MEDIEVAL PESHAWAR

(1000—1526 AD)

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this dissertation is the outcome of my individual research and that it has not been submitted to any other University for the grant of a degree.

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Final Approval

This is to certify that we have read the dissertation submitted by Syed Waqar Ali Shah and it is our judgement that this is of sufficient standard to warrant its acceptance by the University of Peshawar, for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History.

Supervisor _____

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Dedicated to my wife and children for their support and sacrifice for the successful completion of this dissertation

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ABSTRACT

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Peshawar is located at a geographical fault line of Asia; any sort of political or cultural jerks or tremors in Central Asia, subcontinent, Middle East or sometimes even Europe never fail to express itself over here. From the Persian Achaemenid Empire in the 6th Century BC till the advent of the Ghaznavids tell us a recorded story of life that Peshawar shared with its different rulers. For some of them it was important enough to serve as the capital of their empires. Actually its location at the confluence of Central Asia and India gave it a unique politico-military position in the area.

India being known for its riches and wealth did attract fortune seekers from far and near both as a halting or striking ground. For individuals as well as armies, both peace and plenty were always available here. All the fortune seekers passing through Khyber Pass had to trade through Peshawar that provided multiple facilitations to the travelers and their transportation beasts alike. For the invading armies it was essential to secure control of Peshawar in the first place as it was an excellent military base and a launching pad for the furtherance of their military and geographical designs.

This central status of Peshawar was also proved right and acknowledged for the transportation of Buddhist and Islamic philosophies in their respective ages. It played reckonable role for the growth and promotion of Buddhism. After its birth in 520 BC Buddhism reached Peshawar (then Gandhara) somewhere around the 3rd century BC during Ashoka's reign. Second round of popularization of Buddhism at Peshawar came under the Kushan king Kanishka (128-151 AD) who not only patronized the religion but

the valley of Peshawar (then Gandhara) as well. Peshawar became the capital of a great and strong empire stretching from Bengal to Central Asia. Besides Buddhiusm, Peshawar also happened to be an important launching base for the promotion of Islam in India. Though Islam was introduced earlier in India but the Muslim rulers and generals who passed through Peshawar to India turned out to be more effective and lasting for the Islamic change in India. This role of Peshawar for Islam would be highlighted in the present study from different new directions. The political and military cover provided by the Ghaznavids and Ghorids further cemented the chances of success of the case of Islam forwarded through Peshawar. The Pukhtoons also played an undeniable role, who not only joined the ranks of Muslim generals but also by en-block conversion to Islam made it a case of their own. The situation was so that it carried promises of success for them in this material world along with the life after death. It was this win-win attraction that helped them migrate to Peshawar in big numbers.

The coming of Mongols not only deprived Peshawar of its central, important and attractive status but also drew a dark curtain of anonymity and pain. No news of any law or prosperity at Peshawar till the coming of Babur is reported. In the power struggle between the Sultans of Delhi, the Mongols of Central Asia and some petty chieftains in the region, Peshawar and its inhabitants had to undergo some unimaginable hard times and miseries. Once the bride and darling of rulers, politicians and thinkers; was lying bruised, hungry and weak with no one to notice. However, history and time has proved it repeatedly that in regional as well as international politics Peshawar had remained and remains even today as one fulcrum with capacity to make things revolve around and attend to its dictates.

Introduction

Just like its present Peshawar has almost always remained an important political and military post with regard to North-Western border of India. Number of world known conqueror and rulers, recognized for their tyranny, oppression, bravery and statesmanship were related and linked to Peshawar in one way or the other. In their respective times they contributed both positively and negatively to the socio-political outlook of Peshawar. The types of their contributions were directly related to the area under control and mind set of the invader. In case of paramount strength and calmness of thoughts their impacts on Peshawar were quite friendly and healthy. In any other wise scenario like i) competitive strength or ii) short term objectives, a dark black curtain of oppression and anonymity was drawn over Peshawar. The strategic location of Peshawar, guarding one border of a prosperous India, chartered an all times important post for it. Even the velley of Peshawar, at large, was a great source of attraction for the invaders due to some of its distinctions. It was a well protected and well productive fertile region capable to feed and accommodate a huge amount of soldiers accompanying the invaders. In this way it was no less than an important key that could have conveniently opened the locked doors of a rich India.

In the period under discussion, most of the time, Peshawar remained or was forced to remain un-utilized as according to its potentials. Despite its historically proven worth of a Kanishkan capital that successfully controlled huge territories on both its Indian and Central Asian sides preference was given to other Central locations. Its comprehendible reason might be that in the presence of more than one aspirant of authority in the surroundings of Peshawar the risks involved for all the political stake holders were so strong that they considered it

wise not to be too much close to each other. In that atmosphere of fear and insecurity the strategic location of Peshawar turned out to be its strongest demerit. The politician generals, in order to deprive advantage to the opponents at such an important location, preferred to loot and devastate all the human and economic resources of Peshawar as and when possible. Sometimes the distant location of the political contestants, like the Sultans of Delhi or the Mongols of Central Asia, from Peshawar and their excessive entanglement in local and dynastic issues further pushed the case of Peshawar into background, despite the extra ordinary military and economic status that it enjoyed. The result was that for a long time to come it was lost somewhere deep into the thickets of history. All the works done earlier about the history of Peshawar find it convenient simply to skip this part due to the paucity of references. In this research an attempt would be made to rebuild those missing parts of the history of Peshawar.

We would start our study with a brief survey of the history of Peshawar, before our subject time i.e. before the coming of Ghaznavids, to see what value it enjoyed in its ancient period and what it lacked in the medieval missing past. As part of Gandhara and its civilization, Peshawar was one center of both politics and culture. This status of Peshawar, though elevated enough, was soon to undergo a threatening phase of silence and neglect. A curtain of obscurity was raised with minimum references in the documents of the time. No one could imagine that a country with such a rich political and cultural history will be side lined in that fashion. Here one needs to be a bit cautious about the distance between these two distinct and contrasting phases of the history of Peshawar. Peshawar witnessed its unparalleled political and cultural glory during the reign of Kanishka, the Kushan, (128—151 AD). It was the seat of Government and centre of activity, with all eyes in the surrounding

fixed towards it for their commands. The culture that evolved over here, particularly the Gandhara Culture, obtained recognition far and wide in almost all directions. Keeping in mind that exalted picture of Peshawar we find it as an important military post for almost a millennium on ward. From that Peshawar, as a center of government, politics and culture, we head forward through different phases of its history which were comparatively less pompous towards an era of nothingness and anarchy. Peshawar after reaching that zenith of excellence suddenly was forced to remain outside the realm of recognition and identity.

By the end of 10th century AD one Hindu Shahi Dynasty was in possession of this area. They tried their level best to keep the invading Muslim army away from this post and even agreed to surrender some of their territory to the Pukhtoons in return for their surety to keep the foreign i.e. the Muslim element away from India. However, all their efforts resulted in failure and the Pukhtoons after their initial agreement generally shifted their loyalties to the invading and strong Muslim forces. It was both their compulsion, as they could not resist the strength and resolve of the invaders, and opportunity for their betterment as a nation. Though the Muslim armies under the command of their Ghaznavid Sultans repeatedly invaded different parts of north western India but ultimately showed content up to their possession of Lahore in Punjab. As regards the occupation of Peshawar valley by the Ghaznavids, it resulted in some significant and everlasting changes in the socio-cultural outlook of the region. The new rulers tried hard to promote their religion by appointing talented preachers and encouraging Pukhtoon Muslims to reside over here. In this way the political change under the Ghaznavids also resulted in a great socio-cultural change at Peshawar. Besides Ghaznavids, Pukhtoons played a major role in that change. A review of their impact over the spread of Islam in Peshawar Valley is respectively discussed in chapter 2nd

and 6th of this study. Islam after its political success took little time to capture and conquer the hearts of the earlier residents of Peshawar socially and culturally.

The coming of Ghorid dynasty in Afghanistan opened a new chapter of foundation of Islam in India. The flag of Islam after being hoisted at Delhi was carried to the farthest north-eastern coasts. Under the dynamic Ghorid leadership and their talented generals nothing seemed impossible. The Ghorids, after their initial annihilating defeat against the Indian forces, soon realized the importance of route through Peshawar for the safety and success of their mission. They learnt the lesson in a hard way that their Ghaznavid predecessors option of route through Khyber Pass—Peshawar—Lahore into India was a very calculated, clever and safest move. History of Muslim rule and the success and popularization of Islam on that route could have been easily exploited to the benefit of Ghorids. In this way Peshawar once again succeeded in obtaining the attention of the Ghorid monarch and also acquiring an extension of recognition in history. This extension, however, turned out to be its last ride, for a long time to come, on the pages of recorded history. It remained strategically and politically important for the Ghorids as they enjoyed rule and authority on both Central Asian and Indian side of Peshawar. Soon after the death of Muhammad Ghori strong political winds started blowing resulting in an absolute change in the strategic and political status of Peshawar. From the time after the death of Muhammad Ghori till the coming of Mughals towards the beginning of sixteenth century Central Asia and India acquired separate and distinct political identities. Rulers and dynasties in both these geo-political units kept on engaging each other militarily but except for some occasional and temporary in-roads never succeeded to cast any significant geographical impression. Peshawar

during all this phase served as a testing ground for all the stake holders in the region, receiving nothing but insults and deprivation.

The death of Muhammad Ghori so adversely revolutionized conditions for Peshawar that even questions like its political status and occupancy by any successor of the deceased monarch remained un-answered. All the Muizzi Maliks around Peshawar promoted their claims one above the other for being the most rightful successor of their deceased master. The fire of war thus ignited though reached a logical conclusion, after some time, for the multiple claimants for succession of Muhammad Ghori but for Peshawar it was just the beginning. Old contestants around Peshawar like Qutbuddin Aibak, Tajuddin Yalduz, and Nasiruddin Qabacha were soon joined by new and emerging energetic forces like that of Jalauddin Mankbarni and the Mongols. For Peshawar things were moving from bad to worse with no immediate hope for improvement. In that dismal environment stretching of Jalaluddin Khvarzam Shah as a paramount force in Afghanistan and Central Asia was the sole hope for Peshawar. His success in Central Asia and then at any later stage in India might had relaxed conditions for Peshawar. It could have helped Peshawar regain its lost geo-political worth and strength. In this regard attempts were made by the Peshawarite forces to make alliance with the emerging Sultan against the distant Mongol enemy. This, however, did not work well. After some initial successes against the Mongols the camp of Sultan Jalaluddin Khvarzam Shah fell victim to internal rift and divide, the benefit of which was excellently availed by the enemy. The Mongols regrouped and pressed hard upon the remnants of the Sultan's forces and made them run for their lives in all directions with the Sultan himself heading towards Peshawar and India. After bidding farewell to the Sultan in his leap of life in and across Indus with just a handful of his followers

the Mongols fell back on Peshawar to teach Peshawarites, the harsh lesson of servitude and obedience.

The story of Peshawar did not move well with the successor of Jalaluddin Khvarzam Shah, Wafa Malik (Hassan Qarlugh). Himself being unable to survive against the strong Delhi and Mongol contenders for authority in the region, he attempted to survive according to the situation; i.e. sometimes by joining Delhi and sometimes by making common cause with the Mongols. At times he even attempted to let go his claim over any of his territorial possessions in order to safeguard his person and resources from the onslaught of Mongols. As a matter of fact he was no match for any of the Delhi or Central Asian contestants for authority in the region. He simply kept a watch of the weaknesses of those strong contenders for authority and manipulated it for his own personal advantage. So we may say that the opportunists were making use of the situation to grind their own axes instead of rendering any valuable service to Peshawar itself.

The eruption of Mongol tempest diffused almost all the remaining life from Peshawar and hit it so brutally from all socio, political, economic and cultural sides that for a long time to come it lay scared, dismembered and lost. It seems that Peshawar and its population were used, as per their usual style elsewhere, as signs of terror and revenge by the Mongols for the Delhi Sultans and other communities living nearby. The Mongols so terrorized the people of Peshawar, to dissuade them of any urges of resistance or revolts that for a long time to come all feelings of association and leadership were unheard of. This phase of anonymity and zero identity was ultimately broken by Zahiruddin Muhammad Babur, who in the first quarter of sixteenth century again familiarized the people of Peshawar with the art of identity and living. In this study, we would try to explore this missing part of the history of Peshawar i.e. from the coming of forces

of Islam up to the coming of Babur. In the absence of sufficient reference material deductive and analytical historical methodologies would be adopted for the reconstruction of those lost chapters of the history of Peshawar. However, other methods would also be applied, wherever needed.

Literature Review: As for the literature available of the time about the area there are very limited number of accounts; and even those talk less in particular about Peshawar.

Tarikh-i-Hind of Abu Raihan Muhammad bin Ahmad Al-Beruni Khwarizmi (Muslim geographer, historian) wrote this book in Arabic known as *Tahqiq ma Li l-Hind.* He came to India with Mahmud of Ghazna and lived here for many years studying the Sanskrit language. The work is good for knowledge about the geography and old cities of the subcontinent. It tells us about their distances from each other and also some aspects of their culture.

Adab Al-harb Wa'sh-shuja'a of Fakhr-i-Mudabbir and edited by Sir Denison Ross supplies us informative details about the government and military organization of the newly established sultanate of Delhi.

Tabaqat-i-Nasiri completed in 1260 AD by Minhaj al-Din Abu Umar bin Siraj al-Din al-Juzjani discusses the main events of the Sultans of Delhi in great detail. As the author enjoyed a high position in the newly established Sultanate he gives us firsthand information regarding the state policies in its different directions. For the present work this book provided some real valuable information.

One common problem with these contemporary accounts, as far as our research is concerned, is that as they were usually sponsored by the

state they were mostly focused around the ruling dynasties and their capitals; Peshawar being located on a border war zone at that time failed to catch their attention. With the exception of only few passing references they remain almost lip-tight about it contributing almost nothing about the vale.

Tarikh-i-Jahan Gusha (1260 AD) was written by Ala al Din Malik also known as Ata Malik Juvaini. He enjoyed a high position under Hülegü Khan in Baghdad and thus had access to all the official documents of Mongols. This provides an authentic status to the work. It also sheds light on the activities of the fugitive prince Jalaluddin Khwarizm Shah in South Asia.

Tarikh-i-Farishta. It was written by Muhammad Kasim Hindu Shah Astrabadi in AD 1606 and contains a detailed account of the period under review.

Tareekh-i-Yamini. Muhammad ibn Abdul Jabbar Utbi wrote this valuable work provides us information about the details of Mahmud Ghaznavi's invasions and success in India. The work was later on translated by James Reynolds into English.

Dr. Abdur Rehman's book on the *The Last Two Dynasties of the Sahis* was quite helpful in the understanding of historical geography of the region and the political rivalries in and around Peshawar at the time of Ghaznavid engagements here. It gives in-depth analysis of the Sahi dynasties and what Peshawar meant for them.

Agha Hussain Hamdani's book *The Frontier Politics of the Delhi Sultans* was also very helpful in the understanding of Delhi's estimation and engagements towards Peshawar. The arrival of Mongol in India, their

routes and handling of regional political forces is also meticulously covered in that thesis. It is one scientific study of the politics of that time with extensive consultation of original sources.

That subject of Mongol in India is also discussed in detail by Peter Jackson in his thesis *The Delhi Sultanate: A Political and Military History.* In that book he traces the history of Sultanate from its foundation in 1210 to its demise in around 1400 AD following the sack of Delhi by the Central Asian conqueror, Temur. The case of Peshawar also finds its place off and on with him with reference to their presence in the region.

As far the modern research works like *Peshawar: Historic City of The Frontier* of Dr. A.H. Dani; *Tarikh-e-Suba Sarhad* of Prof. Shafi Sabir; and *Gazeteer of Peshawar* which do tell us about the history of Peshawar; despite their relevance with the present topic, fail to provide sufficient information about the period under discussion in this thesis. Prof. Shafi Sabir despite his extensive survey of the nations and invaders coming in and out of the region leaves the task of exploration of medieval history for future researchers. Similarly books like *the Gazeeteer*, *Peshawar: Mazi kay Dareechoon Say* of Muhammad Ibrahim Zia; *Saqafat-e-Sarhad* of Qari Javed Iqbal; *Aalam may Intekhab* of Dr. Amjad Hussain all give us either very little or no information about that missing period of the history of Peshawar. However all these secondary sources give a very excellent picture of the socio-political outlook of the city and the valley that helped a lot in the understanding of relative trends of the area.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

It was really a challenging job to look into the medieval history of Peshawar due to the paucity of documents. However, looking towards such a huge blank space of history of such an important geographical unit, that also happened to be my birth-place, I decided to undertake the challenge. At times I felt myself lost and trapped but kept on struggling to overcome all the deficiencies of my person and the topic. I would like to extend my thanks to my supervisor Prof. Dr. Muhammad Anwar Khan (late) who not only encouraged me to undertake this task in the first place but also kept on injecting courage and hope till the final completion of this work. The Peshawar series that he had started at Area Study Center, University of Peshawar, was looking for the attention of any researcher to search for the details of the period discussed in this work. To be truthful, this work was more a dream of his, which he tried to realize along with me.

The sudden death of Dr. Anwar was a great shock for all his colleagues and students. For me, it was more than anything, as I wanted him to be with me, at least till the end of this study. At that critical stage Prof. Dr. Shah Nazar Khan, Director, Directorate of Archaeology and Museums, Govt. of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Peshawar was appointed as my new supervisor. He not only supported me with the much needed courage but also spent some of his most valuable time in the review, suggestions and finalization of my research.

Here I would also like to thank Dr. Sarfaraz Khan, Director Area Study Center for Russia, China and Central Asia, University of Peshawar and all his staff at the centre for their help and cooperation in the successful completion of this work.

I am also grateful to my colleagues at the Department of History who facilitated me in different ways to make it possible for me to complete my course and research work. Particularly Dr. Minhajul Hassan, Chairman, Department of History, for his moral support and reducing on me any possible burden in the department, at times.

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Some special thanks, with apologies, to all my family members brothers, sister, their spouses and children for excusing me in their times, when they expected me to be with them. The task in hand was so demanding that, at times, I found it really hard to satisfy the expectations of all. In this regard the most affected were my wife and daughters, without whose patience and forbearance I may not have accomplished all this.

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Chapter 1

Peshawar before Muslim Rule

Before going into the details of Peshawar's Medieval past (1000-1526 AD) it seems appropriate to briefly look into its earlier history. It would help us in understanding the gain and loss of Peshawar during our subject period. What it was and what did it become? Why did this region lose its past glory and importance during the subject period? What were the impacts of its geo-strategic location and how did it positively and negatively affect the course of life and history of this region? Exploring the political, cultural and religious background of this region will help us in developing the true worth of our subject area in the given time.

1.1 Nomenclature and Location

There is a variety of names available for Peshawar linked with it for some distinct reason of their own. These include:

Parshapur[1](the land of Parshas on the basis of the long sway of Persians (Achaemenids) in this region); *Pesh awardan*,[2] which in Persian language means the 'one coming forth;' *Bashapur* meaningthe 'City of the King;' Munshi Gopal Das referring a tradition recorded by Hamdulah Mustawfi, the author of *Nuzhatul Qulub* credits Sassanian emperor Shahpur (240-73 AD), son of Ardeshir, for the reconstruction of Peshawar. It was because of this act of emperor Shahpur that the city is said to be named after him that with the passage of time became

[1] Dr. Ahmad Hassan Dani, ***Peshawar: Historic City of the Frontier***, (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel, 1995), 16.
[2] Munshi Gopal Das, ***Tarikh-i-Peshawar,*** (Lahore: Globe Publishers, N.D.), 141.

Bashapur (Peshawar).[3] *Posha-pura* This name is taken from an earliest written record of Peshawar. It was inscribed on a rock, in Kharoshthi script, found at a place called Ara, near Attock dated 119 AD.[4] Sten Konow argues that *Posha* represents Pushpa which means flowers in Sanskrit language. If this suggestion is accepted then the phrase *Posha-pura* would mean 'The City of Flowers.' *Folusha*: Buddhism comprises one significant part of the history of Peshawar. It was this Buddhist link that attracted visitors from different parts of the world, particularly China, to come and place their reverences to one of their holiest sanctuaries. Now these Chinese visitors and pilgrims to Peshawar were also responsible for minting some new names and pronunciations or expressions to the city. One such Chinese pilgrim Fa-hian who visited Peshawar in 400 AD recorded it as *Fo-lu-sha*.[5] Another Chinese visitor to Peshawar, Hiuen Tsang (629-645 AD), calls it *Po-lu-sha-pu-lo*.[6] The famous Muslim historian and geographer al-Masudi (871-957 AD), also known as the 'Herodotus of the Arabs' for he wrote a 30-volume history of the world, spelt Peshawar as *Pershadwar*.[7] *Purshawar* or *Purushavar*: Abu Rayhan Al-Biruni (973-1048 AD), the Arab geographer and historian records two variants for Peshawar; *Purshawar*[8] and *Purushavar*.[9] *The Peshawar Gazetteer* records a Hindu tradition that the name *Parashapur* was after a Hindu king called "Purrus" or "Porus." That Hindu tradition says that the name Peshawar has got its roots from that seat of government of Hindu king Purrus or

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[3] ***Ibid***., 49.
[4] Sten Konow, ***Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum,*** vol. II, ***Kharoshthi Inscriptions.*** (Calcutta: Govt. of India, Central Publication Branch, 1929), 165.
[5] Hiuen Tsiang, ***Si-Yu-Ki: Buddhist Records of the Western World,*** (tr.) Samuel Beal, vol. 1, (Delhi: Oriental Books Reprint Corporation, 1969), XXXII.
[6] ***Ibid***., 150.
[7] Alexandar Cunningham, ***The Ancient Geography of India, The Buddhist Period***, (Varanasi: Indological Book House, 1963), 12.
[8] Al Beruni, ***Kitabul Hind,*** tr. E.C. Sachau, ***Alberuni's India,*** Vol. I, (Lahore: Sh. Mubarik Ali, 1962), 276.
[9] ***Ibid.***, 453.

Porus.[10] However we could not substantiate with evidence the existence of any Hindu king with these titles from any other reliable source.

1.1.1 Location

Peshawar is located in the Northwest of India as well as Pakistan. At the moment it is the capital of Khyber Pukhtoonkhwa province of Pakistan as well. If on the one hand the title Peshawar stands for the city, on the other hand it also stands for a larger land mass including all the territory in the valley of Peshawar. Peshawar valley comprises of five districts including Charsadda, Mardan, Swabi, Nowshera, and Peshawar, known for their fertility and produce. According to one estimate it covers an area of some 8,800 square miles, lying about 1,100 feet above sea level.[11]

Peshawar is situated near the eastern end of the Khyber Pass and sits mainly on the Iranian plateau along with the rest of the Khyber-Pukhtoonkhwa. This unique geographical location gave it a range of worth in the past. As it was located at the meeting point of two distinct and important geographical identities of Asia i.e. Central Asia and South East Asia, it is seen in history associated with one or the other depending on a variety of reasons.

As for the geography of Peshawar valley it is protected from north, south and west, like a crescent, by mountains. The open end of this crescent of mountains, towards east, is covered by yet another

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[10] ***The Gazetteer of the Peshawar District, 1897-98.*** Compiled by Punjab Government, (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 1995), 44.

[11] Mahmood ul Hasan, 'The Pleistocene Geomorphology of the South-Eastern Part of Peshawar Vale' Unpublished PhD Thesis, Department of Geography, University of Peshawar, 1995, 13.

natural boundary in the form of Indus River. Shafi Sabir relates this geography of Peshawar valley with that of a house having four doors. On the three mountainous sides of the valley there are passes which serve as doors of entry to it. In the north is the historical Malakand pass. For long ages it has served as a road to travelers from Russia, China and Kashghar to Peshawar valley. In the south is the Kohat pass and in the west is the Khyber Pass. Khyber begins from the Tartara hills of the Suleiman Mountain. At places it is about a mile wide but at some places it shrinks to a mere few hundred yards. This narrow, rugged, barren and serpentine pass has romantic attraction for travelers and a peculiar attraction for one well versed in the military arts and affairs. Anyone coming from the eastern door is obstructed by the river Indus.[12] In this way we find well defined boundaries of the valley of Peshawar being protected from all side by one strong natural defense system.

Top priority for any progressive military regime remains to secure the economic veins of any region. The topographical protections and natural fertility of the land with some exceptional irrigational blessings also rendered Peshawar a distinct enhanced status of its own kind. This status of Peshawar received one natural boost of its own kind when turned out to be in the vicinity of the famous Silk Trade Route of medieval times.[13] This proximity gave it a high status with the traders and trade caravans to meet and exchange their commodities here at Peshawar. Being a part of South-Central Asia it literally turned out to be one very important part of the famous Silk Road.

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[12] Muhammad Shafi Sabir, ***Story of Khyber,*** (Peshawar: University Book Agency, 1966), 7-8.

[13] Fidaullah Sehrai, ***Hund: The Forgotten City of Gandhara,*** (Peshawar: Peshawar Museum, 1979), 5.

1.1.1.1 Physical Geography of India and Peshawar: A Comparison

With the exception of European rulers who came through marine routes almost all the foreign rulers of India came through its northwestern borders. This was because the regions beyond northwestern borders of India were usually having strong political, military and cultural setups. On the other hand the inability of India to offer any unified and competitive politico-military arrangements rendered it with a quite vulnerable status. In these circumstances the extension of Central Asian forces towards India was one natural phenomenon. Now here we have a very interesting comparison of a greater land mass like India with a much lesser land mass of Peshawar valley. It will help us in understanding how geography plays its extra ordinary role in the formations of political and social outlook of any region and then how did it ultimately affect Peshawar and its popular trends. According to Patricia Kendall,

> Geography reigns supreme in India. It dictates political boundaries, determines social movements and limits ethnic expansion.[14]

Now if it is right in case of rest of India as a bigger unit it was more expressive in case of Peshawar. We observe that the geography of Peshawar had a lot much to say; rather it was the ruling muse for most of its socio-political and cultural trends besides its identity and obscurity in history.

Analyzing the physiographical outlook of India Holdich states:

> Physiographically she is fenced round within a ring of sea and mountains. The north is bounded by the highest and most compact wall of the Himalaya which towers

[14] Patricia Kendall, ***India and the British,*** (London: C. Scribner's Sons, 1931), 18.

> above the plains of Hindustan in a continuous line of snowy peaks and is continued in an unbroken chain of its extensions in the north-east and north west, reaching right up to the head of sea on both sides, from the foot of which start the peninsula of India which stretches away southwards.[15]

This highlights India's distinct seclusion or isolation from rest of Asia because of some natural barriers of long mountain chains i.e., the Himalaya and its branches, as well as from rest of the other world land masses through sea. The marine route being less established in medieval times the only direction left for the exploration of India by any adventurer was from across the northern mountainous belt. Now if we compare this larger physiographical appearance of India with appearance of the valley of Peshawar we find isolation from the rest in both cases, particularly with reference to the well defined natural boundaries. Nevertheless, the barrier or boundary arrangement is a bit different. The way mountain ranges provide a complete curtain of isolation and security from the north-western to north-eastern corners of India; mountain ranges from all sides serve the purpose of a great wall of defense for the valley of Peshawar, except in the east where the famous river Indus is doing the job of yet another natural boundary. So it seems justified to call Peshawar a miniature of India as far as isolation through natural boundaries are concerned. Such a smaller unit as that of Peshawar enjoying so strong natural defense arrangements is a unique case of its own nature. This natural beauty and distinction was a big source of attraction for the potential adventurers and opportunists not only for Peshawar but for the rest of India depending on the level of their potentials and ambitions. In the absence of any strong socio-

[15] Thomas Hungerford Holdich, ***Political Frontier and Boundary Making,*** (London: Macmillan and Co.1916), 57.

political or cultural establishments, Peshawar offered an extra ordinary base and opportunity to any new fortune seeker.

1.1.2 Foundation of the City

Munshi Gopal Das in his book *Tarikh-i-Peshawar* (History of Peshawar) fixes the responsibility for the start or foundation of Peshawar to the Persian Achaemenids dynasty. According to him it was one Hoshang Pashedao, son of Siyamak and grandson of Kaiumars,[16] who founded the city.[17] When Hoshang entered eastern Afghanistan of which Peshawar Valley was also a part he found it under the control of some Hindu Raja Pardaman. Hoshang after getting control of the valley laid foundation of a city called 'Farsawar' which later on was known as Peshawar.

Hayat Khan in his book *Hayat-i-Afghani* (written in 1867) tells us that the city after being destroyed once was rebuilt on the same site by one Hindu Raja Bikram. The name given to it was 'Purshor', which ultimately became Peshawar.[18]

For the foundation of Peshawar Dr. Moti Chandra relates a story referred in a French work which says that 'a deity in the form of a shepherd pointed to Kanishka a place where to rise the highest stupa of the world and the city of Peshawar was founded there.'[19] Now if we try to hold this view of Dr. Moti that the city was developed around the stupa of Kanishka that happened to be quite distantly located in terms of time we will be required to ignore all the past references for the

[16] Founder of Persian Achaemenid Empire.
[17] Das, ***op.cit***.
[18] Muhammad Hayat Khan, ***Hayat-i-Afghani***, tr. Major Henry Priestly, ***Afghanistan and its Inhabitants***, (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 1999), 34.
[19] Dr. Moti Chandra, ***Trade and Trade Routes in Ancient India,*** (New Delhi: Abhinav Publications, 1977), 9.

foundation of the city, which in my opinion would not be fair. Whatever may be the reality behind the real start of this city; recorded history tells us that the city we know today as Peshawar attained its actual fame and glory under the Kushans, a Central Asian tribe of Tohorian origin, somewhere over 2,000 years ago. [20]

1.2 Peshawar as Gandhara

Peshawar was earlier known in history with this title of Gandhara. Speaking in strict geographical terms it is the ancient name of Peshawar Valley which included the area between the Suleiman Mountains along the Afghan border in the west and the Indus River in the east.[21]

> The term Gandhara is, however, also often used in a broader sense of what might be called "Greater Gandhara," comprising besides Gandhara proper, several neighboring regions, particularly the Swat and other river valleys to the north, the region around the great city of Taxila to the east, and the eastern edge of Afghanistan to the west. These, and later on, more distant regions as well, came under the cultural influence of Gandhara proper…[22]

Peshawar and the city of Taxila were the most significant cities of the kingdom of Gandhara. They happened to be the capitals of the kingdom at times. Peshawar (Gandhara proper) saw probably the best days of its prosperity and recognition due to being the center for some Indo-Greek, Indo-Scythian, Indo-Parthian, and Kushana empires.[23] Besides politico-cultural advancement it was blessed and beautified by

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[20] Ihsan H. Nadiem, ***Peshawar: Heritage, History Monuments,*** (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 2007), 45.
[21] Richard Salomon, ***Ancient Buddhist Scrolls from Gandhara: The British Library Kharosthi Fragments,*** (London: The British Library, 1999), 3.
[22] ***Ibid.***
[23] ***Ibid.***

nature through enchanting rivers, mountains, valleys and climate.[24] Gandhari, the mother of the Kurus of the Epic Age who fought the Mahabharata war was the native of this region.[25]

1.2.1 Gandhara Art

Peshawar valley is also known in history for being the birth place of Gandhara art. Being initiated and developed at Peshawar it was basically a merger of Greek, Syrian, Persian, and Indian artistic tastes. In Buddhism it got its strongest source or medium of expression. To the extent that there is a thought that the art was promoted and developed for the propagation and popularization of Buddhism through visual means among the masses. The art usually revolves around Buddhism and Buddha who is attended by gods and devotees in the panels. Various expressions of this art show the exalted and prominent position enjoyed by Buddha among other human beings.[26]

Gandhara art entered upon a new phase with the coming of Kushana rulers in Peshawar; particularly in its initial phase (75—225 AD) it crossed milestones of its history. As a matter of fact it was during the Kushana period that the unification of Gandhara art and Buddhism took place. The rise of Mahayana Buddhism during this period under the patronage of Kushan king Kanishka (128—151 AD) was the cause as well as effect of this unification. For the first time ever

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[24] Fidaullah Sehrai, ***The Buddha Story in Peshawar Museum,*** (Peshawar: Peshawar Museum, 1978), 1.
[25] ***Ibid.***
[26] Syed Abdul Quddus, ***The North West Frontier of Pakistan,*** (Karachi: Royal Book Company, 1990), 40-41.

in the history of Buddhism Buddha was represented anthropomorphically or in figure art.[27] Under the patronage of Kushana rulers (1st-2nd Century A.D.) this new school of art flourished and received a great push in the Gandhara region, i.e. Peshawar and its surroundings. Because of the strategic geographical position of the region, the new discipline also started moving swiftly in all direction resulting in its introduction and establishment. This on its turn also gave way for the further extension of this art through mingling and interactions with foreign and other established ideas.

To sum-up we can say that the Gandhara art is a hybrid product; though Buddhist in theme it is Greco-Roman in style or technique as is evident from the physiognomy and drapery of the images. The artists of this region have produced a large number of Buddha and Bodhisattva images along with other Buddhist deities. Gandhara art flourished for about four to five hundred years and to a great extent it influenced the indigenous art of a huge area such as Mathura, Amaravati and Nagarjunakonda. The Buddha and Bodhisattva images of many sites in Central Asia also show an affiliation to the Gandhara style. This art of the region as well as Buddhism received a great blow at the hands of the Hun invaders. Mihirakula, a cruel king of the Huns destroyed the Buddhist monasteries of the region and all possible Buddhist remains. The main centers of Gandhara art were the cities of Peshawar and Taxila, and also Afghanistan where a large number of stupas, monasteries and sculptures have been unearthed by the archaeologists.[28]

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[27] Radha Banerjee, "Buddhist Art in India", ***Kalakalpa,*** *Journal of Indra Gandhi National Institute of the Arts.* http://ignca.nic.in/budh0002.htm retrieved on 20/10/07.

[28] ***Ibid.***

1.3Under Different Trans-Indian and Indian Rulers

Peshawar was part of different Trans-Indian and Indian governments including Acheamenian, Macedonian, Mauryan, Greco-Bactrian, Saka, Sytho-Parthian, Kushan, Hepthalite, Turki Shahi and Hindu Shahi (870-1021 AD). With all those governments and setups Peshawar enjoyed status of either capital, local capital or an important post. It usually happened to be centrally located, in a sense that on both Indian and Central Asian sides it was governed by one authority. In the presence of some physiographical distinctions like being surrounded by mountain ranges and river Indus, which can conveniently serve as a natural boundary too, the worth of Peshawar was always exalted for the successful continuation of rule and authority in either direction. The study of history reveals that whenever there was a strong single government on both sides of Peshawar, it's worth got multiplied both strategically and culturally. To the extent that at time it even wore the crown of government and authority by being the capital of those governments. It also happened to be and served as the center of cultural and philosophical moves like that of Buddhism, Gandhara Art and Islam. Peshawar not only accommodated and welcomed these new ideas and cultures but after being thoroughly tainted with those also provided an effective and successful base for their furtherance towards other directions. The promotion of Buddhism in Central Asia and Islam in India owe much to the service of Peshawar.

1.3.1 End of Gandhara

Jaipal was the last great king of Hindushahi dynasty. His empire extended from west of Kabul to the River Sutlej. Towards the end this Hindushahi kingdom was posed against the emerging and powerful

empire of the Ghaznavids under Subuktigin. Defeated twice by Subuktigin and then by Mahmud of Ghazni in Kabul valley, Jaipal committed suicide. Son of Jaipal, Anandpala moved his capital near Nandana in Salt Range. In 1021 AD the last king of this dynasty Trilocanpala was assassinated by his own troops. In this way and from that date onward in history the name of Gandhara was forgotten forever. We do not find this title being used for Peshawar any more from any source.

An interesting legacy or continuation of the name of Gandhara is attributed to the present Kandahar in Afghanistan. It is said that the Kandahar in Afghanistan was probably named after Gandhara. According to H.W. Bellew, emigrant from Gandhara in fifth or sixth century AD brought this name to modern Kandahar.[29] This idea of shifting of name and belongings of Peshawar to another destination in Afghanistan is also supported by another old record. Fahian, the famous Chinese traveler in this case, has also reported Buddha's alms-bowl in Peshawar Valley when he visited around 400 AD. In 1872 Bellew saw this huge begging bowl, 7 feet in diameter, preserved in the shrine of Sultan Wais outside Kandahar, which was probably brought there by refuge Buddhists monks. The Buddhists "carried with them in their long and arduous journey the most sacred relic of their religion left them—the water-pot of Budha."[30] However, when Caroe wrote his book, *The Pathans* in 1958, this relic was reported to be at Kabul Museum.[31]

So we may conclude that Gandhara, the city that we know today as Peshawar started its known political career roughly about 1500 years

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[29] HW Bellew, ***The Races of Afghanistan,*** (Calcutta: 1880), 61.
[30] ***Ibid.***
[31] Caroe, Olaf. ***The Pathans.*** (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1985)**,** 170-171.

before the coming of Islam. During this period it earned some name and reputation and became known to the surrounding world for Gandhara art, culture and civilization, and also as a great center of Buddhist learning. It happened to be the successful seat of government of the huge kingdom of Kanishka, stretching from Central Asia to Bengal. However due to the continuity of invaders from Central Asia and even beyond and it being situated between India and Central Asia a harmonious and regular development of the culture of this city and its people was always at risk. In order to get a general idea of the mood or mind set of the invaders we may say that they either attempted to encash the central, well protected and fertile blessings of Peshawar to the full or if, in case, they cannot benefit from it, to leave it in such a position for their competitor or successor that they could be deprived of its natural advantages. It may be counted for one significant reason for the loss of collective memory of the history of this region and its people.

1.4Early Inhabitants of Peshawar

The present population of Peshawar has got their group names which were not used for the people of Peshawar in the past. Some of these popular groups include the Pukhtoons and the Hindkowans. These names were, however, definitely not the same or at least not referred for the identities of these groups, if they were in any way available in those times. While tracing the roots of these titles we do not find their reference for the people of Peshawar valley.

Once again the geography seems to have inadvertently played an important role in the formation of population of this area. As there were number of economic and political activities going around

throughout the history of this valley it would have definitely brought people from different ethnic stocks close to each other to fulfill their economic and social needs. These groups included people from Indo-Iranian origin and possibly of Elamo-Dravidian origin prior to the invasion and settlement of Aryan tribes. The Dravidians invaded from the Iranian plateau and settled in the Indus valley around 4000 BC. The Dravidian culture blossomed over the centuries and gave rise to the Indus Valley Civilization of Pakistan around 3000 BC. The Indus Valley Civilization spanned much of what is today Pakistan, but suddenly went into decline just prior to the invasion of Indo-European tribes from Eastern Europe. A branch of these tribes called the Indo-Aryans are believed to have founded the Vedic Civilization that have flourished and existed between Sarasvati River and Ganges river around 1500 BC and also influenced Indus Valley Civilization. It is also assumed that these Aryan groups became the Pukhtoons or rather some parts or tribes of them as well as various Dardic groups of people who currently populate the region. In this way we can relate some tribes and groups or ethnic identities of our present Peshawar valley with few known links of the past.

The Peshawar Valley has also shown signs of links with the Harrapan civilization of the Indus River valley and with the ancient Afghanistan (when it was called Aryana) as part of Kabul valley. For the people of this region, called Gandhara at that time, some old sources use the title of Gandharis. According to Kanchan Chakraberti, Gandharis was the title used for them in the *Vedas*. He tells us that Gandharis were settled since the Vedic times on the banks of Kabul River (river Kubha) up to its meeting point with River Indus.[32] From

[32] Kanchan Chakraberti, ***Society, Religion and Art of the Kushana India,*** (Calcutta: K P Bagchi & Company, 1981), 30-31.

this description of Chakraberti we can also guess that the abode of these Gandharis was none other than the Peshawar Valley. He further adds that these Gandharis later crossed the Indus and stretched into areas now-a-days included in the northwestern parts of Punjab of Pakistan.[33]

The Afghans or Pukhtoons are reported to have arrived in Peshawar valley quite at a later stage. Actually they migrated to Peshawar in multiple phases, the details of which we will be dealing in a later chapter. It is said that they made their first mass migration in the environs of Peshawar somewhere around the seventh century. These people were first heard of as holding the hills of Ghor and Suleiman about the middle of the seventh century AD. This was the time when Persia was kneeling down to the force of Muslim arms. The Pukhtoons, however, remained immune of the Muslim advancements at that time mainly because of their over occupation elsewhere. The Pukhtoons, on the other hand, did realize that sooner or later their new Muslim neighbors would be making their way in their homeland as well and tried to move towards the Indian subcontinent particularly the countries bordering on River Indus. Ferishta reports a campaign of 70 pitched battles in five months amongst the Pukhtoons and the Rajas of Lahor. Those encounters culminated in the success of Pukhtoons when they compelled the Lahor rulers to cede to them all the hill country west of the Indus and south of the Kabul River on condition of their guarding that frontier of Hindustan against invasion. This, however, was not before they were being joined by another war like Indian based tribe, the Gakkhars. This alliance was basically due to the presence of one common enemy in the form of Hindu Shahis. The Hindu Shahis on their part were trying with, one time tested politico-military strategy of

[33] ***Ibid.***

rulers and politicians. They intended to have a bulwark of this new state or area of the Pukhtoons and the Gakkhars between them and the newly emerging Muslim forces. They were trying to strengthen one of their enemy against the upcoming other political force of Muslims.

So that is how we get our new inhabitants of Peshawar. This does not mean that the Pukhtoons were altogether new to this region; being living in the neighborhood of Peshawar it is obvious that they may had multiple contacts with this area and may had lived in this area in smaller, non-dominant units.

Dalazak were one other important inhabitants of Peshawar. According to some authorities (like Major James) they were Pukhtoons but the Pukhtoons themselves declare them to be of Indian origin. No exact date can be given for their coming to Peshawar. However, they are considered to have established their position in the plains of Peshawar in the earlier phases of migrating Pukhtoons. The Dalazak by their superior numbers overweighed and finally absorbed the indigenous population, which had held the valley prior to their advent. The latter are described as few in number and chiefly pastoral. In the eleventh century the Dalazaks intermarried and much fused with the previous indigenous population. They held all the plain of Peshawar south of the Kabul River and their settlements spread even to the modern Chach tract on the left bank of the Indus. They paid tribute regularly at this period to the local Governors appointed from Ghazni.[34]

This influx of people from Afghanistan towards India and Peshawar does not, however, mean that it was only a one-way traffic or rather the area was swiped out of Indian population. Even after these

[34] ***Gazetteer***, ***op.cit.,*** 48.

mass scale migrations we find the plain of Peshawar and apparently the Jalalabad plain along with the hills to the north including modern Swat, Buner, etc., were occupied by tribes connected with India who appear to have been left un-molested. This extension and establishment of the Pukhtoons in the environs of Peshawar played a very significant role in the later politics. The Pukhtoons sided with Sebüktigin, of Ghazni, and furnished soldiers to his army in his campaign against Jaipal, the Hindu Prince of Lahor. The Pukhtoons advanced the same supportive hand to the celebrated son of Sebüktigin, Mahmud, in his campaigns against the Hindu Shahi rulers of Lahor. In this way the strategy employed by the Hindu Shahis to deploy Pukhtoons to keep the Muslim forces at a distance backfired and caused a sort of loss in advance for them.

1.5Buddhism in Peshawar

1.5.1 Buddha and Buddhism

Buddhism was first founded in eastern India around 520 B.C. by Buddha and it reached Gandhara in the 3rd century B.C.[35] The proselytizing faith lived a very prosperous life in and around Peshawar valley prior to the coming of Islam. Before looking into the relation of this faith and Peshawar it seems appropriate to talk a little about the faith itself. Buddhism is one of the great pan-Asian religions and philosophical movements that have also attracted adherents in the West. The religion is based on the teaching of Siddhartha Gautama,

[35] W. Zwalf, ***The Shrines of Gandhara,*** (London: British Museum, 1979), 5.

commonly known as The Buddha, who lived approximately 563 to 483 BC. The word Buddha, meaning awakened or enlightened one, was the title of Siddhartha Gautama. He was born in the Royal Family of the kingdom of Sakyas situated on what is now the border area between India and Nepal. At the age of 29, desiring to know the path that leads to the ending of all impermanence and anguish, and desiring to ensure his permanent well-being, the prince renounced everything of the world, becoming a homeless ascetic, vowing to find the path to ultimate enlightenment and resolving to teach others what he had discovered about the four truths[36] and the chain of causation to achieve *Nirvana*.[37] For the facilitation of layman in the understanding and attainment of *nirvana* Buddha instituted an order of monks and nuns. After his death in 483 BC his sayings were, according to traditions, codified by a

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[36] The Buddha couldn't fully relate his new understanding of the universe, but he could spread the essential message of his enlightenment and guide people toward achieving the same understanding. He traveled from place to place teaching the four noble truths:

i. Life is suffering.

ii. This suffering is caused by ignorance of the true nature of the universe.

iii. You can only end this suffering by overcoming ignorance and attachment to earthly things.

iv. You can overcome ignorance and attachment by following the Noble Eightfold Path.

