarly, at many crucial occasions soldiers from this region enhanced the size of Durrani forces. So, it is right to say that the land and people of Peshawar had played a very significant part in the rise of the Durrani empire. Any negative role of the land and people of Peshawar even during the trouble time civil war could hardly be traced.

Apart from other reasons, the political situation prevailed at the Mughal court, during that period, also initiated an invader like Ahmed Shah, who kept himself in touch with the traitors at the Mughal court, in order to properly chalk out his military strategies against Indian army. Those insincere courtiers further made easier the task of the founding father of Durrani. Between the years of 1747 to 1773 Ahmed Shah was

the undisputed leader in the whole region, which included, Persia, Afghanistan and a greater part of India. In the mean time, in the absence of any strong political power at the centre, some local forces raised their heads in order to fill the vacuum created as a consequence, for instance, Marhatas in Deccan and Sikhs in Punjab and some Muslim principalities also, for instance, Mysor.

Of them however, Marhatas were completely shattered by the great Ahmed Shah Durrani in the third battle of PaniPat, 1761, while Sikhs could not be eliminated with the same rapidity as of Marhatas, and the position of the Muslim principalities was of different nature, they on the contrary, demanded help from the Durrani ruler against local hordes. Anyhow, Sikhs remained a constant cause of trouble during the later part of Ahmed Shah's reign and through out the rule of his successors. To an extent that they were the people who claimed a greater part of Durrani's Indian possessions, soon after, the down fall of the empire in 1818. Especially, Peshawar was first raided and later taken over by the Sikhs in 1823.

Since, Ahmed Shah Durrani was an imperialist he did not stop war activity after conquering Peshawar. His insatiable thirst for warfare pushed him to carry on the military operations in India, which were

counted ten in total, between 1747 and 1769. Except once at Shrine, he faced a partial set back the rest of his expeditions met success. Similarly, he could not carry out the last one of the series of his campaigns, due to lack of interest on the part of his soldiers and king's own ill health. However, it is strange, that Ahmed Shah's unbelievable accomplishment in the sphere of warfare had never been as popular as of Ranjit of Ghazni, who ruled in the year one thousand, and he raided India for seventeen times without facing any defeat. Keeping in view, the importance of Ahmed Shah's military capability, his exceptional traits in the field of war and nation building need proper representation in the cultural heritage of not only Afghans but in India also.

The military accomplishments of Durrani were remarkable, however, in the post Ahmed Shah period, the might of its arms did not demonstrate the same miracles. Taimur Shah, being temperamentally peaceful and took more interest in his extensive harem, due to which governmental matters suffered. Though, generally peace and prosperity prevailed and people felt respite from the period of war, however, prolonged inactivity of the ruler on the war front made the people weary, of those people whose nature and profession both were warlike.

Anyhow, Taimur Shah's initial steps, after becoming the second monarch of the Durrani in 1773, were quite daring, for instance, shifting of the capital from Qandahar to Kabul and making Peshawar the second capital of the Durrani empire. Similarly, the murder of those who opposed his candidature to the throne of Afghanistan had also hashed other opponents of him, for quite some time. However, he did not maintain the tempo, handling the problems at the first instance, therefore the grip over the strings of government got slacken.

Meanwhile, Taimur Shah's love for Peshawar is not unknown, and needs to be mentioned here, however, these noble sentiments of him had never been reciprocated by the Peshawarites, because they considered him a Persian not a Pathan. The king would reside at Peshawar almost half of a year, and usually preferred to concentrate at Peshawar. To an extent, that when Taimur Shah got seriously ill he was at Peshawar, from where immediately he had been taken for Kabul, 1793. This incident emphasized upon the fact that even the last journey of that monarch took place between Peshawar and Kabul.

Over all, Taimur Shah's period was of peace and prosperity, only two revolts occurred during his reign, of which one was very serious, that happened in Peshawar. A few of the conspirators led by Faizullah

Khan Arbab and supported by the saintly man, Mian Umer of Chamkani, tried to bring coup, d'etat id not meet success, due to timely reaction of the king and his supporters against the conspirators. Later the ring leaders of the conspiracy, except Mian of Chamkani, who had a religious bearing, were awarded death penalty. However, nothing of the same kind happened thereafter.