The Noble Eightfold Path is a list of eight ideals that guide a person toward greater understanding of the universe. The eight ideals are:

* Right views
* Right intention
* Right speech
* Right action
* Right livelihood
* Right effort
* Right mindedness
* Right contemplation

[37] Nirvana is the supreme state free from suffering and individual existence. It is a state Buddhists refer to as "Enlightenment". It is the ultimate goal of all Buddhists. The attainment of nirvana breaks the otherwise endless rebirth cycle of reincarnation. Buddhists also consider nirvana as freedom from all worldly concerns such as greed, hate, and ignorance. No one can describe in words what nirvana is. It can only be experienced directly.

church council. In Buddhist expression, the Buddha had set in motion the wheel of the law for the salvation of mankind.[38]

With regard to Buddhism in Gandhara (Peshawar), it was basically popularized due to the excessive interest of Ashoka towards this faith. The fifth of Ashoka's Edict at Shahbaz-Garhi indicates that Ashoka regarded Gandhara as a frontier country 'still to be evangelized'.[39] According to Sinhalese chronicle the *Mahavamsa,* Gandhara was converted to Buddhism during Ashoka's reign by the apostle Madhyantika[40] somewhere around 256 B.C. Gandhara received its second impetus towards Buddhism during the reign of great Kushan king Kanishka. With Gandhara being the center of his vast kingdom and his excelling dedication towards Buddhism an all impressive link of Peshawar and Buddhism was established. It turned out to be a landmark feature for both Peshawar and that religion. One can say that Peshawar enjoyed an all times high status and worth as a result of Kanishka's commitment. On the other hand Buddhism also witnessed a rapid growth of it philosophy in all direction around Peshawar as a result of this interest of the sovereign. Slowly and gradually Gandhara attained a very high spiritual status amongst the Buddhist for it being the home of some of their monasteries and relics. One can even say that it became the 'second holy land' of the Buddhists frequented by the Chinese converts who were absolutely satisfied with the visit without making further pilgrimage to the Ganges basin.[41] Hiuen Tsang in giving a picture of the Buddhist Gandhara relates that about a thousand Buddhist monuments existed in Gandhara alone.[42]

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[38] Zwalf, ***op.cit.,*** 5-6.
[39] Alferd Foucher, ***Buddhique du Gandhara,*** tr. L.A. Thomas & F.W. Thomas, ***The Beginnings of Buddhist Art,*** (London: H. Milford, 1917), 21.
[40] ***Ibid.,*** 22.
[41] ***Ibid.,***123.
[42] ***Ibid.,***124.

1.5.2 Fourth Buddhist Council at Peshawar

The Buddhist activities started with full force in Peshawar when Kanishka became a Buddhist. It was from here that Buddhism travelled to Swat, Gilgit, Tibet, China, Afghanistan, Central Asia, Mongolia and the Far East. The next targets achieved by Buddhism happened to be Korea and then Nara in Japan, the country of Mahayana Buddhism. Kashyapa Matanga, a Buddhist missionary from India, went from Peshawar and introduced Buddhism in China somewhere about the first century AD while Ashvaghosa[43] and Nagarajuna[44] stayed in it to compose the Mahayana Buddhist texts. Majority of the Buddhists of the world are Mahayanists. Kanishka fully patronized and propagated this sect of Buddhism. With Kanishka perched at the highest pedestal of government at Gandhara, the time was best ripe for any major show of Buddhism. Kanishka convened the fourth Buddhist Council (conference) in Gandhara, somewhere around the middle of 2nd century CE. Its venue must have been Peshawar[45] where once stood the great monastery and stupa of Emperor Kanishka. It was attended by about 500 monks, including Vasumitra, Ashvaghosa, Nagarajuna and Parsava. Vasumitra was the President and Ashvaghosa the vice President of the conference. It is said that the Mahayana Buddhism formally rose after this period. Voluminous commentaries on the three Pitakas[46] were prepared. The entire Buddhist literature was thoroughly examined and the comments were collected in the book Mahavibhasha. The decisions of the conference were engraved on copper plates and deposited in a stupa specially built for this purpose. Taranath, the Tibetan historian informs us that the conference settled disputes

[43] Indian philosopher and poet (b. 80AD Ayodhiya India d. 150 AD Peshawar).
[44] Another Buddhist philosopher.
[45] Sehrai, ***op.cit.,*** 10.
[46] Buddhist religious stories.

between eighteen schools of Buddhism which were all recognized as orthodox. Kanishka planted the sapling of the Bodhi tree in Peshawar under which the Buddha had achieved the enlightenment at Bodh Gaya in India.[47]

1.5.3 Buddhist Monuments in Peshawar

During the Buddhist period Peshawar was studded with a number of sacred structures – *stupas* and *sangharamas* (Monasteries)—which drew towards itself a number of travelers and turned it into a veritable place of pilgrimage for the followers of Buddha. Unfortunately most of these monuments have disappeared altogether, others are in the process of decay, and only a few have survived the ravages of time and man.

The great Kushan king Kanishka (128—151 AD) and also being a dedicated patron of Buddhism had two famous Buddhist monuments in Peshawar; which were a stupa and a vihara (monastery). The Stupa is perhaps the most celebrated of all the stupas of Gandhara. By definition it is a funeral mound which is an emblem and cultural object of worship among the Buddhists. Ashoka is said to be responsible for the outstanding importance of stupa among the Buddhist. It was one of the many acts through which he intended to popularize Buddhism. A portion of the body relics of the Buddha was sent as gift to each of the principal cities in his dominions. These he obtained by opening seven of the eight stupas in which the relics had originally been enshrined. Along with the relics he also presented every city with a stupa worthy of housing them.[48] Nevertheless, one point to note here is that some

[47] Sehrai, Fidaullah. "Peshawar's Buddhist Past". ***Dawn Magazine*** 6 March 2005.
[48] Sir John Marshall, ***The Buddhist Art of Gandhara,*** (New Delhi: 1980), 3.

prominent historians, like A.H. Dani and S.M. Jaffar, while writing about Kanishka credit him for the erection of this stupa.[49]

The stupa was said to be an imposing structure as one travelled down from the mountains of Afghanistan onto the Gandharan plains. Here Fahien narrates a legend, "Anciently when the Buddha roamed in company of his disciples in this country he told Ananda his foremost disciple, 'After my parinirvana[50] there will be a king named Chi-ni-chia (Kanishka), who on this spot will raise a stupa.'"[51] In opinion of Fahien this was the story behind the construction of the tallest stupa over the relics of the Buddha, which once stood at Shahji-ki-Dheri[52] outside the Gunj Gate of Peshawar City. When the Chinese pilgrims Hiuen Tsang reached Peshawar it rose to a height of 400 feet and described it as being over 40 chang in height (probably about 120 m. or 394 ft.) and adorned with all precious substances. In his opinion of all the stupas and temples seen by the travelers, none can compete with this for beauty or for form and strength.[53] It was destroyed by lightning and repaired several times. Wood was extensively used in it and stairs were provided to ascend the stories of the stupa.

From the ruined base of this giant stupa a jeweled casket containing relics of the Buddha was recovered. These relics were in the form of three fragments of his bones. An inscription identifies Kanishka as the donor. The casket is today at the Peshawar Museum,

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[49] Dani, ***op.cit.,*** 53; SM Jaffar, ***Peshawar: Past and Present,*** (Peshawar: 1976), 18.
[50] It is the ultimate goal of Buddhist practice and implies a release from the cycle of deaths and rebirths as well as the dissolution of all worldly physical and mental aggregates or skandhas (form, feeling, perception, mental fabrications and consciousness).
[51] Fahien, ***Record of Buddhist Kingdoms,*** tr. James Legge, (Oxford: 1886), 43.
[52] According to the ***Gazetteer of the Peshawar District*** (p. 318) the place was called Shahji-ki-Dheri because of it being the possession of the Sayyads who are generally known among the Muslims by the technical term Shahji.
[53] ***Ibid.,*** 42.

and a copy is in the British Museum. It was excavated from a chamber under the very centre of the stupa's base, by a team under Dr. D.B. Spooner, curator of Peshawar museum in 1909. [54]

To the west of this stupa Kanishka constructed a monastery, which was once occupied by great scholars and monks. They all studied Mahayana Buddhism. In the third double (storied) pavilion, the scholar Parasava lived. It collapsed long ago but there existed the commemorative plaque of this name. In the east of his chamber lived Vasubandhu and his room also contained his name plaque. To the south of his house were the two storied pavilions in which Manorihita lived. These learned scholars of Peshawar had produced marvelous Mahayana Buddhist literature in this monastery. It was still flourishing as a place of Buddhist education in the ninth and tenth century when Vira Deva of Magadha (South Bihar) was sent to the great vihara of Kanishka where the best teachers were to be found and which was famous for the quietism of its frequent visitors.[55]

The accounts of Chinese pilgrims Fahien, Sung Yun and Hiuen Tsang who came to Gandhara on a pilgrimage reveal that Peshawar at one stage in its history enjoyed a great literary recognition. They tell us about Kanishka, his Peshawar, his stupa and his great monastery. The saffron yellow and orange robed monks who once begged alms in the lanes, streets and bazaars of Peshawar are no more there. They have gone far away. Once their thunderous but sweet voice in chorus arose from the Mahavihara (great monastery) of Kanishka in Peshawar which echoed and could be heard beyond the Karakoram, Hindukush and

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[54] DB Spooner, "Excavation at Shahji-ki-Dheri" ***Annual Report of the Archeological Survey of India, Frontier Circle 1908-9,*** (Peshawar: 1909), 38.

[55] Sehrai, Fidaullah. "Peshawar's Buddhist Past". ***op.cit.***

Himalayan mountains gradually subsided with the passage of time and became inaudible. They chanted "Praise to the Blessed One, the Perfect One the fully Self-Enlightened One! I go to the Buddha for Refuge. I go the Dhamma (doctrine) for Refuge I go to the Sangha (monastic order) for Refugee.[56]

The next important monument of Buddha at Peshawar was the sacred bodi tree. It was about 100 feet in height with wide-spreading branches which as tradition would have it, had given shade to Sakya Buddha when he prognosticated the birth of King Kanishka. The Chinese pilgrims, Sungyun and Hiuen Tsang visited it as Sungyun writes that its 'branches spread out in on all sides and whose foliages shut out the sight of the sky'. Beneath it there were four (statues of) seated previous Buddhas of the same size, 17 feet tall.[57] Its site was in the present Pipal Mandi in Peshawar city. The original tree died long ago due to old age. But it's off shoots can still be seen there.

Another important token of Buddhism in Peshawar was the alms bowl of Buddha. The story of it runs as; Buddha, after enlightenment at Bodh Gaya, arose from his seat and walked to a neighboring grove. He fell into an ecstatic trance that lasted for seven weeks. During this time he "enjoyed the experiences of deliverance." At the end of the seven weeks, the Guardians of the Four Quarters realized that once the Buddha came out of his trance, he would be in dire need of food, having fasted for the whole period. They arose and each in turn placed a golden bowl at the Buddha's feet, for they knew that without the begging bowl, he could not receive the food that the gods were to give him. But the Buddha refused to accept the golden

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[56] ***Ibid.***

[57] Fidaullah Sehrai, "The Buddha's Alms Bowl" ***Dawn Magazine*** Islamabad, 10 Nov. 2002.

bowls, as they were made of precious materials and unsuited for a religious mendicant.[58]

The guardians then offered other bowls made of less valuable materials. All were refused, until they offered him four bowls made of stone. These he accepted, but enforced a condition that none of the Guardian of the Quarters should be honored by the acceptance of his bowl. He was pleased to accept all the four bowls that he afterwards molded into one by his miraculous power. Thus, the four bowls became one, but on it, the rims of the other three were always to be seen. In this way, he managed to please all the four guardians.[59] The Buddha had made his daily practice to go out begging, alms bowl in hand, at a particular time of day. The other monks also followed his lead.

The statutes of the Buddhist monastic order state that a monk cannot accept an offering by hand, only that what is put into his begging bowl — one of the few utensils a Buddhist monk is allowed to own. The alms bowl of the Buddha was venerated after his Mahaparinirvana (death) by Buddhists for more than a thousand years.

Fahien, saw the alms bowl in Peshawar himself. He states that it was held in great veneration and noted that the original four rims of the bowls could easily be seen on it. Kanishka built a stupa and a monastery to enshrine it. There lived perhaps 700 priests to look after it. At the approach of noon, they used to bring out the Buddha's alms bowl and with Upasakas[60] made all kinds of offerings to it. They then ate their mid-day meal. The alms bowl was glistening and bright. Its surface showed different colors, but mainly it was black. People used to

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[58] ***Ibid.***
[59] ***Ibid.***
[60] Ordinary followers of Buddha.

throw flowers into it.[61] Hwui-Yung one of the companions of Fahien who lived in the temple of the Buddha's alms bowl, died in Peshawar.

Fahien states that a king, Yue-Chi, came with a large army contingent and tried to take it away. After Yue-Chi had conquered Gandhara, he had a large elephant decorated and placed the bowl on top of the animal. The elephant fell to the ground and refused to get up. Then, the king made a four-wheel carriage on which the bowl was placed and eight elephants were yoked to draw it, but they were again unable to advance. The king, defeated by the power of the bowl, was soon to erect a stupa and monastery at the site to honor the Buddha.[62]

The alms bowl of the Buddha was in Peshawar at the time of Fahian's visit to Gandhara. Afterwards, when he was in Sri Lanka, he heard that the *patra* (the alms bowl) had at first been kept in the city of Vaisali in India, but was then somewhere near the borders of Gandhara.[63] There is no mention of the alms bowl of the Buddha in Peshawar in the diary of the Chinese pilgrim Sung-Yun because at the time of his visit, the then king of Gandhara was not a Buddhist. It is most probable that by then, it had already been removed. It was in Persia at the time of Hiuen Tsang's visit to Gandhara in AD 630.

Professor Alfred Foucher, the French archaeologist who was a great authority on the Gandhara civilization, visited different sites with the French Scientific Mission. During 1895-7, he and his team had surveyed the entire Peshawar district. He writes that there is a monument by the name of *Panj-tirath* on the Grand Trunk Road in Peshawar. It is a Hindu monument which contained, as the name

[61] Sehrai, "Buddha's Alms Bowl" ***op. cit***.
[62] Fahien, ***op.cit.,*** 42.
[63] Sehrai, "Buddha's Alms Bowl" ***op. cit***.

indicates, five little tanks which are the holy begging places shaded by some sacred fig trees. The Hindu Brahmans traced the origin of the *Panj-tirath* site to the five Pando brothers, the heroes of the *Mahabharata*. Professor Foucher, who attributes it to the Buddhist period, writes, "Unfortunately, the place has been too disturbed and the indications of the pilgrims are too vague to allow us to affirm anything in a decisive fashion."[64] He thinks that this might have been or may be somewhere very close-by that the sanctuary for one other most important relic of Buddhism could also be positioned; the *Patra-chaitya* (sanctuary of the alms bowls). Professor A.H. Dani, however, does not seem to be in agreement with Professor Foucher's identification of the site of the alms bowl of the Buddha at *Panj-Tirath*, and presumes it to be at *Gor Khuttree*,[65] a monument in Peshawar City.

The story of the alms bowl is accurately carved in Gandhara sculptures. The Guardians of the Four Quarters present the bowls to the Buddha. He holds it in his hand, either in a seating or standing position. Sometimes, it is placed on a throne under a canopy and the worshippers adore it.

The relics of the Buddha in the form of three fragments of his bones were recovered from it during the archaeological excavations conducted by Dr D.B. Spooner, Curator of the Peshawar Museum.

1.5.4 Persecution of Buddhists

[64] A. Foucher, ***Notes on the Ancient Geography of Gandhara,*** tr. H. Hargreaves, (Delhi: 1974), 5.
[65] Dani, ***op.cit.,*** 52-3.

Early Sassanian kings, despite being zealous followers of ancient religion of Zarthustra, were tolerant to members of other faiths, viz. Brahmanism, Buddhism, Christianity, etc. Although Zorastrianism, being the religion of king of kings, was dominant and powerful, all other religions flourished side by side in complete harmony and tolerance with each other. This policy of toleration came to its end with the coming of Vehran I (A.D. 272-275). Kartir, the Sassanian high priest of Vehran I persecuted all other religions other than Zoroastrianism. The Naqsh-i-Rustam Inscription of Kartir gives a vivid description of persecution of all the religions like Brahmanism, Buddhism, Nazareens, Christians, the Mokshavadins, the Zandiks (i.e., Manichaeans), *Juifs* (Jews) and Saamanas.[66] Though the Sassanian oppression dealt a serious blow to these religions in the empire, Gandhara once again revived from the catastrophy.[67] The faith of the people does not seem to have been affected by the cruelty of the king Vehran I. Its influence was short lived and only for a temporary phase.

Buddhism received a severe blow by the Hun Emperor Mihirakula in the 6th century AD, who destroyed the Buddhist monasteries and persecuted its followers. This incident can conveniently be taken as a point of dominant and progressive Buddhism and passive and retiring one, as Buddhism failed to survive after that.

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[66] *Journal Asitiaque*, 1960, vol-248, 347.

[67] Jaya Goswami, ***Cultural History of Ancient India (A Socio-Economic and Religio-Cultural Survey of Kapisa and Gandhara)***, (Delhi: Agam Kala Prakashan, 1979), 60.

1.6Brahmanical Religions in Peshawar

Religious history of the period reveals that although there was some outstanding Buddhist influence upon the region Brahmanical religion in all its variety of sects[68] was largely in vogue in those times. It so often challenged Buddhism in Peshawar. These Brahmins were responsible for the persecution of Buddhist in the history of this region. Somewhere in the 2nd century BC, when Pushpamitra overthrew Muriyan dynasty, he on the instigation of Brahmin priests persecuted the Buddhist, massacring their monks.[69] Some popular Brahmin cults of the region were:

1.6.1 Shivaism[70] and Saktism

Shivaism was one popular religion at Gandhara centuries preceding the Christian era. This is supported by the archeological finds from the Sindhu Valley consisting of prototypes of Shiva as Pasupati and his emblem the Shiva-linga.[71] Some early Greek writers like Strabo refer to the tribes of Punjab and Gandhara like Siboi and Oxydrakai as regarding themselves as descendants of Shiva. The early Indian coins hailing from Taxila bearing theriomorphic and anthropomorphic figures of Shiva also tell us for the popularity of Shivaism in this region.[72] Similarly some coins of Indo-Greek king Demetrius who ruled in Gandhara around 200 BC bear the figure of Shiva's emblem, the trident

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[68] Viz., Shivaism, Saktism, Karttikeya worship, Vaishnavism, Sun worship etc.
[69] ***Gazetteer, op.cit.,*** 45.
[70] His followers considered him as the creator, preserver and destroyer of the worlds he created.
[71] BK Kaul Deambi, ***History and Culture of Ancient Gandhara and Western Himalayas: from Saradha epigraphic sources***. (New Delhi: Ariana Pub. House, 1985), 86-7.
[72] JN Banerjee, ***Development of Hindu Iconography,*** (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1974), 112ff.

on the reverse.[73] Even during the Kushan era at Gandhara Shiva succeeded in maintaining it distinct identity which is evident from the fact that the coins of the Kushana rulers like Kadaphises II, Kanishka, Huvishka and Vasudeva contain the figure of Shiva and his emblems like trident and the sacred bull.[74] (See Appendix B)

In the post-Kushana rulers times Shivaism survived in Gandhara under Sassanian patronage. One gold coin, issued under the sovereignty of Shahpur I (AD 256-264) shows Shiva grabbed in Sassanian dress.[75] Shivaism must have enjoyed an elevated status during the Hun King Mihirakula who was not well disposed towards Buddhism or Buddhists and was an ardent devotee of Shiva. The Chinese traveler Hiuen-Tsang has left account of two shrines related to the Shiva cult.[76] One was situated on the top of a high mountain about 50 li or so to the north east of Polusha, modern Shahbazgarhi. The shrine was that of Bhimadevi, the consort of Isvaradeva (Shiva).[77] The other temple was dedicated to Mahesvaradeva at the foot of that mountain. These two shrines were very important in the 7th century AD and were "great resort of devotees from all parts of India."[78] In the Mahabharata we find a *tirtha* named Bhimdevisthana beyond *Pancha-nada*, in the account of various sacred places of India.[79] It seems that this Bhimdevisthana of *Mahabharata* is actually the Bhimadevi shrine which Hiuen-Tsang is referring.

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[73] VA Smith, ***Coins of Ancient India,*** (Delhi: Indological book House, 1972), 9.
[74] Deambi, ***op.cit.,*** 87.
[75] E Herzfeld, ***Kushano-Sassanian Coins,*** Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 38, Coin # 7.
[76] T. Watters, ***Yuan Chwang's Travells in India***, (London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1904), 88.
[77] ***Ibid.,*** 221.
[78] ***Ibid.***
[79] Chakravarti Rajagopalachari***, Mahabharata,*** (New Delhi: Hindustan Times, 1950) 67, 103-04.

The discovery of Shiva-image (Mahesha also called Trimurti) from Charssada also tells us that Buddhism was not the only religion practiced at Gandhara. The deity is three-headed, three-eyed, and six-armed, and stands before the bull *nandi*, holding the *damaru, trisula* and *kamandalu*. The style is Indianised Gandhara art of the third century AD.[80] Vasubandhu, a famous Brahman of Peshawar, tells us about two sects of Shivaism, Pasupata and Kapalika in the Gandhara.[81]

One latest discovery and theory forwarded by M. Nasim Khan is regarding Gandhara being either the first or one of the earliest abode of Shivaism in India. His theory revolves round some of his discoveries made at a place called Kashmir Smast near Mardan. The icons, plaques and masks, ceremonial and other pots, moveable and immoveable inscriptions, seals and sealings, coins, jewellery and other personal ornaments found at the site ties its links with an altogether unknown past.[82]

Another branch of Brahmanism known as Saktism was also quite popular in the Gandharan society. The places where the Devi or Sakti was worshiped were known as the *Pitasthana.* One such *Pitasthan* was situated at Peshawar that was visited by Hiuen-Tsang and mentioned as a great center of Saktism.[83]

1.6.2 Karttikeya Worship

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[80] John Hubert Marshall, ***Archaeological Survey of India,*** Annual Report, 1913-14, (New Delhi: Director General, Archaeological Survey of India, 2002) P1. LXXII.
[81] Goswami, ***op.cit.,*** 51.
[82] See Muhammad Nasim Khan, ***Treasures from Kashmir Smast (The Earliest Shaiva Monastic Establishment),*** Peshawar: 2006.
[83] Goswami, ***op.cit,*** 52.

The inscription on the relic casket discovered at Shah-ji-ki-Dheri, outside Ganj gate of Peshawar shows that Karttikeya[84] worship was popular with the Buddhists at the time of Kanishka. The inscription talks about some Mahasena that according to Sanskrit texts means Karttikeya. The discovery of some sculptural remains of god Karttikeya belonging to the earlier and later periods show that the worship of Karttikeya cult was strongly patronized by the local people of the region.[85]

1.6.3 The Cult of Folk-gods

Worship of folk-gods is also mentioned, in Peshawar, from old times. *Yaksha*[86] *Puja* was an important cult both in Brahmanical and non-Brahmanical faiths during the time under consideration. A detailed list of *Yakshas* who were associated with different places of North Western India is given in the northern Buddhist literature, *Mahamayuri*. The popular *Yakshas* of Gandhara were *Pramardana* and *Vaikritika*. According to a Parthian amulet a *Yaksha* named *Bis-Parn* occupied *Puska-vur*. Here *Puska-vur* is undoubtedly identified with the ancient Purushapura i.e., modern Peshawar. The *Yaksha Bis-Parn* has been identified with Visvapani, "the fifth of the *Dhyani Bodhisattvas"* in northern Buddhism. Though Peshawar or Purushapura is not mentioned in *Mahamayuri* list, Gandhara is referred twice. With the passage of time these *Yakshas* became famous as local gods and goddesses and some interesting myths and mythologies were created around them.[87]

1.6.3 Sun Worship

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[84] A war god.
[85] BN Mukherjee, 'Nanā on lion: a study in Kushāṇa numismatic art.' ***Journal of Asiatic Society***, vol. XIII, No's 1-4, (Calcutta: Asiatic Society, 1971), 192-93.
[86] Deities.
[87] Goswami, ***op.cit.,*** 58.

We have not sufficient data to say with any certainty that how much sun worship was popular in Peshawar (Gandhara) in its earlier history. Nevertheless, there are certain archaeological findings that help us draw some image about it, based on documents. There are some coins issued by the Kushana Empire that bear the figure with the name *Miiro-* Mihiro[88] by its side. Similarly one of the white marble sculptures of the 5th century A.D. discovered from Khair-Khaneh in Afghanistan represents the solar deity and his acolytes. This is one most important sculpture that throws some light on the popularity of solar cult of the region in the post-Kushana period.[89] Muhammad Nasim in his book *Treasures from Kashmir Smast* also explores the probability of Sun Worship there,

> …it seems more probable that the small shrine that is enlightened by a roof window is in fact a sun temple where Iranian has to come and perform the cult of sun worship…[90]

1.7 Chinese Travelers

Buddhism has a special history and relation with Peshawar. The city played a key role in the establishment and propagation of Buddhism in all its near and distant surroundings at one stage in history. It is said that Buddhism gained grounds in China due to the missionaries sent from Peshawar. This was the reason why Peshawar attained a sacred position for the followers of Buddhism and pilgrims from near and far visited the holy places located here. These foreigners

[88] R.B. Whitehead, ***Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum,*** Coin # 61, (Varanasi: Indic Academy, 1971), 187.
[89] Goswami, ***op.cit.,*** 56-57.
[90] Nasim Khan, ***op.cit.,*** 219.

included Koreans as well as Chinese, mostly the followers of Buddha. Though they came here probably for obtaining knowledge and enlightenment about Buddhism but their records also furnish with some really valuable information about the land, its geography and politics. Dr. Dani, however, does not seem to be satisfied with the information they have left about the socio-political outlook of Gandhara and thinks that they could have done better.[91] The visitors included Fa Hien, Song Yun, Huan Tasang and Huei-ch-ao. They have left some valuable information about the city and its *notabilia.*[92] Of all the visitors Huan Tsang sharing of geo-political environment of Gandhara and its surroundings is more extensive and valuable.

The first Chinese traveler to come to this region was Shi Fa-Hien. He came to Peshawar in the beginning of fifth century AD. He was a Buddhist monk and belonged to a place in China called Shansi and later went to Changan to study Buddhism.[93] However, he was never satisfied with the material available over there. This led him along with some of his colleagues[94] to undertake a journey to India in search of books which were not available and known in China. This coming and search of Fa Hien at Peshawar also leads us to conclude that this region was enjoying a unique reputation for its knowledge and learning in the Buddhist world of that time. Fa-Hien left Changan in AD 399 for India. During his stay in India he kept an accurate record of day-to-day knowledge which later composed the history of his travels.

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[91] Dani, ***op.cit.,*** 50.
[92] Jaffar, ***op.cit.,*** 1.
[93] ***Ibid.***
[94] Huwn-King, Tao-Ching and Hwuy-Wel.

He returned to china in 414 AD and died at the age of eighty-six,[95] in the monastery of Sin at King-Chow.[96]

Fa-Hien left some very interesting information about Peshawar. He calls it Fo-lu-Sha[97] and makes a distinction between Gandhara and Peshawar. For him Gandhara stood for Pushkalavati (Charsada) and he does not say that Peshawar was the capital, either in Kushan or earlier times.[98] Fa-Hien also tells us about some relics and religious places of Buddhism at Peshawar. These included the stupa of Kanishka at Shahji-ki-Dheri, and the begging bowl of Buddha. For the stupa he said that it was 400 feet in height and "adorned with all manners of precious things." For him it was superior to all other "topes" in ancient India, both in height and beautification.[99] About the begging bowl he says that it was placed at a stupa served by more than 700 monks. The place was called *Patra Chitaya* and the begging bowl long remained enshrined there in a *vihara*.[100]

The next Chinese visitor to Peshawar was Hwai Sang who came here in 500 AD.[101] However, he is reported to have left less account of the city. Next in 518 AD another Chinese traveler Sung Yun visited the kingdom of Gandhara. From his record we learn that the kingdom of Gandhara was at war with the king of Kabul.[102] At the time of his visit the Huns were enjoying authority in the region and he thought that they were responsible for the destruction of Buddhism. About the common

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[95] Tsiang, ***op.cit.,*** XII..
[96] Basanta Bidari. ***Lumbini, Past Present and Future with Master Plan***. (Singapore: 2000), 20.
[97] ***Gazetteer***, ***op.cit.,*** 43.
[98] Tsiang, ***op.cit.,*** 17; Dani, ***op.cit.,*** 50.
[99] Cunningham, ***op.cit.,*** 13.
[100] Jaffar, ***op.cit.,*** 15.
[101] Bidari, ***op.cit.,*** 21.
[102] ***Gazetteer***, ***op.cit.,*** 45.

people he says that they were Brahmans and had great respect for the law of Buddha.[103]

The important and rich in information, about the city, of all these visitors was the visit of Hiuen Tsang. He visited Peshawar in the seventh century (somewhere in between 629-645 AD) and found the towns and villages deserted with few inhabitants. He left a valuable account of his travel.

> The kingdom of Gandhara is about 1000 li from east to west, and about 800 li from north to south. On the east it borders on the river Sin (Sindh). The capital of the country is called Po-lu-sha-pu-lo; it is about 40 li in circuit. The kingdom is governed by deputies from Kapisa. The towns and villages are deserted, and there are but few inhabitants. At one corner of the royal residence there are about 1000 families. The country is rich in cereals, and produces a variety of flowers and fruits; it abounds also in sugarcane, from the juice of which they prepare "the solid sugar." The climate is warm and moist, and in general without ice or snow. The disposition of the people is timid and soft; they love literature; most of them belong to heretical schools; a few believe in true law. From old time till now this borderland of India has produced many authors of *Sastras;* for example, Narayanadeva, Asanga Bodhisattva, Vasubandhu Bodhisattva, Dharmatrata, Manorhita, Parsva the noble, and so on. There are about 1000 *Sangharamas* filled with wild shrubs and solitary to the last degree. The stupas are mostly decayed. The heretical temples, to the number of about 100, are occupied pell-mell by heretics.[104]

Hiuen Tsang also tells something about any "royal residence." It was a fortified or walled portion of the town, in which the Palace or the Royal Residence was located. Dani thinks this place to be

[103] Tsiang, ***op.cit.,*** 67.
[104] Dani, ***op.cit.,*** 50-51.

comprised of area including the present *Bala Hisar* and *Andar Shahr*, surrounded and protected by Bara River at that time.[105] Hiuen Tsang then gives account of some Buddhist sacred places like his begging bowl placed near *Panj Tirath* and the *Pipala* tree with its unique height (100 feet) and spreading branches. About Kanishka's stupa at *Shahji-ki-Dheri*, he says that it was approximately 400 feet high and had large quantity of Buddha relics.[106] To the west of this enormous stupa Kanishka also built a monastery. It was a two story building but was in much ruined form. Nevertheless, some monks were still there who professed Mahayana doctrine of Buddhism.[107] His description of number of Buddhist stupas and Buddha's statues shows the archeological richness and importance of Peshawar with regards to Buddhism at that time.

Hiuen Tsang also informs us about the challenges and miseries which befell upon the Buddhists of Gandhara in early times:

> Centuries ago, there was a treacherous Hun king from Sakala named Mahirakula, who killed his benefactor, the king of Kashmir and usurped the throne. Then he came to Gandhara and killed its ruler in an ambush. He exterminated the royal family and the chief minister, overthrew the stupas and destroyed the monasteries, altogether one thousand six hundred foundations.[108]

Peshawar bagged a fairly rich political, cultural and economic history. The geo-strategic positioning of the valley made it a focal point for quite a number of trends and trend setters of primitive times. Successful rulers and generals of Central Asia, Europe, and Afghanistan in the high times of their rule did not fail to explore their

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[105] Dani, ***op.cit.,*** 51.
[106] The relics casket obtained from the excavation is now at the Peshawar museum.
[107] Cunningham, ***op.cit.,*** 13.
[108] Tsiang, ***op.cit.,*** 99.

options in the fertile and rich lands of Gandhara and India. These attempts of adventurers were usually for or through Gandhara. They usually hooked themselves up in the first stage at Peshawar and then using and developing it as a strong base went for their explorations in the depths of India.

The geo-strategic position of Peshawar besides rendering its political advantages and dis-advantages also affected its economic outlook both positively and negatively. With strong and committed rulers of the Muriya and Kushan dynasties it did enjoy the fruits of being located close to the famous Silk Route. The grand road constructed by the Muriyas opened new doors of prosperity for the region. It became a popular economic spot for the in and out movement of trade caravans from all directions. The peace, prosperity, law and order maintained at Gandhara by these strong rulers opened and exhibited ample chances of boon for the fortune seekers from all around. The result was Gandhara stepped into a unique phase of its prosperity under those regimes.

The politico-economic order and stability maintained at Gandhara served as a magnet for the socio-cultural prosperity. Its best expression could be found in the form of promotion of Buddhism. The keenness shown on the part of ruling monarchs for this religion was bound to bring about radical changes in the religious culture at Gandhara. People with excellence in religion were deputed to popularize the new faith in the area. Gandhara was blessed with different religious sanctuaries and other insignias of Buddhism. The state being biased invoked all its resources to give boost to this new religion. The result was that despite the provision of some earlier strong religious commitments, in the form of Brahman religions, room was

created for this new ideology at Gandhara. The cities and towns of Peshawar were strewn with the stupas and monasteries of Buddhism. Another significant expression of the socio-cultural dynamism at Gandhara was the Gandhara Art which not only earned a distinct identity for itself but also succeeded in travelling to far flung areas from Gandhara. In this way the Gandhara Art and Gandhara Culture extended its extents in all directions gaining appreciation and recognition from all quarters. The political strength and stability behind facilitated this introduction and acknowledgement.

These understandings and conclusions from the past will handsomely help us our attempt to regenerate the lost chapters of the past history of Peshawar. In the time under discussion in this thesis (Medieval 1000-1526 AD) we will attempt to find similarities between the different inroads of our subject period and the old times. Here we have learnt from the above discussions that it was an all important and popular geographical and political location in earlier times but all of a sudden we find it almost absolutely missing in the documents and records. This is one of the very important questions, i.e. finding and portraying the political, economic and cultural outlooks of this all important land, which we will be dealing with in the succeeding chapters. Apparently it seems the political, economic and cultural pluses were converted into minuses by the same geo-strategic location. In the absence of no single paramount force of impression, no weak regime in the surrounding intended to leave any room for the strength of its hostile and suspicious neighbor. Whenever they felt like unable to control or benefit from the gifted location or fertility of the land they preferred to ruin it in every possible manner.

Chapter 2

Ghaznavids in Peshawar (986—1179 AD)

In order to understand the relationship of Ghaznavids and Peshawar along with its far reaching socio-political and religious implications we will try to start with a clear understanding of the contemporary history of both Ghaznavids and Peshawar separately. For Peshawar we have attempted to have a somewhat idea at the time of Ghaznavid arrival, in the last chapter. Let us take up the other part, the Ghaznavids over here.

The Ghaznavids had embarked upon a journey of recognition and acknowledgement through the foundation of an independent empire and dynasty in certain parts of Central Asia. This new development in Central Asia was bound to pose a serious challenge to all types of existing socio-political fabrics in the neighboring Peshawar and India. Making use of his family ties and the gravity and implications of the situation the ruling Hindu Shahi dynasty soon got some other rulers of Northern India also involved in a militant resistance to the Ghaznavid intruders. Though there was no unity of cause otherwise but they realized that the emerging Ghaznavid challenge would definitely creep up towards them, if not obstructed in the way. In this way, we can say that by gathering against the new comer at Peshawar the northern Indian rulers acknowledged the importance of the valley and declared it as the first line of defense for whole of Indian politics and culture.

2.1. The Ghaznavids (975 to 1186AD)

Ghaznavid was a dynasty of Turkic Mamluk origin, evolved on the eastern hinges of Iran at a time when older dynasties in the region,

such as the Samanids, the Afrighid Khwarzam Shahs, the Ziyarids and the Buyids, were either collapsing or else entering into a period of contraction and decline. Due to the political and cultural influence of their predecessors - that of the Persian Samani dynasty - the originally Turkic Ghaznavids had become thoroughly Persianized. Under the dynamic leadership of Sebüktigin and his son Mahmud, these Turks became rulers of what was, at Mahmud's death in 1030 AD, the most extensive empire known in the eastern Islamic world of that time. They were the one responsible for the introduction and extensive promotion of Muslim state and culture in different parts of northern India.

The huge Ghaznavid Empire failed to hold itself together after Mahmud. It started shrinking swiftly under his successors. First it lost its western territories to the Seljuqs in the Battle of Dandanqan (May 1040 AD)[109] resulting in its restriction to its holdings in Afghanistan, Baluchistan and the Punjab. Then in 1151, under Sultan Bahram Shah it received a second shock to its territorial possessions, it lost its control even over Afghanistan when Ghazni was lost to Ala'uddin Hussain of Ghor. The Ghaznavids were forced to shift their capital to Lahore for safety concerns. They continued to rule over northern India from Peshawar to Lahore till its final capture by the Ghorids in 1186.

Peshawar remained in the hands of Ghaznavids for about 194 years i.e. from 986 to 1179 AD. In the first part of their sway over Peshawar under Mahmud it was all quite promising and satisfactory but after Mahmud, just like other spheres of administration, control over Peshawar kept on slipping out of their hand. This loss of Peshawar in 1179 AD, however, turned out to be a death knell for the remnants of Ghaznavid dynasty and its rule. Soon after Peshawar the then Ghaznavid capital, Lahore, was also forced to surrender. So we can say

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[109] Clifford Edmund Bosworth, ***The Later Ghaznavids: Splendor and Decay,*** (Edinburgh: 1977), 6.

with convenience that Peshawar was the key and the surety of Ghaznavid rule in Northern India. They succeeded and failed to ensure their hold in Northern India with and without Peshawar respectively.

2.1.1. Foundation of Ghaznavid Dynasty

With the decline of the Abbasid power the Governors of the far-flung provinces threw off the yoke of servitude and established their own rule and dynasties in their respective provinces. Ismail was one such Governor. He got hold of Khurasan, Transoxiana and Afghanistan in 872 AD and fixed Bukhara as his Capital, where he founded the Samanid dynasty, which continued for more than a century. His son and successor, Ahmad, had a Turkish slave, named Alptigin. This fellow Alptigin started his career merely as a bodyguard of the ruler and by proving his qualities gradually rose in position and prestige, till by 956 AD he became the Governor of Khurasan.[110] Soon Alptigin developed some disagreement with the then ruler of the dynasty, Mansur, and he had to part his way from the dynasty. Alptigin along with about 3000 of his followers first captured Balkh and then Ghazni.[111] Being determined to identify himself independently he was twice tested militarily by his ex-ruler, Mansur. Nevertheless, both the times fortune favored him and he turned out to be the victor. In this way the authority of Alptigin was established which Mansur also had to confirm in the larger interest of his state. Alptigin then captured Bust and a part of the Kingdom of Kabul. After that he led some expeditions against the neighboring chiefs, defeated the Afghans of the Khyber Pass and Peshawar valley and established his authority there.[112] However, he was not permitted by destiny to enjoy the fruits of his

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[110] S.M. Jaffar, ***Medieval India under Muslim Kings: The Ghaznavids,*** Vol. II, (Peshawar: S.M. Sadiq, 1940), 2.

[111] ***Ibid.,*** 3.

[112] Nizam ul Mulk, ***Siyar al-Muluk*** *or* ***Siyasat-nama***, tr. Hubert Darke, ***The Book of Government or Rulers for Kings,*** (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1978), 114; Jaffar, ***Ibid.,*** 4.

hardly carved kingdom. After a brief reign of about eight months, he passed away on 13th of September 963 AD.[113]

This establishment of authority by Alptigin over Peshawar valley was the first ever Ghaznavid contact with Peshawar. Though most of the writers of that history do not specifically tell us about their occupation of Peshawar at that stage and rather give us a generalized picture of it by calling them as 'some parts of the Kingdom of Kabul;'[114] S.M. Jaffar with his specialty over 'Peshawar' and 'Ghaznavids' uses the name Peshawar being occupied at that stage.[115]

Alptigin was succeeded by his son Abu Ishaq Ibrahim. On his death three distinguished generals of the late king occupied the throne of Ghazni one after the other. These three were Bilgätigin, Böritigin and Sebüktigin. This Sebüktigin, a slave and son-in-law of Alptigin became the king of Ghazni in April, 977 AD. He not only established a firm control over Ghazni but also succeeded in extending it further in different directions. He was the one behind our story of Ghaznavids and Peshawar. India being one dream land of all times secured the attention of Sebüktigin and he following the footsteps of his master Alptigin soon accumulated all the reasons to be knocking at the doors of India, Peshawar.

2.2. Political Outlook of the Region at the Arrival of Ghaznavids

2.2.1. The Hindu Shahiya at Waihind (843—1026 AD)

Northern India on the eve of the Turkish invasion was divided into numerous small states. In the tenth century, a dynasty of Hindu

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[113] Dr. Muhammad Nazim, ***The Life and Times of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni,*** (Lahore: Khalil & Co., 1973), 26.

[114] ***Ibid.***

[115] SM Jaffar was a well known historian of Peshawar, who produced some valuable works on Peshawar, Ghaznavids, Indian Culture and the subject of History.

Princes, with their capital at Waihind,[116] ruled the territory from Lamghan to Sirhind[117] and from the southern Kashmir hills to the frontier of the kingdom of Multan. The principal cities of this region were Kabul, Peshawar, Waihind, Lahore and Jallandar. Kallar (843-850 AD),[118] the founder of this dynasty, was the wazir of the last sovereign of the Turki-Shahiya dynasty, named Lagaturman.[119] In 843 AD Kallar deposed Lagaturman and usurped the throne. His intellectual and financial accomplishments may have facilitated him in overcoming any opposition against his usurpation. After his death in 850 AD he was succeeded by one Samantdeva, whose exact relation with Kallar is yet not known.[120] At the time of Ghaznavid advance Jaipal was the ruler of that dynasty. Jaipal ascended the throne about 960 AD and soon came into conflict with the rulers of the neighboring kingdom of Ghazni. His was the first kingdom that the Ghaznavids were supposed to deal with if they cherished any serious desire to benefit from the lands of Northern India, in any way.

2.2.2. Collaboration with Northern Indian Hindu Rajas

India at the time of Ghaznavid appearance was a Hindu majority area in all its political and cultural expressions. With the exception of one Shia kingdom of Multan in the south, the Hindu-Shahiya kingdom was lying in line with number of other Hindu states. To the east lay the kingdoms of Tomars at Delhi, Pratihars at Kanauj

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[116] The new name of Waihind is Hund. It was situated fifteen miles above Attock. (A.C. Cunningham, ***Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India***, edited by Surendranath Majumdar Sastri, (Calcutta: Chakravertty, Chatterjee & Co. Ltd., 1924), 53-54.

[117] VA Smith, ***The Early History of India,*** (London: Clarendon Press, 1914), 396.

[118] Also identified as Lalliya by historians like A. Stein, Cunningham etc. Abdur Rehman, ***The last Two Dynasties of Sahis,*** (Islamabad: Center for the Civilisation of Central Asia, 1979), 90-92.

[119] Abu Raihan Al Beruni, ***Kitab ul Hind (Al-Biruni's India),*** tr. Edwad C. Sachau, V-II, (Lahore: Sh. Mubarik Ali, 1962), 13.

[120] Abdur Rehman, ***op.cit.,*** 95.

and Kashi, Chandelas at Mahoba and Kalinjar, Parmars in Malwa and Solankis in Gujrat. Similarly there were other smaller and bigger Hindu states in other parts as well. The rulers, in most of these states were Rajputs. The form of their government was a feudal monarchy. Almost all these Indian-rulers were filled with territorial ambitions and were constantly at war with their neighbors. These territorial ambitions, however, usually remained limited to the neighborhood as greater ambitions needed greater intellect and pains, which happens in history quite occasionally. Collaboration against any common foreign enemy was also not out of question as they knew it from number of past experiences that the inroads once unleashed had consumed all the weak and unprepared states in their way. Then they had to undergo some really bitter and serious experiences of their lives. The emergence of Ghaznavids on the Indian frontier was one such alarming signal for them. Once it became clear that the invading Muslim forces are determined to run through their kingdoms as well, they forwarded all sort of military, moral and monetary resources at their disposal to the Hindu Shahis to counter the emerging threat.