Three of the five Durrani monarchs, Taimur Shah, Zaman Shah and Shah Shuja, had strong liking for Peshawar, reason might be matrimonial and parental, because mother of the two, Zaman Shah and Shah Shuja, was a Yusufzai lady, a tribe settled down in the Swat and Bunair Valleys. Through out their tenure as ruler, they would rely upon the support of the tribes resided in the Peshawar region, and had seldom been disappointed. During their trouble times, those tribes of the hill-country, in the vicinity of Peshawar would provide refuge to the wandering Durrani princes.

Furthermore, due to being the residence of the Durrani monarch, the status of Peshawar elevated politically. Its commercial value and geo-strategic significance had already been established, while the addition of political importance further enhanced the position of Peshawar within the empire of Durrani. Several Durrani families of importance shifted to

Peshawar for permanent settlement here, which again enhanced the significance of the area.

Culturally, Peshawar remained dormant during the Durrani period. A few monuments were erected, for instance, Wazir Bagh, renovation of Balahissar and building of some very beautiful palaces within the fort for the royal family. Except the remnants of Wazir Bagh, the rest of the edifices had been demolished by the Sikhs, who arose as the new masters of the Peshawar region, after the down fall, of Durrani. Though Sikhs renovated and repaired the fort, Balahissar later on, but it had lost the touch of Durrani thereafter.

Since, Durrani did not patronized literary activities, therefore whatever, had been achieved that was the contribution of those philanthropists and lovers of art and culture, who privately encouraged these activities, for instance, the family of Mian Umer of Chamkani. Though, poetry was dominant as a medium of expression however, some valuable work in prose had also been written, for instance, Murad Ali Sahibzada's *Tafseer-e-Yaseer* and Dost Mohammad Khan Khattak's *Tafseer-e-Husaini*.

Anyhow, culturally, Durrani made a lukewarm progress in literature, during their rule, in Peshawar. It is considered a period where

literary work could not maintained the standard of the classical period which produced poets like, Khushal Khan Khattak, Rahman Baba, Ali Khan and Kazim Khan Sheda. Literary figures of such stature had not been produced during the Durrani period. A unique point needs to be mentioned here, that literacy rate among the ladies of Peshawar was higher than men, especially during the nineteenth century. Many religious magazines and booklets, which used to be written in Pushto mostly, were taught and learnt by women in their houses. Another important point which require to be pointed out is, that though Dari was a court language but most of the literary work whether contained substance or not was done in Pushto, particularly, in the Peshawar area.

By and large, the forces of decay started taking its roots during the days of Taimur Shah. Some very important parts of the empire, like Khurasan, Multan and Turkistan started taking sporadic moves towards independence, which the king could not suppress strongly, and consequently the other territorial units encouraged. Taimur Shah's inability to nip the evils in the bud made the situation complicated. As a result, his death heralded the troubled times of the Durrani. Of his many children twenty-one were males, all of whom raised a claim for the throne of Afghanistan. However, the three of them were the favourite candidates, Humayun Mirza, Mahmood Mirza and Zaman

Mirza. Though Zaman Mirza was junior than other two brothers, but, apart from other factors the support of Payanda Khan Barakzai, made him the ruler of Afghanistan. Other claimants to the throne had either to reconcile with the new king or to renounce their claim or flee from the country.

Of the remaining two only, Mahmood became formidable who, took refuge in Persia, he was no dangerous unless Fateh Khan , the elder son of Payanda Khan joined him, after the murder of his father at the hands of Shah Zaman. Among the sons of Taimur, Zaman Shah had the talent for war and also the ability to set the administration on sound footing, but he could not get the chance to achieve both of these goals, due to the troubles created by his own family members. If his own house had been in order, he could handle the troubles created by the rising regional powers. For instance, the Qajar in Persia, the Uzbeks towards the north and the Sikhs in Punjab. Despite all these constraints, Shah Zaman led his forces towards India in order to suppress the insurgency of the Sikhs for three times, but he had to leave the matter in the middle and come back to the capital, in order to settle some serious uprising at home. Because every time when he left the capital some family member of him would revolt, which forced him to move backward.