2.2.3. Causes of Jaipal's Discomfort

Actually the Samanid and Saffarid capitals were quite distant in the Northwest of Waihind whereas this was not the case with Ghazni; establishment of a new young and strong state with its capital in the neighborhood was quite an insomniac concern for Jaipal. Particularly the establishment and successes of Sebüktigin at Ghazni were never liked by Raja Jaipal. He knew that the moment Sebüktigin overcomes his competitors in Central Asia his next target would be India in general and his Hindushahi kingdom in particular. Being haunted by these feeling of insecurity he embarked upon a policy of preemptive

aggressions to weaken or at least dissuade his enemy from any adventurism in his direction. Though Jaipal was not enjoying the support of his counsels in this regard but he was adamant to go along with his aggressive policy. In this provocative aggressive policy Sebüktigin found sufficient reason to go for an all out action against the Hindushahi Raja at its time. So we can say that these hostilities were originated by Raja Jaipal out of his fear and haughty temperament.[121] Moreover the growing population of Afghans and their migration to some border areas between India and Afghanistan like Kurmaj (i.e. Kurram valley), Peshawar and Shinawaran (i.e. Shinwarai in the Doaba between Hangu and Thall in Kohat district) also passed a feeling of insecurity and threat to Waihind. At that stage Jaipal had to face two folded dangers. On one side from the newly established Ghaznavid dynasty and on the other hand his relations with the Afghan tribes were becoming more and more deteriorated. Their relations further worsened by the change of capital[122] and they started to attack the territories included in the dominion of Hindu Shahis. According to Ferishta there were almost seventy battles between the Afghans and Jaipal during a span of five months.[123] His problems were further coupled by the uprisings of the Khokhars of salt range who were helped and encouraged by the Afghans. Jaipal had no other choice but to make a compromise with the Afghans. He agreed to accept their supremacy over Lamghan if they promise not to help the Ghaznavids or the Samanids in any of their adventures on the frontiers of India, and that they will also not help the Khokhars. According to this agreement Sheikh Hamid Lodhi was recognized as the legitimate and lawful ruler

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[121] Dr. Ishwara Topa credits the Raja for the 'warlike mentality' ***Politics in Pre-Mughal Times,*** (Delhi: Idarah-i-Adabiyat-i-Delhi, 1976), 28-29.

[122] From Kabul to Waihind.

[123] Muhammad Qasim Ferishta, ***Tarikh-i-Ferishta***, tr. John Briggs, (London: Longman, 1829), 7.

of the area.[124] The Afridis were the tribe to whom Jaipal had made the cession of those hills at the close of the 7th century, and at this time the ancestors of the Bangashs, Orakzais, Khaibaries, and Shinwaris were occupying them.[125] However, all these arrangements failed and conditions changed abruptly once the Ghaznavids sprang into power and prominence. This idea, of having a buffer state, was later on utilized with full proportions by Mahmud. The earlier partisans of Jaipal were extended with all sorts of niceties, concessions and encouragements to shift their loyalties to Mahmud. Pukhtoon chief's were treated with honor and encouraged to settle their tribes in the Khyber hills by Mahmud. Pukhtoons at that stage did not fail to go with the highest bidder; they were clever enough to assess the direction of political wind and deemed it advisable to side with the rising sun of Ghazni.

2.3. Foundation of Ghaznavid Rule in Peshawar and India

Right from the beginning of Sebüktigin's reign in 977 AD Peshawar became a scene of fierce contests. The plains of the country and the hills to the north were still Indian, while the Pukhtoons of the Khyber were on friendly terms with the princes of Lahore. Sebüktigin was a far sighted and ambitious person. He wanted to consolidate his authority over Kabul and Peshawar Valley. But like Alptigin, he did not want to face Jaipal and the Pukhtoons at once. So he adopted a strategy different from his predecessors. He launched a policy of understanding, consideration respect and partnership towards the Pukhtoons. In his this policy of winning the friends of enemy or isolating the enemy he

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[124] ***Ibid.,*** 8-9.

[125] ***The Gazetteer of the Peshawar District, 1897-98,*** (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 1995), 51.

offered all sorts of social, economic and political advantages to his new partners. The Ghaznavid historian Utbi tells us that he started recruiting the Afghans and the Khaljis from the area in thousands. This policy of Sebüktigin served his purpose in two ways. On the one hand the promise of economic benefit encouraged the Afghans to develop an alliance with Ghaznavids; and on the other hand sever their relations with the Hindu Raja. So we can say that half the war was won, before its start, with the help of strategy. Sebüktigin very cleverly used this Indian Afghan army to win his battles in India. The Pukhtoons and Afghans were now willing to spend their souls and lives in assisting him.

2.4. Important Battles of Ghaznavids in and around Peshawar (I)

Arms of Ghaznavid and Indian resistance forces banged against each other for the first time over the occupation of Peshawar and its adjoining areas somewhere before the death of Alptigin in September 963 AD. S.M. Jaffar, however, tells us that Alptigin established his authority for the first time at Peshawar by defeating not Raja Jaipal but the Pukhtoons. He tells us that the battle was fought and won against the Afghans of Khyber Pass and Peshawar valley.[126] This was the first and last confrontation of Ghaznavids and Pukhtoons at Peshawar. Sebüktigin, the successor of Alptigin at Ghazni soon realized that instead of fighting two wars on the Indian front, against Pukhtoons and the Hindu Raja, he can make it into one single war and that also with a strong show and better prospects. All it needed was the development of an understanding and partnership with the Pukhtoons. Sebüktigin quite successfully articulated this understanding.

[126] Jaffar, ***op.cit.,*** 4.

2.4.1. Battle of Lamghan 986 AD[127]

The rise of a powerful kingdom at Ghazni and its friendly Afghan policy disturbed Jaipal and created fears and misgivings, especially when his dominions lay contiguous to those of Sebüktigin. Therefore, he had either to arrest the rising tide of Ghaznavid power or forego his claims to political supremacy and risk the political existence of his own kingdom. He saw no remedy except in beginning to act and to take up arms for its final resolution. Despite opposition and protestation of the whole council of his ministers, both Brahmins and Kashatris, he marched upon Ghazni.[128] He assembled all his princes, feudatories, nobles, and allies, and with a great army approached the Muslim territory, hoping that the awe of his force would procure him retribution, and that the chasm made by the powerful army of Islam on his bordering areas would be removed.[129]

On receiving the reports of mass Hindu army mobilization under Jaipal, Sebüktigin made brisk and vigorous preparations and marched from Ghazni against him. Thus a great clash between the armies of Islam and those of the Hindus took place at Lamghan in the Khyber Pass, near a hill called Ghazak.[130] Both the armies fought bravely but the Hindus had some edge. At this critical juncture Sultan Mahmud played a trick to strike panic amongst the superstitious Hindus. He threw some filthy thing in a clean fountain of water,

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[127] There seems to be some confusion about the exact date of the battle. ***The Gazetteer of the Peshawar,*** gives the date of 978 AD p. 50, while according to ***The Cambridge History of India*** it was somewhere near 986 AD. p. 12.

[128] Muhammad bin Abdul Jabbar Abu Nasr Al Utbi, ***Tarikh-i-Yamini,*** in Elliot and Dowson, ***The History of India as Told by its own Historians,*** Vol. II, (Lahore: Islamia Book Service, 1979), 19.

[129] Muhammad bin Abdul Jabbar Abu Nasr Al Utbi, ***Tarikh-i-Yamini,*** tr. James Reynolds, (Lahore: Qausain, 1975), 34.

[130] Ferishta, ***op.cit.,*** 16.

haunted by spirits.[131] The fountain became tumultuous and gave rise to black clouds, thunders and snow-storms. These effects caused consternation among the Hindu army who believed that their gods had become angry with them and therefore sent snow-storms etc. for punishing them.[132] To the extent that Jaipal himself stood aghast at the horrible sight and saw safety in submission.[133] Mahmud was in favour of carrying on the war till Jaipal was beaten but Sebüktigin fearing that if the Hindus, as they had threatened to do in despair, burnt themselves with all their valuables, he would lose the rich peace offerings, consented to come to terms.[134] According to the peace treaty that was concluded the Raja promised; i) to pay an indemnity of ten *Lakh dirhams*, ii) to deliver fifty elephants, iii) to cede some forts and towns on the frontier, iv) and to accept the appointment of some officers in India by Sebüktigin. As a security for the fulfillment of these terms, Jaipal left some of his kinsmen as hostages and returned to Lahore.[135]

2.4.2. Occupation of Peshawar by Sebüktigin 986 AD

Once back in safety, Jaipal repudiated his promise and took prisoners the officers of the Sultan who had been sent to take the charge of the ceded forts and towns. When Sebüktigin came to know of the breach of faith; he marched towards India to punish the Raja for his treachery.[136] Jaipal was also fully prepared to check that foreseen calamity. He once again organized a confederacy of the Hindu rulers of

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[131] This tale of wonder is preserved in *Tarikh-i-Yamini, Tarikh-i-Ferishta* and other historical works as a relic of the past.
[132] Jaffar, ***op.cit.,*** 13.
[133] Ferishta, ***op.cit.,*** 16.
[134] ***Ibid.,*** 17.
[135] Utbi, ***op.cit.,*** James, 38.
[136] At first Sebüktigin did not believe the news of Jaipal's betrayal and, therefore, paid no heed to it. According to Utbi, it was only when he was convinced by the repeated accounts' that he had been defrauded and bamboozled that he marched against Jaipal to punish him for his 'wickedness' and 'infidelity.'

Delhi, Ajmer, Kanauj and Kalinjar and advanced towards the frontier with a Hundred thousand of his soldiers to hurl back the Muslim invaders. In the engagement that ensued on the bank of river Indus, the allies suffered a crushing defeat. The superior generalship of Sebüktigin brought him victory this time also. The Sultan had divided his army into contingents of five hundred each and had ordered them to attack the Hindu forces with utmost violence in successive waves and to retreat, before their force was spent, to the rear of their own army while another contingent led the attack. This tired out the Hindus who had been fighting without any respite. At the close of the day the entire Turkish army made a united charge. The Hindus worried by ceaseless fighting could not withstand it and suffered a complete defeat.[137] Sebüktigin levied heavy contributions on the countries of Lamghan and Peshawar, including all the territory west of Neelab (Indus). He declared himself to be the king over that country and appointed one of his trusted officers, Abu Ali, with ten thousand horses, to the government of Peshawar.[138]

2.4.3. Significance of this Victory

Politically considered this victory of Sebüktigin not only established superiority of the Ghaznavid forces of Islam over the united forces of Hindu India but also exposed to the Muslims a new and right direction for the conquest of northern India. He was the first Muslim ruler who not only successfully invaded India from the North-West Frontier[139] but also laid the foundation of Muslim rule in the region. It is also worth noticing that in the first clash between Jaipal and him, the former was the aggressor and the second clash was the direct outcome

[137] Elliot and Dowson, ***op.cit.,*** 23.
[138] ***Gazetteer, op.cit.,*** 50.
[139] Jaffar, ***op.cit.,*** 16.

of his breach of faith.[140] Though he did not attempt the conquest of the Punjab, but he certainly demonstrated to the outside world the political and military inefficiency of the Hindu-Shahiya rulers and paved the way for the subsequent Muslim invaders from the North-West frontiers of India. The door was now open and it only waited for a determined invader to exploit the opportunity which was excellently done by his successor Muslims rulers after him.

Another significance of the battle was participation of Pukhtoons in the battle from Sebüktigin's side. A good number of Afghans and Khiljis who resided in the mountains around Peshawar got hold of the opportunity and joined hands with Sebüktigin. Many of them were enlisted in his army. Indian invasion of Ghaznavids was nothing less than a blessing in disguise for them as it provided them a chance to prosper and identify themselves in the Indian culture and politics so effectively for the first time. It was only after this introduction of them in Indian politics that they turned to be the rulers of India for a reasonable amount of time in the coming days. A very important and noticeable thing with this Pukhtoon element was that they were always keen to move forward. If annexation and conquests in India were the ultimate objective of rule and contentment for their introducers—Ghaznavids, it was simply the beginning of name and fame for Pukhtoons. They not only fought successfully the case of their introducers in India but also pushed further their personal land, boon and prestige with some of their exceptional personal traits.

2.5. Peshawar after Sebüktigin

After the capture of Peshawar and all the areas on the western bank of river Indus Sebüktigin got seriously entangled in proving his loyalty to his Samanid king, Amir Nuh bin Mansur. He was so much

[140] Sir Wolsely Haig, ***The Cambridge History of India,*** Vol. III, (New Delhi: S. Chand & Co., 1987), 12.

occupied during this period that he could not afford to take care of his Indian possessions. Taking advantage of this situation the Hindu Raja Jaipal whom Sebüktigin has defeated twice deviated from the path of submission and exhibited all signs of hostility. The sudden death of Sebüktigin in August 997 AD[141] made it difficult for the time being, for his son and successor Sultan Mahmud to respond to that aggressive stance of Jaipal.

2.6. Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni

Sultan Mahmud enjoys a big stature in the socio-cultural and political outlook of Indian history. He not only made room for the political foundation of Muslim rule in India but due to some of his personal tastes and dedications anchored the Muslim culture and society in this part of the world. Mahmud had a great liking for Islam and intended to promote this set of discipline for human life in India. This is why besides political, religious reasons are also set forth for the causes of his Indian invasions. This was something that encouraged him not to be ever contented with the limits of his regime and to carry on with his struggle till his end. To the extent that after his recognition as an independent ruler by the Caliph of Baghdad in 999 AD 'he made it incumbent upon himself to lead an expedition against India every year.'[142] In order to fulfill his commitment he made about 17 expeditions against India and it must also be recorded to his credit that in none of them he suffered a defeat.

In order to properly understand the important role played by Mahmud in revolutionizing the religious outlook of Peshawar it seems fair to have a bird eye view of his early life, trainings and trends. This will enable us in visualizing how did his person played such a key role in moldings the socio-religious picture of Peshawar as well India.

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[141] Nazim, ***op.cit.,*** 38.
[142] Elliot and Dowson, ***op.cit.,*** 34.

2.6.1. Early Life of Sultan Mahmud

Abul Qasim Mahmud was born on the night between 1st and 2nd of November, 971 AD, and was therefore twenty-seven years of age at the time of his accession in 998 AD.[143] He received his early education on orthodox lines under the tuition of a learned man. Well-grounded in various branches of Islamic literature, he knew *The Holy Quran* by heart and was fully conversant with Muslim law and Tradition. Sebüktigin was particularly keen about the education of his children. He himself had instructed Mahmud in the science of statecraft and crystallized its principles, as propounded by himself, into a ***Pand-Nama.***[144] Right from the very beginning Mahmud got a regular course of apprenticeship in the art of administration. He acted as a deputy of his father during his absence from the capital, Ghazni. At that time he was only seven years of age. He was entrusted with fulltime heavier responsibilities at quite an early age when he was appointed as the governor of Zamin-Dawar. He was provided all the necessary trainings in the field of military arts and sciences of his time and age. He grew up as an outstanding swordsman, lance-fighter and marksman. Due to some permanent military engagements at the side of his father he acquired much experience that later on proved much useful in his career of conquests. At number of battle-fields he turned out to be the most reliable, feared and successful lieutenants of his father. Even during his boyhood he gave a good account of his military genius by successfully conducting a punitive expedition against Ghor. Same was the case in his battle against the Hindu Raja Jaipal near Lamghan.

With this political, religious and administrative background, further beautified with his young age, courage and zeal he started knocking at the doors of Peshawar and India threatening its age old

[143] Haig, ***op.cit.,*** 12.
[144] Jaffar, ***op.cit.,*** 25.

socio-political and religious outlook. In this way he turned out to be one champion of Islam in India. Being well-versed in the philosophy of Islam he forwarded all the political cover to the Muslim missionaries and saints making it possible for them to propagate the massage of Islam with peace and ease. Raverty with the reference of four manuscripts produced at that time relates a story given with the birth of Mahmud:

The same night also upon which Mahmud was born, the idol temple of Wahand or Bihand, which was situated on the confines of Barshabur, on the bank of river Sind, split asunder.[145]

Breaking of idol temple on the confines of Barshabur or Peshawar on the birthday of Mahmud means that the fellow was destined to play any major role in the history of this city/ valley. The birth of this legend was having its toll on Peshawar right from his very birth and that there was something extraordinary bond between him and the future of Peshawar and so were the signs.

Mahmud ascended the throne in 998 AD after defeating his brother Ismail. He spent the first two years of his reign in fighting against the Samanids. The Samanids acknowledged his authority over Balkh, Herat, Tirmiz and Bust but refused to accept his authority over Khurasan. Mahmud soon waged a war against the Samanid king and defeated him in an open field. He then proclaimed himself as an independent ruler and took for the first time the title of Sultan. He secured his position by obtaining the formal recognition of his sovereignty by the Abbasid Caliph, Al Qadir Billah, who also conferred upon him the titles of Yamin-ud-Dawlah and Amin-ul-Millat. Hence his dynasty in history is known as Yamini dynasty.[146]

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[145] Maulana Minhaj-ud-Din, Abu-Umar-i-Usman al-Juzjani, ***Tabakat-i-Nasiri,*** vol-1, tr. Major HG Raverty (Lahore: Amir Publications, 1977), 76.
[146] Ferishta, ***op.cit.,*** 33-34.

2.7. Causes of his Indian Invasions

As far as the causes of Mahmud's Indian invasions are concerned there are some disagreements among the historians. We may conveniently divide them into three distinctive schools. The first school considers Mahmud as a raider-in-chief who, in order to satisfy his greed for gold, "came, burnt, killed, plundered, captured and went." According to another school, he was "one of the greatest champions of Islam," whose principal aim in India was to extirpate idolatry and to propagate Islam at the point of sword. The third school simply sidetracks by saying that "Mahmud's character was complex" and it is nothing short of a wild goose chase to try to ascertain the inspiring motive. The causes responsible for his Indian invasion can be conveniently divided into three main categories i.e. political, economic and religious.

2.7.1. Political Causes

2.7.1.1. Raja Jaipal, Ghaznavids and Mahmud were in no way having a happy or friendly history. Both the parties doubted and acted against each other expressively or covertly. Ever since the death of Sebüktigin, Raja Jaipal tried to win back what the Amir had acquired from him.[147] The confederacy he formed against Mahmud was a clear sign of his anxiety and discomfort. His most desired end seemed to over power Mahmud.

2.7.1.2. Breaches of faith on the part of Indian Rajas who, after entering into alliance with the Sultan, betrayed him.

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[147] Muhammad bin Ali Shabankarahi, ***Majma-ul-Ansab fit-tawarikh,*** Istanbul Persian ms. Yeni Cami 909; quoted by Dr. M. Nazim, ***op.cit.,*** 87, fn 1.

2.7.1.3. Then the renouncement of allegiance to the Sultan and the with-holding of tributes promised to him by the Indian Rajas.

2.7.1.4. The assistance extended to the enemies of Sultan by Indian Rajas.

2.7.1.5. Molestation of Sultan's Indian allies by their hostile neighbors.

2.7.1.6. The confidence he reposed in the bravery of his troops also impelled him to undertake an invasion of India.

2.7.2. Economic Causes

2.7.2.1. The fertile land of India was such a hen that laid sufficient number of golden eggs in all ages of its history. These golden eggs always attracted the bold and brilliants from all parts of the world. Mahmud also did not fail to appreciate this natural blessing of India and always remained prepared to benefit from this wealth of India. He was well aware that the wealth of India could be a source of political strength and stability of his empire. It must have stirred his soul and stimulated his ambitions and influenced his course of action. The series of victories in India was a source of regular downpour of wealth that immensely augmented the Ghaznavid Treasury. This accumulation of wealth helped him a lot in the promotion of his political and cultural targets. The glory of Ghazni and might of Mahmud owes much to that wealth. It had no mean share in establishing his authority in his kingdom and his superiority over the

Islamic world in general and of the Indian world in particular.[148]

2.7.2.2. He was in desperate need of wealth for his Central Asian campaigns. So it was his economic necessity, which compelled him to lead expeditions against this fertile plain and secure enormous wealth in the form of booty. The way he kept himself engaged in warfare throughout his life for the extension and security of his domains are sufficient reasons to believe that Indian gold was his need and not the greed.

2.7.2.3. Sultan Mahmud was having information regarding the huge deposits of gold and wealth at some temples of Hindus. He felt it the most appropriate time to lay his hands to all such deposits and reservoirs. This served both his economic and religious purposes as a demonstration of strength at Hindu temples could have broken the chasm of that faith.

2.7.3. Religious Causes

2.7.3.1. The recognition by the Caliph of Baghdad as an independent ruler in 999 AD was a land mark achievement of Mahmud. It was only after this that 'he made it incumbent upon himself to lead an expedition against India every year.'[149]

2.7.3.2. Mahmud was having a very rich religious background being well conversant with its literature and practices. This furnished him with some

[148] Jaffar, ***op.cit.,*** 87-8.
[149] Elliot and Dowson, ***op.cit.,*** 134.

extraordinary religious commitments and was often seen as a zealous patron of Islam in his multiple performances. His cherished a strong desire for the propagation of Islam in India which made him repeatedly make military appearances in India.

2.8. Important Battles of Ghaznavids in and around Peshawar (II)

2.8.1. Towns of Khyber Pass

Mahmud's first expedition was directed against the frontier towns and forts of the Khyber Pass in the month of September 1000 AD.[150] It resulted in the capture of some frontier towns and a few forts.[151] Having entrusted the government of the newly conquered territory to an able officer Mahmud returned to Ghazni with as much booty as he was able to collect.[152] The exact location of these forts has not been mentioned by any of the writers but they probably have been on the routes leading to the border cities of India. The expedition was obviously aimed to clear the way for future mass mobilization of armies in that direction.

Gardizi is the only contemporary chronicler who makes a mention of this expedition.[153] Ferishta and Nizam-ud-Din Ahmad are the two later historians who have reproduced it in their works. They seem to have drawn upon Gardizi's *Zain-ul-Akhbar*, but both of them have made some mistakes in copying it. Sir W. Haig regards this expedition as 'apocryphal' without assigning any good reasons.[154] It seems that the contemporary chroniclers remained silent over it as it

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[150] Juzjani, ***op.cit.,*** 76.
[151] Nazim, writes 'Many forts' ***op.cit.,*** 86.
[152] Jaffar, ***op.cit.,*** 50.
[153] Abdul Hayy Gardizi, ***Kitab Zain al-Akbar,*** ed. Muhammad Nazim, (Berlin: 1928), 175.
[154] Haig, ***op.cit.,*** 13.

was comparatively a minor expedition, limited only to the frontier towns of India.

2.8.2. Battle of Peshawar 1001 AD/ 392 AH

Raja Jaipal kept on with his provocative stance towards the Ghaznavids and after the death of Sebüktigin intended to regain whatever he had lost earlier to him. Sultan Mahmud was not only well aware of these intentions of his opponent but also had his own plans for the Hindu Shahis and India. After securing important information from the renegade Shahi officer, Adira Afghan[155] Mahmud marched to Peshawar in Shawal, 391/September 1001. Here we also have a conflict in the opinion of different historians regarding the initiation of attack; some say it was initiated by Jaipal and some vote it for Mahmud. Whatever may be the case the scene was set for the next round of the match at Peshawar and both the parties, like their earlier attempts, were seriously prepared for it. According to Muhammad Habib the number of troops under Mahmud's command were ten thousands whereas Jaipal with twelve thousand horses, thirty thousand foot and three hundred elephants took his position in the fort of Bagram (Peshawar) from which he issued instructions to his commanders.[156] Utbi gives the number of Mahmud's chosen cavalry to be 15,000 and that of Jaipal to be eight thousand cavalry besides thirty thousand foot and three hundred elephants.[157] The two armies met over the plains of Peshawar on 27th November 1001 /8th Muharram 392 A.H. According to Utbi Jaipal adopted evasive tactics for some time awaiting the arrival of more troops. Mahmud soon realized the situation and taking initiative in his own hand attacked the enemy without further delay. The Sultan followed the tactics of his father and dividing his troops into a number

[155] Abdur Rehman, ***op.cit.,*** 141, Adira was the Governor of Nardari or Bardari.
[156] Elliot and Dowson, ***op.cit.,*** 25.
[157] Utbi, ***op.cit.,*** James, 280-81.

of regiments sent them to attack in successive waves. Jaipal put up a very stiff resistance but his army, unable to stand the cavalry charge made by the Muslims, fled from the field. The battle lasted till noon in which 5000[158] men and 15 elephants lay dead on the battlefield. The victorious Mahmud took prisoner Raja Jaipal, with his fifteen principal chiefs. Besides these high-ups Utbi also reported for the capture of 100,000 handsome men and women as slaves.[159] The spoils of war were also beyond all bounds of calculation.

The necklace which was taken off the neck of Jaipal composed of large pearls and shining gems and rubies set in gold, of which the value was two Hundred thousand dinars and twice that value was obtained from the necks of those of his relatives who were taken prisoners or slain.[160]

It is said that after the battle Jaipal was exposed to all sorts of ignominies to cause terror in the minds of any future competitor from amongst his family in India.[161] According to the terms of peace Raja Jaipal agreed to pay twenty-five thousand dinars and fifty elephants, but as the ransom was not coming at once, Jaipal was obliged to leave hostages[162] for its payment. His son Anandpal, who ruled on the other side of river Indus, arranged for the deficiency and the hostages were released before Mahmud returned to Ghazni.[163] Jaipal under the superstitious belief that his misfortune was due to some crime which might be expiated by self-sacrifice abdicated the throne to his son

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[158] Gardizi, ***op.cit.,*** 177; But Elliot and Dowson, vol. II, p. 26 gives the number as 15000.
[159] Utbi, ***op.cit.,*** 209
[160] Utbi, ***ibid.***; Elliot & Dowson, ***op.cit.,*** 25; Bakhshish Singh Nijjar, ***Punjab under the Sultans (1000-1526 A.D.)***, (Lahore: Book Traders, 1979) 14.
[161] Elliot and Dowson, ***op.cit.,*** 26-7.
[162] A son and a grand-son. Jaffar, ***op.cit.,*** 52.
[163] Nijjar, ***op.cit.,*** 14.

Anandpal and mounted a funeral pyre, which he himself caused to be constructed outside the city wall of his capital.[164]

The exact location of this memorable battle fought on the plains of Peshawar in 1001 AD is not exactly known. Nevertheless, *Adab al-Harb* (p. 317) does tell us regarding the condition of the battlefield that it was pebbly and strewn with stones. This description suits the area near the present campus of the University of Peshawar. Another important location for this battle could be at the site of the present building of Hotel Pearl Continental in Peshawar Cantonment. While digging the place for the construction of this hotel which at that time was named as Khyber Inter-Continental a good deal of huge bones of elephants and camels along with that of human beings were recovered.[165] The magnitude of this human casualty leads one to believe that it might be the result of any battle; and may be the battle that we are talking about. The battle broke the back bone of Hindu Shahi government and administration on the western side of Indus. Peshawar was from now onward one reliable Ghaznavid base for its operations in India. However, before the final assessment of that base some immediate military moves were considered must.

2.8.3. Battle of Waihind

After the victory of Peshawar Mahmud marched further towards Waihind, Capital of Hindu Shahi dynasty, and a place of considerable importance on the western bank of Indus, about fifteen miles above Attock on the old high road from Lahore to Peshawar. His intentions were to clear the Hindus off the western banks of river Indus and to have a well-defined boundary between the two regimes. Action against Waihind was also necessary for it being the capital and symbol of authority of Hindu Shahis. Moreover, he was informed that the fugitive

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[164] ***Ibid.***

[165] ***Daily Mashriq,*** Peshawar, dated March 20, 1971.

Hindus are regrouping themselves in the passes of the neighboring hills and the forests and intended to take Muslim army by surprise.[166] Mahmud with some brisk marches made an immediate appearance before Waihind and captured the town with strong assaults. From there he kept on with dispatching groups of his army against any remnant pockets of resistance. No mercy was shown and those willing to resist were dispersed with a great deal of slaughter.

On this occasion Mahmud is also reported to have punished the Pukhtoons, killing number of their chiefs,[167] who had sided with the enemy or failed to extend any support to him. Abdur Rehman thinks that these Pukhtoons were located between Bannu and Ghazni as the Pukhtoons located between Peshawar and Lamghan had already made allegiance with the Ghaznavids.[168] It is said that this was the time when most of the Pukhtoons got converted to Islam and afterwards remained loyal to their faith forever. As a symbol of their commitment to Islam and the Sultan they accompanied him in all his wars that he fought in India.[169] This extension of relations between Mahmud and the Afghans influenced the history of Sub-continent in a drastic way. On an impartial analysis we may find that if the benefit of Mahmud and his dynasty were temporary, the Pukhtoons and Islam were the real beneficiaries of the deal. It was the beginning for political Islam and also Pukhtoons in India; both facilitating the cases of each other. The strength of Pukhtoons, besides other factors, made convenient the extension of Muslim political hold over India whereas their national or communal interests were promoted and safeguarded by Muslim rulers and generals. We will talk about this relation of Islam and Pukhtoons in detail later on in a separate chapter. Mahmud, after his successful

[166] Elliot and Dowson, ***op.cit.,*** 28.
[167] Ferishta, ***op.cit.,*** 21.
[168] Abdur Rehman, ***op.cit.,*** 145-46.
[169] ***Gazetteer***, ***op.cit.,*** 50.

appearance at Peshawar is reported to have returned to Ghazni towards the beginning of spring (somewhere around February-March) 1002 AD.[170]

2.8.4. Battle on the Indus (1006 AD)

Anandpal (1002—1010 AD) succeeded Jaipal as the new Hindu Shahi ruler. He, like his father, was unable to bridle the success marches of Mahmud. He continued to rule peacefully till the return of Mahmud to India. Mahmud in March 1006 (396 AH) again visited Peshawar on his way to Multan. As he was not feeling comfortable to cross the river Indus at any of its lower end due to climatic concerns,[171] he decided to cross it near Peshawar.[172] The eastern bank of Indus River being under control of Anandpal, Mahmud asked him to let him pass through his territories on his way to Multan. Due to an unhealthy history of relations between them Anandpal could never trust Mahmud. Moreover, he was also having some alliance with the ruler of Multan, Abul Fateh Daud bin Nasir. As a result not only the request of Mahmud was turned down but forces were posted on eastern side of Indus to dissuade Mahmud from crossing. This was one serious mistake on the part of Anandpal which was bound to invite the wrath of Mahmud. Mahmud was all prepared and free for any battle and did not require any special preparations. Infuriated at the refusal of Anandpal, Mahmud decided to settle his position with him before proceeding to Multan. Accordingly he stretched out upon him the hand of slaughter and imprisonment. Anandpal suffered a severe defeat and deserting his capital, took to flight, and was pursued by Mahmud as far as Kashmir.[173] Before leaving Mahmud attempted to ensure that the Hindu Shahis should be done away with once for all. After that the Sultan

[170] Ferishta, ***op.cit.***
[171] Rivers being swollen with rain water in those seasons of the year.
[172] Nazim, ***op.cit.,*** 97.
[173] ***Gazetteer***, ***op.cit.,*** 50-51.

relinquished the pursuit and resumed his march to Multan which was captured after a brief siege of seven days. He wanted to add more to his territory but had to leave immediately on account of some invasion of northern parts of his kingdom by the Turks under Ilak Khan.

2.8.5. The Battle of Chhach 1008 AD

Acknowledging the futility and costs involved for hostilities with Mahmud Anandpal took a U-turn in his policy and attitude. Seeing his bitter enemy occupied by the Kashghar army he suddenly tossed an offer of assistance to him. Anandpal said:

I have learned that the Turks have rebelled against you and are spreading in Khorasan. If you wish, I shall come to you with 5,000 horsemen, 10,000 foot soldiers, and 100 elephants, or, if you wish, I shall send you my son with double the number. In acting thus, I do not speculate on the impression this will make on you. You have conquered me and therefore I do not wish that another man should conquer you.[174]

The jargon used in this message is so generous, captivating and noble that it may lead any novice for any element of sincerity. Even the famous Muslim philosopher Al-Biruni appreciated the spirit of the words and offer. In the light of his past experiences with the dynasty, this, however, was not difficult for a seasoned statesman like Mahmud to understand. Keeping in view the past track record it should not be difficult to understand that it was simply politics and diplomacy at its best. This diplomacy of Anandpal was soon un-foiled by himself when he witnessing the failure of his plan to cage the lion under the burden of nobility and sincerity, resorted to renewed preparations for yet another round of test of sinews.

Anandpal realized after the battle at Indus 1006 AD that he cannot counter the growing strength of The Sultan single-handed. He,

[174] Al-Biruni, ***op.cit.,*** V-II, 12; Nijjar, ***op.cit.,*** 20.

therefore, summoned all the neighboring Hindu Rajas for assistance to stem the tide of Muslim conquest from the north-west. Conversely, the Rajas of Hindustan also recognized the importance of Anandpal as a buffer between them and the aggressive kingdom of Ghazni. So long as the struggle had been waged beyond the Indus, they could afford to look unconcerned and leave the local Rajas to look into the matter. They were least concerned and indifferent towards the Muslim government of Multan but this time, witnessing the extra-ordinary religious affiliations of Mahmud, it was much threatening a challenge to their independence and somnolent ease.[175]

2.8.5.1. Preparations

The importance of this encounter was well understood on both sides. It was a do or die situation and no one could afford to show his back. Anandpal appealed to the other Rais and their response certainly showed that the national spirit[176] of the country, though disorganized, was still not dead. The rulers of Ujjain, Gwalior, Kalanjar, Kannauj, Delhi, and Ajmer marched to the Punjab with their troops. Help came from every side. Even the onetime enemies of Hindushahi dynasty, the Gakkhars also crowded under Anandpal's banner. A patriotic breeze swept over the towns and hamlets of Hindustan calling its men to arms. 'Hindu women sold their jewels and sent the money from distant parts to be used against the Muslims.' Their poorer sisters, who had no jewels to sell, worked feverishly at the 'spinning-wheel or as hired laborers to be able to send something to the men of the army.' The fear of Mahmud was projected so effectively that the entire Hindu nation seemed prepared to heroic deeds and sacrifices, both their sacred

[175] Habib, ***op.cit.,*** 26-27.

[176] Though it is too difficult to imagine for some 'national spirit' in the 11th century but provided the history of repeated invasions of northern India that caused enormous miseries and deprivations for the general public as well as the rulers alike the Indians have learnt to resist collectively over common issues wherever possible.

religion and no less their hearths were declared at risk. Yet the patriotic spirit of the people was paralyzed by suspicions created by years of civil war; the Rais were doubtful of each other's intentions and their followers also shared their doubts. Anandpal was important enough to take precedence but not strong enough to command; the result was that the Indian army was directed by no single commander on the field of battle. [177] Sultan Mahmud received news of this attack somewhere in mid-winter, disregarding the severity of weather he responded immediately and left Ghazni on 31st Dec. 1008 AD. In contrast to Hindu army discipline reigned supreme in the camp of the warrior-statesman of Ghazni. His troops, though belonging to different racial stocks and places of origin than the citizen-mob opposed to them, had been welded into one by years of continuous campaigning; and unlike their Rajput opponents, they knew their master and were not liable to panic. Even as such the scales hung evenly.[178]

2.8.5.2. The Battle

Anandpal marched bravely towards Peshawar with the measureless multitude of Indian army Mahmud was ever made to face.[179] Anandpal army was encamped between Waihind and Peshawar. The Sultan, whose extraordinary intuition never played him false, saw that this time the Indians would fight with added devotion and so he was more cautious than usual. He dug a trench on both sides of his camp in a plain opposite Waihind.[180] Reluctant to begin the engagement he sat facing the enemy for forty days. At length Mahmud realized that this delay was giving more benefit to Anandpal as his ranks were swelling by every passing day. Consequently he sent forward a contingent of six thousand archers to commence the

[177] Habib, ***op.cit.,*** 27-28.
[178] Nazim, ***op.cit.,*** 89.
[179] Nazim, ***op.cit.,*** 89.
[180] Jaffar, ***op.cit.,*** 60.

engagement but almost immediately thirty thousand Gakkhars appeared on the scene and threw Mahmud's calculations into disorder. Armed with spears and swords these Gakkhars crossed the trenches in the first attack, broke into the camp from both sides, and fell on the Muslim cavalry with such speed and courage that within a short span of time five thousand Muslims were martyred. The maneuver employed by Mahmud to allure the Hindus out of their trenches boomeranged; towards the end of the day it was obvious that the success of the Muslims was in jeopardy. At that critical stage the prudence and personal prowess of the sultan, coupled with a piece of good luck turned the tables against Hindus. Mahmud sent a group of his personal guards to sweep round and make a sudden attack on the rear of Hindu army. The timing and execution of this plan was so excellent that the Hindus got confused. On the other hand Anandpal's elephant, frightened by explosions of naphtha, fled away from the field of battle. The Indian soldiers who were already suspicious about the intentions of Anandpal took this to be a base desertion of their cause by the 'premier king of Hindustan.' A general rout ensued, and the Ghaznavids pursued the flying enemy for two days and nights. The Indian losses in men were twenty thousand, but more demoralizing was the phenomenon of a multitudinous army breaking up from sheer lack of internal cohesion and flying away before an enemy not strong enough to meet it in the open field. One son of Anandpal also fell in the hands of Muslims.[181] Once again huge sums of spoils waited up on the Muslims, besides 30 elephants as their war trophies.[182]

In this way the only national opposition ever offered to Mahmud ended in a storm of mutual recriminations. Henceforth he had no Indian confederacy to fear, and the Rais were so demoralized and

[181] Al-Biruni, ***op.cit.,*** 13.
[182] Gardizi, ***op.cit.,*** 179-80.

overpowered that they did not show any noticeable resistance hereafter to the invading forces of Mahmud. Anandpal along with his Indian confederacy intended to suppress the might of Ghaznavids and Mahmud and to turn Peshawar into a graveyard of their ancestral enemies but sultan Mahmud turned out to be a more formidable, methodical and systematic an enemy. He not only foiled the then plans of Anandpal but also made such a horrific impression in the minds of Hindus that they lost every bit of their morale. Another significance of the battle was that it was only after this victory Mahmud was in a position to benefit duly from the riches of India. The Sultan had till then, only touched the fringe of a continental country, and the spoils he had obtained were insignificant. Beyond the Sutlej lay the temples to which generations of pious Hindus had dedicated their wealth. It was necessary for Mahmud to strike down Anandpal, if he ever wanted to possess the treasures of Punjab and the prosperous Trans-Gangetic plain.

For Peshawar the war was of immense importance as any otherwise ending could have resulted in great miseries for the valley. Following the general tradition of the victors, the Hindus may not have speared the base camp of Mahmud unmolested, at least in India. The weak numerical military position of Mahmud also rendered the position of Peshawar quite vulnerable but thanks to some thoughtful excellent moves of Mahmud which changed the scene of the battle ground despite all the apparent odds. The victory of Mahmud was like a new birth for Peshawar where it nearly escaped what could be imagined as a total annihilation.

The exact date for the battle is not available in any available source but it may be somewhere in the first half of 1009 AD as the

Sultan started for India on 31st December 1008 (29th Rabi al-Akhir 399)[183] and left for Ghazni in June 1009 AD.[184]

2.8.5.3. Nagarkot and its Riches

Mahmud also took advantage of the disorganization of his opponents to make a dash for the temple of Nagarkot (Kangra), known as the Fort of Bhim, situated on the top of a hill on the upper Bias. He had already penetrated as far as the Chenab and the new expedition only took him twelve marches farther. The Rajputs of this place had gone to fight at Chhach and the quickness of Mahmud's movements left them behind. The Brahmans, who alone were left, opened their gates after a siege of seven days and allowed Mahmud to visit the fort with a few companions. The temple contained more wealth than existed in the treasury of any king and the fine exacted by the Sultan from the helpless Brahmans was immense—'700,000 gold *dinars,* 700 *maunds*[185] of gold and silver vessels, 200 *maunds* of pure gold, 2,000 *maunds* of unpurified silver and 20 *maunds* of various jewels which had been collected together from the time of Bhim.' It was the Sultan's first great find and naturally whetted his appetite for more.[186]

2.9. End of Hindu Shahi Dynasty at Peshawar (843—1001 AD)

Once pushed out of Peshawar it now seems appropriate to close the chapter of our Hindu Shahi friends. Though the struggle continued between the two opposing parties continued but its focus was now across the Indus, and that how beyond the purview of this study. However, instead of signing off abruptly we will summarize their culmination. The tussle between Mahmud and Hindu Shahi dynasty, despite that shameful defeat of the later, did not end there. Anandpal though not willing to oppose Mahmud any more still cherished a desire

[183] Utbi, ***op.cit.,*** 292.
[184] Nazim, ***op.cit.,*** 90.
[185] One *maund* is about forty kg.
[186] Habib, ***op.cit.,*** 29-30.

for power. He managed to re-establish his power in the Salt Range with his headquarters at Nandana. Anandpal died sometime after this and was succeeded by his son Trilochanpal.[187] Nandana was strategically important as it commanded the main route into Ganges Doab. The Sultan went after him in March 1014. First he defeated the Nandana forces under the command of Bhimpal, a son of Trilochanpal, and then proceeded to meet with Trilochanpal who had also mustered, by then, the support of Kashmir forces towards the north of Jehlum. The battle that ensued also resulted in favor of Mahmud.[188] Trilochanpal was succeeded by his son Bhimpal as the Raja of Lahore. In 1021 AD, Mahmud marched against Bhimpal and inflicted a crushing defeat on him. The Raja took shelter with the Chauhan Raja of Ajmer and died there in 1026 AD.[189] He was the last Raja of Hindu Shahiya Dynasty. The Punjab was now cleared and annexed to the Ghaznavid Empire. Mahmud appointed his general Malik Ayaz as the governor of Punjab and himself left for Ghazni.[190]

In this way these ex-rulers of Peshawar, the Hindu Shahi's, completed their period of rule and authority. As far as the span of their tenure in Peshawar is related they assumed charge of it with their taking over of authority from the Turki Shahi's somewhere in 843 AD through Kallar (843—850 AD). They received their first defeat near Peshawar at the hands of Sebüktigin in 986 AD and we also see that after this defeat the Ghaznavids did deploy their forces and administrators here.[191] However, it seems that by the time of Mahmud's war at Peshawar (November 1001 AD) the Ghaznavid hold over Peshawar was not as strong, as we see Jaipal making use of the fort of

[187] Al-Biruni, ***op.cit.,*** V-II, 13. Sir W. Haig, p. 17, wrongly calls him Jaipal II.
[188] Nazim, ***op.cit.,*** 92.
[189] Ferishta, ***op.cit.,*** 31.
[190] Nijjar, ***op.cit.,*** 21.
[191] Naimatullah Harvi, ***Makhzan-e-Afghani***, tr. Bernhard Dorn, ***History of the Afghans,*** (London: Susil Gupta, 1965), 55.

Peshawar in that war. In that war the Hindu Shahis were pushed across the Indus and so we can say that their hold over Peshawar also lapsed with the defeat at Peshawar. In this way we have the Hindu Shahi era at Peshawar between 843 AD to 1001 AD, which means that they were in authority here for some 158 years.

2.10. Administration of Peshawar under Mahmud

Before going for any check in the administration of Peshawar it seem fair to determine the status of Peshawar. With Sebüktigin it was the only Indian possession of the Ghaznavids but with Mahmud the boundary of their empire was drawn far deep in the Punjab. Definitely the border status, and that also with a hostile Hindu Shahi enemy was a much valued one which is clear from the fact when Sebüktigin appointed a governor, Abu Ali with an army of ten thousand at Peshawar before leaving for Ghazni. The extension of border under Mahmud though, in a way, lessened the importance of Peshawar but still it did hold strategic link route with the new capital for India, Lahore. Any trouble in this valley could easily have severed their links with Lahore rendering great risks to its security. That is why we find Mahmud and all his successors taking great care of Peshawar, making use of their best officers to maintain order and discipline.

Contemporary sources do not furnish us with the details regarding the administration of Peshawar, in particular. They do tell us in general about the administration of Indian Province. The Indian province was administered by two officials—*Sipah Salar* and *Qazi*.[192] The *Sipah Salar* was responsible for all the military services including keeping watch of the borders, maintenance of law and order and providing any military support to the *Qazi* in time of need. The *Qazi* on the other hand was the head of judiciary responsible for dispensing

[192] Nizam-ul-Mulk, ***Siyasat Nama,*** ed. Charles Schefer, (1891), 77-78.

even handed justice and keep the masses satisfied and to keep a watch of their morals. The first ever *Sipah Salar* of Ghaznavid Indian province at Peshawar was Abu Ali. He was stationed there after Sebüktigin defeated his Hindu Shahi enemy Jaipal and successfully captured Peshawar in 986 AD. [193] We also find names of two *Qazis* at Peshawar, naming Moulana Yousaf Dalazak and Moulana Ali bin Yousaf, father and son respectively. They were appointed *Qazis* by Sebüktigin in Peshawar one after the other and they continued to work under Mahmud as well.[194] These two were religious people and were known for their piety and understanding of religion. That was the reason why they were entrusted with that position of high responsibility. They not only had to maintain law and order in the newly conquered areas but were also required to present the case of Islam in a decent way in front of the non-Muslim locals. Their failure could have caused serious local problems for Ghaznavids and on the other hand good performance could have facilitated the task of the state to a great extent.

After the declaration of Lahore as the provincial capital we find administrators starting straight from Lahore but astonishingly here and there we do find appointment of governors and administrators at Peshawar as well. Does that mean that the Indian province was subdivided into smaller units for any reason at any stage? is a question for which we do not find any satisfactory answer in any record. After the declaration of Lahore as the capital we find officers directed there straightaway and taking charge of their responsibilities from there. So we can say that the lion's share of administration of Indian province was taken by Lahore.

2.11. Sultan Mahmud, Peshawar and Afghans

[193] ***Gazetteer***, ***op.cit.,*** 50.
[194] Harvi, ***op.cit.***, 55.

One wonder that how did Mahmud succeed against the huge numbers of an army who had all the military, monetary and moral support of number of northern Indian Hindu states as well as masses. No doubt he was a gifted genius as far as his military and moral accomplishments were concerned but one cannot deny the important role played by Peshawar and its residents in his success story. Sultan Mahmud made an excellent use of the geographically well protected, fertile lands of Peshawar by posting a maximum number of forces here as it was never difficult for this valley to accommodate and provide sustenance to huge armies. This was the reason why Mahmud made Peshawar the place of assembly for his armies in his invasions of 1017 and 1023.[195]

Mahmud continued to work on the lines of his father Sebüktigin with regard to his relations with the Pukhtoons. He was well aware that they can play an effective and decisive role in his plans towards India. More Pukhtoons were encouraged to migrate and reside at Peshawar which served the purpose of both the parties. For Mahmud it was good for his future inroads in India and also for the strengthening of his ties of trust and understanding with the Pukhtoons. In continuation of his old policy he kept on recruiting them in his army till the time when it formed one major portion of it. The placement of Pukhtoons at Peshawar besides providing him with a standing force at the door steps of India also served as a barrier between his country and that of his powerful enemy, the Hindu Shahis. These Pukhtoon on their turn were competent enough to extend their influence to distant parts of India that can be understood from the fact that they did succeed soon in reaching the north-eastern extremes of India within a short span of time. The

[195] ***Gazetteer***, ***op.cit.,*** 51.

mass scale conversion of Pukhtoons at this stage gave them yet another strong reason to move into distant directions of India.

Though Mahmud was a Turk but he made an everlasting impression on the frontier men of Roh, which can be witnessed by the fact that he still figures in their folklore and stories as one of their national hero. Here one has to endorse the political and military sagacity of Mahmud that despite causing great upheavals in the Pukhtoon areas, occasionally resulting in gruesome bloodshed, particularly in the Sulaiman Mountains, and making them obey to his commands, he succeeded in securing their unflinching loyalty. These Pukhtoons even today hold him in a very high esteem, may be because of their own religious affiliations. Olaf Caroe attribute to two main factors due to which these frontier men gave him a post-humus rank as an honorary Pukhtoon. Firstly because his conquests were made largely with soldiers raised from among frontier tribes; and secondly by the stimulating power of the new faith, that was Islam.[196] According to Utbi Khalaj and Afghan formed part of Mahmud's army on his expeditions to Balkh and followed him in India also. With him started that tide of Pukhtoon infiltration into every part of India reached by the Muslim arms.[197]

2.11.1. Peshawar after Mahmud

Mahmud died in 1030 but the Ghaznavids continued to rule their Indian conquests for a long time to come. The death of Mahmud, however, caused serious reverses for the dynasty in all possible ways. The reins of government started slipping out of their hands and their authority grew weaker and thinner by every passing day. Taking

[196] Olaf Caroe, ***The Pathans,*** (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1958), 120.
[197] ***Ibid.,*** 121.

advantage of this low tide of authority the ever emerging new Central Asian powers gradually reduced the successors of Mahmud to shift their capital to one of their province in India. So the progress and prosperity that Peshawar along with other parts of Ghaznavid Empire saw under Mahmud was chocked under his successors. The socio-political recession that ensued slowly eclipsed Peshawar along with other parts of the empire into the darkness of insignificance.

2.12. The Later Ghaznavids and Peshawar

Sultan Mahmud was succeeded by his son Sultan Masud (1030-1039 AD). After the death of Masud, his successors Sultan Maudud (1039-1049 AD), Ali Abu Hassan (1049-1051 AD), Abdul Rashid (1052-1053 AD), Farakzad (1053-1059 AD), Ibrahim (1059-1109 AD), Masud III (1109-1115AD), Arsalan (1116-1118 AD), Bahram (1118-1152 AD) and Khusrau Shah (1152-1160 AD) came to the throne of Ghazni, one after the other. A civil war followed the death of every Sultan, which provided the subordinate chiefs to struggle for their independence. Whenever these Sultans failed to respond to the onslaught of their Central Asian enemies, they fled to their Indian possessions. In this way, we may say, that Peshawar and India were serving the purpose of a strategic depth for the weak Ghaznavid successors. After 1160 AD these Ghaznavids had to permanently forget Ghazni as things had become too difficult for them there. The next Ghaznavid sovereign Khusrau Malik (1160-1186 AD) had to be contented with their ever contracting Indian possessions that ultimately resulted in the end of the dynasty in 1186 AD, with the loss of Lahore to Ghorids.

The later Ghaznavids rule was no match to that of Mahmud's but absence of any superior power in the surroundings of their regime facilitated them in the continuation of their rule in India. At this stage

of their rule Peshawar once again turned out to be one very important base of their Government. Their strength in Peshawar was a surety for their strength in India. Being close to Ghazni, the seat of Government, it did remain one significant base for their Indian administration, besides Lahore. With the emergence of new political forces in Central Asia the Ghaznavids were forced, like Hindu Shahis, to shift their capital from Ghazni to Lahore. Here again Peshawar acquired a prime status for being the outpost of their Indian possessions. Despite that worth the later Ghaznavids continued with their negligence of this important post which ultimately cost them even their crown. Like other areas under control of Ghaznavids Peshawar too was gripped by severe conditions of disorder and confusion.

The Ghaznavids successors of Mahmud failed to behave like responsible monarchs and actually survived because there was no capable alternative to replace them. Most of them had given themselves to life of comfort, ease and marry-making and neglected what was compulsory for glory, recognition and progress. The result was that they turned out to be the rulers of an ever shrinking kingdom; they had to abandon Khurasan and the western half of modern Afghanistan to the Seljuks and the shrinking pattern continued till they were left alone with India. Here at India too they kept on with their family intrigues and quarrels for the throne till the coming of any new, strong and competent replacement rulers. This sorry story of negligence and debauchery was not going to catch the attention/ appreciation of historians which resulted in the loss of documentary records of Peshawar of that time. Nevertheless, we still find some glimpses of Peshawar and the developments there, in some records of the time.

2.13. Sultan Masud 1st Affairs of Indian Province and Peshawar (1030-39 AD)

For about two centuries (986—1179 AD) Peshawar remained a province of Ghazni. Under the latter Ghaznavid princes it acquired greater importance, becoming the center of their dominions, which then extended to Lahore.[198] Peshawar was unable to flourish or even survive peacefully due to the continuous rivalries among the royal household and court intrigues. Just like the throne of Ghazni had become a journey full of obstacles for the Sultans, viceroyalty of Peshawar and Indian conquests was also exposed to all sorts of court intrigues. Either there was no competent person to respond appropriately to that Indian dilemma or he was not allowed to. The result was that the politics and society of Peshawar after Mahmud never got a kick start.

Masud 1, the son of Mahmud ascended the throne of Ghazni in 1030 AD. After settling his affairs[199] at Ghazni he turned his attention towards India. He found Ariyaraq, the son of Abdullah Qaratigin (who was appointed by Mahmud as *Sipah Salar* at Lahore) behaving like an autocrat, disobeying the Imperial *farmans*. The Grand Wazir, Khwaja Ahmad Hassan made a conspiracy against him and killed him. All the property of the deceased official was confiscated soon after that.[200]

The officer who was next entrusted with the viceroyalty of Indian province was Ahmad Niyaltigin, an experienced administrator from the time of Mahmud. Despite all possible precautions, by the wazir and the Sultan, the new viceroy soon found it difficult to run the administration with his powerful colleague, Abul Hassan Shirazi Qazi, and refused to consult him. Soon after when he took an expedition against Benaras, in which he was successful and returned with immense spoils; the Qazi did not like the success of his rival and poised the ears

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[198] ***Gazetteer***, ***op.cit.,*** 51-52.

[199] The government of Ghazni was confronted to number of internal and external threats after the death of Mahmud. Masud's brother Muhammad had gained authority at Ghazni and the nobility also had their own divided sympathies. This was further complicated by the hostile rulers in the neighborhood.

[200] Jaffar, ***op.cit.,*** 197.

of Masud against him. The Sultan was told that the Viceroy has amassed a huge amount of wealth and declaring himself as a son of Mahmud, began to behave independently.[201] Masud after an independent inquiry sent a Hindu general Nath against him. This attempt of Sultan, however, failed. Then another Hindu general, Tilak, was sent against him who succeeded in suppressing the emerging threat. In this battle that was fought at Lahore Tilak was supported by Jats who chopped off the head of Niyaltigin.[202]

2.13.1. Abdur Razzak as Governor of Peshawar

Masud's defeat at the hands of Seljuk Turkomans on 23rd of March 1040 AD[203] made him shift to some more secure destination. Before departure he made all the necessary arrangements to assign Governments of different provinces to his reliable officers. Prince Maudud was made governor of Balkh with Khwaja Ahmad bin Muhammad as his wazir.[204] Prince Majdud was appointed governor of Multan and Prince Izad Yar to that of Ghazni.[205] Abdur Razzak was made the governor of Peshawar and ten military slaves of the household were appointed as his chamberlains. The office of the preceptor and a khilat was bestowed on Suhal Abdul Malik, a man admirably adapted for the situation; he was born in the house of Ahmad Mikail, and was long time in the service of Bu Suhal Hamadani. The Governor departed for Peshawar in great state and took with him two hundred slaves.[206] This Abdur Razzak was later made the Wazir of Sultan Maudud bin Masud I in AD 1044[207] and he remained in office till the end on his reign in 1049 AD.

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[201] ***Ibid.,*** 200.
[202] ***Ibid.,*** 201-2.
[203] Juzjani, ***op.cit.,***, 92.
[204] Ferishta, ***op.cit.,*** 111.
[205] Jaffar, ***op.cit.,*** 207.
[206] Elliot and Dowson, ***op.cit.,*** 142.
[207] Jaffar, ***op.cit.,*** 214.

2.13.2. Masud Towards Peshawar

Towards the end of his reign Sultan Masud developed a feeling of severe insecurity at his capital Ghazni. He felt it advisable to depart towards Peshawar for the safety and security of his rule, family and treasury. This was something to which most of his senior nobles at Ghazni disagreed. They did all in their capacity to dissuade the Sultan from that move. In a bid to convince the Sultan they approached the Sultan's mother, Hurra Khutali, to interpose in the matter, but she replied that anyone who wished to fall into the hands of the enemy might remain at Ghazni.[208] The Sultan took all the precautions to keep the details of his transfer of capital as much secret as possible but it does not seem to have worked. Instructions were issued to the royal household to pack up the entire valuable and to leave nothing behind at Ghazni on which they might set their hearts.[209]

An attempt was also made to make this transfer look like a seasonal migration to keep the dignity of the state intact. In a letter addressed to his minister Khwaja Abu Nasr Ahmad he proclaimed, to spend the coming winter in the Indus valley fortress of Waihind.

I have determined to go to Hindustan, and pass the winter in Waihind, and Marminara, and Barshur (Peshawar) and Kiri,[210] and to take up my quarters in those parts away from the capital. It is proper that you should remain where you are, till I arrive at Barshur and a letter reaches you, when you must go to Tukharistan, and remain there during the winter, or even go to Balkh if you can, to overthrow my enemies.[211]

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[208] Elliot and Dowson, ***op.cit.,*** 149.
[209] ***Ibid.***
[210] Giri, or Gari (probably Shahbaz Gari or Kapur da Giri) 40 miles north-east of Peshawar, a place of great antiquity on the ancient Kabul- Waihind rout. Shahpurshah Hormasji Hodivala, ***Studies in Indo-Muslim History,*** V-I, (Lahore: Islamic Book Service, 1979), 195.
[211] Elliot and Dowson, ***op.cit.,*** 150.

That a tentative plan of transfer to India had been maturing in Masud's mind for some time seems proven by the fact that on Oct. 1040 the Prince Izad Yaz bin Masud arrived back from the fortress called by Baihaqi as Naghar and by Gardizi as Barghund, which was clearly not too far from Ghazni. This fortress of Naghar or Barghund is to be equated according to Hodivala, with modern Baghzan in Kurrum Agency of the FATA (NWFP, Pakistan).[212] The sultan's minister protested that the situation in Afghanistan was not so desperate as to warrant the abandonment of the original Ghaznavid homeland. Nor could they rely on the troublesome tribal Afghans in transporting so much of royal family and treasures to Afghan land, for they themselves have not acted all that well with them.[213] But such sound advice was of no avail, and in November 1040 AD, all of the treasures together with members of the *harem* were loaded on camels and the whole assemblage departed for India.

2.13.3. Deposition of Masud and Muhammad's Second Sultanate

Masud's caravan made its way across the mountains from Ghazni through Peshawar to the banks of River Indus. While crossing the river a part of the army mutinied and plundered the royal treasuries. The rebels then set up Muhammad, brother of Masud, as Sultan on 13 Rabi 431 /21 December 1040 AD.[214] It was obviously an unwise decision of Masud to leave Muhammad and his sons with the main body of the army on the other side of the river while he went on in front and crossed the river with a smaller force of soldiers. Masud and his royal troops took refuge in the Ribat or fortress of Mari Kala, modern Margala, situated in pass of the low hills between Attock and

[212] SH Hodivala, ***op.cit.,*** 195.
[213] Elliot and Dowson, ***op.cit.,*** 150-51.
[214] ***Tabqat Nasiri***, Elliot and Dowson, ***op.cit.,*** v-II, 273.

Rawalpindi.[215] According to Raverty, these hills were notoriously full of robbers. Fighting took place between the besieged and the attacking rebels. Masud was defeated and was imprisoned along with his wife in the fortress of his own choice, that of Giri,[216] 40 miles east of Peshawar, a place of great antiquity on the ancient Kabul- India rout mentioned by Baihaqi as one of the Ghaznavid strong holds of northwestern India. The deposed Masud remained at Giri for about a month, and then was killed. Muhammad subsequently wrote to Maudud that the sons of his former commander in chief in India, Ahmad Nayalitigin, had killed his father.

This major change in the office of Sultan took place in the vicinity of Peshawar. It had some serious implications for Peshawar in the times to come. The insanity that started with the removal and killing of Sultan Masud later on cost heavily upon the residents of Peshawar. The greedy and rebellious army that looted Sultan Masud's treasury soon fell upon Peshawar too and played loot and havoc over there.

2.14. Maudud's Vengeance

Maudud, son of the killed Sultan Masud, soon realized the facts about the betrayal of soldiers with his father's and then his gruesome murder. He had at his disposal a sizeable military force in northern Afghanistan and decided to avenge and punish those who had broken the oath of loyalty to Masud. He abandoned all his plans against Seljuks and returned to his base of Hupyan in the Hindu Kush and then crossed the mountains swiftly to secure Ghazni.[217] After making necessary preparations he marched from Ghazni to avenge the killing of his father.

2.14.1. Ruination of Peshawar

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[215] Al-Biruni, ***op.cit.,*** V-I, 302.
[216] Probably Shahbaz Gari or Kapur da Giri, Jaffar, ***op.cit.,*** 207-8.
[217] Abd-al-Hayy Gardizi, ***Kitab Zain al-akhbar,*** ed. Muhammad Nazim, (Berlin: 1928), 110-11.

Responding to the challenge posed by Maudud, Muhammad immediately mobilized his army and established himself in the vicinity of Peshawar. He spent his winter at Peshawar along with his army; a winter and an army which the land and the people of Peshawar would never forget. It is said that the army that Muhammad commanded was insubordinate and ill-disciplined. Being blind he was almost helpless in the face of their excesses. Ibn al Athir records in this connection that Muhammad's army raised all sorts of demands against him and he lost all kingly authority. They made tyrannical confiscation of the people's properties and plundered it, so that the land became ruined and its inhabitants fled. The populace of Peshawar was massacred and their goods despoiled. According to Ibn-Athir, a slave was sold there for a mere dirham whereas; the same sum bought a "*mun*" of wine. Muhammad's forces left Peshawar on 28th of Rajab 432 /3rd April 1041.[218]

2.14.2. New Governor for Peshawar

After all that pillage and devastation Sultan Muhammad moved forward to meet the army of Maudud. However, before leaving, Muhammad the blind, appointed his younger son, prince Namy, as the governor of Peshawar and Multan.[219] This appointment as this crucial stage was probably a move on the part of Muhammad to have some chances of survival in case of any adverse results of the battle.

2.14.3. The Battle 1042 AD

The battle took place in the district of Ningarhar, lying along the middle reaches of the Kabul River. Besides Maudud and Muhammad it is said that there was one third army under the command of Maudud's uncle Abdul Rashid, with a claim for the throne. Being the sole surviving son of great Sultan Mahmud, Abdul Rashid had quite

[218] Ibn al-Athir, ***al-Kamil fit-tarikh,*** ed. C.J. Tornberg, Vol-IX, (Leiden: 1876), 333.
[219] Ferishta, ***op.cit.,*** 116.

handsome chances for the headship of the dynasty. However, Maudud quite successfully won his support on the promises of firstly dominant share in the exercise of power and bestowal of honors and secondly by reminding his uncle the solemn oath that he had given to his brother Masud regarding not harming the interests of his sons. After securing his position by coming into deal with Abdul Rashid, Maudud defeated Mahammad's army. He then immediately arrested Abdur Rashid and imprisoned him in the fortress of Mandish, where he remained throughout the Maudud's reign.[220]

2.14.4. Uproar in India

If on the one hand these Ghaznavid family members were determining and adjusting their positions after the sudden demise of Sultan Masud, on the other hand it gave rise to a whirlwind in the Ghaznavid India. The news of Masud's end encouraged various Indian princes in launching an attack on the Muslims forces. Fakhr-i-Mudabbir even refers for the re-emergence of the Hindu Shahis who once again succeeded in the formation of one coalition of Indian rulers; they were able to take possession of Hansi, Thanesar, and Nagarkot and to lay siege to Lahore. Nevertheless, the Raja and his confederates were soon defeated and put to flight.[221]

2.14.5. Peshawar: A Lost Opportunity

In the background of the ever uncertain border conditions of Ghaznavid state in the west and to have a strong and stable hold over his Indian possessions Sultan Maudud appointed his son Mansur as its governor in 1048 AD. The Sultan seemed to have read the time old lesson of holding tight to Peshawar if one wanted to hold India.

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[220] Hodivala, ***op.cit.,*** 195.

[221] Fakhr al-Din Muddabbir Mubarak Shah, ***Adab al-Harb wa al-Shuja'ah,*** ed. Ahmad Suhaili Khwansari, (Tehran: 1967), 254-6; Bosworth, ***op.cit.,*** 31-32.

Appointment of his son there was a sign of importance which Peshawar enjoyed with that Sultan.

He next sent one of his very competent and trustworthy lieutenant, Bu Ali Hassan, the *Kotwal*[222] of Ghazni to lead an army to India for the suppression of antagonist Hindus. Hassan first marched to Peshawar and successfully captured the fort of Myhtilla,[223] which had rebelled against the King's authority. His next move from Peshawar was to negotiate with one defiant ex-Ghaznavid servicemen in India, Bheejy Rai. Bheejy was a competent Hindu general, who had done much service in the time of Mahmud, was invited to rejoin the court of Ghazni. This general had fled to India on account of some political dissentions and taken up his abode in the mountains of Kashmir.[224]

Just when things started moving in the positive direction and it appeared that Peshawar might get out of its miseries under the guidance of some royal blood and capable general it was once again deprived of the opportunity when Hassan fell victim to a court intrigue at Ghazni.[225] While Hassan was busy setting things straight for the Sultan at Peshawar, some malicious chiefs in his camp forwarded complaints against him to the Sultan. Consequently he was recalled, imprisoned, and tortured to death. And with him were killed some hopes for retrieval of glory of the Ghaznavids and Peshawar.

Maudud died on 24 Rajab 441 /24 December 1049 at the age of twenty nine, after reigning for about nine years.[226]

2.15. Peshawar Getting out of Hand

[222] The Kotwal of a large city corresponded to the officer we designate Inspector General of Police, and exercised also extensive magisterial powers.
[223] Ferishta, ***op.cit.,*** 123. A fortress which cannot be identified with certainty.
[224] ***Ibid.,*** 123-4.
[225] Haig, ***op.cit.,*** 33.
[226] Ferishta, ***op.cit.,*** 125.

The death of Maudud did not turn out to be good for the Ghaznavid successors and regime. The political picture of Peshawar during these days of confusion was in no way satisfactory. It became the base for all sorts of anti-state activities after the accession of Sultan Abul Hassan Ali (1049-1051 AD).[227] The reason for that was rivalry and dissatisfaction between the State officials. Ali bin Rabi, according to ***Ferishta***, formed a design to usurp the throne and in pursuance of his plan raised Masud II, a child of four years, to the throne.[228] This scheme of his, however, did not materialize and some other court nobles espoused the cause of Abul Hassan Ali, one of the sons of Sultan Masud. After the failure of his plan Ali bin Rabi found it safe to leave Ghazni for his personal security and the safety of his companions. He along with his supporters broke open the treasury and plundered as much of gold and jewels as they could conveniently carry and fled towards Peshawar. At Peshawar being joined by the natives, they raised a great army, and subdued Multan and Sindh, by force of arms. The Afghans, who had declared their independence in that country, were also suppressed. Thus Peshawar along with Sindh and Multan enjoyed somewhat independent status till the accession of Sultan Abdur Rashid in 1052 AD.[229]

After the death of Maudud things were becoming so critical and the circumstances were changing so quickly by some rapid changes at the post of Sultan that some urgent remedial measures were must. At this stage it was the wazir Abdur Razzak[230] who acted promptly and prevented the Ghaznavid State from sliding into anarchy. He arranged for the succession of the most senior-surviving member of the dynasty,

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[227] There is some difference in the dates of his government; here we have followed Ferishta to avoid any confusion.
[228] Ferishta, ***op.cit.,*** 127.
[229] ***Ibid.,*** 129.
[230] From the accounts of ***Tabqat-i-Nasiri*** and ***Ferishta*** it seems that this fellow was the same Abdur Razzaq who happened to be the governor of Peshawar later.

Abdur Rashid bin Mahmud.[231] Abdur Rashid succeeded in persuading Ali bin Rabi to rejoin the government of Ghazni and leave the path of defiance. In this way the fire that was lit in the Indian Province of Ghaznavid Empire subsided for the time being. This, however, turned out to be a temporary achievement as the Sultan failed to win loyalty and support of the masses of Peshawar. If the people of Peshawar joined hands with the defiant Ali bin Rabi so quickly, it meant that they were not satisfied with the state and needed to be taken good care of. Winning the loyalty of the defiant leader Ali bin Rabi was not supposed to work alone. On the contrary the administrative arrangements made by Sultan Abdur Rashid for Peshawar served as a fuel to the fire.

It is also evident from the records that Peshawar did remain at the forefront of Ghaznavid politics throughout its history. Any event at Ghazni had very strong implications at Peshawar. Peshawar was not only involved in the state-strengthening positive and creative moves at Ghazni but also played its role in the anti-state negative and distorting moves.

2.16. Sultan Abdur Rashid Negligence and Peshawar

It was really unfortunate that exactly when the Ghaznavids were looking for a competent, energetic, seasoned and courageous individual to pilot the jolting ship of the dynasty in stormy political conditions they turned towards a person who was absolutely unfit for it. Abdur Rashid was one weak, incompetent and inexperienced ruler of the house of Mahmud. He ascended the throne at a stage when it needed an extra-ordinary ruler and extra-ordinary performance. He had number of shortcomings among which the most important was that he failed to choose the right man for the required job. It is stated in the *Tabkat-i-Nasiri,* that when Abdur Rashid succeeded to the throne of Ghazni, he

[231] Ferishta, ***op.cit.,*** vol. I, 131.

showed great favor to one of his slaves named Tuman, and so advanced him from day to day, that at last the direction of all affairs came under his control. This Tuman was a low-minded, ill-bred tyrannical fellow; who did his best to bring down the great and noble, and to get low and bad men appointed to their places. Among these he patronized and supported Abu Suhal Raziki,[232] whom he pitted against the good Khwaja Abdur Razzak, ex-governor of Peshawar and son of Hasan Maimandi. Abu Suhal employed all kinds of deceit and calumny against the Khwaja; Tuman also added his slander. Abdur Rashid was young, simple, and inexperienced. He dismissed his minister Abdur Razzak, and ordered him to be fined.[233]

Tuman had favored a fellow named Khatib Lut, a base and harsh man; and gradually promoted him to the dignity of Diwan of the State (Chancellor of the Exchequer). Khwaja Abu Tahir Hasan, who was one of the old officials of the state of Ghazni, under the orders of Abdur Rashid, proceeded at this time to Hindustan, in order to bring the revenues of that country to the capital. When he arrived in Hindustan he found agents of Tuman in every city and town, who by their oppressive conduct were irritating the people. The Khwaja made a report of the facts, which he addressed to Abul Fazl,[234] the head of the Department of Correspondence or Diplomatic Chancellery[235] *(sahib-i diwan-i rasalat),* Abul Fazl communicated the account to Abdur Rashid, who called for Tuman and reproached him. This caused Tuman to conceive hatred against Abul Fazl, and to calumniate him. The shrewd Tuman presented his case to Abdur Rashid in such a way that he once again trusted him and instead of punishing him, ordered Abul

[232] This fellow was not having good reputation in administration and was known for malignity. Elliot and Dowson, ***op.cit.,*** 88 and 509.
[233] Elliot and Dowson, ***op. cit.,*** 511-12.
[234] He was the celebrated historian known with the title of Baihaqi.
[235] Wrongly termed as financial minister Elliot and Dowson at 512.

Fazl, the complainant, to be fined and imprisoned. After this dismissal Tuman exercised unlimited power, and he appointed Khatib Lut to the management of the country of Peshawar. This man there raised the standard of oppression, and reduced the people to great distress.[236]

When Khwaja Abu Tahir reached Peshawar (on his return from Hindustan) the people complained of Khatib Lut, so the Khwaja called for him and admonished him. Khatib gave insolent replies and was abusive, so the Khwaja, to maintain his own dignity, directed him to be turned out of court, and afterwards he ordered him into confinement. Khatib's people communicated the circumstances to Tuman, who showed the letters to the King, and said that Khatib knew what sums of money had been exacted improperly from the people, and the Khwaja had therefore confined him. Abdur Rashid, without any investigation, and merely upon these absurd statements of Tuman, directed him to seize the Khwaja and bring him as a prisoner to court along with Khatib. Tuman proceeded to Peshawar with three hundred horses, and having captured Abu Tahir, put him in chains. He then released Khatib Lut from confinement, and returned. When they were one day's journey from Ghazni, they received the unexpected intelligence that 'the ingrate' Tughril had slain Abdur Rashid and usurped his place. The horsemen who had come with Tuman then went to Khwaja Abu Hasan (Tahir), and with many apologies, said,

The power is now in your hands; whatever you order we will execute.[237]

The Khwaja directed them to remove the fetters from his feet and place them on Tuman. The soldiers then pulled him roughly from his horse and placed the chains on his feet. Khatib Lut and his

[236] Elliot and Dowson, ***op. cit.,*** 512.
[237] ***Ibid.***

dependents were also seized, placed upon camels, and carried to Ghazni.[238]

So we can conclude that the careless attitude of the Sultan once again caused miseries for the residents of Peshawar. Same was the case in other parts of India as well as rest of Ghaznavid sultanate. Whenever any loyal and competent individual stepped forward to bring the state out of that quagmire he was over-powered by mischief mongers. In this entire scenario it was becoming more and more difficult for Peshawar to have survived without harm. This entire calamity fell upon Abdur Rashid because he was a simpleton, and listened to the reports of sycophants.

2.17. Peshawar Controlling Ghazni

At the time of Abdur Rashid's death all the top brass of the administration of Peshawar were heading towards Ghazni. The killing of Sultan at Ghazni by Tughrul and his seizure of throne had far reaching consequences for Peshawar and rest of Ghaznavid sultanate. The usurper Tughrul contracted a *nikah* with Masud's daughter to legitimize his claim for sovereignty. On the other hand Abdur Rashid's governor of Punjab Nushtigin Karkhi took charge of Peshawar[239] and from there started his campaign to correct the wrongs being done at Ghazni. Through his secret communications with Masud's daughter and other loyal servants of Ghaznavid dynasty he motivated them to get rid of Tughrul. He succeeded in touching their sense of loyalty and honor and on the eventful day of *Nauroz* Tughrul was put to death. He ruled for only forty days.[240] In this way we can say that the diplomacy from Peshawar prevailed upon the diplomacy of Ghazni at that time.

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[238] ***Ibid.,*** 513.
[239] Jaffar, ***op.cit.,*** 223.
[240] ***Ibid.,*** 223-24.

That is how we find reference of Peshawar strewn in the history of Ghaznavids like that of a fire-fly in a dark night. Some passing references here and there tell us about the political vitality of this land and its people which seem to have reduced at no stage in history. The scarcity of historical records deprives us to be much selective in our accumulation of facts. We need to put our hand on everything in order to formulate a fair and comprehendible picture of this historical location.

2.18. Sultan Ibrahim and the Afghans

Sultan Ibrahim ascended the throne in March 1059 AD. He renewed his peace treaty with the Seljuks and after establishing matrimonial relations[241] with them he turned his attention towards the internal problems. Though expansionism, characteristic of early Ghaznavid policy under Mahmud and Masud, no longer operated and a largely static position had been reached on the western borders, India still remained a prime field into which military energies could be diverted with great profit. The Pukhtoons at that stage appear to have attained more importance than before. Though they were a part of the invading army from the beginning but this time as the Ghaznavids had lost direct access to the Central Asian steppes, the proportion of Turks in their army might have been adversely affected. For the Ghaznavids, in the absence of Turks, Afghans were the ultimate natural choice. Besides being ordinary soldiers it is also possible that these Afghans might have shared the top commands with officers of Tajik and Indo-Muslim origin.

In considering Ibrahim's Indian campaigns, we have only one relevant passage in the proper sources, that of Ibn al-Athir who gives a general survey of Ibrahim's Indian campaigns. Lahore usually

[241] A marriage between his son Masud and the daughter of Malik Shah, the son of Alp Arsalan was arranged.

functioned as second capital for the Ghaznavid Empire during those days. From here it was possible for Ghaznavids to break new grounds in India. After Central Asia, India was the ultimate principal target of Ghaznavid military activity at that time. However, it's also an undeniable fact that regarding the internal administration of the empire under Ibrahim we again have little information relating specifically to Peshawar. We must therefore fall back on the assumption that the administrative system of Mahmud continued to operate, though its sphere of operation was, of course, somewhat reduced. How far the Ghaznavid control was exercised over the hilly areas of the Khyber Pass is unknown. But it is probable that it remained politically fragmented with few chieftains controlling several of its isolated valleys. Ruthless financial exploitation of the dependent provinces had been a prime reason for the rapid falling away from Ghaznavid allegiance of these areas. Despite the more restricted sphere of operations of the government and the resources available by way of plunder and tribute, the administrative costs of running the Ghaznavid Empire and its army during Ibrahim's reign must still had been heavy. Indeed, Juzjani notes that Ibrahim's son Masud, on his accession, had to get rid of some harsh financial practices of his father. He completely removed all the oppressive and extraordinary taxes that were collected previously. Raverty says that he abolished all taxes throughout the whole of the region, perhaps referring to the heart land of the Ghaznavid territories that is Ghazni and Zabulistan, and he remitted all the tolls and transit duties in all the empire.

Ibrahim's death took place on 5 Shawwal 492 AH/ 25 August 1099 AD, after a reign of forty years.[242] The half-century or so extending from Ibrahim's death in 1099 AD till the struggle for power

[242] Haig, ***op.cit.,*** 35.

in eastern Afghanistan between the Ghorids and Ghaznavids, which broke out in 1148 AD, spans the reigns of Masud bin Ibrahim and his sons namely Shirzad, Malik Arsalan and Bahram Shah. During that period Peshawar continued with its journey of hardships and deprived of any strong and prosperous administration. Masud died in 1115 AD and left numerous off springs that speedily fell out with each other in the years following his death. Once more Peshawar turned into a stage for drama of war of succession in which Bahram Shah appeared successful with the help of Sanjar.[243] While Malik Arsalan escaped to northern India where he sought aid of the governor Muhammad Ali of the Shabani family but Bahram Shah later on killed him. He thus became a tributary to the Seljuks. Soon after succession, his Indian governor Muhammad bin Ali made two consecutive rebellions against Bahram Shah and attempted to extend his authority over the Ghaznavid territories in northwestern India. Bahram Shah was compelled to cross Indus twice and gave crushing defeat to Muhammad bin Ali. His Sultanate was later on clouded by the menace of the Ghorids, and he bequeathed to his successors what was only a simulacrum of the once mighty Ghaznavid Empire.

The decline and fall of the mighty Ghaznavid Empire is poorly documented. After Bahram Shah's reign its affairs ceased much to interest the general and dynastic historians. So we depend basically on the accounts of Ibn Athir and Juzjani regarding that of Afghanistan and northwestern India.

Peshawar enjoyed a distinct and favorable status with the Ghaznavids. It was one most important Indian post for them to occupy and their chances for success in India were mostly linked with Peshawar. After this study of Peshawar under the Ghaznavids we have

[243] A Seljuk Sultan in eastern Persia (Merv).

to admit that Peshawar was a big station with less reference. It was an important base for them as is seen from the off and on references of the valley under different Ghaznavid regimes. To start with, being the sole Indian base, it was rated too high by the governmental machinery at Ghazni as is clear from the administrative arrangements made here but Sebüktigin and Mahmud but with the passage of time conditions changed for the city. For that change we can assign two reasons; one was the growing weakness in the character and competence of latter Ghaznavid rulers and second was extension of Ghaznavid border towards east (Punjab). The latter Ghaznavids, after Mahmud, were no match of their predecessors; instead of spending their lives on horse backs they spent most of their time in frivolous pursuits, most of their energies were spent in fighting wars against family members for the throne. With the extension of border of the state, the enhanced status once enjoyed solely by Peshawar got shared with other Indian bases particularly Lahore. However, it kept on playing an important role in the political avenues of Ghazni.

For their success in Peshawar the Ghaznavids needed not only to establish themselves politically and militarily in the land but were also required to win the popular support of the masses as well. In this regard they made quite an effective use of Islamic ideology which provided them with a strong reason for invasion and success in India. The Ghaznavids also happened to be the standard bearers of Islam in the region. Their identification with Islam provided them with a lethal arsenal to strike at the roots of Hindu religion in the region. The moments when Ghaznavids were replacing Hindu Shahi's also happened to be one of replacement of Hindu dharma with that of Islam. Actually Mahmud religious orientations turned out to be an extra-qualification for him to influence and change the thoughts and

affiliations of the masses. The politico-military change was strengthened with the ideological and soci-cultural changes. Within a short span of time Sultan Mahmud established himself and his dynasty quite strongly in the region. Though there are evidences that Islam reached Peshawar before the coming of Ghaznavids but it is also a fact that the mass scale popularization and conversion to the new faith took place only after assumption of their political charge. This politico-religious change also effected the socio-economic life of the residents of Peshawar; for the soldiers and those who joined the successful raids made by Mahmud towards the exceedingly rich strongholds of Hindus, it was a bargain full of bounties but for the old settlers, resistant elements and non-combatant classes it may had been a story of deprivations or destructions.

Establishment of Ghaznavid rule was also one land mark in the history of Peshawar as it turned out to be the beginning of the end of the non-Muslim identity of the city. The Ghaznavids are considered to be responsible for the actual propagation and popularization of Islam in this region. It was through their commitment with Islam that the religious outlook of Peshawar was revolutionized. Islam became the most popular belief of the region. Particularly Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni who was known for his religious inclinations is said to have played a pivotal role in this regard. It was one long standing desire of the Sultan to emancipate the millions of people of India from the clutches of the autocratic and tyrant Rajas and bring them under the cover of justice and equality of Islam. Pukhtoons and Peshawar in this regard proved to be a handy source for the materialization of his dreams of popularization of Islam in rest of northern India. In this way Peshawar acquired a very distinct status of being a valuable source of both the promotion of Ghaznavid rule and Islam in India. Besides

political it also played a significant role in setting the trends for the ideological or religious associations of Peshawar in its future.

Chapter 3

Ghorids and Peshawar

Ghorid was one eastern Iranian dynasty that flourished as an independent power in the 6th/ 12th century and the early years of 7th/ 13th century and it was based in the region of Ghor in what is now central Afghanistan with its capital at Firoz Koh.[244] This dynasty can be held responsible for laying the foundation of Muslim rule at Delhi. They successfully replaced the decaying family of Ghaznavids and soon after that fairly placed their claim over all the Indian possessions of their predecessors. Though not destined to remain in office for long, they not only provided an appropriate replacement for the withering Ghaznavids but the push they caused to the Muslim rule in India latter on greatly influenced and molded the course of its history. When the Ghaznavids were stumbling, they provided a befitting Muslim leadership to the arenas of Muslim government and authority in India.

Peshawar, along with other Indian possessions of Ghaznavids fell to the lot of the Ghorids in India. Ghaznavids long rule and their distinct pioneer role in the presentation of whole scale Islam at Peshawar provided them with the needed acceptability among the people here. For Ghorids, being Muslims, this question of acceptability was properly addressed; their political and military strength and commitment were rather an added accomplishment compared to the weak and un-attractive show of later Ghaznavids. It was rather like a replica of the golden days of Mahmud embarking upon a great period of opportunities for the Muslims in India. Rather they secured an edge over the Ghaznavids by displaying all kind of generosities and courtesies towards the people of Peshawar, a treatment which they had forgotten from a very long time. As a matter of fact after Mahmud of

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[244] ***The Encyclopaedia of Islam,*** New Edition, Vol. II, *Ghurids,* C.E. Bosworth, (Leiden: 1983), 1099.

Ghazna almost every time when there was a rift in the family over the issue of succession Peshawar got exposed to all sorts of miseries and sometimes mistreatments. The Ghorids were quite clear that Peshawar could be their trump card in their struggle against the Ghaznavids in India, and they must win the loyalty and support of its masses if they cherished any desire for recognition in India. In this way we may say that coming of Ghorids was needed by both Peshawar and the Ghorids. For Peshawar and its people it was no less than a blow of fresh air in a hopeless, stagnant and suffocating political environment and we do not find any instance on record where the people of Peshawar seriously resisted to the change at Ghazna.

In the initial phase Muhammad Ghori came to Peshawar in pursuit of his Ghaznavid enemies. He wanted to dislodge them from their Indian bases firstly to secure his positions across the Hindukush, and secondly to get rid of them once forever. He knew that till the time Ghaznavids hold a strong position in the vicinity of his regime he could never be at ease. Later on, other reasons were also added to these security reasons when the Ghorids realized the strategic worth of Peshawar. For the extension of their empire in India they opted for a route which was in no way suitable to deal with a well prepared, innumerable Indian army. The route adopted by Ghaznavids proved to be friendlier than any other. It was this realization that they shifted their line of action from via Multan-Utch to via Peshawar-Lahore. The only apparent obstacle for Muhammad Ghori was the presence of unreliable and turbulent Pukhtoon tribes on the mountainous route. This, however, was something which he was supposed to tackle successfully due to his own descent and experience with them. Keeping in view these added values, Peshawar did turn out to be one important city for the Ghorids. It seems justified for this study that before establishing any bond

between the Ghorids and Peshawar we better have some idea for the Ghorids, their homeland, family, Pukhtoon origin, conversion to Islam and some background of their rivalry with the Ghaznavids, as the same would help us in understanding of their success and performance at Peshawar.

3.1. Ghorids

3.1.1. Ghor

Ghor was the centre of the Ghorid dynasty in the 12th and 13th century with Firuz Koh as their capital. The territory is also known as Hazarajat nowadays. It is a mountainous country situated between Herat and Ghazna, almost in the central part of Afghanistan. It was a rugged mountainous country, bounded by the districts of Herat, Farrah, Dawar, Rabat, Kurwan, and Gharjistan back to Herat, which were all Muslim areas at that time. Ghor itself was a country of non-Muslims, containing only a few Muslims, and the inhabitants spoke a language different from that of Khurasan.[245] In the twelfth century it was probably inhabited by eastern Iranian people conveniently known to both Afghans and Turks as Tajiks. The successor dynasties of Samanid Empire in the surrounding of Ghor, whether Seljuk, Ghaznavid, or Karakhanid were Turks; in such a situation, due to any marital relations, one cannot rule out the possibility of some Turkish blood in the veins of Ghorid princes.[246]

3.1.2. The Family

Ghorid (or Aal-e Sansab) was a medieval Islamic dynasty of the eastern Iranian lands. They began as local chiefs in Ghor in the heartland of what is now Afghanistan, but became a major power from the mid-12th century until the opening years of the 7th/13th century.

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[245] Elliot and Dowson, ***The History of India as Told by its own Historians,*** Vol. II, (Lahore: Islamia Book Service, 1979), 576.
[246] Olaf Caroe, ***The Pathans,*** (Karachi: 1985), 122-23.

Ghor was then the nucleus of a vast but transient military empire that at times stretched from Gorgan in the west to northern India in the east, only to be overwhelmed by the Khwarazm Shahs and to disappear, as far as the eastern Iranian lands were concerned, on the eve of the Mongol cataclysm. The Ghorids came from the Sansabani family. The family name Sansab is probably derived from the Middle Persian name Wisnasp.[247] After the Ghorids had achieved fame as military conquerors, obsequious courtiers and genealogists connected the family with the legendary Iranian past by tracing it back to Zahak, whose descendants were supposed to have settled in Ghor after Faridun had overthrown Zahak's thousand-year tyranny. The Sansab family was then brought into the framework of Islamic history by the story that its chiefs received Islam from the hands of ‘Ali bin Abi Talib, subsequently aiding Abu Muslim Khurasani's uprising against the Umayyads and having its power legitimized by being invested with Ghor by the caliph Harun al-Rasheed.[248] It goes without saying that we have no concrete evidence for any of this. The chiefs of Ghor only achieve firm historical mention in the early 5th/11th century with the Ghaznavid raids into their land, when Ghor was still a pagan enclave. Nor do we know anything about the ethnic stock of the Ghorids in general and the Sansabanis in particular; we can only assume that they were eastern Iranian Tajiks.

3.1.3. Shihabuddin Sam Muhammad Ghori

Shihabuddin Muhammad Ghori (also having another title of Moizuddin) was an ambitious and enterprising ruler. He along with his brother provided a much needed strong and efficient alternative Muslim leadership in Afghanistan and India in the prevailing difficult conditions. Though himself not able to enjoy the benefits of his hard

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[247] ***Encyclopaedia Iranica,*** ed. Ehsan Yarshater, Vol. X, (New York, 2001), 586.
[248] ***Ibid.***

earned sultanate for long, he played a great role in the revitalization the stagnant Muslim polity in Afghanistan and India. He is also termed as the real founder of Muslim rule in India for providing it with a strong and sustainable administrative setup, something which was not developed by the Ghaznavids. Moreover, he also extended and took the Muslim rule and authority to India's political center of gravity, Delhi. He was a kind and generous ruler and knew well how to establish links of hearts with his subject. This was something that helped him greatly in developing an unflinching bond with his soldiers and subject.