Meanwhile, a political blunder, which was committed by Zaman Shah during the eighth year of his rule, was the murder of Sardar Payanda Khan Barakzai and his other supporters, who wanted to overthrow Shah Zaman. This situation had properly been exploited by Mahmood, a half brother of Shah Zaman and Fateh Khan, an elder son of Payenda Khan, they jointly toppled the government of Shah Zaman and blinded him. It was the beginning of civil war in Afghanistan, which over the period turned from bad to worse.

In fact, the root cause of displeasure of nobility against Shah Zaman was, reversal from the policy of conciliation, co-operation followed by his grand father. Being haughty, he tried to take away all power from his chieftains and concentrate it into his own hands. The Durrani nobility felt alarmed over those moves of Shah Zaman. If had been conciliatory and considerate several problems could have been averted, for instance the nobility would not have entered into a plot to dismiss the government of Zaman Shah as a result his rule would have been continued unhurt. It can further be assumed that him being a ruler, could much more be beneficial for the Durranis than others. The murder of leading tribesmen would also be averted and it would not have annoyed Fateh Khan Wazir to an extent to become the king-maker.

Anyhow, Mahmood Shah the next ruler proved a total failure, due to his indolence and complete disregard towards state matters. All what he did was, left the governmental affairs at the disposal of Fateh Khan Barakzai and gave up his self to marry-makings. Due to these lapses he remained on the throne of Afghanistan for not more than two and a half years. He had to be dismissed, because civil war was getting momentum, and many local and regional forces entered into the political arena of Afghanistan by then. A vigilant and talented leader was the need of the time, who could rescue the trouble stricken ship of the Durrani, but such desire proved a far cry at that juncture of Afghan history.

The removal of Shah Zaman from the political scene of Afghanistan, which still was comprised of huge territorial units, was a turning point. If to be seen from the retrospect, it completely changed the political scenario of the Afghan nation and state. Shuja became prominent, due to his role as an emancipator for his brother's miseries. He, being governor of Peshawar at that perilous moment, revolted against Shah Mahmood, in order to avenge the harm done to his brother and to contend for the throne of Afghanistan also. Though for a while his attempts were foiled by the adherents of Shah Mahmood, however, soon troubles of Shah Mahmood provided him an opportunity to take over the reins of government in 1803.

Since its inception till the murder of Payanda Khan Barakzai, the role of the nobility was constructive. Ahmed Shah attained greatness in the spheres of military and state policy due to the undivided support of his tribal chieftains. Similarly, Taimur Shah maintained the glory of his predecessor through the same factor. Even up to the selection of Zaman Shah, the leading men were loyal and playing their role for escalating the development of the empire. However, after the tragic incidence of killing a group of conspirators led by Payanda Khan the nobility assumed the role of villains. Consequently, they became insincere and traitorous just like that of Mughals. For instance, Shir Mohammad Khan, another Durrani noble became instrumental, during the reign of Shah Mahmood. Capable but, Shir Mohammad Khan was too ambitious, when he saw his motives were not going to be achieved, he had raised a revolt with the collaboration of a Sayed of the mosques of Kabul. The pretext of their uprising was, the tendency of Shah Mahmood towards Qazalbashis, whom they termed as heretics. The policies of Shah Mahmood were declared by the Chief Imam as anti-Islamic, which made the involvement of common people against the existing government possible. However, the power of the masses had never been considered through out the ages, by the people in power, but its pressure is immense, to an extent that no tyrant can stay whatever might be the magnitude of its tyranny and

power. Keeping with the tradition, Shah Mahmood repeated the same indifferent/tyrannical attitude which cast him the throne.