After the occupation of Ghazna, he considered himself to be the rightful claimant to all the Indian provinces which once belonged to the empire of Ghazna. The history of warfare between his house and that of Ghazna had prompted him to invade Punjab, then under Khusraw Malik, the last ruler of the house of Mahmud. Though started with a more popular and considerably less difficult direction of Multan and Uch, Muhammad Ghori soon realized that the key for occupation of Punjab was through Khyber and Peshawar.[249] For that, following the policy of Mahmud, he needed to have cordial and reliable relations with the Pukhtoons stationed around who could have helped him in his plans regarding occupation of India.

3.1.4. Ghor and Islam

It is quite surprising to note that despite being surrounded by the Muslim states from all around Ghor continued with its non-Muslim identity. Satish Chandra attributes this continuation of paganism to its isolation and remoteness.[250] Juzjani records the strife between the non Muslim and Muslim populations on the authority of Muslim historians such as Istakhri and Ibn Haukal. They attest to the non-Muslim status

[249] Maulana Minhaj-ud-Din, Abu-Umar-i-Usman Juzjani, ***Tabakat-i-Nasiri,*** vol-1, tr. Major HG Raverty (Lahore: Amir Publications, 1977), 132, 135.
[250] Satish Chandra, ***Medieval India,*** vol.-1, (New Delhi: Har-Anand Publications, 1999), 22.

of the enclave of Ghor until the time of Mahmud of Ghazna who is attributed with converting its population to Islam.[251]

It is said that Amir Suri was a great king, and most of the territories of Ghor were in his possession. But as many of the inhabitants of Ghor of high and low degree had not yet embraced Mohammedanism, … hostilities constantly prevailed between the Muhammadans and the infidels. One castle was at war with another castle, and their feuds were unceasing; but owing to the inaccessibility of the mountains of Rasiat, which are in Ghor, no foreigner was able to overcome them, and Shansbani Amir Suri was the head of all the Mandeshis.[252]

This gives us some idea for the continuation of non-Muslim identity of Ghor. According to Juzjani, Amir Suri along with his son was captured by Mahmud of Ghazna and taken to Ghazna where he died in prison. Mahmud left couple of teachers to instruct the Ghorids in the precepts of Islam. In particular his nominee Abu 'Ali b. Muhammad is praised for his beneficent rule and his encouragement of the newly introduced Islamic religion; he built mosques and *madrassas* and endowed them with *Awkaf.*[253] So it was only after its occupation by the Ghaznavids in the early part of the 12th century that the people of Ghor got the opportunity to be properly introduced to Islam. Even then it is believed that paganism, i.e. a variety of Mahayana Buddhism persisted in the area till the end of the century.[254]

3.1.5. Ghaznavids in Ghor

At the time of Ghaznavid assertion eastern Ghor, called Mandish, was ruled by Muhammad bin Suri. He was a very shrewd politician and realized the importance of developing friendly ties with

[251] SAA Rizvi, ***The Wonder that was India***, vol.-II, (Delhi: Picador, 1996), 16.
[252] Elliot and Dowson, ***op.cit.,*** 284.
[253] ***The Encyclopaedia of Islam, op.cit.,*** 1100.
[254] Chandra, ***op.cit.,*** 22.

the newly emerging Ghaznavids. This might be the reason that during the life time of Sebüktigin he remained submissive and acknowledged Ghaznavid supremacy. However, immediately after Sebüktigin's death (997 AD) he threw off the yoke of submission and turned his face away from the path of understanding. In 1011 AD Mahmud decided to discipline him for the insubordination. After some hotly contested battles Mahmud succeeded in defeating and capturing Mandish and Ibn Suri. One son of the ruler, Abu Ali, who had quarreled with his father and taken refuge at Ghazna, was made governor of Mandish. In 1015 AD Mahmud invaded the south-western part of Ghor, called Khwabin, and captured some forts. After some time the north-western parts of Ghor were also captured by the Ghaznavids and in this way gradually almost the whole of Ghor came under their sway, with the exception of some inaccessible interior portions.[255]

Ghaznavids not only conquered the Ghorids politically but also succeeded in propagation and popularization of Islam amongst them. In this way a new bond of fraternity evolved which had far reaching consequences. Nevertheless, this new fusion did not restrain the Ghorids from the annals of government and authority. At the time of political and dynastic decay of their Ghaznavids victors the Ghorids successfully replaced them.

3.1.6. Ghorid-Ghaznavid Rivalry

Ghaznavid dynasty failed to make any impressive show after Mahmud of Ghazna. Though the dynasty continued to rule for long after that but it was never like Mahmud in any way. On the one hand Ghaznavids were gradually losing their political effectiveness, vitality and hold, and on the other hand the Ghorids were gaining grounds and strengthening their sinews to place their claim for leadership and

[255] S.M. Jaffar, ***Medieval India under Muslim Kings: The Ghaznavids***, Vol-2, (Peshawar: 1940), 42-3.

authority. Having a history of warfare with Ghaznavids, the Ghorids were one of their natural rivals. The weakness on the part of later Ghaznavid rulers provided Ghorids with a fair chance to come out of the limits of Ghor and look for opportunities, depending upon their own capacities and potentials. As a matter of fact their attainment of strength in isolation at Ghor was bound to affect adversely interests of the ruling dynasty in their neighbor-hood at Ghazna. Just when the Ghaznavids faltered and stumbled they outpoured into the lands of the Ghaznavids. At that time Bahram Shah was the Ghaznavid ruler. He was well aware of the fact that sooner or later he will be receiving a challenge or threat from Ghor. Instead of further cementing and strengthening ties of understanding with the Ghorids in the difficult times for his dynasty Bahram committed one silly mistake, providing them with all the reason to come out of their political slumber and inactivity. He poisoned one Qutbuddin Muhammad who was the brother of the ruling prince of Ghor.[256] Qutbuddin had married one daughter of Bahram and used to live with him due to some tense relations with his relatives at Ghor.[257] This daring attempt of poisoning Qutbuddin ventilated the time old antagonist feelings of mistrust which resulted in the imposition of war by the Ghorids on Ghazna and Ghaznavids.

Saifuddin Suri, next brother of Qutbuddin, collected an army with his younger brothers Bahauddin Sam and Alauddin Hussain and marched on Ghazna to avenge the killing of Qutbuddin Muhammad. The town fell to them in September 1148 AD. Bahram Shah had meanwhile fled to the Indo-Afghan border lands to a place between

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[256] Dr. Abdul Ghani, ***A Brief Political History of Afghanistan,*** ed. Abdul Jaleel Najfi, (Lahore: Maktaba-e-Aliya, 1989), 124.

[257] Sir Wolsely Haig, ***The Cambridge History of India,*** Vol. III, (New Delhi: S. Chand & Co., 1987), 36.

Ghazna and India, inhabited by Afghans and called Karman[258] (kurram). Saifuddin assumed power at Ghazna and started living with his family there, while Alauddin was sent back to Ghor. The people of Ghazna, however, had their sympathies with Bahram Shah and they kept him informed of all proceedings in the city. Taking advantage of their support Bahram Shah came out of his hiding place at the head of an army and defeated, disgraced and tortured to death the unlucky resident, Saifuddin. It is said that his army comprised mostly of Afghans. His death once again provoked Alauddin Hussain who, in turn, attacked and defeated Bahram Shah in 1151. Alauddin decided to teach a memorable lesson to the people of Ghazna as well for their treachery and animosity. Consequently, for about seven days the city was given up to flames, slaughter and devastation which earned for him the title of *Jahan Sooz* (world burner).[259] The manner in which Ghorids and Ghaznavids were scoring upon each other consumed all chances of their living in peace with each other in future and elimination of any one of the two became inevitable. The defeated princes of the Ghaznavid family made their way to India for safety, continuation and safeguard of their rule there. The swift political changes at Ghazna soon clarified it to the successors of Bahram Shah, including KhusrawShah and KhusrawMalik that they should never think of regaining whatever they had left behind in Afghanistan. However, they did continue with some sort of authority till 1179 AD at Peshawar and 1186 AD at Lahore.

In this way the dynastic rivalry with its deep historical roots came to an end with the knocking out of Ghaznavids by the Ghorids in Afghanistan. The lethargy, inactivity and weakness of Ghaznavid rulers

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[258] Muhammad Qasim Ferishta, ***Tarikh-i-Ferishta***, (tr.) John Briggs, V-1, (London: Longman, 1829), 152.
[259] ***Ibid.,*** 155.

in India soon attained the attention of Ghorids who once firmly established at their home extended their hands for the acquisition of control of the Indian possessions of their ex-masters.

3.2. Peshawar Before Ghorids

The general uncertainty, chaos and confusion that often entail a decaying monarchy was the dismal picture of Peshawar before assumption of its charge by the Ghorids. The Ghaznavids inability to capture and control the pace of events was telling heavily up on them and causing political vacuum resulting in political tornados. Without flaw-less performances on the part of rulers it was out of question to get positive progression of the state or society. Unfortunately, contrary to the need of the hour, the ruling dynasty entangled themselves more and more into petty personal gains or intra-dynastic rivalries that resulted in further piling up of their worries. And once the challenge was posed, instead of dealing with it boldly everybody preferred to bury their heads in sand to avoid the pain. In nut shell, towards the end of Ghaznavid rule at Peshawar, the political situation was all ripe for a change and it only waited for the right person to start with.

3.2.1. The Last Leg of Ghaznavid Control

Peshawar was lost to the Ghorids during the reign of last Ghaznavid ruler Khusraw Malik (1160-86). Khusraw Malik though not strong enough to counter the Ghorid might, was quite lucky to have his competitors engaged in Afghanistan by the Oghuz military adventurers from Khurasan. These Oghuz successfully maintained their hold over Ghazna up to 1173 AD (for about 15 years) and in this way kept the Ghorids away from the Ghaznavids in India. It placed a considerable obstacle in way of Ghorid expansion towards the plains of India. In 1173 AD, however, Sultan Ghiasuddin Muhammad and his brother Moizuddin came with a strong force of Ghorids and Khalaj and

captured the town of Ghazna.[260] This new development once again brought the old rivals to share a joint border that resulted in revival of a tug of war between the two. This time again the Ghorids had a clear advantage of being a willing to work, growing and energetic dynasty which was the inverse of their opponents.

According to Juzjani Khusraw Malik got the Ghaznavid throne at Lahore[261] meaning thereby that it enjoyed the status of their hub of administration in India. Though the authority and administration of Peshawar in that period is also attributed to them but we could not find any precautions being implied by them for its security and safety or even obstructing any future aggression by their undeniable and unavoidable enemies, the Ghorids. It seems that they were just enjoying the absence of any competent aspirant for authority at Peshawar. And if there were any local leaders, they were controlling the affairs without being properly declared as its rulers or administrators parallel to the authority of Ghaznavids. So we may conclude that the Ghaznavids were just counting upon their time without any genuine effort to sustain in authority and their hold over Peshawar was only a symbolic one. As they intended to maintain a handsome distance from the Ghorids to ensure peaceful continuation they were least interested in Peshawar. Consequently they moved back towards Punjab leaving some extra opportunity for the Ghorids at Peshawar. This, however, turned out to be one grave mistake, as history shows that holding control over Peshawar was usually equal to holding keys of India. In our earlier two chapters we have seen that for the adventurers and invaders of India Peshawar did serve as an important strategic, military and economic post. This was the lesson which even their predecessors (the earlier

[260]C. Edmund Bosworth, "Ghaznavids," ***Encyclopedia Iranica***, http://www.iranica.com/articles/ghaznavids (Retrieved on 27/07/2010).
[261] Elliot and Dowson, ***op.cit.,*** 281.

Ghaznavids) had learnt after a hectic life of struggles. Declaration of Lahore as their center, by the later Ghaznavids, was also tantamount to surrendering the initiative to the Ghorids. Had they been serious in contesting their candidature for authority, at least in India, if not in Afghanistan, Peshawar would have been the right choice for them. It was through Peshawar that authorities were founded and then finalized, number of times in past; negligence to it was bound to cause serious problems for them, and that did happen. No sooner did the Ghorids succeed in ensuring their rule and authority at Ghazna they next started for Peshawar and snatched it out of their feeble control in no time and with no great effort.

3.3. Ghorids stepping into Ghaznavid Shoes at Peshawar

Muhammad Ghori's success at Ghazna encouraged him to cast his eyes, as the righteous successor of Ghaznavids over their Indian possessions. In this regard his first target happened to be the Punjab. In contrast to the understanding of his Ghaznavid predecessors, Muhammad Ghori, instead of Khyber and Peshawar, opted for Gomal pass[262] and Uch-Multan route for his penetrations into Punjab. It was probably because of these three reasons. From that Khyber Pass direction there were some chances of resistance from the Ghaznavids rulers of Lahore. Secondly, the perpetually hostile and unreliable temperament of the people located over Khyber-Peshawar route or the northern Sindh-Sagar Doab was another significant reason for his non-adoption of the route.[263] Thirdly, Muhammad Ghori may have desired to avoid direct clash with the Ghaznavids and instead secure their surrender. His plan seemed to penetrate into Sindh and Gujrat and from there into central India, thus encircling the Ghaznavid dominions; and,

[262] Situated to the west of Dera Ismail Khan.

[263] Bakhshish Singh Nijjar, ***Punjab under the Sultans (1000-1526 A.D.)***, (Lahore: Book Traders, 1979), 25.

subsequently, compelling the latter to acknowledge Ghorid suzerainty.[264] Nevertheless, after some preliminary successes and a disastrous defeat he realized his mistake and corrected it by redirecting his efforts through Peshawar. The Pukhtoons in Peshawar and its surroundings, though considered unreliable could have worked wonders for him if utilized in the proper fashion. The way they strengthened the ranks and files of the Ghaznavids and made their flag successfully flutter in India, they could work for Ghori as well.

3.3.1. Ghori in India: Before Peshawar

The sultan had learnt from the accounts of Muslim travelers that the easiest route to enter the Punjab from Ghazna was the Multan-Uch route. The ordinary route from beyond the Sulaiman Mountains in those days was neither the well known Khyber Pass nor the Bolan Pass in the south, but the Gomal Pass, which led to Dera Ismail Khan and thence to Upper-Sindh-Sagar Doab. The Khyber, Bolan and the less accessible Kurram and Tochi passes were not used by trading caravans to the same extent as the Gomal pass, which could also be utilized as a military route. Due to its proximity the first choice of attack for an invading army from beyond the Sulaiman ranges was through Multan-Uch route and not Peshawar-Lahore. From Ghazna the shortest route to Punjab was through the Kurram, Tochi and Gomal passes and the Khyber involved a long detour through the north. Moreover, politically the Khyber area was not safe, for the tribes inhabiting the northern Sindh-Sagar Doab were perpetually hostile.[265]

The conquest of Uch and Multan was a dire necessity for Muhammad Ghori, because these two places occupied a strategic position which could be used as halting places for the rest of his armies

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[264] J. L. Mehta, ***Advanced Study in the History of Medieval India,*** V-1, (New Delhi: Sterling Publishers, 2007), 75.
[265] Juzjani, ***op.cit.,*** 132, 135, 194.

and for collection of their supplies. With these objects in view, Shihabuddin marched against Multan and captured it in 1176.[266] Next he moved against Uch which also passed into his hands. With Multan as the spring board Muhammad Ghori led an attack on Gujrat in 1178 AD but was given a crushing defeat by its Chalukya ruler, Bhimdev II in the battle of Kayadara; the Ghorid army was routed in this misadventure.[267] However, the impact of this defeat was just temporary, it rather provided the Sultan an opportunity to identify and overcome his deficiencies. Within a short span of time the Sultan succeeded to reduce to submission the whole of southern Sindh including Daibal in 1182.[268]

3.3.2. Peshawar Captured (1179 AD)

After being checked at Gujarat Muhammad Ghori now turned his attention towards a near and may be less hazardous target of Peshawar. He knew that Peshawar did offer opportunity to his predecessor dynasty and could help him as well in his designs for India. Reaching central India through the deserts of Gujarat and that also when there were other better options for it available was a great blunder and negligence to preparations on the part of Muhammad Ghori. Through Peshawar it was comparatively more promising and less risky along with number of other opportunities which the region used to offer to the fortune seekers in India. It was after this understanding of the circumstances and conditions that he focused more on Peshawar as his main route for the conquest of India. Next he led an army towards Peshawar and wrested it away from the feeble grip of its governor, posted there by Khusraw Malik, the last Ghaznavid ruler of the Punjab,

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[266] Ferishta, ***op.cit.,*** 56.
[267] J Rickard, "*Battle of Gujarat or Kayadara, 1178,*" http://www.historyofwar.org/articles/battles_gujarat_1178.html (accessed on February 25, 2010).
[268] Juzjani, ***op.cit.,*** 451-52.

in 1179.[269] As for the details of this battle at Peshawar and the Ghaznavid governor of it are concerned we find all the primary sources silent about it. This silence may be caused by the negligence with which the case of Peshawar was dealt by the Ghaznavids at Lahore. As they were not serious about statecraft they did not seem to have made any note worthy preparations for its defense. The only information or reference regarding Peshawar with which we are supposed to be contented is that they did appoint a governor there to keep a watch of Ghorid moves. At that stage when Peshawar was their first line of defense against all the trans–Hindukush competitors of the decaying Ghaznavid dynasty this was in no way a satisfactory preparation, unlike the one that we saw in case of Hindu Shahi Dynasty's response and preparations. May be the later Ghaznavids with their trademark lethargy and dynastic rivalries had not invested in Peshawar to an extent to make it fight for. That might be the reason why despite some extra ordinary importance we find less mention of Peshawar in the documents prepared at that time. As it was a low profile or rather no profile development there was, it seems, almost nothing at Peshawar, at that time, to catch the attention of even the history recorders. This then, appears to be the main reason for depriving us in the formulation of any comprehendible socio-political structure of Peshawar of that time. Modern researcher like Dr. Ahmad Hassan Dani deplores this missing of history in his work about Peshawar.[270] A valuable Urdu research work by Muhammad Ibrahim Zia about the history of Peshawar also expresses his strong disapproval of the huge historic gaps and jumps

[269] Yahya bin Ahmad Sirhindi, ***Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi,*** tr. Dr. Aftab Asghar, (Lahore: Markazi Urdu Board, 1976), 67.

[270] Ahmad Hassan Dani, ***Peshawar: Historic City of the Frontier***, (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel, 1995) 85.

over distantly located historic posts of Peshawar to cover up.[271] This shortcoming on its turn gives us a strong reason to explore and identify the real status of the area which at one stage was developed into a strong military base by Sultan Mahmud.[272]

3.4.Peshawar Enticing Gateway to India

The occupation of Peshawar in 1179 AD opened the doors of Lahore, Punjab and India for the ambitious Muhammad Ghori. It was such an encouraging Indian base for the Ghorid adventurer that offered all types of resources, like fertile and well protected lands, and competent soldiers, required to undertake the conquest of India. After Peshawar Muhammad Ghori was well in position for the conquest of Lahore that he did undertake in 1180 AD.[273] Though he did not succeed that time but he was resolved and made it clear to Khusraw Malik that sooner or later he will refresh his bid for Lahore. The possession of Peshawar in this way was equivalent to surrendering the initiative to Muhammad Ghori. After Peshawar he kept on sacking other parts of Punjab and Sindh to generate resources for his final round against Khusraw Malik.

3.5.Ghori Pushed Against Ghakkhars[274]

Ghakkhars were another important war like community with which the invaders of India from north-west had to deal with before making any achievements. They were like a test of fitness for the aspirants of India and success was must. The continuation of pressure applied by Muhammad Ghori was telling his intention to Khusraw Malik. In a bid to make things difficult and complicated for the invader Khusraw Malik attempted to get the Ghakkhars involved in his tussle

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[271] Muhammad Ibrahim Zia, ***Mazi ke Dareechon Se,*** (Peshawar: Tajuddin Publications, 2002), 10.
[272] Mehta, ***op.cit.,*** 75.
[273] Ferishta, ***op.cit.,*** 170.
[274] According to ***Ferishta*** they were a barbaric race without any religion or morality. Female infanticide was common amongst them. ***Ibid.,*** 182-84.

against Ghori. Ghakkhars were at that time under the suzerainty of Chakra Dev, the ruler of Jammu. They were not on good terms with their sovereign; Chakra Dev. With his objectives in mind, Khusraw offered assistance to the Ghakkhars against Chakra Dev and in lieu mustered their support against Muhammad Ghori. In this way he wanted to mobilize the Ghakkhars, who were strategically located between him and Muhammad Ghori, as buffers for his own protection. Ghakkhars were encouraged and assisted to lay siege to the fort of Sialkot in defiance of authority of the Raja of Jammu. The plan of Khusraw, however, backfired and instead of creating hurdles for Muhammad Ghori he himself provided an opportunity to the invader to make strong local friends in the form of ruler of Jammu. The Raja, with the help of Muhammad Ghori, drove back Khusraw and the rebellious Ghakkhars were crushed.

Despite his diplomatic, political and some military achievements in that tour Muhammad Ghori could not capture Lahore at that time. After another unsuccessful attempt in 1184 Muhammad Ghori ultimately succeeded in capturing it through diplomacy in 1186 AD.[275] However, this capture of Lahore, just like the Ghaznavids, also shifted the center of his preparations for further conquests in India from Peshawar. In this way if it was good and promising for the Ghorid victors in India, it was really bad, once again, for Peshawar as it shifted their center of interest from Peshawar to Lahore. The new union with its fabulous and extra-ordinary opportunities was bound to cast away the old union. While there was nothing wrong in going for the better opportunity it was definitely wrong to ignore the strategic worth of the old. The later history has proved that Lahore without Peshawar was always risky and insecure for the fortune seekers in India. This mistake,

[275] ***Ibid.,*** 171.

however, was not committed by Muhammad Ghori, being the ruler on both sides of Peshawar. Immediately after his death the situation changed and inability to appreciate the importance of Peshawar pushed the rulers on both sides of it into the wildernesses of insecurity and uncertainty. With Lahore as the base, Muhammad Ghori first consolidated his position in the Punjab and then went for his next challenge in India against Prithvi Raj Chauhan.

3.6. From Peshawar to Tarain (Delhi 1192 AD)

After Peshawar and Lahore Muhammad Ghori next target was that of Delhi, which was at that time under the control of its Hindu Chuhan ruler Prithvi Raj. In his first bid for Delhi in 1191 AD at Tarain he failed to overpower the Prithvi Raj that caused him severe discomfort. He was so distressed that he vowed not to rest till he avenged that defeat. In the winter of 1192 AD the Sultan, in the company of about one Lakh and seventy thousands fighters, mostly Ghoris and Khilgis, started from Ghazna.[276] On his arrival at Khyber Pass and Peshawar he remained there for some extended durations to muster support of the masses and as much of army as possible from that region.[277]

On the one hand the agony of a disgraceful defeat kept the Sultan gloomy and waiting for the opportunity and on the other hand Prithvi Raj in his inebriant pride of victory had already embarked upon an offensive policy. Taking possession of Hansi and Bhatinda from the Ghaznavid successors he had fortified important towns on this frontier. That happened to be one significant reason for Ghori's defeat in the first encounter against the Hindu Raja in 1191 AD. Ghori showed great discomfort at the performance of his officers and disgraced them in the

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[276] Muhammad Shafi Sabir, ***Tarikh-e-Suba Sarhad,*** (Peshawar: University Book Agency, 1986), 240.
[277] ***Ibid.***

harshest possible way. A modern writer of Pukhtoon history Haji Khayal Afridi tells us that when Muhammad Ghori reached Peshawar in 1192, on his way to India, he also distributed gifts among the local chieftains to win their support and loyalty.[278] Muhammad Ghori intended to catch his enemy in surprise. From the time of his departure from Ghazna till his arrival to Peshawar, despite the company of a huge army, he kept his intentions of revenge unto himself and did not share it with the closest of his councils, lest his enemy may get a hint of it.[279]

3.6.1. Request of An Old Sage

There was great confusion regarding the objectives of the sultan among his army but no one dared to inquire about it due to the fear of Sultan's displeasure. At last one of his old veteran stepped forward and, after having performed the usual salutations and respect proper to be observed before sovereigns, the sage requested to know what were his intentions; for, though there were many speculations regarding them, no one knew with certainty where he was going. Mohammed Ghori informed him that, ever since his defeat by the Hindus, he had neither slept soundly nor indulged in pleasure; and was utterly disappointed from the performance of the troops of Ghor.[280] To this the sage replied,

Victory and triumph be thy attendants, and fortune be the guide of thy paths. But O King, let the petition of thy slave find favour in thy ears, and let those chiefs you have so justly disgraced be permitted to take the same opportunity of whipping away the stains on their character.[281]

This good advice was followed and orders were sent to Ghazna for the release of all the disgraced officers from confinement with the instructions that all those desirous of wiping away the stain on their

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[278] Haji Khayal Afridi, ***Tarikh Pakhtoon Al-Afghan,*** (Peshawar: 1998), 659.
[279] Ferishta, ***op.cit.,*** 174.
[280] ***Ibid.***
[281] ***Ibid.***

character to report and join for duty at Peshawar. They all accordingly joined the camp, and each received a robe of honor according to his rank.[282] One may say that they were all admitted for service due to the need of the time. Any way the Sultan did give them an opportunity to correct their previous mistake.

In this entire episode we find Peshawar to be the point where both his soldiers and Sultan Ghori desired to inquire and inform each other about the future plan. Ghori as well as his soldiers realized the importance of this outpost of India. For the heavy task ahead it was important for Ghori to take his entire soldiery in confidence before proceeding any further. On the other hand it was equally important for his dedicated soldiers to be fully aware of the actual intentions of their ruler.

The 2nd battle fought at Tarain in 1192 ultimately ended in the victory of Muhammad Ghori despite being numerically inferior against the Delhi forces of Prithvi Raj Chuhan. It is said that this victory of Muhammad Ghori was due to the blessings of one Muslim saint, Hazrat Khwaja Moinuddin Chishti Ajmeeri. Prithivi Raj had tried to influence that 'darwesh' (Hermit) and upon failure attempted to disgrace him. The saint then invited the Ghori Sultan to come to India for the assumption of charge of this land and to get them rid of the tyrant ruler.[283]

In this way for the first time ever in the history of India the flag of Islam fluttered in the northern hub of its politics. This establishment of Muslim authority at Delhi revolutionized the politics and culture of India on permanent basis and opened new vistas of opportunities for the future Muslim rulers of India. Muhammad Ghori after that victory left

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[282] ***Ibid.***

[283] Abdur Rasheed, ***Islami Tasawuf aur Sufiya-e-Sarhad,*** (Islamabad: Tasawuf Foundation, 1988), 114.

for Afghanistan leaving one of his most talented slave/general Qutbuddin Aibak as his viceroy in India who successfully extended the boundaries of his regime in all directions. Ghori kept on visiting India even after that but the task of dealing with the enemies of state was taken care of by Qutbuddin.

3.7.Revolts against Ghori and Peshawar

In 1205 AD Muhammad Ghori suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of Shah of Khvarazm, which had negative consequences for his authority in all his conquests. Even at Ghazna he was resisted by his slave Yulduz, who had seized authority there, for himself.[284] Similarly in his Indian possessions resistance and revolts were becoming law of the time. At Multan, the situation was worsened by the defection and disloyalty of one of the officers of Muhammad Ghori, Named Aibak Bak, who killed Amir Daud Hassan the governor of Multan and established himself as an independent ruler.[285] Taking advantage of these uprisings and defections, his old enemies, the Ghakkhars of the Salt Range, rose in revolt under their leaders Bakan and Sarka.[286] According to Bakhshish Singh Nijjar all the territory between Ghazna and Lahore came under the influence of these uprisings and the Sultan's authority was challenged by the local turbulent tribes.[287]

Along with rest of the other possessions of Sultan, Peshawar also seems to have undergone some very crucial and trying circumstances at that time. However, on the basis of some reports of Ferishta and Juzjani we can guess that at that stage the people of Peshawar, unlike his other possessions, did show loyalty to their Ghori Sultan. Over here Ferishta says that at that critical stage the Sultan was joined by many of his friends. With the help of 'troops of the borders of

[284] ***Ibid.,*** 182.
[285] Elliot and Dowson, ***op.cit.,*** 233.
[286] ***Ibid.***
[287] Nijjar, ***op.cit.,*** 30.

India' he was able to overcome all his defiant governors one after the other.[288] He successfully quelled all the resistances and re-established his authority first at Multan and then at Ghazna. Now in this episode the reference of the 'troops of the borders of India' by Ferishta is worth noticing. Though we do not have any authority to prove that these soldiers were from Peshawar but it is also to be kept in mind that we also do not have any reference of resistance from this important and well known station. On the contrary we do have references of the Sultans showing respect and generosities to the nobles and people of Peshawar in the past, and more importantly mustering of support after that from Peshawar.

3.7.1. Against Ghakkhars from Peshawar

Muhammad Ghori, after concluding a peace treaty with the Shah of Khvarazm, next turned towards the Ghakkhars who had caused some serious threats and ruthless calamities and plundering of the districts between Chenab and Jehlum. When the Sultan reached Peshawar, he found the Ghakkhars still busy in adding to their territory at the cost of the Sultan's.[289] He immediately sent instructions to Qutbuddin Aibak to join him at the Jhelum. Muhammad Ghori left Peshawar on November 9, 1205.[290] Though he succeeded in suppressing the insurgents but ultimately lost his own life at the hands of Ghakkhars while returning from Lahore after that victory a group of 20 Ghakkhars who had lost some of their relatives in the battle, in a bid to avenge their loss, stabbed him to death while asleep at night on March 14th, 1206 AD.[291]

Here again we find Peshawar as his base for action against Indian insurgents. Though he had his viceroy in India but witnessing

[288] Ferishta, ***op.cit.,*** 183.
[289] Juzjani, ***op.cit.,*** 483n.
[290] Nijjar, ***op.cit.,*** 31.
[291] Ferishta, ***op.cit.,*** 185.

the gravity of the situation he deemed it better to attack the Ghakkhars from two sides; himself from the western side and Qutbuddin from the eastern side.[292] Muhammad Ghori thoroughly analyzed the situation from Peshawar and successfully materialized his war plans initiating from here in India.

In the above two episodes we also can see the faithful and reliable stance of the people of Peshawar towards their Ghori Sultan. We do find references of different areas showing resistance and defection to Ghori but there is no mention of Peshawar anywhere in this regard. The only reference available for Peshawar in this regard is that of a relying spot for Ghorid armies.

3.8.Ghori at Gor-Gathri

Ghori is also reported to have used Gor-Gathri, one historical building of Peshawar, for the stationing of his troops on one of his returns from India, after the conquest of Delhi. Shihabuddin Muhammad Ghori stayed for some time at Peshawar. The place where he and different tribes in his army stayed is said to be the famous Gor Gathri.[293] That building of Gor Gathri was also given the name of 'Fort *Tuman*.'[294] The word Tuman comes from Mongolian. It means ten-thousand. This should be a post-Mongol designation. However, the details Qari Javed Iqbal give about this Tuman title is related to one pre-Mongol, Ghorid period. According to Qari Javed here this word *Tuman* is used for tribes. As the building looked like a fort and number of tribes accompanying Ghori were accommodated in it so this new name was coined for it, i.e. 'the fort of tribes.' For some time after that,

[292] ***Ibid.,*** 183.
[293] Qari Javed Iqbal, ***Saqafat-i-Sarhad Tarikh ke Ayene ma,*** (Islamabad: Lok Virsa, 2002), 92.
[294] ***Ibid.***

all the area in the south-east of the fort also acquired the name of Tuman Town.[295]

Another question that is still waiting for its answer is that why Ghori did not utilize the famous Bala Hisar fort that seems more appropriate for any military stationing? It is a known fact that both these places Gor Gathri and Bala Hisar were two important elevated military positions in the town. How is it than possible that Ghori would go for the one leaving the other un-utilized? Or if that is not the case how did he utilize it otherwise? Did he station the tribes at Gor Gathri and himself along with some number of troops move to the Bala Hisar? Though the two locations are geophysically not distantly located and are quite close to each other but keeping in view the war times and a river flowing in between these two locations this last idea seems a remote possibility. Nevertheless, it is also likely as he was returning from India after a victory with a huge army he may have utilized that Bala Hisar fort as well for himself with probably main part of his army.

3.9.Death of Muhammad Ghori

After the successful completion of his Indian campaigns Muhammad Ghori returned towards Ghazna, may be, unmindful of the fact that fate had some altogether different plans for him as he was not destined to see Ghazna again. On reaching the place called Damyak,[296] on the bank of river Indus, a group of some twenty Gakkhars, who had lost some of their relations in wars against Muhammad Ghori, succeeded in reaching the sleeping Sultan. Taking advantage of the darkness of night they stabbed the Sultan to death right in the middle of his army. It was 14th of March 1206 AD.[297]

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[295] At present the area is known as Tahsil, Ganj and its outskirts, and Sheikh Abad. ***Ibid.***

[296] Presently located near Sohawa railway station in district Jehlum of the Punjab.

[297] Ferishta, ***op.cit.,*** 185.

Juzjani in his Tabaqat calls this to be an act of the Assassins[298] belonging to the group of Abdullah bin Sabbah. These Assassins have cold bloodedly killed number of Muslim religious scholars and kings. According to P.K. Hitti,

In pursuit of their ends they made free and treacherous use of the dagger, reducing assassination to an art…. A graphic…description of the method by which the master of Alamut is said to have hypnotized his "self-sacrificing ones" with the use of *hashish* has come down to us from Marco Polo, who passed in that neighbourhood in 1271 or 1272.[299]

During his conquest of Multan Ghori was reported to have killed and routed these *Mulhids* (one who has repudiated the faith of Islam). According to Juzjani martyrdom of Sultan Muhammad Ghori was the reply of that earlier killing.[300]

3.9.1. His Coffin at Peshawar

After assassination Muhammad Ghori's body was conveyed in mournful pomp towards Ghazna through Peshawar.[301] Unfortunately, the army that carried the coffin was divided in their opinion over the issue of succession. Again it was here at Peshawar that this difference of opinion was clearly exhibited. The chiefs of Ghor claimed it for Bahauddin, the Sultans cousin and the governor of Bamian; while the vazir and the officers of the Turkish mercenaries espoused the cause of Mahmud, son of the late Sultan Giyasuddin, the elder brother of Muhammad Ghori. The vazir wished to go by way of Kirman, where he knew the governor, Tajuddin Yulduz, was in the interest of Mahmud,

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[298] The Assassins were an order of Nizari Ismailis, particularly those of Syria and Persia that existed from around 1092 to 1265. Posing a strong military threat to Sunni Saljuq authority within the Persian territories, the Nizari Ismailis captured and inhabited many mountain fortresses under the leadership of Hassan-i Sabbah.

[299] Philip K Hitti, ***History of the Arabs,*** (London: Macmillan, 1994), 446-448.

[300] Juzjani, ***op.cit.,*** 485-6n.

[301] Ferishta, ***op.cit.,*** 186.

hoping, through his assistance, to secure, at least, the treasure for his own party. The chiefs of Ghor, on the other hand, insisted on proceeding by the route which lay nearest to Bamian, which was the seat of their claimant, Bahauddin. However, war was avoided by their agreement to the will of the vazir.[302]

Stepping out of Peshawar here, stood for stepping towards finality of succession issue. Both the parties had to decide it there and then as the route adopted was tantamount to half the decision. And so did it happen, Prince Mahmud and Tajuddin Yulduz grabbed all the authority after that at Ghazna.

3.10. Successors of Muhammad Ghori

Muhammad Ghori through his multiple qualities of head and heart kept all his competent generals and relatives under his control. It all seemed like a family affair. From the governor and general to the general public in Afghanistan and India he succeeded in evolving an actual or sort of family bond and feelings. His sudden death, however, made the situation extremely different and difficult. The seemingly strong and intertwined ties turned out to be loose knots. All those who were earlier committed to the common cause of Muhammad Ghori immediately after his death turned their backs to each other. Every one tried his best to mould the situation all in his own favor to feast upon the hard earned empire of their master. All sorts of gestures and signs were aired by all the claimants to throne, showing their resolve to go to every extent if hindered in their designs.[303]

The Ghorid rule after Muhammad Ghori continued in two forms, one under the actual Ghorid descendents from Ghor, and other through different viceroys located at various provinces. Ironically, the

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[302] ***Ibid.,*** 186-87.

[303] Agha Hussain Hamadani, ***The Frontier Policy of the Delhi Sultans,*** (Islamabad: National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, 1986), 39.

kings at Ghor never enjoyed the status enjoyed by their viceroys. Though they did continue at Ghor till 1215 AD but they commanded no control over their viceroys and were almost at their mercy. These Ghorid kings included Mahmud (1206-1210), Bahauddin Sam (1210), and Autsaz (1210-1215).[304]

The real successors of Muhammad Ghori were his provincial governors including; Tajuddin Yulduz, the governor of Kirman, and Qutbuddin Aibak, who assumed the title of Sultan at his master's death and was acknowledged as sovereign by Ikhtiyaruddin of Bengal. Another contender with strong credentials was Nasiruddin Qabacha. He distinguished himself at the disastrous battle of Andkhui and was appointed as the governor of Multan and Uch in 1205 AD. He had also married one daughter of Qutbuddin Aibak.[305] These governors were so strong that they actually received the letters of manumission from Sultan Mahmud of Ghor and in this way they became the *defacto* and *dejure* rulers in their respective territories.[306]

Regarding Peshawar, after the death of Muhammad Ghori, we cannot say with surety about its political trends and tendencies as there are no references available in the contemporary sources on the subject. The Islamic and Pukhtoon bond cleverly woven by Muhammad Ghori with the residents of Peshawar failed to express itself in any distinct way as this struggle for succession amongst the loyalists of the deceased monarch was shrouded in mystery and confusion. The sole available information appears to be that it ultimately fell to the lot of Tajuddin Yulduz along with Ghazna and other frontier regions.[307]

This study of Ghorid performance in Peshawar and India reveals that they were successful here because of their magnificent war

[304] Ghani, ***op.cit***., 126.
[305] Haig, ***op.cit***., 48-49.
[306] Hamdani, ***op.cit***., 39.
[307] Sabir, ***op.cit***., 242.

strategy. Like a shrewd politician Moizuddin Muhammad Ghori planned and divided his campaign into small bits and pieces. From Ghor he moved to Ghazna, from Ghazna to Peshawar, from Peshawar to Lahore, and from Lahore to Delhi. Applying that same policy of their master his generals posted the banners of success right up to the north-eastern extremities of India. Chunk after chunk of northern India kept on falling into the lap of Ghorids adding to their strength and credibility. The key to his success remained in the efficient administrative arrangement of the conquered territories made through an excellent team of lieutenants. In all that grand history of accomplishments Peshawar appeared to be minor and insignificant part of the whole, which is absolutely a false impression. Peshawar, on the contrary, was a very important and strong link in that chain of success. His failure in 1178 at Gujarat revealed to him the real worth of Peshawar for it being a more promising route for the conquest of India. It was only through Peshawar that Ghori succeeded in making any lasting impression in the politics of India for all the coming times. He not only utilized Peshawar as a strong military base but paid all the due attention to win the hearts and sympathies of its masses. As a matter of fact his strong military base might not have been as strong without the popular support of its masses. This was one vivid expression of the statesmanship and visionary qualities of Ghori. However, we can assume conveniently that in all that bargain Ghori was not the sole beneficiary; Peshawar and its dwellers too benefited equally from that. Given the past history of chaos and uncertainty under the latter Ghaznavid rulers Peshawar and its residents also took a sigh of relief and witnessed few days of prosperity under the wise, generous and competent leadership of Muhammad Ghori.

Chapter 4

Era of

Tajuddin Yalduz and

Jalaluddin Khvarzam Shah

The sudden death of Sultan Muhammad Ghori in 1206 AD and that also without any son to succeed his lofty empire further aggravated the already volatile situation. Among the candidates from his own family were included Mahmud of Ghor, son-in-law of the late Sultan, and Bahauddin Sam, his sister's son. According to Minhaj, for the successor to the throne of the Ghorid empire, the Turkish troops were in favor of Sultan Mahmud, whereas Ghorid commanders stood for Bahauddin Sam of Bamian, and then after the latter's death, his two sons.[308] This controversy over succession among his relatives and governors, as mentioned previously, started even before his burial, while his body was being carried to Afghanistan. This became clear when on their return they reached Peshawar and disagreed amongst themselves over the route to be adopted for reaching Ghazni. These signs of divide first shown at Peshawar soon took a complete shape and the once great and strong empire got dismembered into number of smaller units. Taking advantage of this disunity other political forces in the vicinity also took advantage and caused the Ghorid family concerns for their own safety. In the first place the Oghuz deprived them of some of their territories and then Jalaluddin Muhammad Khvarzam Shah

[308] Maulana Minhaj-ud-Din, Abu-Umar-i-Usman al-Juzjani, ***Tabakat-i-Nasiri,*** vol-1, (tr.) Major HG Raverty (Lahore: Amir Publications, 1977), 502.

from Trans-Oxiana invaded Afghanistan with a large army, and subverted the Ghori rule in that country in the year 1215 AD.

4.1. Impact of Muhammad Ghori's Death on India

As long as the Muhammad Ghori was alive there was peace and order in all the territory directly under his control or under the control of his Turkish slave generals, popularly known as Mu'izzi Maliks. This was equally true in case of his Indian possessions. These Maliks were not only very loyal to their master at Ghor but under his benevolent influence had established cordial relationships with each other. To the extent that they developed matrimonial relations with each other; a daughter of Yalduz was married to the governor of the iqta of Uch and Multan and a former slave of Muhammad Ghori, Nasiruddin Qubacha and another to Qutbuddin Aibak on the instruction of the Sultan.[309] Offices of high responsibility and trust were also conferred upon these Maliks by the Sultan. The Sultan appointed his Turkish slaves Taj al-Din Yalduz at Karman[310] and Sankuran;[311] Nasir al-Din Qubachah at Uch[312] and Multan; and Qutb al-Din Aibak at Delhi.[313] The political authority of Ghorid Sultan was always recognized by his Maliks in India. They did not show any signs of hostilities and maintained cordial contacts with each other.

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[309] ***Ibid.,*** 500.

[310] A place located at present in Kurram Agency. It is the Bangash territory between Kabul and Bannu. ***Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi,*** (ed.) Sheikh Abdur Rashid, (Aligarh: 1954), 221.

[311] It is also pronounced as Shaluzan.

[312] The old town of Uch is situated on the eastern bank of Punjnad, 70 miles to the south-west of Multan and 45 miles to the north-east of the present confluence with the Indus at Mithunkot. Cunningham AC, ***The Ancient Geography of India,*** (London: 1871), 204.

[313] Juzjani***, op.cit.,*** 469-70.

The death of Sultan Muhammad Ghori was the beginning of a struggle among all his Turkish Maliks. All the earlier courtesies were left aside and parallel claims were placed for being the legitimate successor of their master. They not only declared their independence in their respective provinces but went ahead to challenge the authority of each other. The weak successor of the Sultan in a way added fuel to the fire by remaining contented at Ghor and conferring the right of ruling over Ghazni to Yalduz.[314] As a matter of fact, Yalduz and Aibak received letters of manumission from Sultan Mahmud of Ghor somewhere in AH 605/ AD 1208.[315] Here the attitude or unwillingness of the successor Sultan at Firuz Koh (Ghor) to enlist and ensure loyalty from the Mu'izzi Maliks also made it a more complex and difficult situation. Sultan Mahmud showed his consent and contentment over the possession of Firuz Koh and the kingdom of Ghor, and allowed his predecessor's slaves to get hold of Ghazni.[316] This on its turn developed into one reason for differences amongst the Mu'izzi Maliks, each one being desirous of accumulating more territory of their master's inheritance. All sorts of regulations, decorum, and courtesies were left aside to exploit the situation for their own individual and personal aggrandizements.

4.2. Peshawar After the Death of Muhammad Ghori

Sultan Mahmud, though succeeded against his rival, was so weak than his forerunner that he failed to establish his direct control over the eastern parts of the Ghorid Empire, including Peshawar. Relations between Sultan and the Indian governors, appointed by his predecessor, became so much strained that they started attacking the

[314] ***Ibid.,*** p. 502.
[315] ***Ibid.***
[316] ***Ibid.***

interests and territories of each other. Mistrust and conspiracies were aired from all quarters. Neither the Sultan Mahmud could depend on the lieutenants of late Muhammad Ghori nor were the lieutenants desirous to cooperate with each other. Peshawar being located at a crucial and almost central point had to endure a great deal of direct or indirect impact of that struggle between those warring chiefs. We cannot say for sure that Peshawar intentionally took any active part in that. That much, however, can be conveniently assumed that it probably changed masters during this period couple of times. It appears to have remained under the control of Tajuddin Yalduz and Qutbuddin Aibak for a few times. Its control was lost and gained by both these contenders one after the other as they attempted to enhance and ensure their authority. If for Yalduz it was a matter of extension of his authority; it was security of his Indian possessions, for Aibak. No one can oversee the importance of Peshawar while pursuing their main objectives. It was an important station right in the middle of these generals with conflicting interests. Though the records of that period, besides being few, also do not tell us too much about our subject area; here in this chapter we will make an attempt to draw and gauge the pressures, influences, and outlook of Peshawar by studying the trends of the surrounding area and regimes.