The dismissal of Shah Mahmood and the enthronement of Shuja Mirza was not a simple phenomenon, a superb mind worked behind it, which had unfortunately been used for the attainment of ulterior motives. The interest of the empire was sacrificed at the expense of the interest of an individual. However, the arrival of Shuja as a new king of Afghanistan did not alter the prevailing troubled situation. It was moving from bad to worse. If to be seen in detail, expectation from Shuja that he would bring normalcy, was synonymous to wild imagination. He did not have the talent to settle the disorder or to put the decaying process on the reverse. On the contrary, he took certain steps, which if had been avoided would have at least slowed down the pace of decline. For instance, his developing of jealousy with the Premier, Shir Mohammad Khan, was of perilous consequences. He staged a coup, d'etat against the king, when he left for Sind to suppress the Amirs of Sind. The revolt, which had been raised after nominating Kaisar Mirza, a nephew of the king, as a parallel candidate for kingship, had to be subdued. For that, Shuja had to leave the matters with the Amirs of Sind unsettled, and moved to cope with the rebels. Though, the revolt was quelled but it left very unpleasant imprints over the course of events.

Similarly, not reconciling with Fateh Khan had proved to be a blunder of Shah Shuja. Fateh Khan offered his willingness to be included into the adherents of Shah, but his offer had not been entertained. If Fateh Khan had been won over by Shuja by appointing him on a prominent post, he would not have become a formidable rival and great troubles could have definitely been avoided.

On the home front, Shuja caught into grave situation, because Fateh Khan was again instrumental in removing him and to replace him with Shah Mahmood, for the second time. Shuja being at Peshawar, had to check the moves of the combined forces of Ranjit and Fateh Khan, which conquered Qandahar and were preparing to attack Kabul. He met them near Gandamak, since he was no match for the excellent commandership of Fateh Khan, therefore, the defeat of Shuja was inevitable. The failure of Shuja made Ranjit the sovereign of Afghanistan once again.

After getting hold of the throne of Afghanistan for the second time, Shah Ranjit neither changed in person nor in policies. He resumed his former activities and gave up himself to amusements once again. The affairs of government were left to Fateh Khan to be looked after by him. Fateh Khan handled the situation in a very shrewd manner, and for a

while it was felt as if the good days of the Durrani rule had been revived. But, in fact that proved to be a sudden rise before complete demise. Another incident of grave consequences happened, which became the ultimate cause of the down fall of the Durrani empire and of the dynasty.

Since the event is of historic importance, therefore it has to be mentioned here briefly. Fateh Khan was sent to check the military challenge put forward by the Persians against Herat, however, the governor of Herat, Feruz-ud-din, lacked in capability and resources to handle the situation, therefore he asked the king for help. The Shah sent a force under the command of Fateh Khan through quick marches. Reaching Herat, Fateh Khan removed the governor of Herat, Feruz-ud-din, and sent him to the capital, Kabul under honorary escort. Meanwhile, he successfully met the challenge offered by the Persian king, Fateh Ali Shah, which further boosted him up. Being in high spirits, Fateh Khan committed a serious blunder, which turned the tables of glory on him and consequently upon the dynasty of the Saddozai also. During a search for treasury the younger brother of Fateh Khan, Dost Mohammad Khan, entered into the house of the governor and insulted the royal ladies, which made the Shah furious. Shah Ranjit on the instigation of his son Kamran Mirza, issued the orders for the removal

and blinding of Fateh Khan immediately. Kamran Mirza complied with the orders, as he already had hard feelings against the minister.

The murder of Fateh Khan at the hands of Shah Ranjit and his son Kamran Mirza heralded country wide insurrection, which was absolutely not unexpected. The numerous brothers of Fateh Khan, who were appointed on high posts violently reacted and each of the territorial unit, which was under their control, declared independence. The structure of the Durrani empire shattered to pieces. Shah Ranjit left the capital for Herat. Following which, except Herat the rest of the components of the kingdom were controlled by the brothers of deceased Fateh Khan independently. By 1818, the empire of great Ahmed Shah splintered to pieces.