Just like India, death of Muhammad Ghori was responsible for number of new trends and challenges for Peshawar. It brought an end to any regular form of authority, peace and order for a long period to come. Instead of direct rule the method of indirect rule through local tribal leadership seems to be the trend for rule and authority at Peshawar. The earlier pattern of appointment of governors and revenue officers from Ghazni or Ghor is not available in any record and seems to have done away by the new leadership. Being always apprehensive

of the moves of the other side, the rulers around Peshawar preferred not to invest too much here in any form. It now probably assumed the status of an undeveloped, unattractive small military post instead of a developed military base as was the case with earlier monarchs. The way Ghorid governors of India showed preparedness for testing the strength of each other was bound to adversely affect the fate of all the territories they once jointly possessed. The weak stance and lack of interest on the part of Sultan Mahmud towards the Indian possessions of his predecessor, further added to the problems. The conditions were so critical that it could have served like a burning match stick for the piles of chaff. Thanks to some presence of mind and controlled animosity on the part of his Indian governors that the situation remained under control and did not develop into self-devastating proportions. Absence of any appropriate and competent Indian resistance, at that time, was one other great cause for the success of Ghorid governors of India to get through that time unchecked. However, it is also a fact that despite maintaining a general control over their Indian possessions they failed to have friendly ties with each other. Everyone seemed prepared to explore any opportunity to add to his territory, security and glory at the cost of other.

At Peshawar though there was uproar over the succession amongst senior Mu'izzi Maliks[317] but it appears that generally Peshawarites abstained from taking sides with the contesting claimants. No active role can be assigned to Peshawar or Peshawarites in the power vacuum generated after the death of Muhammad Ghori. Peshawarites were either indecisive or preferred to go for the policy of wait and see before getting actively involved in the struggle. In this regard Prof. Shafi Sabir says,

[317] ***Ibid.***

Although Muhammad Ghori laid the foundation of a strong central government in India yet Peshawar and tribal areas still remained independent or semi-independent. The inhabitants of Khyber indeed cooperated with these Muslim rulers to this extent that they provided all facilities and protection to them during their passage through the Khyber.[318]

This reference of Prof. Shafi Sabir helps us develop certain structures for the socio-political trends of Peshawar, at that time. One, that Peshawar despite being actively involved in supporting their western invading neighbors in their Indian exploits still maintained an independent or semi-independent status. Second, that conversion to Islam may have also played an important role in their inclinations towards western than eastern neighbors.

In the general environment of struggles for succession and grab of authority and territory after the death of Muhammad Ghori, Peshawar probably kept itself at a distance to avoid any unnecessary loss. Being located at one mid-point of the contesting claimants it might have caused serious damages in case their choice claimant did not succeed. So the best political decision in the given circumstances was isolation and not association. This was a lesson which the people of Peshawar may have learnt after some repeated losses at the hands of their victors. We can also guess from here that there was some type of local political or social groups and leadership available at Peshawar who took decisions on behalf of the general public. For the identity of these groups in the absence of any recorded reference we can only guess that they were probably Pukhtoons who had their political and

[318] Muhammad Shafi Sabir, ***Story of Khyber,*** (Peshawar: University Book Agency, 1966), 56.

social leadership structures that could have served the purpose at that time. They had their tribal links in Afghanistan as well and may have utilized those to settle and sign deals with any invader coming from that side. Similarly in any adventurous move from Indian side they could have strengthened the hands of invader in an inverse fashion. All this can also help us in understanding and formulating any fair socio-political structure available at Peshawar at that time which worked in coordination with other stronger structures in the surroundings. For the surrounding political structures this could have been one most comfortable arrangement to move peacefully and harmlessly through these stubborn and unreliable lands and at occasions also get any sort of military supports depending upon the ties they had succeeded to develop with the leadership there. However, that much is for sure that Peshawar, if not the Peshawarite leadership, never acquired any leading status in those military aggressions between the Ghorid successors in India and Afghanistan. This may be because the political and social groups and leadership was in parts and parcels and was not a unified whole which also furnishes us with some reason for its weakness.

From 1206 AD onward sword kept on clinging between the contestants sometimes at Ghazni and sometimes at Lahore. The Mu'izzi Maliks were hotly engaged in their self destructing attempts to ensure that there was no enemy left to challenge their authority within their ranks. Everyone seemed keen to make the other earlier compatriot to bow in front of him. Nevertheless, in this entire power hunt we do not find any significant role ever attributed to Peshawar. To start with the leadership at Peshawar might have evolved any understanding with Tajuddin Yalduz but before the assumption of charge at Ghazni by Qutbuddin Aibak it might have dialogued and shifted their loyalties to the later. Any chances of remaining neutral cannot be entertained

because it might not have been acceptable to the power players around. The to and fro movement of the armies of Yalduz and Aibak around Peshawar must have definitely influenced the feudal society of Peshawar. The difficult question, however, remains that in what manner? Was there any grouping or polarity due to the tussle between the two Mu'izzi Maliks? Did Peshawar perform in an opportunist manner by supporting both the sides in their offensives? Or did they remain neutral to all the military activity taking place in their surroundings? In the absence of any record it is really difficult to ascertain any definite role with its magnitude or type, if any. Whatever may be the case but that much is for sure that being placed in the middle, Peshawar must have been involved in one way or the other, actively or passively, in the political drama that was being enacted on the stage of Afghanistan and Hindustan at that time.

The way Yalduz and Aibak fought for authority against each other at Ghazni and Lahore also leads us to one strong reason for the neglect and absence of Peshawar in historical records. As the center of attraction were other than Peshawar and as it was not the capital of any of these warring chiefs, there were less chances for it being referred regularly in those documents. Here we can also conclude with some strong reasons that the success of any strong rulers in India was usually tied up with their success at Peshawar; whosoever attended to Peshawar was ultimately successful and at ease in India or Afghanistan. No sooner did any strong military regime fail to appreciate the worth of this valley their days of comfort turn counted. Or the vice versa of this 'ignoring Peshawar was sufficient proof of the incompetence of any ruler.' In this way Peshawar and success looked like synonyms to each other.

4.2.1. Under Whose Charge?

In the absence of any reliable referral sources for the authentication of command and control of Peshawar it is really difficult to determine who was in charge of the town after Ghori. However, there are certain reasons and references to believe that Tajuddin Yalduz, along with the provinces of Kirman and Sankuran, used to take care of it. One logical reason is that Hindustan (India) more conveniently started after the natural boundary of Indus River. Though the mountains of Hindukush also enjoy a somewhat similar status but the first argument attains more weightage if associated and considered with certain other reasons. A distant Delhi, the hub of Indian Muslim possessions and political activities, compared with a near Kirman does not appear to be in-charge of Peshawar. Qutbuddin had too many fronts to take care of, and rich and ripe political and economic fields around Delhi to harvest in, to be burdened with the responsibility of Peshawar. He may have received the much needed manpower from the fertile valley of Peshawar[319] but it does not seem probable that it could have been one part of his domain. Moreover, Qutbuddin's marriage in Peshawar with the daughter of Tajuddin Yalduz in 1194 AD[320] also gives us some impression for Peshawar being one part of Tajuddin's territory. Usually the marriages take place, under normal circumstances, at places of the bride.

4.3.Mu'izzi Maliks Around Peshawar

It will be worth comprehending a brief background including political career, character and personalities of Mu'izzi Maliks around

[319] Muhammad Qasim Ferishta, ***Tarikh-i-Ferishta***, (tr.) John Briggs, vol. 1, (London: Longman, 1829), 192.
[320] ***Ibid.***

Peshawar before attempting for any reconstruction of socio-political past of Peshawar of that age. In the absence of any extra-ordinary or even reasonable record about Peshawar for the said purpose it will definitely enhance and stimulate our imaginative faculties to portray a near image of the valley and its suburbs in the given time and conditions.

Qualities like that of boldness, kindness and generosity are associated with the personality of Shihabuddin Muhammad Ghori by some of his critics. Despite all the pleasures of life and bounties of Allah he was not blessed with a male child that ultimately led to some serious succession concerns. This, however, did not restrain the thankful and contented personality of the Sultan to demonstrate humbleness and obedience to the will of God. When some close counsel of the Sultan's court showed concern for his being without any male heir, the Sultan replied with an exemplary grace, "Other monarchs may have one son or two sons: I have so many thousand sons, namely, my Turkish slaves, who will be heirs of my dominions."[321]

The Sultan used to treat these Turkish mamluks like sons, and bestowed the government of provinces and countries upon them. He took special care of them and placed great confidence in them. To the extent that Tajuddin Yalduz, one of his Turkish slave, was not only showed great honor by the Sultan but even his followers used to pay great homage to him. Tajuddin became the governor of Kirman and Sankuran during the life time of the Sultan. Due to the great honor and respect that he enjoyed he subsequently acquired dominion over the kingdom of Ghazni.[322] Besides Tajuddin some other most important

[321] Juzjani, ***op.cit.***, 497.
[322] ***Ibid.,*** 498.

Turkish slaves of the Sultan, who remained in authority in or around Peshawar, included Qutbuddin Aibak and Nasiruddin Qabacha. Let us have a brief introduction of these fellows:

4.3.1. Tajuddin Yalduz

Some critics of Tajuddin Yalduz have portrayed him as a great monarch of excellent faith, good temperament and handsome stature. Muhammad Ghori purchased him at a young age. Being impressed of his accomplishments Ghori assigned him to positions of responsibility from the very beginning. He gradually rose to high positions and ultimately became chief over the other Turkish slaves. Then the Sultan conferred on him the governments of Sankuran and Kirman. This location provided him with an opportunity to entertain his master repeatedly whenever he went or returned from India. He always made a splendid show of subordination, respectfulness and love for his monarch by offering him with one thousand chosen robes besides other presents to all his attendants.[323] Muhammad Ghori in his last expedition to India conferred on Tajuddin the privilege of carrying the black standard of Ghazni, an honor which was usually reserved for the heir apparent.

Prince Mahmud was declared the official successor of Muhammad Ghori, after his death. However, he being un-ambitious and naturally indolent declined the additional cares of the Ghazni government and remained contented with the throne of his ancestors at Ghor. He, however, assumed the imperial title and proclaimed Tajuddin

[323] Ferishta, ***op.cit.***, 200.

Yalduz as the king of Ghazni, himself being satisfied from the homage paid by that chief.[324]

4.3.2. Qutbuddin Aibak

Qutbuddin Aibak was another talented and reliable Turkish slave of Muhammad Ghori. Right from his early childhood he was sold and resold until he finally caught the attention of Muhammad Ghori. Through his sincerity and commitment he succeeded in winning the trust of his master and from then onward was appointed, close to the sovereign, in positions of high responsibilities.[325] To the extent that on Muhammad Ghori's victories in India Qutbuddin was made in charge of taking care of his newly acquired territories, which he did by not only maintaining control over them but he rather added to his master's possessions by addition of more territories to it.

As Sultan, Qutbuddin proved to be a beneficent and just monarch. He was known for his generosity as 'second Hatim'[326] and 'lakh bakhsha' (giver of hundred thousands). Qutbuddin succeeded in securing Ghazni, after Muhammad Ghori, for a period of forty days but all that period was wasted in revelry.[327] Though a tough competitor against his rival Mu'izzi Maliks, located around Peshawar, his success story in India was much more acknowledgeable, comprehensive and

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[324] ***Ibid.***, 201.

[325] ***Ibid.,*** 191.

[326] Juzjani, ***op.cit.,*** 506. Hatem ibn Abdellah ibn Sa'ad at-Ta'iy Al-Najdi was a famous pre-Islamic (Jahiliyyah) Arabian poet, and the father of the Sahaba Adi ibn Hatim and Safana bint Hatem. He was a Christian, and belonged to the Ta'i Arabian tribe. Stories about his extreme generosity have made him an icon to Arabs up till the present day, as in the proverbial phrase "more generous than Hatem"

[327] ***Ibid.;*** *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* however, reports four days instead of forty that gives different perception about the personality of Aibak. Given his successes in India he does not appear to have wasted that amount of time in frivolous activities. Yahya bin Ahmad Sirhindi, ***Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi,*** (tr.) Dr. Aftab Asghar, (Lahore: Markazi Urdu Board, 1976), 77.

lasting than his accomplishments against the formers. It does not, however, means that he was ever negligent of the importance of his north-western frontier, including Peshawar. Qutbuddin was well aware of the fact that peaceful and successful existence in India would never be accomplished if the north western frontier was not secured. This understanding of Qutbuddin can be conveniently discerned from the fact that at the time when he received his deeds of manumission and investiture for the government of Hindustan, he was at Peshawar, guarding that important route to Hind.[328]

4.3.3. Nasiruddin Qabacha

He was another tested/ trusted slave of Shihabuddin Muhammad Ghori and was assigned with the governorship of the *iqta* of Uch and Multan. After the assassination of Sultan Muhammad Ghori, Qabacha made his claims over Lahore and Peshawar as well.[329] Though, later on, we do not hear of his active involvement in the politics of Peshawar but he still remained an important, high profile figure controlling areas around Peshawar valley. His interest in the politics of Delhi and Ghazni was linked with the possession of Lahore. As Ghori did not assign the iqta of Lahore to any other slave during his lifetime, so after his death it became a source of contention between Yalduz and Aibak.[330] Nevertheless, Aibak displayed a soft stance towards Qabacha apparently due to the matrimonial links with him.[331] Qabacha was entrusted with the governorship of Lahore couple of time due to the courtesy of Delhi government, apparently for his

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[328] Juzjani, ***op.cit.,*** 501-02.
[329] ***Ibid.,*** 533.
[330] Agha Hussain Hamadani, ***The Frontier Policy of the Delhi Sultans,*** (Islamabad: National institute of Historical and Cultural Research, 1986), 45.
[331] Qabacha was the son-in-law of Aibak because of marrying his two daughters one after the other. Juzjani, ***op.cit.,*** 532.

matrimonial relations. Nevertheless, it is said that the Delhi government was least interested in direct rule over Lahore due to it being exposed to number of north-western and Central Asian threats.[332] Delhi's offering of Lahore to Qabacha was basically an attempt to check and weaken the strength of any adventurer towards Delhi.

4.4.Qutbuddin at Peshawar

Qutbuddin is reported to be in Peshawar on couple of occasions. He was reported to be at Peshawar for the first time in 1193 AD when Muhammad Ghori intended to go against the prince of Benaras and Kanauj, Jay Chand Rai. The Hindu prince was at the head of a huge cavalry, besides more than 300 war elephants.[333] Qutbuddin at that time was busy against the forces of Gujrat and Kole. When he learnt about the advance of Muhammad Ghori towards Kanauj, he proceeded as far as Peshawar to receive his master. He presented Muhammad Ghori with a hundred fine horses, besides two elephants, one of which was loaded with gold and the other with silver. At Peshawar, he also mustered before the king an army of 50,000 horses. The king was so pleased with the respect and obedience shown by Qutbuddin that he honored him with a dress and command of the vanguard of royal army.[334] Soon Qutbuddin proved the correctness of his selection by his master. With the help of forces mustered at Peshawar the vanguard of Ghori's army incurred a great defeat on Jay Chand Rai. He lost the whole of his baggage and elephants.[335] Here it will be interesting to note that Raverty does not seem to be in favor of buying the idea of

[332] Hamdani, ***op.cit.,*** 46.
[333] Ferishta, ***op.cit.,*** 178.
[334] ***Ibid.,*** 192.
[335] ***Ibid.***, 178.

Qutbuddin coming all the way to Peshawar to show solidarity with his master, in his time of need. He rather ridicules it by saying,

> Where Dihli? Where Peshawar? Where Kinnauj? Fancy his marching from Dihli with 50,000 horse at his heels, and crossing the *five great rivers* of the Punjab, merely to meet his master marching to Kinnauj![336]

Raverty considers it to be a mistake on the part of translators of Ferishta, i.e. John Briggs and Dowson.[337]

Qutbuddin was again reported at Peshawar in 1194 AD on his way back to Delhi from Ghazni. It was here that he espoused the daughter of Tajuddin Yalduz. This union, took place at the express desire of Muhammad Ghori, was later on celebrated at Delhi with all pomp and show needed to suit the marriage of such hi-profile couple.[338]

For Qutbuddin's other reported appearance at Peshawar and its proper understanding we need to see the circumstances in which he came up to Peshawar. Ghiyasuddin Mahmud, the nephew and namesake successor of Muhammad Ghori at Ghor, soon realized that the slave governors of his predecessor's time can not be trusted for the challenges arising on the western borders. On the contrary they were prone defying his authority at Feroz Koh and Ghor. Tajuddin Yalduz was even feared to join hands with Khvarzam Shah in case his demands were not met by Mahmud, as had been done by his Malik of Hirat, Izzuddin Hussain Kharmail.[339]

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[336] ***Ibid.***
[337] Juzjani, ***op.cit.,*** 518.
[338] Ferishta, ***op.cit.,*** 192.
[339] Juzjani, ***op.cit.,*** 503.

Raverty quotes *Tarikh-i-Alfi* saying:

When Tajuddin I-yal-duz, gained a firm hold of the authority of Ghaznin, Ghiyas-ud-Din, Mahmud, sent him a message from Firuz-koh, requesting him to coin the money in his name, and read the Khutba for him. Taj-ud-Din sent a reply, saying, that, when Mahmud should send him a deed of Manumission, he would do so; otherwise he would give his allegiance to whomsoever he chose. As Mahmud was not safe from being assailed by Khvarzam Shah, and fearing lest Taj-ud-Din should go over to him [as Izz-ud-Din, Hussain, son of Khar-mil, had done], he sent the required deed of manumission to Taj-ud-Din , and another to Kutb-ud-Din, I-bak, together with deeds of investiture for the governments of Ghaznin and Hindustan respectively. Kutb-ud-Din, I-bak, at this time was at Purshor, whither he had come to guard one of the routes into Hind, and was well pleased with what was conferred upon him.[340]

Few very important things regarding intriguing and suspicious mindset of the political leadership of the areas around Peshawar can be deducted from this reference of *Tarikh-i-Alfi*. One that Mahmud, while fulfilling the demand of manumission of Yalduz, offered the same voluntarily to Aibak and thereby causing one against the other. It was a very clever move on the part of Mahmud as he pitched one proximate potential peril to one of his' neighboring possible menace. Another important thing to note here is Qutbuddin's presence at Peshawar (Purshor) at that time. Qutbuddin was well aware of the worth of Peshawar and appreciated well the Indian base status of the valley that it has played quite effectively in the past and intended to make sure his claim and safety of the land. Another important point to note here is

[340] ***Ibid.,*** 501-02.

that despite movement or possession of the valley by Yalduz and Aibak no incident/story of assistance or resistance with reference to Peshawar is associated to them, showing thereby that Peshawarites preferred neutrality or impartiality in the tussle between the two.

In *Tarikh-i-Alfi's* quotation above Qutbuddin was reported to be in possession of Peshawar guarding one route to India without any problems from the locals. Nevertheless, it does not seem possible that without any local support he may have survived easily or peacefully at Peshawar. Either the support of chiefs of the Pashtoon feudal society was purchased, which was most probable in the light of the valley's near history with Muhammad Ghori, or Qutbuddin was having any reasonable loyal local support. The second possibility, however, seems devoid of any historical and logical footings as no record tell us about it and Qutbuddin and Peshawar were never quoted for any common good that could have made him popular with the masses.

4.5.Peshawar and Rivalry Between Yalduz and Qutbuddin Aibak

In the struggle for power between the two contestants Peshawar acquired an added importance. Both of them had to take possession of Peshawar in the first place before going for each other. If on the one hand Yalduz was desirous of, at least, territory up to Lahore; Qutbuddin was in no mood to entertain him, at least for the throne of Lahore. Later history, however, revealed that despite Qutbuddin's attempts at Ghazni he did not make sufficient preparations for the control of territories like Peshawar. His casual performance at Ghazni tells openly for his lack of interest in that area. He seemed to be more interested to defame Yalduz and terrorize his supporters then actually gain permanent control over

Ghazni or for that matter even Peshawar. His unflinching seriousness for Lahore was rather an absolute inverse of his interest in Ghazni or Peshawar. Despite the realization of the strategic worth of Peshawar which is clear from couple of his personal appearances to safeguard his interests here he committed a serious mistake of leaving it alone at the mercy of his competitors. Consequently, not only Peshawar but all the northwestern border for the Delhi Sarkar was rendered weak and instable.

According to one estimate of *Tajul Maasir* Qutbuddin Aibak did secure control of Peshawar in the initial phase of his rule and authority as the Sultan of Delhi. It reports that "after the flight of Tajuddin Yalduz the whole country of Hind from Pershaur (Peshawar) to the shores of the ocean" came under the control Qutbuddin.[341]

The possession of Peshawar was of utmost importance for the other contender for authority, Yalduz as well, if he ever intended to materialize his plans for extension of his authority up to Lahore. The alternative route through Gomal Pass (Dera Ismail Khan) Multan and Uch could have pitched and entangled him unnecessarily against his second formidable rival Nasiruddin Qabacha. In order to by-pass that foe and reduce the number of his enemies it was a must for him to go through Peshawar. In this way Peshawar was a safer passage and need for Yalduz, just like his master, than the straight but risky route via Multan—Uch.

In this way Peshawar found itself burdened from both sides, like grain in the middle of grinding stones. Both Yalduz and Aibak pressed hard against each other most probably through Peshawar.

[341] Elliot and Dowson, ***The History of India as Told by its own Historians,*** Vol. II, (Lahore: Islamia Book Service, 1979), 236.

Nevertheless, we do not find any reported extra cruelty been incurred upon Peshawar by these contestants. May be because of the fact that the Peshawarites did not show any enthusiasm in the ongoing struggle between the two as this time instead of going against any pagan India, Muslim swords were clinging against each other on both sides. So the indecisiveness of Peshawarites turned out to be a blessing in disguise for them.

4.6.Delhi Sultanate and its Interest in Peshawar (1206-1210 AD)

The death of Shihabuddin Muhammad Ghori untied the rope that held his mamluk lieutenants together. They not only declared themselves independent in their respective *iqtas* but even attempted to ensure their positions using all sorts of harassing tactics against their neighboring contestant for succession. Everyone seemed well aware and determined of his equal, rather superior, claim for succession. Apparently the strongest successor of the Ghori Sultan was that of Delhi and Lahore, led by one extremely talented and seasoned lieutenant of Ghori, Qutbuddin Aibak. He was made in-charge of the Indian conquests of the Sultan in AH 588/ AD 1192. He by dint of his abilities succeeded in adding some more cities and forts in India to his rule. At this he was rewarded with all kinds of favors by his master. According to *Taj-ul-Maasir*,

When the fortunate stirrups reached the capital of Ghazni (may God shed splendor on it!), he enjoyed the happiness of kissing hands, and received other marks of special favor before the great throne, and the degree of his rank was raised above all the other chiefs of the world.[342]

[342] Hasan Nizami, ***Taj-ul Maasir,*** Elliot and Dowson, V-II, 220-21.

He was the undisputed heir of all the Indian conquests of his late master. Later his de-facto position was legalized when, as according to Hasan Nizami, "Sultan Mahmud, a successor of Sultan Shihabuddin Ghori, sent all the insignia of royalty, a throne, a canopy, standards, drums, and the title of king to Aibak in AH 605/AD 1208."[343] Though, for all practical purposes, the Sultanate of Delhi started after the death of Muhammad Ghori but this act of Sultan Mahmud Ghori ensured the establishment of an independent authority in the sub-continent.

Immediately after its start this new state of Delhi was required to deal with certain internal and external challenges. Being a nascent state it was required to suppress multiple local problems. On the external front the question of Peshawar along with the rest of its north-western border needed some urgent attention due to the presence of certain unpredictable and adventurous forces in that direction. His ex-comrade and father-in-law Tajuddin Yalduz seemed all prepared to try his luck against him. Moreover, the extension of Khvarzam Shahi rule in Afghanistan was also causing concern for the security of Aibak's authority. It was important for him to act and that also quickly to keep his enemies at a hand's distance.

Peshawar along with other parts of the western frontier of the newly founded Delhi Sultanate needed an urgent attention from Qutbuddin Aibak for his success in India. Both Tajuddin Yalduz and Khvarzam Shah at different occasions attempted to find solutions for their local problems in India. It was due to the presence of these hostile and opportunist adventurers that Peshawar became one important focus of tension and attention for all the stake holders.

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[343] ***Ibid.***, 202f.

Soon after the death of Muhammad Ghori Yalduz got hold of Ghazni and also made a claim over the Indian territories of his late master. Recognition to this demand by Qutbuddin meant accepting Yalduz as his new master and was equivalent to commit political suicide. Moreover, both Tajuddin Yalduz and Qutbuddin Aibak enjoyed equal status under their deceased master Muhammad Ghori. So it was really too much on the part of Yalduz to demand subordination from Qutbuddin.

In response to meet those challenges Qutbuddin Aibak adopted a bold and forward looking policy. Rivalry of Yalduz and the occupation of Ghazni by the Shah of Khvarzam who had already swallowed the whole of Iran and Central Asia, and was now casting covetous glances at the sub-continent, were the determining factors for that policy. Aibak committed himself to the task in all seriousness. By following an advance policy he not only succeeded in capturing Ghazni but also smashed Yalduz's hostile designs. His advance and stay at Ghazni, though, short lived, was an effective deterrent to any Central Asian force, to aspire too much for the territories under his hold. And when he felt that some of his competitors are still weighing their wings to try their luck in his territory by capturing the outlying areas in the north-west of India, he made Lahore in Punjab as his second capital and remained there for the rest of his life.

4.6.1. New Sultan at Delhi and Northwestern India

Early in November 1210, Qutbuddin Aibak fell from his horse while playing *chaugan* or polo and the high pommel of the saddle pierced his breast that caused his death, at Lahore. Aibak was succeeded by Sultan Shamsuddin Iltutmish at Delhi in 607 AH/1210

AD. Iltutmish was the son-in-law of the late sultan. By the death of Aibak the threats hovering around the north-western frontier had not been nullified. They still demanded much of the immediate attention of the new Sultan. As the challenges from that direction were from some serious contenders for authority they cannot be left unattended. It needed both vigor and statesmanship to buzz off those threats. The new sultan proved to be an excellent choice against them and successfully held his possessions. He not only consolidated his position in his empire but also extended his regime in other direction. It was due to his wise policies that India was protected from the tempest of Mongols.

When Iltutmish assumed charge of his office the north-western border of his kingdom was strewn with enemies. Right from Central Asia up to Lahore there was a chain of political rivals including the Mongols, Jalaluddin Mankbarni, Tajuddin Yalduz, and then Nasiruddin Qabacha. There could have been two ways to deal with those some active and some potential rivals. One by keeping itself away from any entanglement and waiting for his opponents to consume and waste the energies of each other; and other by taking the initiative into his own hands and quelling them away with the help of terror therapy. So the unfinished agenda of Aibak for the protection of India's North-western frontier along with all its sensitivities was inherited by Iltutmish.

Iltutmish was destined to rule over his Indian possessions from 1210-1236 AD. As mentioned earlier his rule was full of trials and tribulations particularly in the earlier part of it. To the extent that Nasiruddin Qabacha, the ruler of Sindh and Multan, who remained silent and passive during the reign of Aibak now seemed to be all prepared to challenge the authority of the new sultan. This on its turn added to the vulnerability of the north-western frontier of his empire.

On the other hand the situation in Central Asia also underwent some serious changes. Sultan Mahmud, the ruler of Ghor, died in 607 AH/ 1210 AD.[344] Tajuddin Yalduz, the ruler of Ghazni, though he acknowledged the suzerainty of Khvarzam Shah, was forced into India in 612 AH/ 1215-16 AD.[345] In the same year the Bamian line of Ghorids was extinguished, the whole of the Ghorid territory was annexed to the Khvarzamian Empire. According to Juzjani, "the countries of Herat, Ghor, Gharchistan[346] and Sajistan[347] to the frontiers of India were now added to the Sultan's domains…and the Sultan's son Jalaluddin, was installed there as a governor."[348]

4.7. Transgression and End of Yalduz

Yalduz, being pushed into India by Jalaluddin Khvarzam Shah, made his way up to Lahore in Punjab and once again attempted to make Iltutmish accommodate him in his territory, as a bitter truth. According to Isami, 'Yalduz sent to the renowned Iltutmish a parasol set with pearls and wrote him a charming letter saying:

O wise and enlightened man! You should rule over Hindustan and capture it to the liking of your friends. Our frontier stretches to the

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[344] Juzjani, ***op.cit.,*** 607.
[345] ***Ibid.***
[346] To the east of Badghis, at the head water of Murghab river, is the mountainous region known to the earlier Arab geographers as Gharj-ash-Shar. The prince of these mountains had the title of Shar, and Gharj, according to Mukaddasi, meant mountain in the local dialect, so that Gharj-ash-Shar was equivalent to the mountain of the Shar. In the later Middle Ages this region came to be more generally known as Gharchistan… G.Le Strange, ***The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate***, (London: 1905), 415.
[347] Sistan which the earlier Arabs called Sijistan from the Persian Sagistan, is the low land country lying round, and to the eastward of, the Zarah Lake, which more especially includes the deltas of the Helmund and other rivers which drain into inland sea. ***Ibid.,*** 334.
[348] Juvani, Ala al-Din Ata Malik, ***Tarikh-i-Jahan Gusha,*** (tr.) J.A. Boyle, (London: 1911), 354.

region of Lahore where we have numerous troops. You must not bring your army to this side; make a capital on that side. You can march your army up to the rough sea and may forcibly seize the whole Hindu country.[349]

This statement of Isami besides number of other important facts clearly shows that the silence and negligence on the part of Iltutmish regarding the demarcation and status of his north-western frontier was threatening to incur a heavy cost. It was time for him to quell the fire of opposition from Lahore to Peshawar. Instead of surrendering the initiative to his enemy it was time for a show of strength, dictation of terms, identification and reduction of enemies and an exhibition that who is the man in charge. The warning of Yalduz was to be responded with action than words. Consequently Iltutmish marched against him and inflicted a crushing defeat on him in the historic field of Tarain in 1215 AD.[350] Yalduz was imprisoned and sent to Badaun where he died in the same year.[351]

The end of Yalduz was, however, no surety for the security of Iltutmish's north-western border. The fate of this region continued to be uncertain as there was always a rush for the contender of authority. The vacuum created by the absence of Yalduz had already been filled by the other contestant for authority, Jalaluddin Khvarzam Shah.

4.8. Khvarzam Shah and Peshawar

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[349] Abdul Malik Isami, ***Futuh-us-Salatin***, (tr.) Agha Mahdi Hussain, (Bombay: 1967), 216.
[350] Juzjani, ***op.cit.,*** 607.
[351] Reason for his death remains a mystery. The ***Taj-ul-Maasir*** which was written at that period, at Delhi, is silent on that subject. Juzjani, ***op.cit.,*** 609.

Khvarzam Shahs opened a new chapter in the history of Peshawar. Though we cannot say that the rule of Khvarzam Shah was beneficial for Peshawar, in any way; it did comprise one blurred and translucent part of her history. Once again we find the original documents less supportive for this period. The main stress of the documents, about this region, is on the politics of Iltutmish, Gakhars, Jalaluddin Khvarzam Shah and the Mongols. They were the characters being pursued by the historians, and their seats of government were the places observed keenly by them. Stations like Peshawar, though duly acknowledged for their worth and possession, failed to catch any reasonable attention of these recorders of events. Here again, an attempt will be made to knit the available sticks and straws of references together, to bridge the gap between the otherwise miles apart and silent phase of the history of Peshawar. But before we proceed let's have a bird's eye view of the Khvarzamian principal characters at that time of its history.

4.8.1. The Khvarzam Shahs (1077-1231 AD)

Khvarzam (modern Khiva), a vast region of central Asia; bounded on the west by the Caspian, on the east by Bukhara and the Oxus, and on the south by Khurasan. It was conquered by the Ghaznivids from the Samanids; and from them it was snatched by the Seljuks. Ever since the days of the Samanids, the local governor of Khvarzam was styled Khvarzam Shah. One of these governors named Anushtegin Gharachai, appointed governor in 1077 AD by Seljuk ruler Malik Shah, declared himself independent of the Seljuks, towards the end of the eleventh century.

Following Sanjar's death in 1157 AD Khvarzam Shah Alauddin Takash was one of many contenders in the struggle for supremacy in Iran. By 1200 AD he had annexed Khurasan from the Ghorids and emerged as a very successful and competent leader in Afghanistan. He kept on increasing his pressure on the Ghorid monarchs and in 1214 succeeded in wrapping up their rule and authority in Afghanistan.[352] In this way Alauddin Khvarzam Shah created a huge but short-lived empire (1199-1220 AD) that stretched from the borders of India up to those of Anatolia. This brief life of the empire was primarily because of the eruption of one most formidable military force of its time, the Mongols under their best leader, the Changez Khan. The last Khvarzam Shah Jalaluddin Manqbarni (reigned 1220-1231 AD), was defeated by the Mongols in 1231 AD and his territories were taken over by them.[353]

4.8.2. Extension of Khvarzam Shah's Authority in India and Peshawar

At the time of the Mongol expansion in Central Asian politics rest of the Muslim world was suffering from internal disorder and strife. This was something that made the task easy for the invaders. Most of the Muslim ruling dynasties were griped by ease, comfort, tyranny and negligence. Ghazni and Afghanistan were the political capitals of Peshawar at that stage. Peshawar's security and prosperity was linked with that of Afghanistan.

4.9. Peshawar and Khvarzam Shah—Mongol Rivalry

[352] J. L. Mehta, ***Advanced Study in the History of Medieval India,*** V-1, (New Delhi: Sterling Publishers, 2007), 74.

[353] ***The New Encyclopedia Britanica***, V-6, ed. Jacob E. Safra, 15th edn. (USA: 1997), 848.

After their conquests in China and Central Asia, the Mongol Empire had emerged as a major world power of its day and attempted to co-exist respectfully with some of their neighbors like the Khvarzam Shah, who ruled over the present day Afghanistan as well, and sent emissaries to establish diplomatic and trading links. As either a bluff to dissuade the Mongols from aggression or as simply a haughty sign of disrespect, the Khvarzam Shah Alauddin Muhammad II had the diplomats executed and sent their heads back to the Mongols.[354] For Changez Khan this was sufficient reason to opt for military confrontation. In 1220, the Islamic lands of Central Asia were overrun by the armies of the Mongol invader Changez Khan (ca. 1155-1227), who devastated and captured quite a number of cities and settlements and created an empire that stretched from China to Poland. The Mongols under Changez Khan responded with great severity to the insults they had taken from Muhammad II and took out their revenge against the inhabitants of Khvarzam including, for example, exterminating every human being, even non-combatant, innocent women and children, in the cities of Herat and Balkh. This devastation had severe consequences for the natives of Afghanistan as the destruction caused by the Mongols depopulated many of the major cities and caused much of the population to revert to an agrarian rural society.

4.9.1. Malik Ikhtiyaruddin Muhammad Ghori

He was the Khvarzamian commander of Peshawar at the time when Sultan Muhammad was closely pursued by the Mongols. He was

[354] The Khvarizmian governor of Otrur, Kair Khan Yanilchuk, felt that there were too many spies in the Mongol caravan and in an attempt to cause terror in their mind and hearts undertook those stern steps.

the son of Ali Khar Post.[355] He was a seasoned warrior and a man with exceptional talents. Earlier, the fellow successfully and firmly resisted the military onslaught of Khvarzam Shah for ten years at the fortress of Nasir Koh of Talakan as one commander of Ghor.[356] He was famous for his show of bravery and commitment in both Ghor and Khurasan. After Ghorids he joined hands with Khvarzam Shah's and was assigned with the fief of Peshawar.[357]

4.9.1.1. Commander of Peshawar Called Against the Mongols

No sooner did Sultan Muhammad sensed danger from the Mongols; he started making necessary preparations against them. All his Maliks and Commanders deputed to various parts of his domain were re-assigned to important locations to contain and quell the emerging Mongol threat from sweeping through the rest of the State. The commander of Peshawar, Malik Ikhtiyaruddin Muhammad Ghori, with his outstanding past record was also instructed to proceed to Ghazni, for its defense.[358] Comparatively speaking Ghazni was a more exposed location to the enemy than Peshawar which was lying beyond the cover of Hindukush.

Geographically seeing, Ghazni, as we know, was one important capital city before Peshawar for the Mongols. It was very necessary to protect it from falling easily into the hands of the invaders. The apparent loss of Peshawar, by calling its competent commander back, was an otherwise fair arrangement for its safety. The Sultan was trying to converge his strength close to the battle-front to turn away the

[355] Ass-skinned or of ass-like-skin. Juzjani, ***op.cit.,*** 286, 1013.
[356] Juzjani, ***op.cit.,*** 1013.
[357] ***Ibid.***
[358] ***Ibid.,*** 1002.

surging tide of the Mongols. He was so popular with the masses that he succeeded in raising a huge army of about 130,000 horses with well equipped, brave soldiers who were all willing to undertake this important enterprise. The only task left to him was to organize this army and catch the Changez Khan by surprise.[359] As a matter of fact he did succeed in down playing with the Mongols at few encounters as well that reduced their chief, the Changez Khan, to take to the battle field by himself. Here, however, right when Changez Khan was made to take note of the successful retaliation by the Khvarzam Shah's forces, an unnecessary disagreement erupted amongst his generals that resulted into sudden dismemberment of joint resistance activities and the balance of success once again swung in favor of the Mongol Chief. Minhaj records this unhappy incident to be based on the possession of certain horses amongst the successful generals of Khvarzam Shah.

4.9.1.2. Tragic End of The Commander

One wonders, what would have been the course of history had Khvarzam Shah been allowed to do what he was planning for. The Mongols, who were responsible for running the blood streams in different parts of Asia and Europe, had just started with their carnage and havoc business and could have learnt a very meaningful lesson, had this person been successful in checking their aggression with his exceptional team. Unfortunately, all those arrangements made by Khvarzam Shah and his commanders failed premature. The Ghorid gem, Malik Ikhtiyaruddin Muhammad fell victim to an in-house intrigue. He was assassinated by some nobles at Ghazni and that also

[359] ***Ibid.,*** 1013.

right in the middle of his huge army. The army mustered by him refused to work under the command of his assassins and got dispersed there and then.[360] This seems to be one very important turning point in the Khvarzam Shahi—Mongol confrontation. Instead of a brave, high-spirited and united show the direction was set for a confused, demoralized and miserable fall.

4.9.2. Peshawar Facing an Independent Ghazni Policy

Soon after the tragic end of Malik Ikhtiyaruddin Muhammad Ghori, Ghazni found itself on route to an independent policy. It happened so that in the prevalent confusion at Ghazni one Malik Raziul Mulk assumed charge of headship of the city and started pursuing an indigenous policy of his own. Next he started dreaming for laying the foundation of his rule in India independently. Though wishful but that's how it usually happens. Some competent and ambitious individual thinks of anything too big and then somehow materializes his desire to astonish all, and for the making of history. Peshawar, like his predecessors in the business, appeared to him as the bride and the key. He knew it well that without Peshawar it would not be possible for him to materialize his dreams.

On the other hand, in the changing environment of that time, things have changed significantly at Peshawar also. The confusion and calamity in Central Asia caused a mass scale movement of different Pukhtoon and Turkoman tribes of Central Asia and they migrated to Peshawar.[361] When Mongols attacked Khurasan and Transoxiana, countless Khalaj and Turcoman tribesmen poured out of Khurasan and

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[360] For details see, Boyle, 461.

[361] Syed Bahadur Shah Zafar Kakakhel, ***Pashtoons Tarikh ka A'ayene Mayn,*** tr. Syed Anwarul Haq Jilani, (Peshawar: University Book Agency, 2007), 219.

Transoxiana and gathered at Peshawar with a sound resolve to resist any adventurism from the western side. The army thus evolved also succeeded in selecting their leader in the form of one Turkman, Saifuddin Aghrak Malik.[362] Now Peshawar was equipped with both the manpower and the leadership to do away with the ambitious designs of Raziul Mulk, the adventurer from Ghazni.

Raziul Mulk was required to do away with the emerging force at Peshawar if he intended to fulfill his desires. Without defeating Aghrak Malik it was not possible. He accordingly raised an army and advanced on Peshawar to challenge its authorities but was defeated by the Khalaj and Turkman alliance. In the battle that ensued Raziul Mulk along with a big part of his army lost their lives.[363] This defeat of Raziul Mulk at Peshawar carried certain significant results. At Ghazni it neutralized the political environment once again and in this way paved the way for the peaceful recovery of it by Sultan Jalaluddin Khvarzam Shah. On the other hand the administration of Peshawar under Aghrak Malik remained unchanged for the time being.

4.9.3. Peshawar's Forces Under the Banner of Sultan Jalaluddin

This new leadership and the people of Peshawar were soon put to another test when Jalaluddin Khvarzam Shah made his appearance at Ghazni. They found themselves obliged to support him for couple of reasons. In the first place he was their hope to protect them against the devastating onslaughts of Mongols. Secondly, their Muslim identity also made it compulsory for them on religious and moral grounds. The

[362] Juzjani, ***op.cit.,*** 1015.

[363] Juvaini, Ala' al-Din 'Ata' Malik ibn Muhammad, ***The History of the World Conqueror,*** (tr.) John Andrew Boyle, Vol. 2, (London: Manchester University Press, 1958), 462.

political rivalry between the Khvarzam Shah's and the Mongols had now taken a religious shape. The Mongols had taken and declared not only the Khvarzam Shah's but the rest of Muslim community as their enemies, and had resolved to inflict miseries on them. In such conditions Sultan Jalaluddin Khvarzam Shah happened to be their sole hope for protection. The people of Peshawar forwarded whatever they could to strengthen the hands of the Sultan. The Peshawarite leadership, at that time, was in the hands of Aghrak Malik. Taking note of the popular sentiments Aghrak Malik, along with all the military support at his disposal, proceeded towards Ghazni to join the camp of the Sultan.

The whirlwind generated at Ghazni by the movement of Mongols in that direction sucked a reasonable number of political leadership and adventurers. The strange thing to note here is that instead of making any terrifying impression over the Mongols, to keep them out of Ghazni, its divided Muslim leadership presented a very ordinary rather pathetic show. What else on earth the Mongols could have sought? Encouraged by their repeated victories and the miserable conditions at Ghazni they poured down upon it like the water flowing down from any broken dam.

Sultan Jalaluddín arrival at Ghazni turned out to be one golden and final opportunity to buzz off the emerging peril of Mongols. Immediately after his arrival at Ghazni his generals from all parts of his sultanate along with available troops at their disposal rushed around their Sultan to show their commitment and resolve with his cause. Yamín Malik hearing the Sultan's arrival at Ghazni hastened to join him from Hindustan along with his troops. Aghrak Malik, also, with an army of Khiljís and Turkmans, came from Peshawar to do him homage.

Similarly Azam Malik[364] and Malik Shir brought a large force of Ghorians to serve under him. In all, the troops now at his disposal amounted to some sixty to seventy thousands well-equipped strong.[365]

With such a numerous army and following at his disposal Sultan Jalaluddin Khvarzam Shah went towards Parvan[366] in search of his competitors, the Mongols. On reaching there he received news that the Mongols army under the command of Tekechuk and Molghor were laying siege to the castle of Valiyan[367] and were near to capture it. The Sultan immediately rushed towards the scene and attacked the besieging army. Within a short span of time about one thousand men of the Tatar vanguard were slew and the remaining army sensing it difficult to control the larger army of Sultan withdrew from the field.[368] In this way the Sultan made quite an impression in his first encounter against the Mongols after getting assistance from the forces of Peshawar. This success was, however, not the end but rather the beginning.

4.9.3.1. Praise-Worthy Role of Peshawarites

[364] Malik was at that time a title between that of Amir and Khan, for we find Amirs promoted to the rank of Malik, and Maliks to that of Khan.
[365] Juvaini, ***op.cit.,*** 463.
[366] To the north-east of Charikar at the confluence of the Ghorband and the Panjshir. According to Juzjani pages 288, 1021, and 1042, the battle between Jalaluddin and the Mongols was fought at another place of the same name between Ghazni and Bamiyan, near the sources of the Logar.
[367] The Walian Kotal to the north of Charikar.
[368] Juvaini, ***op.cit.,*** 405.