As mentioned before, Peshawar remained an integral part of the Durrani empire till the end. However, after the dismemberment of the kingdom four Barakzai brothers, Yar Mohammad, Sultan Mohammad, Sayed Mohammad and Pir Mohammad assumed the control of it. For a while they remained as the governors of the Peshawar province, however, due to being vulnerable from all the sides, especially in the face of Sikh onslaughts, they could not protect the autonomy of their small principality. Soon afterwards, Sikhs raided Peshawar up to the

gates of Khyber, who became a power in Punjab by then, under the leadership of Ranjit Singh, so ultimately the Barakzai Sardars became dependants of Sikhs.

The ruler of Kabul, Mohammad Azim Khan, made an attempt in 1823, to thwart the ambition of the Sikhs, to retain Peshawar, but met with failure, which ultimately followed by his death. That success at Nowshera, uphold the claim of the Sikhs as the new masters of the territory. However, Sikhs, for the moment left Peshawar in the hands of Barakzai Sardars, as tributaries on the conditions of acknowledging Sikhs supremacy and payment of annual tribute.

In the later part of their rule, from 1835 to 1849, Sikhs directly controlled Peshawar, which became a burden over them financially and administratively. People did not like their presence in the Valley as masters. Also, they did not have a control over the whole province, only the Peshawar Proper and its immediate vicinity were under their direct hold. Other distant areas had been looked after by the local chiefs on their behalf in return of which the revenue of that areas had been remitted to them.

Anyhow, the presence of Sikhs in Valley proved quite beneficial for the English, because they needed a strong buffer zone against the

Durrani onslaughts. Sikhs really shattered the desires of the rulers of Kabul to recover Peshawar. In the process they suppressed the Durrani so many times that several proverbs and other stories of Sikhs bravery and Durrani subsequent shattered confidence had become part of the folklore.

Moreover, cautious encroachments of the English became visible during the days of Shuja. An English mission's meeting with Shah Shuja at Peshawar was a testimony of that. They secured the support of the Durrani for containing the aggression of the Franco-Persian nucleus, against their Indian possessions. By then the interest of the British in the region was obvious.

Anyhow, Sikh ascendancy, in the true sense remained in Peshawar till Ranjit Singh was alive, 1839. Thereafter, no Sikh leader was significant enough to be of his stature. They did not have the capacity or the sincerity to protect the Sikh cause. On the contrary, they invited the foreigners, British, to take over. British were contented, till late with the Satlej as a border between them and the Sikh territory, however, later, keeping in view the circumstances they introduced a major shift in their policy towards the state of Punjab.

That shift of policy on the part of the English denoted aggression, which was evident from the kind of preparations they were making. Following which, between, 1845-46, a series of wars was fought between the two, of which the battle of Sabraon stood the final and decisive. The objectives of the British and Sikh nobility were accomplished. Since, the whole of Ranjit Singh's dominion came under the influence of the British, except Kashmir, which was sold to Gulab Singh for a million pound sterling. That way, Peshawar came under the British hold. Though for a while an English advisor, George Lawrence was sent to Peshawar to supervise the local officials, however, the surrender of Sikh troops later empowered the British to take Peshawar into direct control. However, its no astonishing a fact that no formal war was fought between Durrani and English or for that matter between English and Sikhs for the possession of Peshawar. Anyhow, later Colonel Lawrence's appointment as its first deputy commissioner in 1849 clearly explained that thenceforth neither the Durrani nor the Sikhs but British were the possessor of Peshawar undisputedly.

What philosophy the whole study contain is, that the supremacy of one nation is replaced by another and the process of history goes on, on usual pace, for instance in case of Peshawar, Nadir Shah's rule was replaced by Durrani, from whom Sikhs took over and even they did not

remain for long, and had been overthrown by the English, and the process continued till date. As a matter of fact, the causes of dismissal from the seat of authority, of all of them except English, were more or less the same. Because the dilemma is, that nations do not learn from the mistakes committed by their elders, let alone learning lesson from the experiences of others, consequently, they meet the same fate as their predecessors, therefore, the notion that history repeat itself, is getting roots. This rule of history can be refuted, if human mind though complicated, however versatile, if would employ on positive lines, could bear fruitful results and lot of variations can be introduced into the course of events, which would negate the contention that history repeat itself.

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