When the news of this failure reached the ears of Changez Khan and he learnt that how the Sultan had collected a huge and capable army against Mongols he immediately sent one of his general, Shigi-Qutuqu, with 30,000 men to test his strength a second time. The Sultan had hardly passed a week at Parvan that the Mongol army appeared and waited upon him in the middle of the morning. The Sultan responded with similar haste and drew up his army. The left wing of the army was assigned to Saifuddin Malik Aghrak and his forces and right wing to Yamin Malik, whilst he himself took up his position at the center. To start with the Mongols struck against the right wing of the Sultans army under the command of Yamin Malik but were repulsed up to their base after some timely support by the troops under command of Aghrak Malik. Feeling the strength, fury and resolve of the forces under Aghrak Malik, the Mongols started their next day attacks from them i.e. the left wing of Sultan's army. Aghrak's men stood firm and retaliated with a torrential flow of arrows that kept the invading army at a respectable distance.[369] To the extent that the Mongols felt it wise to return to their bases without incurring any harm to the retaliating army. Precisely at that moment the Sultan took the initiative and commanded the drums to be beaten with which the whole army made a general charge putting the Mongols army to flight. The day was once again decided in favor of the Sultan. Thanks to some extra ordinary performance of forces under the command of Aghrak Malik, who earned praise both for the Sultan and his troops. The defeated Mongols returned to Changez Khan in Talikan.[370]

[369] ***Ibid.,*** 406-07.
[370] ***Ibid.***

4.9.3.2. Ruination of the Achievement

This land mark achievement of the Sultan was, however, short lived. It was because both the commanders of two wings of Sultan's army failed to demonstrate the same solidarity they exhibited during the battle. They succeeded due to their unity against some formidable enemy like Mongols, but after the victory they fought over the possession of some horses taken as booty. In the affray that ensued Yamin Malik hit Aghrak Malik on the head with a whip. The Sultan felt himself unable to reprimand Yamin Malik at that occasion which resulted in the disappointment of Aghrak Malik.[371] Saifuddin Aghrak Malik remained there during the day but with the fall of night he along with his Khalaj and Turkman troops and the Ghorid troops of Azam Malik hastened towards Peshawar[372] by way of Kirman and Sankuran. Sultan Jalaluddin Khvarzam Shah had no other choice left than to lead his remaining Turkish and Khvarzamian troops towards Ghazni.

4.9.3.3. Their Fate After Deserting the Sultan.

After leaving the Sultan Aghrak Malik, Azam Malik, and the other Khalaj, Turkman, and Ghorian chiefs went to Nangarhar, which was in the fief of Azam Malik. He entertained them all nobly, and treated them with great kindness, until disgust and hatred arose between Aghrak Malik and Koh Jandar, one of the Khalaj chiefs, who had five or six thousand families under him.

Aghrak Malik turned his face towards Peshawar, at the head of twenty thousand men, and Koh Jandar cantoned himself at Nangarhar. When Saifuddín Aghrak Malik had encamped only one march distant

[371] ***Ibid.,*** 407-08.
[372] ***Ibid.,*** 463.

from Nangarhar, he sent a messenger to Azam Malik with the message:—"Between us and you there exist the relations of father and son. I am father and you are son. If you desire to gratify me, do not allow Koh Jandar to remain in your territory, nor bestow upon him any tract of land." Azam Malik said:—"In this matter it is not expedient that there should be any misunderstanding or wrangling between Musulmans," so he went forth with fifty horsemen of his bodyguard to Saifuddín Aghrak, in order to effect reconciliation. Saifuddín Aghrak advanced to meet him, and they sat down together to drink. Azam Malik spoke on the subject of Koh Jandar, and Aghrak Malik pretended to listen to his persuasions. Saifuddín Aghrak then rose up suddenly in a state of inebriety, and went towards the camp of Koh Jandar, with a few horsemen. Koh Jandar, under the impression that he had come on a friendly visit, went out with his sons to meet him, and give him an honorable reception, when Aghrak Malik in his drunkenness drew his sword, with the intention of killing Koh, whose attendants seized the assailant and cut him in pieces.

When the news of this event reached the camp of Aghrak Malik, his troops suspected that he had been the victim of a plot between Koh and Azam Malik. In consequence of which, they seized Azam Malik and slew him. They then attacked the camp of Koh, and killed him and his sons. Many were slain on both sides, and even the women took part in the fray, and lost their lives.

About this time Pakchak and Ala-ul-Mulk Sadr were dispatched by order of Changez Khan to punish these drunkards. Pakchak was the commandant of these Mongols, and Ala-ul-Mulk of the infantry, and the residue of those armies of Khiljis, Turkomans, and Ghorians were all either put to the sword or dispersed, within two or three months after

they had deserted Sultan Jalaluddín, either in squabbles amongst themselves, or by the armies of Changez Khan, so that not a vestige of them remained.[373]

In this way Peshawar once again lost an opportunity to prosper under any definite leadership and identify itself distinctly.

4.9.4. Khvarzam Shah—Afghan Alliance

In the above mentioned discussions we have seen the Afghans and Pukhtoons in and around Peshawar extending all possible assistance to Jalaluddin Khvarzam Shah against the Mongols. The reasons for that assistance could be:-

a) Their being Muslims and taking it as a common cause with Jalaluddin Khvarzam Shah against the Mongols.

b) The seven historic successes[374] (at least) of Jalaluddin Khvarzam Shah against Mongols might have encouraged them to go with the victors. They saw both their social and economic well being in their choice. They might be quite convinced of the strength and success of Khvarzam Shah and had apparently no idea for the emerging new force of the Mongols.

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[373] Juvayni, ***op.cit.,*** 465.
[374] Hamdullah Mustawfi, ***Tarikh-i Guzida***, (tr.) Edward G. Browne (London: 1913), 117.

c) Peshawar was already a part of Khvarzamian Empire so the Peshawarites had no second choice.

Of the three reasons counted above it seems that the Pukhtoons of Peshawar and its environs, under their sentiments of Islamic brotherhood, provided all possible support to Jalaluddin Khvarzam Shah against Changez Khan. In this way the political rivalry was given a religious outlook for which the Pukhtoons were made to pay heavily afterwards.[375]

4.9.5. Khvarzam Shah at Indus or The Battle of Indus (1221 AD)

The dissention in the army of Khvarzam Shah materially affected the power of the Sultan, and diminished his chance of success against an enemy like Changez Khan. In the new circumstances he was left with no other option than to immediately fall back towards Peshawar to add to the distance between himself and his enemies for the safety and security of his army and a big number of refugee families, including women and children, which accompanied him. On the other hand this happened to be a most appropriate opportunity for Changez Khan to get rid of his formidable, unfortunate and over-burdened enemy. For a man of the caliber of Changez Khan it was out of question to let go that chance un-availed.

No sooner did he come to know of these circumstances he hastened in pursuit of the Sultan, and surrounded him. At dawn, the Sultan found himself in a position between water and fire, the Indus on

[375] Muhammad Ibrahim Zia, ***Mazi ke Dareechoon se***, (Peshawar: Tajuddin Publishers, 2002), 85.

one side and the fiery enemy on the other. He was prepared to give battle but then it was too late. The army of Changez Khan fell like a tempest on the right wing commanded by Amin Malik, and swept it back with great slaughter. Unable to stand against the severity and momentum of the attacking army Amin Malik had to fell back and retire towards Peshawar; but the Mongol army had got possession of the road, and he was slain in the midst of them. Changez Khan also compelled the left wing to give way, but the Sultan firmly maintained his ground in the center with seven hundred men, and opposed the army from morning to mid-day, moving briskly like a lion from left to right and right to left, sustaining every attack, and on each occasion slaying a number of the enemy. In the end the army of Changez Khan started pressing hard on the remainder of the Sultan's army to conclude the war. At that critical moment one Ajash Malik, son of the Sultan's maternal uncle, seeing all was lost, seized the bridle of the Sultan's charger, and led him from the field. The Sultan bade adieu to his sons and the ladies of his household with a burning heart and weeping eyes. He then sprang upon his favorite horse and rushed again into the torrent of the conflict, like a crocodile in the river charging the enemy with irresistible force. Having succeeded in driving them back, he turned his horse's head, threw off his coat of mail and shield, and urging his horse, plunged into the river which was some thirty feet beneath the bank. He then swam across the river and reached the opposite bank with safety. Changez Khan witnessed the gallant performance and hastening to the bank prohibited the Mongols from attempting to follow.[376]

4.9.6. Consolidation of his Position in India

[376] Elliot and Dowson***, op.cit.,*** 551-552.

With the defeat at Indus Jalaluddin Khvarzam Shah's authority over Peshawar was eliminated for the time being. The defeat, however, could not falter his resolve to glory and dominance. He once again started his pursuit of recognition and bravery and with some exceptional demonstrations of gallantry and swiftness soon succeeded in mobilizing such a reckonable army for himself that threatened and attracted the attention of all the surrounding political heavy weights.

4.9.6.1. Matrimonial Alliance with Gakhars and its Impacts

Jalaluddin not finding favorable response from Iltutmish, turned towards Balala and Nikala near Lahore. He defeated the Gakhars and compelled their Rai Gakhar Sankin to marry his daughter to him. Rai Gakhar sent his son to the Sultan with an army. Title of Kutlugh Khan was conferred upon him. This resulted in an alliance between them which was effectively used as a strong weapon against Nasiruddin Qabacha, the ruler of Sind, who was driven out of Uch and forced to flee to Multan.[377] Thus Jalaluddin established himself in the upper Sind-Sagar Doab with the help of Gakhars, which served as a cockpit of struggle between the generals of Changez Khan, Qabacha and Jalaluddin Mangbarni and to some extent the Gakhars as well.[378]

In this way Jalaluddin's alliance with Gakhars caused him some real healthy service and results. It was due to this alliance that he succeeded in carving a notch for himself in Indian political history and that too with a romantic expedience. The Sultan himself spend some more than three years in his quest for identity and recognition in India but this union of his allowed his representative governors in India to

[377] Juvaini, ***op.cit.,*** 414-15.
[378] Ahmad Salim, ***Pashtun and Baloch History***, (Lahore: Fiction House, 1991), 16.

continue in his name peacefully in his absence. The strength derived by Jalaluddin through Gakhars gave him sufficient sinews to aspire for his lost kingdom or at least replace that with a new one in India.

4.9.6.1.1. Capture of the Fort of Peshawar

While discussing the impacts of Sultan Jalaluddin's alliance with Gakhars one cannot forget the re-occupation of Peshawar by his forces with their assistance. Juvaini narrates,

When the weather became hot the Sultan left Ucha for summer quarters in the Mountains of Jud and Balala and Nikala. On the way he laid siege to the castle of Parasravar and engaged in a battle in which he was wounded in the hand by an arrow. The castle was taken and everyone in it put to death.[379]

According to Ahmad Salim, in his work referred above, this word Parasravar sounds more like Peshawar.[380] Nevertheless, the translator of Juvaini, J.A. Boyle tries to relate it to Pasrur in the Sialkot district of Punjab.[381] He thinks Prasravar to be a variant from Prasrur or Pasrur. The argument of Ahmad Salim attains some strength over that of Boyle due to the historical fact that after the departure of Jalaluddin from India his governors were in possession of Peshawar. Let us have a view of his appointed governors and their destinations/ jurisdictions to have a close check of the status of Peshawar at that time.

4.9.6.2. Appointment of Governors

[379] Juvaini, ***op.cit.,*** 415.
[380] Salim, ***op.cit.,*** 15.
[381] Juvaini, ***op.cit.,***13 n, 415.

The Khvarzamian ruler remained in the frontier regions of India for about three years. During his stay he succeeded in establishing matrimonial ties with the Gakhar chief and occupied some of the areas of the Cis-Indus region. This marital alliance weakened Qabacha's position who was an enemy of the Gakhars.[382] It, however, helped Iltutmish indirectly in Qabacha's complete routing.

Before leaving Indian frontier, Jalaluddin appointed some of his nobles as governors of the territories which he seized during his stay. Let us acquaint ourselves with them:

a) Wafa Malik was entrusted with the administration of the territories of Baniyan and some parts of Ghazni, such as Nangarhar, Kirman and Furshur which were still outside the Mongol control.

b) Jahan Pahlawan was posted in the fort of Nandanah in the Koh-i-Jud area.[383] Both of them continued to hold these Indian possessions for quite a long time.

c) Another governor Malik Khan Khalji was left in Mansura but he was not destined to continue for long. He was destroyed by Nasiruddin Qabacha in AD 1226.[384]

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[382] ***Ibid.***

[383] ***Sirat-i-Jalauddin Mangbarni,*** p.121, quoted by I.H. Siddiqi in his paper entitled, "Qarlugh Turks and their Kingdom in North-Western Punjab during 13th century", read at the 38th session of the *Indian History Congress* (Bhubneswar: 1977).

[384] G.D. Gulati, ***India's North West Frontier,*** (New Delhi: Ess Ess Publications, 1985), 25.

The appointment of Wafa Malik as the governor over Peshawar and other areas tells by itself that Jalaluddin was one very strong and recognized authority on the then Indian frontier. Though not received well by the Delhi government due to its own multidimensional reservations, Jalaluddin proved his worth as a competent leader by mustering forces around his banner through demonstration of his mind and muscles. And then the mind behind those muscles was so accomplished that share manpower was converted into a successful steeled unit of its own nature.

4.10. Peshawar After Jalaluddin

Peshawar's journey with Khvarzam Shahs was never a continuous one. Right from the very beginning when it was for the first time assigned to Jalaluddin in 1208 AD, along with Ghazni and some of the other countries that were associated with it, Peshawar came into and slipped out of the hands of Jalaluddin. The situation, however, changed after 1215 AD when the Ghorid successors were finally and permanently pushed out of Ghazni. Peshawar along with all the Ghorid Indian possessions up to Lahore once again came under the claim and sway of Khvarzam Shahs. The emerging cataclysm of Mongols, however, made the stay and continuation of Khvarzam Shahi rule in Afghanistan and Peshawar a short lived one. In 1221 AD war was once again imposed on Jalaluddin Khvarzam Shah and despite some initial successes, due to some internal rifts over petty reasons, he was forced to run for his life up to Indus. There again he was speared with his life due to courtesy and generosity of the Changez Khan.

Jalaluddin spent three years in India after 1221 AD during which he converted and proved himself from a defeated and devastated

general to an emerging and successful commander. To the extent that at the time of his departure from India a large area was under his control which was supplemented by areas of his Indian allies. As for Peshawar, its status continued the way it was under Jalaluddin, i.e. occasionally under the control of his governors designate and occasionally under other surrounding forces like that of Mongols or the Sultans of Delhi. Actually the proactive interference, introduction and strengthening of Khvarzam Shahi element in trans-Indian politics caused such a tumult in the local and regional politics that all the political actors got mobilized to keep a watch of their interests and influences over there. Peshawar happened to be right in the middle of that area where all sorts of attempts and experimentations were taking place by all its neighboring forces besides Jalaluddin and after him his representatives. Number of times Peshawar had to undergo devastations, particularly through the hands of Mongols.

4.11. Wafa Malik—Jalali Successor of Peshawar

The representative and successor of Jalaluddin Khvarzam Shah in the administration of Peshawar was Wafa Malik. He was one very competent and seasoned general of Jalaluddin. However, after Jalaluddin's departure from India and in the presence of strong and growing regional powers things started taking shape so drastically that he had to adjust his positions continuously. He utilized all the opportunities that arose to extend his territory and authority but at the same time was ever ready to recede and move to safer destinations to protect himself and his resources against any unnecessary entanglements in warfare. As a matter of fact there were so many claimants for authority in that region that any aggressor could have conveniently found a competitor for himself at any step at any stage. In

such a scenario for any accomplished general it was one admirable military tactic to go for 'wait and see'. Instead of wasting his reserves it was much safer to let one foe consume the energies of other foe and then after the end of show settle the dispute with the exhausted enemy mostly through force but in cases force was not workable, through diplomacy also.

In case of Wafa Malik it happened so that he isolated himself from any unnecessary war entanglements or alliances at the time when Malik Khan Khalji, the Jalali governor of Mansura was destroyed by Nasiruddin Qabacha in 1226 AD.[385] Again he preferred to remain silent when Iltutmish came for arrangements of territories in the west of Delhi in his way. Qabacha was taken sternly and defeated by Iltutmish in 1229 AD. After acquiring control over Sind and Punjab Iltutmish turned next towards Koh-i-Jud, in possession of Jahan Pahlawan, and occupied the same driving away its governor. At last came the turn of Wafa Malik, the governor of Baniyan, Nangarhar, Kirman and Peshawar. He was, however, clever enough to avoid any clash after witnessing the fate of others and instead offered allegiance to Iltutmish in return for confirmation in his position. For Iltutmish too this cheap bargain was not devoid of fruits. Besides making a naked demonstration of his military capabilities and reduction of his foes in the western direction, he also attempted to install a buffer ally state to protect his western borders and check any future adventurism on the part of Central Asian fortune seekers. The presence of Wafa Malik on the frontier of Delhi Sultanate and his loyalty to the court turned out to be a guarantee of safety against foreign invasions.[386]

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[385] ***Ibid.***
[386] ***Ibid.***

Wafa Malik quite successfully defended his case and that of Delhi Sultanate against the onslaught of Mongols for some time. He, however, soon realized that in his alliance with Delhi Sultanate the latter was the gaining partner. He was simply being used as a shield against the north-western threats to India without any significant contribution from the Delhi Sarkar. Analyzing the foul mood of Delhi Wafa Malik also opted for some peaceful alternatives. If the Delhi Government had left him alone to take care of Mongol peril, like their unpaid watchman; what could stop him from offering his loyalties peacefully to the stronger and aggressive Mongols. For a statesman like Wafa Malik it was more convenient to extend a hand of friendship to Mongols to protect his land, people and authority than to single-handedly endure the blunt of Mongols for the benefit and protection of a distant ally at Delhi. The simple change of masters could have ended the war for him besides adding to his strategic worth. Consequently, Wafa Malik submitted to the Mongol and their Shahnah was accepted at his court.[387]

For Iltutmish this was an extremely dangerous move by his frontier ally. All the planning against the Mongols simply went down the drain; no more buffer state, no more protection. The fear of Mongols for Delhi became true when Uktea Khan dispatched an army of Mongols under Hoqatur in 1234 AD to invade Hind and Kashmir, which captured and devastated number of Indian provinces.[388] It was time for action for Iltutmish; no other wise suited his purpose. He did take to the battle field and proceeded towards Baniyan in AD 1235-36

[387] Juzjani, ***op.cit.,*** 1119.
[388] J.A. Boyle, ***The Successors of Genghis Khan,*** (Columbia University Press, 1977), 55.

but destiny's course superseded his plans, he fell ill and was brought back to his capital where he breathed his last a few days after.[389]

4.11.1. Wafa Malik as Saifuddin Hasan Qarlugh

The death of Iltutmish provided a golden opportunity to a seasoned general like Wafa Malik to extend his borders at the cost of Delhi. The fort of Nandanah was captured and then the rest of the territory of Koh-i-Jud was also brought under his sway.[390] His successes boosted his moral to the extent that he also assumed the royal title of Sayfu'l-Dunya-wa'l-Din Abu'l Muzaffar al-Hasan Qarlugh and minted the coins in his name.[391] Here in his pride and inebriety of success Qarlugh made a blunder by defying the authority of Mongols, refusing them tribute. Qarlugh was soon disillusioned when in 1238 AD Mongols under Nuin Nikudar forced him to leave towards Multan and Sind.[392]

Qarlugh's ouster from Peshawar and other frontier regions turned out to be a brief one as fate soon provided him with an opportunity to regain all that he had lost to the Mongols. It happened so that Ögedei Khan, the Mongol ruler died somewhere in 1241 AD. After him for about four years there was no Mongol ruler to take care of Mongol Indian possessions. Qarlugh was not a man to miss that chance and quite conveniently regained all that he had earlier lost to the Mongols. His son who was in the service of Sultana Razia also came

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[389] Juzjani, ***op.cit.,*** 1126 n 6.
[390] Gulati, ***op.cit.,*** 26.
[391] Edward Thomas, ***The Chroniclers of Pathan Kings of Delhi,*** (Delhi: 1967), 92-96.
[392] Juzjani, ***op.cit.,*** 1128-29.

and joined him.[393] Qarlugh also succeeded in extending his territory up to Multan after the death of Kabir Khan-i-Ayaz.[394]

This journey of hide and seek did not end for Hasan Qarlugh there. After ascending the throne of Mongol Khan in AD 1245, Güyük , the successor of Ögedei Khan, renewed the Mongol expedition towards Indian frontier. A Mongol force under the leadership of Möngketah was sent towards Uch and Multan. Once again the Gakhars seem to have attempted for advantage from this adventurism of the Mongols. They acted as their guides during this campaign. Saifuddin Hasan Qarlugh evacuated the fortress and the city of Multan and went towards Dewal in Sind.[395] As a matter of fact experience had proved that it was futile to resist the Mongols who occasionally visited and caused imbalance in the local politics. By avoiding any wastage of energy and resources it was always possible to regain what was previously offered to the Mongols without resistance. This stratagem may have worked well for the politicians or the ruling elite but for the territories and the people residing therein it happened to be a season full of anguish and deprivation. The loss of Peshawar after such a glamorous past was one main reason and a good example of this opportunist policy of the politicians like Qarlugh. There appeared no commitment on the part of the ruler of Peshawar to safeguard the interests, lives and properties of its inhabitants. Another view about Qarlugh's status at the time of Mongol invasion in 1245 AD is that he sided, along with all the frontier tribes of the frontier, with the Mongols in their sack of Lahore.[396] After the departure of Mongols from India he immediately marched towards Multan to take advantage of the death of its ruler Kabir Khan-i-Ayaz.

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[393] ***Ibid.,*** 1130.
[394] ***Ibid.,*** 1153.
[395] Gulati, ***op.cit.,*** 27.
[396] Hamdani, ***op.cit.,*** 75.

However, the case of Multan was defended well by the son of the deceased Khan, Tajuddin Abu Bakr. The young ruler of Multan rose to the occasion, and defeated the Qarlugh army.[397] Nevertheless the to and fro movement of the Hasan Qarlugh, and after him his successors, continued towards Multan that ended only after its occupation by Sher Khan and the Qarlughs gave up the idea of trying their luck in India.[398]

The period between 1206 to 1245 AD can conveniently be termed as the first part of the uncertain and negligent phase of Peshawar's history. During this period Peshawar and it dwellers were utterly neglected. The step-motherly treatment of Peshawar at the hands of its rulers deprived it of most of its prosperity. Throughout this period Peshawar was used and reused by the invaders but no genuine effort was ever embarked for the rehabilitation or even welfare of the general public. As a matter of fact this was the main difference between the rulers of this period and that of the earlier Muslim rulers of Peshawar. With rulers like Mahmud of Ghazni, Muhammad Ghori or for that matter even some earlier non-Muslim one's, Peshawar and its residents always received a benevolent or at least due care. For rulers after Ghori it was no more than a fertile venue for loot and plunder. People of Peshawar were sacked, butchered and terrorized number of times by a group of political-cum-military adventurers with no strong moral, religious, social or even national regard or commitments for them. They did whatever served their purpose for some personal temporary benefits ignoring altogether the welfare of region and its population. There was no in-hand long term strategy or plan with all these adventurers. There sole purpose appeared to be merry making or get

[397] ***Ibid.***
[398] Gulati, ***op.cit.,*** 28.

their temporary needs fulfilled through Peshawar, some time even much beyond its capacities.

Despite being one very important strategic military location and base events mostly took place in its surroundings. The political occupants of Peshawar always happened to be on their toes to vacate the place to avoid any unnecessary wastage of resources. It seems that this gesture on the part of Jalaluddin Mangburni also played its role in the denial of Shamsuddin Iltutmish for assistance to him against the Mongols. The way Jalaluddin was running ahead of Mongols for his personal security and the way he was leading the Mongols with loose local bonding was bound to attract calamities for the areas and public on his trails. Witnessing the fate of Khvarzam Shah and Peshawar in this regard it would have been quite ridiculous on the part of Iltutmish to fight an alien war in his home. It would have served the purpose of neither Jalaluddin nor Islam or Muslims of India. Similarly we find Saifuddin Hasan Qarlugh, the successor ruler of Jalaluddin, in Peshawar a ruler only in name, with an ever preparedness to flee to avoid confrontation. Now if a man is so much inclined to jump out of boat right in the middle of a whirlpool what could be the fate of the passengers of that boat? Was that individual qualified enough to be allowed to be the pilot of the ship? Among the reasons for the failure and loss of Peshawar in this case we can account for:

i) Absence of local leadership
ii) Influence and fear of repeated invasions by the adventurers around Peshawar.
iii) Pukhtoons being the migratory and principal residents in the region felt better off by joining as mercenaries, the invading armies. Its natural

result was that the invading armies derived and utilized their strength from the local sources against the local sources respectively.

Whatever may be the case, the fact remains that the trailer of Peshawar's long drama of negligence and deprivation after an exemplary and unrivaled glory has unfolded, the rest of the drama was about to begin.

Chapter 5

Mongols and Peshawar

The Mongols were that very interesting force of its time which changed the course of history in different directions of the globe and countries of the world. The history of number of countries and nations particularly that of Asia and Europe might have been drastically different without the element of Mongol. With their terrorizing methodology they took devastation and fire wherever they went. Their prolonged period of authority added to the miseries of the masses in all directions in a number of ways. Unfortunately at the time of their rise there was no strong and active government or ideology to counter their advance. The political and administrative structures around their homeland were either not based on sound foundations or had grown so hollow from within that they could not endure any external tempest like the Mongols. In these circumstances it had become almost unthinkable to obstruct the growing force of the Mongols. The Khvarzam Shahs had unnecessarily estranged their relations with the Mongols and after inserting their head in the hornets' nest were then forced to run from pillar to post for their survival. This search for asylum made the Khvarzam Shahs (both the father and the son) run in opposite directions without being spared for a moment to look around. They were being pursued by the Mongols like a deadly shadow, in unfamiliar lands expecting and suing for assistance in the name of royalty and Islam.

Peshawar, the frontier province of India, being under control of Jalaluddin's governor and having a history of assistance for him on the basis of anti-Mongol and pro-Muslim sentiments was seen as the most appropriate direction in Jalaluddin's quest for assistance and protection.

The Mongols, however, did not falter in their pursuit of the fleeing enemy and soon made a bid at Indus against Jalaluddin to wrap up his story once and for all. This time, at Peshawar, the falling back Khvarzamian prince was not spared to muster reasonable support against the Mongols. The pressure exerted by the Mongols was so hard for Jalaluddin and events took place so swiftly that the prince was at the verge of loosing his breath. It was just because of turning his face away from the enemy and some royal generosity, in appreciation of his courage, shown by the Changez Khan, at Indus, that he was spared with his life and he succeeded in influencing the arenas of politics for some more time to come.

This rivalry, nevertheless, became the *casus belli* for the introduction and extension of some bloodiest dark chapters of there own kind in the history of Peshawar. The Mongols further added to the miseries of Peshawar by depriving her of any sort of decent administration; a state of emergency continued in and around Peshawar due to their repeated incursions. Neither by themselves nor they allowed any other regional force to arrange for any cultural or political regularity at Peshawar. From Peshawar to Lahore all the area was turned into almost a no man's land and a buffer zone with a nominal silhouette of administration so volatile to loose its characteristics at any stage. Again, of all this territory Peshawar turned out to be the most vulnerable due to it being located at the Mongol end of the Indian frontier region. In their seasonal and continuous outbursts they usually dismantled any local or external fabric of administration or regularity; depriving the masses of their prosperity and livelihood. In their symbolic and terrorizing way of occupation they kept the residents of Peshawar weak enough not to think of disobedience or alternatives.

It is surprising to note that though the Mongols succeeded in turning over the caliphate of Baghdad, the Khvarzam Shahs, and the Qin and Sung emperors of Asia along with number of other petty rulers but in the subcontinent, although they continuously raided deep into India they could not wipe out the Turkish power from Delhi. If we attempt to look for the reasons of it then in the first place we do not find the commitment and resolve on the part of Mongol leadership right from very beginning. Their intentions were mostly loot, plunder, weakening of strong neighbors and making horrifying military appearances to discourage any retaliation or adventurism from any quarters. Another reason for their non-serious stance towards India could be the Sultans of Delhi who very cleverly succeeded in keeping them at a distance by distancing themselves repeatedly from those Indian forces who kept the Mongols entangled at the Indian borders. In this way it became the moral obligation of the Mongol polity to respect the frontiers of Delhi Sultanate. Besides this successful strategy and diplomacy of Delhi there were few other important reasons that caused impediments to Mongol campaigning in India. First it was the severe heat of India that kept the Mongols from taking charge of India. According to Juvaini, the Mongol leader Torbei Toqshin after taking fortress of Nandana in Punjab was about to get hold of Multan but he had to let go his hold as "the great heat of the climate prevented his remaining longer."[399] For the discomforts of Mongols in India Ibn Battutah refers to the scarcity of fodder supplies for their horses or ponies.[400] Likewise another reason concluded by John Masson Smith, Jr. is the military preparedness and organized war tactics of the Delhi Sultans. The Mongols were not equipped appropriately if compared

[399] Ala-ad-Din Ata-Malik Juvaini, ***Tarikh-i-Jahan Gusha,*** (tr.) John Andrew Boyle, *The History of the World-Conqueror,* vol. 1, (Manchester: 1958), 141-42.
[400] Ibn Battutah, ***The Travels of Ibn Battutah,*** (tr.) H.A.R.Gibb, vol. II (Cambridge: 1962), 478.

with the forces of Delhi. The Mongol cavalry relied on hit-and-run archery tactics, envelopment and ambush; hand-to-hand fighting was deliberately avoided, since only the wealthy could afford armor and sophisticated weaponry (all soldiers were expected to carry an axe or club) and the Mongols' ponies could not very effectively bear heavily-armed riders. So we can say that despite the simplicity of their weapons, the key for their success was their superior number and mobility which was soon understood by the Sultans of Delhi and thus appropriate necessary arrangements for resistance were made forthwith.[401] But here it is worth noticing that despite all these Mongol shortcomings against Delhi they still succeeded in disarraying the socio-political arrangements at Peshawar that resulted in knocking it out from the pages of history for a long time to come. In this way they not only deprived the Sultans of Delhi of a forward military base against them but also secured a naturally well protected base for their operations in India.

In the long story of hit, advance and withdrawal on both sides, the frontier kept on fluctuating according to the power wielded by each of the competitors. Peshawar being positioned right at the center of that twilight zone had to endure some extreme discriminatory or rather antagonist behaviors from particularly the Mongols as they were too much occupied in arrangements for their own respective lands. The status of Peshawar along with some other frontier regions of India did not appear to be better than that of any battle field. So they were deprived of all sorts of decencies, regularities or arrangements. Unfortunately this appraisal seems and fits more than true for the lands of Peshawar. The Mongol phenomena deprived Peshawar for a

[401] J.M. Smith, ***Mongol Armies and Indian Campaigns,*** University of California, Berkeley, http://www.mongolianculture.com/MONGOL-ARMIES.htm (Retrieved on 14/10/2009).

reasonable amount of time to evolve with any regularity and distinction for itself in any form. Uncertainty and lawlessness made it convenient for the local leaders or opportunist to establish any system of their own. The result was that Peshawar's political, economic, social and culture journeys were far from satisfactory throughout that period of Mongol threat. But before going for any detailed scrutiny of the Mongols and Peshawar it would be better to have a bird eye view of the Mongols, their origin, brief history and few of their traits, to have a better understanding of their performances at India and Peshawar.

5.1.The Mongols

The Encyclopedia of Islam records that the word Mongol first came into popular use as the name of a dynasty and kingdom founded by Changez Khan, and thereafter began to be employed as the name of a people whose ruler had taken up arms against the Qin (Chin) dynasty of North China.[402] Though the term "Mongol"[403] appeared first in eighth century records of the Chinese Tang dynasty; as a tribe of Shiwei, but then only resurfaced in the late eleventh century during the rule of the Khitan. After the fall of Liao Dynasty in 1125, the Mongols became a leading tribe on the steppe and also had power in Northern China. However, their wars with the Qin Dynasty and Tatars had weakened them. In the thirteenth century, the word Mongol grew into an umbrella term for a large group of Mongolic and Turkic tribes united under the rule of Changez Khan. According to JT Wheeler they

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[402] ***Encyclopedia of Islam,*** vol. I, (London: 1913), 856.

[403] According to Jacob Abbott Mongols were perhaps named after their earliest patriarch Mongol Khan. The descendants of this Khan called themselves by his name, just as the descendants of the twelve sons of Jacob called themselves Israelites or children of Israel, from the name Israel, which was one of the designations of the great patriarch from whose twelve sons the twelve tribes of the Jews descended. Jacob Abbott, ***Makers of History: Genghis Khan—Life and Conquests***, (New Delhi: 1975), 23-24.

had no settled habitation and wandered over the vast steppes of northern Asia from an unknown antiquity.[404] However, this does not seem to be all true as the inner Asian tribes had mixed practices of habitation. The ones living in the north were forest-dwellers, and they lived in small villages. Others living close to the frontiers of the Qin Empire adopted a loose form of sedentary life. So, we cannot categorize them as simply steppe wanderers.With the emergence of Changez Khan, the term *Mongol* came to be applied universally to denote all the tribes of his empire.[405] The word was changed into *Mughul* or *Moghal* when they came into contact with the Persian culture and entered the fold of Islam.

5.1.1. Changez Khan (c. 1162-1227 AD)

The son of a petty Mongol chieftain[406] Changez Khan was born at Diloncldak (or Del'iun-boldok) in *circa* 1162; his original name was

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[404] To quote J.T. Wheeler,

Their days are passed in moving to and fro between summer and winter pastures. They have gone on unchanging and unchanged from generation to generation...At intervals, world-stormers arose amongst them and formed them into armies. Hordes of Tartar horsemen were moved at will by some commanding genius. They ravaged and plundered the south and west like demons from another sphere. For a brief period, they filled the world with the terror of their name; they then broke up and disappeared.

J.T. Wheeler, ***India under the Muslim Rule—Political, Historical and Social Integration***, (Delhi: 1975), 121.

[405] Mirza Haider Dughlat, ***Tarikh i Rashidi,*** (tr.) N. Elias & E. Denison Ross, *A History of the Moghuls of Central Asia*, (London: 1898), 72-73.

[406] Yesügei Bahadur—a great *Khan* of the Mongols who is said to have descended in a direct line through ten generations; he liberated the Mongols from the Chinese rule. Abbott, ***op. cit.,*** 40.

Temuchin.[407] Born leader of men and trained to be a warrior, Temuchin began to participate in active warfare while yet a lad of nine; he was usually seen in the saddle wielding sword and spear as a close associate of his father in the thickest of the battles. He was considered mature enough to be married at the age of thirteen; his father expired soon after (c. 1175 AD) and Temuchin inherited the *khanate* of his tribe. Even at this young age, he proved his competence to exercise effective control over his tribesmen and successfully led them into battles against their enemies; his mother and her people stood by him through thick and thin and were instrumental in his early rise to power and fame. By 1206 AD Temuchin was acknowledged as the *grand Khan* of all the Mongol tribes with the title of Changez (Genghis) Khan. Once at the helm of affairs, Changez Khan rapidly extended the boundaries of his empire from the Pacific Ocean to Eastern Europe, his Mongol hordes carrying fire and sword wherever they went.[408] During their invasion of the Sultanate of Khvarzam big cities like Khiva, Ghazni, Herat, Balkh and Bamian were looted, devastated and burnt. Cities that refused to surrender were made a symbol of punishment. They caused such wholesome massacre in the defiant parts of Afghanistan and outlying

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[407] Or Temujin, intended to be pronounced Tim-oo zhin; named by his father Yesügei after one of his dreadful enemies whom he had killed in the battlefield just before he heard the news of the birth of his son. Changez Khan's mother was called Olan Ayka (Höelün).

[408] William Erskine opines that:

these conquests were conducted with an exterminating cruelly and a cold contempt of human life and suffering of which history affords perhaps no other example... the course of their march through more populous regions was marked by the burning of cities, the devastation and ruin of the country and the slaughter of all the inhabitants whom they did not carry off as slaves. Their uniform plan was to convert the fields into a desert, and to leave behind them no human being that would rise on their rear...By the barbarity of their massacre, in which age, sex and condition were alike disregarded, they spread horror and dismay around them on every side, and to remote regions. This habit of slaughter seems to have generated an unnatural and almost sportive thirst for blood…

William Erskine, ***A History of India under the Two First Sovereigns of The House of Taimur, Babur and Humayun***, vol. I, (Delhi: 1973), 13.

border areas of India that irrespective of sex or age all men, women, children and elderly were slain indiscriminately. Like an uncontrollable, angry and roaring wave of an ocean it smashed away not only the living beings but all forms of social, cultural and economic structures were also raised to the ground. Almost all the learned and Ulama were murdered; schools and mosques were leveled to the ground; and all sorts of books were burnt to leave no chance of revival.[409]

5.1.2. Mongol Empire

After the death of Changez Khan (1227) things became complex for succession. The empire was partitioned amongst his sons and their successors.[410] His second son Chagatai Khan inherited control over the countries of Kashghar, Khotan, Yarkand, Tashkent, the whole of Transoxiana with Balkh, Bokhara, Badakhshan and Khurasan; Khwarizm,[411] Persia, Kandahar, Kabul and other territories of Central Asia across the Hindukush up to the Indus. The Mongols constituted, by far the most powerful habitat as well as the ruling hierarchy of this region. In spite of the partitioning of the Mongol empire, its expansion by each of its constituent states continued with full vigor for the next seventy years or so. Batu, a grandson of Changez Khan, conquered Moscow in 1238 AD, and, within the next two years, spread his sway over many countries of Eastern Europe, including Poland, Hungary,

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[409] Muhammad Ibrahim Zia, ***Mazi ke Dareechon Se,*** (Peshawar: Tajuddin Publications, 2002), 84.

[410] His eldest son, Juji was viceroy of 'the plains of Kipchak'; he died during the life-time of Changez. Khan and was succeeded by his son Batu. Ogtai, the third son of Changez Khan, inherited the territories of the original Mongol country, called Mongolia, and the fourth son Tuli remained contented with the personal belongings of Changez Khan, he did not receive any land.

[411] This was a disputed region between Chagatai and Jöchi.

and the whole of the Balkan Peninsula. Qubilai Khan, yet another grandson of Changez Khan, became the emperor of China with Beijing (Peking) as his capital in 1259 AD. Hülegü (or Hülegü) Khan, also a grandson of Changez Khan, was deputed (1256 AD) to rule over Persia; he conquered Baghdad, and the last Abbasid caliph Al Mustaasim Billah was tortured to death by the Mongols. The descendants of Hülegü Khan successfully ruled over Persia for about eighty years (1258—1335 AD) with the title— Il-Khans.

5.2.Mongols and India

The history of Mongols and India did not really start with the coming of Changez Khan. It actually can be attributed to have started somewhere in the latter half of fifth century AD when a Mongolian race, the Huns, invaded the area and occupied the north-western parts of the sub-continent including the present Peshawar. They founded the Chionite or the Ephthalite Empire in eastern Afghanistan that ruled between 455-550AD. They had Toramena and Mihiragula as their rulers in the area and Sakala (Sialkot) as their local capital. Next the Mongols came into contact with India during the life-time of Changez Khan. Alauddin Muhammad, the ruler of Khvarzam and one of the greatest Muslim monarchs of his time, had to eat humble pie at their hands; he fled towards the Caspian while his eldest son Jalaluddin Mankbarni escaped towards Afghanistan. The latter was followed close upon his heels by Changez Khan. Mankbarni entered the Indus valley and sought help from Iltutmish against the Mongols. Iltutmish refused to oblige the Khvarzam prince by sending a diplomatic reply and resisted his advance towards Delhi by show of force. Mankbarni thereupon headed towards Persia through Sind, and the Mongols also

retraced their steps towards Central Asia; incidentally, they found the climate of India to be too hot to endure.[412]

In the 13th and 14th centuries the Mongols have established their authority from the Black Sea to the China Sea and from Siberia to Indus and Sistan. They used to fight either amongst themselves or invade foreign lands in the hope of pillage and conquest. Mongol departure from India was usually short lived and they reappeared on the borders of India, which was more frequent, particularly during the period of the slave dynasty and ravaged the territories of northwestern frontier, Sind and the Punjab up to Lahore. They led repeated invasions of India and posed a constant danger to the sultanate of Delhi in the first quarter of the fourteenth century as well. They exploited quite effectively any weakness on the part of Delhi Sultans. Two great sultans of Delhi, Balban (1266—1286 AD) and Alauddin Khilji (1296—1316 AD) bore the brunt of the Mongol fury and were forced to adopt stern measures against them.[413]

5.3.Mongols—Jalaluddin Mankbarni and Peshawar

In the Mongol—Jalaluddin rivalry Peshawar turned out to be a hot scene of activity, particularly when the later in a bid to protect his prestige, resources and life decided to fall back. The moment Jalaluddin realized that he would not be able to resist the might of ever swelling Mongol army in his present positions. To deprive the Mongols of a clean sweep along with the trophy of his life he had to look back towards Peshawar to regain the loyalties and support of its masses. Changez Khan on the other hand was fully determined not to allow any

[412] J.L. Mehta, ***Advanced Study in the History of Medieval India***, vol. I (Delhi: 2007), 93-94.
[413] ***Ibid.,*** 105-6, 110, 112, 121-7, 160-66.

chance of revival of Sultan and to do away with him once for all. On reaching Ghazni, which he took without opposition, Changez Khan was informed that the Sultan has left for the rare part of his state, Peshawar, to refill his fast sinking following for the revival of his chances against Mongols. The pursuing Khan was told that the Sultan had left Ghazni prior to a fortnight before his arrival.[414] Changez Khan fully understood the potentials of this opponent and was all resolved to go to every extent for his own protection. Retreat, forgiveness and exemption did not go along with the Mongols reputation of victory, carnage and horror. So for the sake of successful survival they were forced to commit yet again. This time, however, it was a bit risky as the Mongol Khan was aware that the fugitive Sultan would definitely attempt to play with his Muslim card with the strong Muslim Sultans of Delhi. In case it worked for the Sultan it could have opened another risky, well extended and difficult front for them. However, it seems that the Mongol Khan, by then, had successfully passed all his tests for risks and dangers and was fully prepared to face all sorts of eventualities. Consequently pursuit was immediately launched without delay. This briskness of decision and action was, as a matter of fact, one cardinal principal and key for the success and reputation of the Mongols.

That's how Peshawar turned out to be the host of this one final tug of war between the two Central Asian formidable contestants. However, it was almost certain that in the given history of Mongols treatment of the cities and towns of opponents it was certain that the bargain was bound to result in miseries and adversaries for Peshawar. The way forces from Peshawar strengthened the hands of Jalaluddin Khvarzam Shah in his war against the Mongols in the past was bound to attract the wrath of them. The forces from Peshawar under command

[414] J.A. Boyle, ***The Cambridge history of Iran,*** vol. 5, (Cambridge: 1968), 320.

of Aghrak Malik did play important role in the till then unheard defeat and short lived victory of the Sultan against the Mongols.[415] But now it was a payback time and here Peshawar was left with no alternative options. It had committed itself with the Sultan much earlier and was unlikely to be offered with the choice of shifting of loyalties by the Mongols. The only option left for them was to side with the fleeing Sultan giving one more chance to destiny to work on the otherwise impossible. These were the circumstances in which Peshawar was about to undertake its new journey of history under the Mongols.

Peshawar along with all the other parts of Ghorid possessions fell to the lot of Jalaluddin Khvarzam Shah after being captured by his father Sultan Muhammad Khvarzam Shah. This conferment meant that almost all those areas which were earlier ruled from the Ghorid kingdoms came under the direct control of Jalaluddin. These areas included Ghazni, Firuz Koh, Karrman, Burshor (Peshawar) and Bu-pikrpur etc. deputies of Jalaluddin were placed in all those countries. Peshawar along with Bu-pikrpur or Abu Bikrpur were assigned to Malik Ikhtiyar-ud-din Muhammad Ali-i-Khar-post.[416]

Soon after assuming charge of the newly occupied areas Sultan Jalaluddin found himself pitched against one greatest enemy of his life –Changez Khan. After capturing Khvarizmian capital Gurganj Changez Khan soon sent an army towards Ghazni against Sultan Jalaluddin, under the command of his son-in-law Fiku Nuyan. After some pitched battles the Mongols were made to retrace their foot steps.[417] Thanks to some timely support from the areas under control of Jalaluddin

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[415] Juvaini, ***op.cit.,*** 463.
[416] Maulana Minhaj-ud-Din Siraj al-Juzjani, Abu-Umar-i-Usman, ***Tabakat-i-Nasiri,*** (tr.) Major H.G. Raverty vol. I (Lahore: Amir Publications, 1977), 285-6.
[417] ***Ibid.***, 289.

Khvarzam Shah, including Peshawar, that the Mongol threat was averted for the time being. The successful allied forces, however, soon after the victory got disunited over some petty issues and spoiling their earlier success went in multiple direction of their own. This provided a golden opportunity to the already prepared Changez Khan to avenge his defeat with almost all chances of success.

Sultan Jalaluddin finding himself incapable of meeting the Changez Khan decided to fall back towards Peshawar.[418] The idea was, however, not only to fight against the Mongols from there but to earn some time, space and support to protect his forces and regime, and also to prepare himself against the enemy in an appropriate manner. He, however, was not spared this time by the Mongols, who did not want to let go this opportunity to get rid of one most formidable rival of theirs. He was closely pursued with severe injuries to his resources in terms of manpower and morale. When the Sultan reached panting up to river Indus he was forced to turn around and retaliate.

Sultan Jalaluddin Khvarzam Shah's advance towards India served as bait for the Mongol opportunists. The Mongol made their first appearance in India through his courtesy. One cannot say for certain that Changez Khan's spearing of life of Jalaluddin was a tribute to his bravery or a shrewd strategy of the Mongol Khan to have a living reason to re-explore India at a future appropriate time. The way they kept on knocking at the doors of India in the succeeding times makes one doubt their intentions. Anyways once the Mongols drank the water of Indus they resolved to ensure their presence in the region. This resolve of theirs also happened to be yet another beginning of the end of the prosperity of Peshawar and its dwellers for a long time to come.

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[418] ***Ibid.***, 291.

The Pukhtoons of Peshawar who had fought side by side with the Jalaluddin against their common non-Muslim enemy Changez Khan[419] were penalized for their heroism in the bitterest form.

5.3.1. Changez Khan At The Indus

The Mongol arrival at Indus turned out to be the starting point of their struggle in India. Though they did return for the time being and local forces including that of even Jalaluddin Khvarzam Shah succeeded in regaining control over the region but the fact remained that the Mongols never left it alone afterwards. These attempts between Mongols and other regional forces over Peshawar continued for a long time to come. At the end of battle with Jalaluddin Khvarzam Shah, Changez Khan moved to the vicinity of modern Peshawar while sending attack probes into Bajour and the Kunar valley.[420] One column of two tumens[421] crossed the Indus and sacked the town of Multan, but soon withdrew. It appears that Changez Khan deemed the climate of India not suitable for his horsemen from the northern steppe. For his return Changez Khan adopted the Khyber Pass route and near modern Kabul. After making a futile attempt to return to Mongolia through a more direct route through Himalayan foothills Changez Khan, in order to avoid unnecessary entanglements he withdrew through Peshawar.[422] While on his return from Indus Changez Khan was told that Jalaluddin had re-crossed the river to bury his dead. Without wasting any time he dispatched Chaghatai to take care of him.[423]

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[419] Muhammad Ayub Khan, ***Afaagnah-i-Hoshyar Pur,*** (Lahore: ND), 35.
[420] Stephen Tanner, ***Afghanistan, A Military History from Alexander the Great to the Fall of Taliban,*** (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2003), 96.
[421] Tumen is an army unit of ten thousand soldiers.
[422] Juzjani, ***op.cit.,*** 1045-7, 1081-4.
[423] Boyle, ***op.cit.,*** 321.

5.3.2. Punishment For the People of Peshawar

Changez Khan could not forget that the people of Peshawar, showing solidarity to the cause of Islam, had assisted Jalaluddin against him and needed to be punished for that. It is said that he was responsible for loot, slaughter and devastation at Peshawar, Chitral, Kurram and other adjoining areas that continued for about three months.[424] He intended to make such a horrific symbol of that first Mongol appearance at Peshawar for its people to dissociate them of any feeling of fraternity or any reason. This, however, was not the end of miseries for the people of this region. Changez Khan returned for his home only after appointing Chagatai Khan and Ögedei Khan to discipline the people of this region. It is said that Chagatai Khan converted all this area into ruins.[425]

5.4.Mongols—Qarlugh—and Delhi Sultans

The aftermath of Mongolian victory at Indus bore some really strange results for Peshawar. No doubt, the Mongols were the strongest candidates as far as military potentials were concerned but they failed to maintain regular and permanent hold over Indian borderlands. As for the reasons for this inability are concerned it was primarily because they had caused great disturbances at regions like Khwarazm, Transoxiana, and Ghazni and needed some time to strengthen their hold. There were uprisings and resistances which needed their immediate attention. Peshawar (Indus) being located on the other side of Hindukush could have been avoided for the time being to be attended on the appropriate time. Secondly the policy of neutrality

[424] Muhammad Shafi Sabir, ***Tarikh-e-Suba Sarhad,*** (Peshawar: University Book Agency, 1986), 246.
[425] ***Ibid.***

demonstrated by the Sultan of Delhi, in their war against Jalaluddin Khvarzam Shah, also provided them with an apparent reason to respect Indian borders. The latter events, however, show that it was simply a temporary lull before the storm and no sooner did the Mongols succeeded in overcoming their issues at home they renewed their hostilities on Indian borders. Their lack of interest or may be inability to cater for the needs of active control of Peshawar left room for the other local aspirants for authority of Peshawar to fill the gap. The other known parties/ claimants for the possession of Peshawar in the region included the Qarlughs and the Sultans of Delhi. Here we may also exclude the Sultans of Delhi for the time being despite of their military capabilities, ranking second to the Mongols alone, as their temporary policy under Iltutmish and his successors was that of non-involvement or ignoring towards that northwestern end of India. However, as the scenes of latter history unfolded, their mention in the list of aspirants of Peshawar would not be out of place. As for the Qarlughs; in the last chapter we have already talked in detail about one Hassan Qarlugh being the successor of Jalaluddin Muhammad Khvarzam Shah at Peshawar.[426] In the prevalent circumstances it was only possible for them to take charge of rather the unclaimed lands like Peshawar. Now this was a very strange situation, Jalaluddin assigning it to his governor, despite not being able to reclaim its possession along with number of his other Central Asian ones in the battle field. This Qarlugh is also reported to have accessed the court of Ögedei in the year 1229 in the Chinese dynastic history of the Mongol period, the *Yuan Shih.*[427] He may have concluded any arrangement with the Mongols to survive peacefully in those unclaimed possessions.

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[426] G.D. Gulati, ***India's North West Frontier***, (New Delhi: Ess Ess Publications, 1985), 25.

[427] Peter Jackson, ***The Delhi Sultanate: A Political and Military History,*** (Cambridge: 1999), 104.

The position or location of these three parties in the title above is also meaningful; if the Mongols were positioned at the west of Peshawar the Sultans of Delhi were on the east of it leaving the central and actual possession to the Qarlughs in the middle. Being located at the center Qarlugh was seen and taken as one great target and obstacle by the Mongols for their plans about the region. The central position made Qarlugh important both for the Mongols as well as the Delhi Sultans; if the one was trying to get hold of him through demonstrations of strength the other was more cautious and utilized the weapon of diplomacy to win his support. Though the Mongols did not seem to be serious for having permanent control over all the northern India or the parts under possession of Delhi government, their continuous and growing raids towards India were causing all sorts of discomforts and concerns for the Sultans at Delhi. In their response to these Mongol inroads the Delhi sultans had to adopt a carrot and stick policy towards strong and independent border rulers like Hassan Qarlugh. They kept a sharp and vigilant watch of their competent neighbor, Hassan Qarlugh. On the one hand they kept on strengthening their hold over their possessions in the surrounding by reviewing their North-Western policies repeatedly and on the other hand creating lesser problems for rulers like Jalaluddin and Qarlugh to take regional care of Mongol menace. So the ruler of Peshawar and some other surrounding provinces, Hassan Qarlugh, was fighting a war of his own along with that of Delhi. In a way he played a significant role in restraining Mongols to have access to rich northern inland of India. In this way Peshawar, despite being utterly neglected by Delhi, was once again playing its historic role of an effective watch post for the central Indian interests against the Central Asian adventurers. In their frustration the Mongols often fell back upon the comparatively poor and weak

residents of Peshawar and its environs and often subjected them to plunder and devastation for which there was no one to take note. So we can say that, in that particular period Peshawar and its residents were repeatedly made to pay the price for safety and prosperity of northern India. However, it is also a fact that if Peshawar was neglected and restless the rest of Delhi *sarkar* remained sleepless due to the fear of Mongol peril. The game of disregard was causing pains to all its players without fail. Let us have a detailed view of the political drama being enacted by these three forces in which Peshawar, unfortunately and always happened to be the looser.

5.4.1. Ruknuddin Firoz Shah (1236—1238 AD)

Hassan Qarlugh was confronted to number of other perils besides Mongols during this period. Towards the end of Iltutmish's reign the Gakhars of Koh-i-Jud had transferred their loyalties to the Mongols. These Mongols links rendered both his western as well as eastern borders vulnerable by Mongols and Gakhars respectively. Another mounting threat for Qarlugh was posed by Kabil Khan, muqti of the iqta of Multan. He declared himself independent and made a bid to assert himself against the Qarlughs.[428] Added to all these threats for the administration and tranquility of Peshawar was the most exalted threat of the time in the form of Mongols who kept on hovering in and around the vale in a bid to strengthen their hold. The Mongols, through out that period, were just like an active volcano ever ready to erupt, threatening all sorts of political and cultural regularities of the entire region.

[428] Juzjani, ***op.cit.,*** 1133.

Instability and weakness at the frontiers was in no way suitable to the interest of Delhi government, particularly when the Mongols were hovering around the border looking for an opportunity and a pretext to benefit and extend their authority. The Delhi government made all possible shuffling to appoint the most competent and reliable governors in different frontier provinces to keep the Mongols limited to their own territories and also to reassert the rights of Delhi government in the frontier iqtas of Multan, Uch and Lahore.

In the reign of Ögedei Khan (1229-1241 AD), building pressure on Hassan Qarlugh, Mongol forces were ordered to proceed towards Ghor and Ghazni under the command of Bahadur Tair.[429] This resulted in a series of fresh raids on the territories around Peshawar, contiguous to the Delhi frontier. After capturing Sistan in 1235 AD the Mongol forces under Möngetü moved into Kabul, Ghazni and Zabulistan and obliged Hassan Qarlugh to accept a Mongol resident (shahna).[430]

According to Hamdani:

Ghazni was under the sway of Malik Hassan Qarlugh, who, in the meanwhile, had shaken off the yoke of Mongols.[431]

Consequently Ghazni was taken from Hassan Qarlugh, who was forced to retire towards Banian. There also he was not spared and was threatened by a large Mongol army under their leader Hoqutar. Realizing that he cannot resist the might of Mongols he recognized the

[429] Juzjani, ***op.cit.,*** 1126.
[430] ***Ibid.,*** 1119.
[431] Agha Hussain Hamadani, ***The Frontier Policy of the Delhi Sultans,*** (Islamabad: National institute of Historical and Cultural Research, 1986), 69.

suzerainty of the Mongol emperor Ögedei Khan, pledging to pay a fix annual tribute from the revenues of Banian.[432] Here, however, Juzjani remarks:

The Mongols … left Hassan Qarlugh untouched in Banian on condition that he would pay the annual tribute regularly, but they attacked him all of a sudden in AD 1238.[433]

In this way Mongols succeeded in 1238 AD to dislodge the Indian ruler of Peshawar and other frontier regions, Saifuddin Hassan Qarlugh. He was Jalaluddin Khvarzam Shah's appointed governor over the areas including Nangarhar, Kirman, Peshawar and Baniyan.[434] All these areas along with Peshawar have earlier played quite an instrumental part in the occupations of India by the Afghan or other Central Asian adventurers. By gaining absolute and unshared possession of Peshawar and the other above mentioned Qarlugh's territories they were furnished with a brilliant chance to add to their Indian exploits.

On the other hand, encouraged by the political turmoil at Delhi, as described by Minhaj, Qarlugh invaded Multan. Though unsuccessful but a clear message was conveyed to Delhi that the pressure exerted by Mongols will have its implications for Delhi too, either Qarlugh or the Mongols themselves would be dealing with Delhi in its turn.

5.4.2. Razia Sultana (1238—1240 AD)

After 1238 AD the Mongols did not attempt in India, may be, due to the presence of Hassan Qarlugh in Banian. The state of Banian

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[432] ***Ibid.***
[433] Juzjani, ***op.cit.,*** 1129.
[434] Gulati, ***op.cit.,*** 24.

at that time served as an effective buffer zone between the Mongols and the Sultanate of Delhi and was, therefore, of utmost military and strategic importance for both the Mongols as well as the Sultanate of Delhi. Qarlugh in his attempt over Uch had made it clear to the Delhi government to take the Mongol peril seriously and jointly or be prepared to face the dire consequences.

5.4.2.1. Qarlugh—Razia Alliance

Hassan Qarlugh was never left at ease by the Mongols. Their surprise raids over Malik Hassan Qarlugh, in 1236 and 1238 AD, pushed him closer towards exploration of friendly ties with Delhi, then under Razia Sultana. On the other hand the sultanate of Delhi, at that time was also confronted to some internal crisis. Taking the lead from the crisis at Delhi, the *muqti* (*Iqta* holder) of Lahore, Kabir Khan also raised the standard of revolt against Razia.

According to Minhaj:

In the year 637 A.H/ AD 1238, Malik Izzuddin Kabir Khan, who was the feudatory of Lahore, began to show a rebellious spirit.[435]

The Sultana led an army against the rebel *muqti* and reduced him to surrender. Lahore was then assigned to Malik Qaraqash, the then *muqti* of Multan. These changes in the posting of *muqtis* of the frontier *iqtas* clearly shows that the Sultana was resolved for the stability and maintenance of firm control of the frontier *iqtas*.

[435] Juzjani, ***op.cit.,*** 706. Hamdani, ***op.cit.,*** 70.

It was at this stage, when the Sultana was still at Lahore, making necessary arrangements for it that Hassan Qarlugh, being hard pressed by the Mongols, had to abandon his territory and retire towards Multan. Taking advantage of her presence at Lahore, Hassan Qarlugh sent his eldest son to her court where she received him with honor and conferred upon him the fiefdom of Baran, east of Delhi.[436] An impartial view of these developments reveal that this new union was necessity of both the parties. By strengthening the hands of Qarlugh and the show of generosity, Delhi was desirous of limiting the Mongol threat to the frontier and also to maintain a local check over any future rebellious courtier. Razia Sultana was actually following the policy of her father i.e. refraining from direct confrontation with the Mongols when his frontiers were explored by Changez Khan and Jalaluddin Khvarzam Shah. On the other hand Hassan Qarlugh was interested in concluding a friendly alliance with the Sultans of Delhi so that his troops reinforced by those of Delhi would jointly deter the advance of the Mongols. This un-drafted desire of Qarlugh, however, did not fit with the ambitions of Delhi. The result was that both parties despite realizing the dire need of it, particularly against their common enemy-- the Mongols, soon started moving in their own directions. Minhaj referred to this disagreement and parting of the two parties reporting:

Soon after, without the cause being known, the disappointed prince fled secretly and rejoined his father who was still able to hold Banian.[437]

Qarlugh's turning back/ flight from Banian might be the result of his realization that the Delhi government was not serious and was

[436] Juzjani, ***op.cit.,*** 645.
[437] ***Ibid.,*** 388.

simply trying to use them for their own protection and no reciprocal assistance would be extended to them in case they were being challenged by the Mongols.

5.4.2.2. Mongol *Shahna* at Qarlugh's Court.

The conclusions of Qarlugh that the Delhi government cannot be trusted/ relied for assistance against Mongols and on the other hand he cannot deal with the Mongols single handedly made him review and revise his policy. Instead of further straining or spoiling his relations with the Mongols he started thinking in terms of cultivation of trust and partnership. Immediate result of this resolve of Qarlugh was that a Mongol *Shahna* (Political Agent) was accepted at the court of Banian.[438]

5.4.3. Bahram Shah (1240—1242 AD)

With respect to the history of relations between Delhi and Qarlugh this new era of Behram Shah did not turn up to be a progressive one. On the other hand the Mongols after forcing the frontier tribes to submission had grown more active in their attempts against the Delhi regime. Consequently with the assistance of frontier tribes including that of Hassan Qarlugh and Khokhars they made a bid for Lahore and after much collateral damage got hold of the city. Hassan Qarlugh did all in his capacity to assist the Mongols in their sack of Lahore and after their departure from the subcontinent he attempted to explore new opportunities for himself. The way Delhi government remained failed to hold its own against the Mongols sack of Lahore encouraged Qarlugh to make a bid for Multan at the head of a large army. Another stimulus for Qarlugh in his attempt over Multan

[438] ***Ibid.***

was the death of its ruler, Malik Kabir Khan-i-Ayaz. The young age of his son, Tajuddin Abu Bakr was also considered as a positive and prospective sign by Qarlugh. Nevertheless, when the question of superiority at Multan was put to the test of sword the young ruler of Multan soon proved Qarlugh wrong in his estimates.[439] This defeat, however, did not dampen Qarlugh's courage. According to Hamdani, 'The Qarlugh chief attacked Multan several times but every time he was defeated by Sultan Tajuddin Abu Bakr.'[440] Hence Qarlugh could gain no advantage of the Mongols' sacking of Lahore since he failed to capture Multan.

5.4.4. Alauddin Masud Shah (1242-1246 AD)

Qarlugh was so much pressurized by the Mongols in his territories that he kept on refreshing his bid for Multan. Though he succeeded only after the death of its competent young ruler, Tajuddin Abu Bakr, but for Qarlugh in the presence of Mongol neighbors this appeared to be the sole direction/ option.[441] This occupation of Multan by Qarlugh along with the loss of other frontier *iqta* of Uch to Mughisuddin[442] rendered the Lahore and Delhi, two hubs of Sultanate of Delhi, at the mercy of Mongols. An earlier demonstration of Mongol designs for Lahore had still haunted the minds of Delhi sultans and above that the loss of two frontier iqtas further added to their worries. The peculiar situation prevalent in the frontier iqtas of the Delhi empire was just like a bait for the Mongols incursions as there was no adequate opposition to check their raids. On the news of arrival of Mongols army under their leader Möngketah towards Multan, Qarlugh also slipped out

[439] Juzjani, ***op.cit.,*** 1136.
[440] Hamdani, ***op.cit.,*** 75-76.
[441] Juzjani, ***op.cit.,*** 668.
[442] A former slave of Malik Kabir Khan-i-Ayaz. Hamdani, 76.

of Multan and went towards Debul and Siwistan.[443] The non-indulgence and escape of Qarlugh further added to the vulnerability of the weak north-western boundaries of the Delhi sultanate. This time, however, Delhi was lucky enough to endure any serious loss as the Mongols were quite successfully repulsed and resisted by the people of Uch. Besides the people of Uch also applied to the Delhi court for assistance against which a strong force, under the command of Ghiyasuddin Balban, was dispatched immediately. The Mongols being resisted bravely at Uch by its people and after having reports of arrival of Delhi's assistance deemed it well to retrace their footsteps to avoid any further disgrace. The exodus of Mongols left the arena open for Ghiyasuddin to explore opportunities for Delhi, both Uch and Multan were occupied by him soon after the retirement of Mongols. The two frontier iqtas were assigned to Kashlu Khan and the sultan moved his forces to the north to punish the hill tribes of Koh-i-Jud for their late depredation of Lahore and also for their assistance to the Mongols.[444] Nevertheless, the Sultan had to postpone his plan due to some political problems at Delhi.

5.4.4.1. Mongol Raids Against Hassan Qarlugh

A careful study of Mongol invasions during the reign of Sultan Alauddin Masud Shah helps us to understand the real objectives of Mongol invasions. Hassan Qarlugh, a governor of their old enemy Khvarzam Shah, had proved to be one most unreliable ally of the Mongols; he negotiated whenever he fell short of options but as soon as he got hold of any alternative he did not waste one single moment to defy their dictates. This shrewd, insubordinate and unreliable nature of

[443] Juzjani, ***op.cit.,*** 399.
[444] ***Ibid.,*** 1154.

Qarlugh was never endorsed by the Mongols and they always looked for his removal. The Mongol invasions during the reign of Alauddin Masud also carried this idea as a principal objective. Though he fortunately made his escape towards Debul at the right time but his territories were ruined by the Mongol onslaught,[445] to cause moral and financial losses to de-popularize him amongst the masses.

5.4.5. Nasiruddin Mahmud and Mongols

The policies of the Delhi Sultanate took a new turn with the assumption of throne by Nasiruddin in A.D 1246 and appointment of Balban as Amir Hajeb. Fresh raids of Mongols along the Indus region were the real reasons which led to bring out his forces to march to the banks of the river Indus and Banian to destroy the Mongols. The forces of the Sultan ravaged the Jud hills (i.e salt range) and the area around the fortress of Nandana. The Sultan then encamped near Sodhra and sent Balban with an army on an expedition to the salt range whose tribes has acted as guide to the Mongols in their earlier expeditions.[446] Balban crushed these tribes with an iron hand and ravaged the territory as far as the banks of the river Indus. According to Minhaj, the Delhi forces carried its ravages as far as the banks of river Indus in such a way that all women, families and dependents of the infidels who were in those parts, took to flight. The excellent display of vigor, military organization, commitment, and resolve created such an impact that the Mongols in the following years never raided the border of the Delhi Sultanate.[447] For them the only option left now was to look for cleavages among the royal family and the courtiers to pitch one against the other and strike whenever they grew sufficiently weak. In this

[445] ***Ibid.,*** 1156.
[446] ***Ibid.,*** 678.
[447] ***Ibid.,*** 815-16.

regard there first candidate happened to be the brother of the Sultan Alauddin Masud Shah, who probably due to fear or mistrust, have proceeded to the Mongols from Lahore and was warmly received and extended asylum by them.

On this courageous expedition against the Mongols and his brilliant services, the Sultan promoted Balban as the Naib (Deputy) of the Delhi Sultanate in AD 1249 and conferred the title of Ulugh Khan upon him.[448] Balban continued to serve as deputy till the death of Nasiruddin in 1266 AD after which he himself became the Sultan.

5.4.6. Balban and Hassan Qarlugh

Balban opted for an offensive policy against the independent and turbulent rulers of the frontier regions. He made repeated incursions into salt range and Banian in AD 1246. Hassan Qarlugh, the ruler of Banian, seeing either less prospects against Balban or in order to generate pressure on Delhi, invaded Multan in 1249 AD. Hassan Qarlugh was killed in the battlefield but his brave soldiers, mostly comprising the Afghan and Pashtoon tribesmen slaughtered the band of Kashlu Khan and keeping secret the news of Qarlugh's death compelled the forces of Kashlu Khan to first shut themselves in the fortress and then to retreat to Uch. Thus Multan for the time being became part of their domain. But soon Sher Khan, the right hand of Balban seized it from Qarlughs.

5.4.7. Survey of Hassan Qarlugh (1224—1249 AD)

In this way after a long and active period of rule in Peshawar and other adjoining provinces Qarlugh's era came to its end. Qarlugh

[448] ***Ibid.,*** 820.

was introduced in the politics of Peshawar and India as a result of rivalry between Jalaluddin Khvarzam Shah and the Mongols and till his very last moments was engaged in that. Like Jalaluddin he was never welcomed by the politicians at Delhi as well, and was always attempted by them to make use of him for quelling or containing the horrifying Mongol cataclysm. Delhi's consideration, generosity and toleration towards Qarlugh was never meaningless, as in him they got hold of a natural and genuine protector for themselves. For the furtherance of Delhi's policy of non-involvement against Mongols he was one best candidate; on the one hand by keeping him at a hands distance they kept the Mongols contented and bound to respect Delhi and on the other hand by allowing him survive peacefully at the frontiers of Delhi expected him (Hassan Qarlugh) to protect them against the Mongols. Qarlugh on the other hand had very limited choices; Delhi was never sincere in accommodating him and Mongols were also not prepared to trust him. Qarlugh's survival in the annals of history as ruler can conveniently be attributed to the uncertain conditions prevalent around his regime at that times; as he never made any recognizable aggressive impression against either Delhi or the Mongols. Even the territory under his control including Peshawar, all through his rule, longed for protection and order. He happened to be only strong enough to milk the badly beaten and already milked cows, unable to provide any security to the unprotected residents of Peshawar and other areas under his control. It seems that he was just like our present day politician and not at all a benefactor, no popular public support or even sympathy was ever reported for him. He was an opportunist with a huge group of opportunists, including the Pukhtoons also, to beautify their own and sole present with least or rather no concern for the others.

5.5.Balban and Peshawar

For Peshawar the assumption of charge by Balban was of almost no significance. In all the policies adopted by Balban against Mongols Peshawar failed to secure any central position. It was rather surrendered/ considered in advance to be a part of Mongol jurisdiction. Peshawar continued to be ignored by both the Mongols as well as the Delhi regime. Depending on the political and military strength and stability of its two claimants Peshawar kept on with the history of sudden and frequent change along with its legacy of political and cultural spoilage. The coming of Balban, first as Deputy (Naib-us-Sultanate 1249—1266 AD) and then ultimately as Sultan (1267—1288 AD), though stabilized and strengthened the border and internal politics of Delhi to a significant extent but for Peshawar, being located at the Mongol end of India, times did not change. Peshawar still waited and longed for political certainty, stability and economic security and prosperity. Living under shadow of the Mongols was tantamount to being robbed and raped whenever rich and young. For the rulers of Delhi there were so many other opportunities to explore, and concerns to address that they felt better off ignoring and leaving, a distant, Peshawar alone for Mongols or for any one else or even to its own destiny. Interest in Peshawar or areas on the western bank of Indus entailed so many risks that the politicians at Delhi felt it expedient to keep their eyes shut over it. There was only a slight visible comparative difference in this general mood of Delhi about Peshawar during his reign after attaining certain level of strength and internal stability Delhi went for addressing the lurking fear of Mongols on the western border. This time Delhi did attempt earnestly and occasionally to advance and be on the offensive in that direction. Nevertheless, their sole interest seemed to deprive the Mongols of their forward basis against Delhi and that again was also purely security based and not for any commitment

or claim over Peshawar. As a matter of fact had there been no security concerns, the Delhi government had number of promising attractions and engagements much better than Peshawar to invest their energies. It would not, however, be right to understand that Peshawar was any barren economic prospect; it was rather temporarily eclipsed in Mongol bushes with some recurrent high risks. Moreover, right from the very inception of Delhi sultanate it preferred to defend its position from Lahore and not from Peshawar against their Central Asian competitors. Though occasionally they did proceed up to Peshawar and even beyond but that was more just to buzz off, quell and demoralize the adventurers or rivals located in that direction. They failed do develop any feeling for or appreciate the historical role it played in the strengthening of different regimes of the past in the region. However, on a detailed scrutiny of the details of his era one comes to know that the least interest of Balban in the affairs of Peshawar was actually one of the best by any Delhi Sultan on the northwestern frontier.

5.5.1. Balban for the Frontiers of Delhi I (1249—1253 AD)

Balban soon earned a reputation as the savior of the frontier of the Delhi Empire from the onslaught of the Mongols. Soon after assumption of his charge as the deputy of Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud (1246—1266 AD) he requested for certain administrative appointments in the frontier *iqtas* of the empire. An impartial inquiry of these requests reveal that in order to have a better understanding, firm grip and due synchronization of any effort in the frontier *iqtas* and their politics this move was inevitable. As a result, according to Minhaj:

His brother Saifuddin Kashlu Khan, who was Amir-i-Akhur, became Amir-i-Hajib; Maalik Tajuddin became Deputy Amir-i-Hajib,

and Alauddin became the Deputy Wakil-i-Dar. Balban's cousin, Sher Khan Sunkar, was entrusted with the governments of the *iqtas* of Multan, Kuhram, Sunam, Siwalik Hills and Sirhind in addition to the charge of Lahore and Bhatinda.[449]

One more thing can be deducted from these administrative arrangements is that Lahore and Multan happened to be the westernmost *iqtas* of the Delhi Sultanate at that time and that Peshawar's ownership was still shrouded in mystery or at least not with Balban or Delhi.

5.5.2. Sher Khan

Sher Khan was the cousin, experienced soldier and a talented counselor at the court of Balban. He was one of the most renowned men of his age and was entrusted with the governorship of the provinces of Multan, Ghurham, Sunam, Shivalik hills and Sirhind in addition to the governorship of Lahore and Bhatinda provinces.[450] Sher Khan was directed to maintain a standing army and keep a watch over the mobility of Mongols, who now occupied the provinces of Ghazni, Kabul, Kandahar, Balkh and Herat. The forts of Bhatneer and Sirhind were rebuilt at this time by Sher Khan.[451] He happened to be the governor of frontier provinces, mostly of Punjab, for two different terms. Both his terms almost started and ended with that of Balban as prime minister of the state. In his first term he succeeded in pushing and kicking the Mongols out of India and even up to Ghazni. In his second term (1254—1267 AD) he quite successfully drew a defensive curtain throughout his assigned provinces of Punjab to keep them away

[449] ***Ibid.,*** 792.
[450] Muhammad Qasim Ferishta, ***Tarikh-i-Ferishta***, (tr.) John Briggs, vol. 1, (London: Longman, 1829), 235.
[451] ***Ibid.***

from Delhi. Ziauddin Barani describes him as having been like "the walls of Gog and Magog to the Mongols" and also to have thoroughly curbed the lawless "Jats, Khokars, Mandhirs, Bhattis and the Minas."[452] Though we do not find any detailed or significant role of this military genius with reference to Peshawar but his march up to Ghazni and being the head of administration in the neighboring Punjab makes him a reasonable candidate to review his credentials with reference to Peshawar. Sher Khan kept on building and adding his potentials as a soldier and administrator against the ever ready hostile Mongols stationed across the Indus to restrict them to their respective positions. For Balban he was the man best suited for charge of such a sensitive and strategic position.

Unfortunately, Sher Khan's competence later on became an eye sore for his cousin, patron and benefactor, Balban. At his accession to the throne, Balban dislodged all the influential members from the key posts of the state. Sher Khan was also relieved of his responsibilities[453] as he had established himself as a strong and powerful governor of the frontier province of the Sultanate of Delhi who could have challenged the authority of Balban at any time.

5.5.2.1. Sher Khan and Peshawar

The political uncertainty started at Peshawar after Muhammad Ghori continued even after the Qarlughs. The change of ruler meant nothing for Peshawar in the presence and continuation of strong and opposing military regimes like that of the Mongols and the sultans of Delhi. After Qarlugh, started the era of yet another uncertainty at

[452] Zia ud-Din Barni, ***Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi,*** Prof. John Dowson (ed.) (Lahore: 1974), 65.
[453] ***Ibid.,*** 26-28.

Peshawar in which Sher Khan's occasional entry was not more than an un-effective change of master. Though a strong and talented ruler by himself, Sher Khan was unable to change much for Peshawar due to excessive mistrust, intrigues and unhealthy political entanglements with Delhi and Mongols. In the absence of a genuine and indigenous leadership of its own Peshawar once again failed to throw away the yolk of servitude, dependence and negligence.

5.5.2.2.Sher Khan Captures Ghazni (1250 AD)

After his initial victories, Sher Khan raised a large army and disciplined a body of horses with which he marched forward up to Ghazni and drove the Mongols out to annex it once more for the Delhi Sultanate. Ferishta further says that Sher Khan also struck coins in the name of the Sultan and proclaimed him king of all the territories west of Indus.[454]

This penetration of Sher Khan up to Ghazni was the second advance after Aibak and the territory beyond Indus came under the sway of the Delhi Sultanate after a very long time. The Delhi sarkar was seen on the offensive against their trans-Indus enemies after a very long period of inactivity, showing thereby that their "forward policy" had reached a new climax. Though the Delhi forces succeeded in attaining control over the territory, probably including Peshawar, but keeping in view the ravages and brutalities of the Mongols it would not be difficult to discern how much difficult it would have been to re-inhibit those ruined and destroyed quarters and cities.

5.5.2.3. Dismissal of Sher Khan and his Company of the Mongols

[454] Ferishta, ***op.cit.,*** 239.

In A.H 651, (1253 AD), both Balban and Sher Khan were fired from their respective posts. Sher Khan's possessions were transferred to Arslan Khan.[455] About this Minhaj says, "Balban's ascendancy to power led to rise of a party headed by Imaduddin Rayhan against him and consequently Sultan Mahmud dismissed Balban from the deputyship and fresh distribution of offices took place."[456] To this, instead of submitting Sher Khan retaliated and retired to his possessions west of Indus and then from there went to the court of Möngke Khan. Sher Khan was not alone in his access to Möngke Khan, along with him there were others like Jalaluddin Masud Shah, the disaffected brother of Sultan Mahmud, and Qutlugh Khan with their own reasons to depart from India.[457] As a matter of fact this was one new trend in the politics of India, particularly northern India, to seek assistance from the Mongol neighbors or at least register their support to score psychological numbers against any internal or local rivals or even the Sultans of Delhi.

Adorned with all this royal and military leadership of India Möngke Khan, the Mongol king, considered it the best time to install a vassal puppet government at the frontier which at times may serve as a forward base for the promotion of Mongol interests and raids in India. With these objectives in mind Mongol Nuin named Sali Bahadur was ordered to assist Jalaluddin Masud Shah against his enemies. Thereupon, Sali Bahadur accompanied the prince and taking Nasiruddin Muhammad Qarlugh, son of Hassan Qarlugh, with his Afghan forces from Banian, entered Lahore. They drove away the Delhi officers from the iqtas of Lahore and Jallandhar, and installed prince Masud Shah there. The latter assumed the title of Sultan

[455] Juzjani, ***op.cit.,*** 695.
[456] Ferishta, ***op.cit.,*** 694.
[457] Hamdani, ***op.cit.,*** 90.

Jalaluddin Masud Shah and ruled over the vast region of the Punjab, comprising the trans-Sutlej region, as a Mongol vassal.[458] According to Hamdani Mongols kept on supporting Jalaluddin Masud Shah after installing him as a vassal ruler over their trans-Sutlej possessions, since this served well their purpose.

The competence of these defected generals got acknowledgement at the Mongol court to form a defiant curtain of resistance against Delhi. Sultan Masud, Sher Khan and the Qarlughs of Banian not only acknowledged the superiority of Mongols but also served as watchdogs of their trans-Indus possessions. Generals like Sher Khan who were responsible for the strength and extension of the Delhi Sultanate and its frontiers, were wasted and reduced to join hands with the enemies of the state, which was a clear proof of the failure and wrong policies of Delhi. Soon some realization struck the Sultans at Delhi and in order to correct their wrong doing they very cleverly resorted to diplomacy instead of warfare. The defected hierarchy also realized that the near sultans at Delhi would be a more natural and prospectus choice for them than the distant Mongols and they would be better off if concentrated and depended more on that choice. Moreover, their purpose of pressurizing the Delhi regime by showing them the Mongol flag also seemed to have worked well and enough, any extension of hostilities in India, their abode and seat of government, for Mongols did not suited statesmanship of the seasoned politicians. So the warmth in association once again shifted towards Delhi from that of the Mongols.

5.5.3. Balban for the Frontiers of Delhi II (1254—1266 AD)

[458] Juzjani, ***op.cit.,*** 1125.

Balban's ouster from power was short lived and spanned a little more than one year. In 1254, Imaduddin Rayhan was dismissed from his post as deputy on account of his nepotism and maladministration. His opponents amongst the nobles forced the sultan to dismiss him from his post and transfer him to the province of Badaun.[459] Balban was re-appointed as deputy while his kinsmen and supporters were all pardoned and reinstated. The appointment of Imaduddin Rayhan at Badaun further added to the already critical conditions on the frontier iqtas for the Delhi Sultans. Besides the Qarlughs of Banian and Sultan Jalaluddin Masud Shah who had already shown all associations and commitments to the Mongols, now Kashlu Khan, the muqti of Multan and Uch, who belonged to Rayhan's party, also raising the standard of revolt, joined hands with the Mughals for assistance.[460] Balban, confronted to all these challenges, was required to calculate each and every step of his flawlessly in advance, to ensure integrity of his western frontiers. Instead of showing any indecent and bloody haste he gave room to all possible diplomacy to cater the potentially volatile issue of the frontier with soft hands plus consideration, and afforded all the time to get it resolved with peace and harmony. He soon won the loyalty of his talented cousin Sher Khan and adopted a very non-provocative stance towards Sultan Jalaluddin Masud Shah to allow him to surrender to his qualities of statesmanship, popularity and strength, instead of any show of brute force. Balban converted all the frontier provinces into one unit for resistance against the Mongols. Whenever the Mongols attacked India Balban's forces from Lahore, Uch and Peshawar jointly confronted them, in addition to the central reserve force which was ever ready to move on call.[461] All the historians have

[459] ***Ibid.,*** 699.
[460] Hamdani, ***op.cit.,*** 91.

appreciated the frontier policy of Balban. In those days the Mongols raided Punjab either through Khyber-Peshawar route or through Kurram, Tochi and Gomal through Sindh and Multan. Balban constructed forts on both these routes and stationed sufficient number of troops in those in charge of an experienced and loyal general. In case of any adventurism from Mongols side they were required to confront royal forces at every station.[462]

5.6.Extension of Mongol Influence in Sindh and Multan

Meanwhile Kashlu Khan the ruler of Sindh and Multan,[463] who belonged to the group of Malik Imaduddin Rayhan, also concluded a secret treaty with Hülegü Khan. After the eclipse of his allies and the ascendancy of Balban at the royal court, he approached Malik Shamsuddin Kart Ghori, the Mongol vassal and ruler of Herat, with a request to proceed to Iran to negotiate with Hülegü Khan for an alliance. In 1257 AD, Kashlu Khan joined the Mongol commander Sali Bahadur who came from Ghazni and after plundering Multan returned to their base. The Delhi forces could not attack the Mongols as the forces of Mongol allies in salt range and Indus region had fully supported the invading armies. So the whole of the Indus zone was under the Mongol control.[464] According to Peter Jackson:

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[461] Shafi Sabir, ***op.cit.,*** 247.
[462] ***Ibid.,*** 247.
[463] Juzjani, ***op.cit.,*** 794.
[464] Hamdani, ***op.cit.,*** 93.

The Mongols, who through their satellites controlled Binban (Baniyan), the Salt Range and the middle and upper Indus valley, now threatened the heartland of the Delhi Sultanate.[465]

This mention of middle and upper Indus is worth noticing as the usual referral to Mongol control over the west of Indus in general, causes confusion for the precise control over Peshawar by any force. Here it becomes very clear that, even without the mention of the name of Peshawar that they were all in charge of Peshawar at that time.

Witnessing the poor support for the Sultans of Delhi, Balban decided to break the Mongol influence in this region through his diplomacy. He realized that Delhi's shortcoming was not the strength or numbers but popular public support. So instead of imposing any war he preferred not to let go any opportunity for peace and alliances. He entered into a secret alliance with sultan Nasiruddin Muhammad Qarlugh, the eldest son of Hassan Qarlugh who succeeded him as the ruler of Banian and Salt Range. Like his predecessors the Qarlugh was well aware that for him Delhi was, if not more, equally important than the Mongols. He tried his best to maintain good relations with his Mongol sovereign as well as the sultans of Delhi. His father too, as we have seen earlier, had tried his best to enter into alliance with the Delhi Sultanate. According to Juzjani, Nasiruddin decided to give his daughter to son of Ulugh Khan in marriage.[466] This political marriage helped Balban and Qarlugh to become political allies for the safeguard of their interests in the region. For Balban, Qarlugh ruler being a old vassal of the Mongols, could help him establish friendly relations with Hülegü Khan who was engaged in the conquest of western Asia and

[465] Jackson, ***op.cit.,*** 113.
[466] Juzjani, ***op.cit.,*** 861.

laid the foundation of the Il-Khanid dynasty of Persia, after sacking and capturing Baghdad in AD 1258. Balban maintained diplomatic relations with Hülegü through Qarlugh ruler, who was successful in his mission in effecting friendly relations between Balban and Hülegü. Al-Juzjani gives us detailed information about the pact signed between the two. The envoy sent by Balban was headed by a Pukhtoon named Jamaluddin Khilji. Hülegü flattered by this, ordered Sali Bahadur, not even to enter the dominions of the sultan.[467] So we can see the emergence of new phase of diplomatic relations between the Mongols and Delhi.

This period of relative peace and tranquility between the Mongols and the Delhi Sultans might have provided a sigh of relief to the people of the bordering provinces between the two regimes. As the leadership on both the sides abstained from aggression general public along with that of Peshawar might have benefitted from it. In the following years of Balban's deputyship no Mongol raid occurred on the frontier. However, this peace did not last long and ended with the death of Hülegü Khan in 1265 AD.

5.7.Peshawar Under the Karts

The situation in the Indus region took a new turn when there arose a conflict between the Qarlughs and Hülegü Khan. The Qarlugh ruler failed to assist their Mongol vassal against the attack of the Delhi forces in the trans-Sutlej region, which led Hülegü Khan to inquire into the affairs of Qarlugh. Malik Shamsuddin Kart, who was the inquiry officer and was not favorably disposed towards Qarlugh, declared him guilty of treachery and put him along with some of his officers and

[467] ***Ibid.,*** 861-63.

dependants to death.[468] It appears from the account of Minhaj that the Qarlugh was succeeded by his executioner, the Karts, in the administration and authority of the Indus region. In the absence of any recognizable administration at or near Peshawar, at that time, we can assume that after Qarlughs, along with Banian, Peshawar also came under the influence of the Karts of Herat. But it seems as if there was no genuine, popular, local leadership to influence or take charge of the affairs of Peshawar things kept on drifting under the directions of these foreign forces. In the end, just like a domestic cattle, Peshawar was tied probably with the post of Karts.

5.7.1. Karts

The word Kart means grandeur, magnificence and greatness. It was the name of an Afghan dynasty that ruled from Afghanistan (Herat) up to the western banks of Indus, including Peshawar. Their decent is traced to Sultan Sanjar, the Saljuk, on the father's, and to the Ghori Sultans on the mother's side. A sister of Ghori Sultans was married to the Saljuk Malik Kizil Arslan, nephew of the Sultan Sanjar. An offspring of that union, Malik Nasiruddin received an investiture of the fief of Herat early in 1203 AD[469]. It happened that the family, despite continuous inroads from Central Asia by adventurers like Khwarzim Shah and the Mongols, succeeded finally to remain in possessions of their territories. Malik Ruknuddin Muhammad-i-'Uthman 1245 AD, in his times, established himself as a Mongol vassal

[468] Hamdani, ***op.cit.,*** 95.
[469] Juzjani, ***op.cit.,*** 1198.

and laid foundation of an independent Kart dynasty.[470] According to Minhaj this "Ruknuddin Kart of Herat exercised sway over the territories extending up to the river Indus and is even reported to have control of the highways as far as the frontier of Delhi."[471] Though there is no straight mention of Peshawar in this reference of Juzjani but it does give us one limit up to river Indus that includes Peshawar as well. And when it talks about 'control of highways as far as the frontier of Delhi' it activates ones imaginations to visualize that Peshawar being an age old important highway station for Delhi may also be meant from that.

5.7.2. Shamsuddin Kart

One successor of the dynasty Shamsuddin Muhammad made such an impression over his Mongol overlord, Möngke Khan, that besides his father's fief of Ghor, the area of Herat, Gharjistan, Sawah, Farah and Sijistan were also added to his authority.[472] This appointment, however, was not any piece of cake as there were number of fortresses in those territories and he had to prove his strength against the chiefs in possession of those. This Malik Shamsuddin Muhammad Kart accompanied the Mongol Nuyin Sali in his invasion of Hind in 654 AH. City after city and tribe after tribe submitted to the strength of Mongols. This march of conquests ended up at Lahore, after which the charge of all the territory west of Indus was assigned to Shamsuddin. In

[470] Olaf Caroe, ***The Pathans,*** (Karachi: 1985), 136.
[471] Juzjani, ***op.cit.,*** 676.
[472] ***Ibid.,*** 1200.

the absence of any known nominee of the Mongols for the administration of Peshawar separately it is most probable that Peshawar could not be left out of the yoke of Karts, the Mongol vassals.

5.7.3. Peshawar Off the Scene Along With Afghanistan

A very interesting and noteworthy point in the history of Peshawar is its being under the charge of Karts of Herat. This extension of Kart-Mongol rule, however, did not in any way help Peshawar come out of its prevalent anonymity. Though this, drawing of Kart political and administrative mantle over Peshawar, is not more than a presumable understanding that cannot be substantiated with sufficient and straight references but still the conditions prevalent between the Delhi Sultanate and the Mongols leads one to think like that. The Sultans of Delhi were often, at the most, restricted to the eastern banks of river Indus near Peshawar till that time. On the other hand the Mongols usually enjoyed unrestrained rule and authority up to the western banks of river Indus, including all the vicinity of Peshawar. Despite their political hold over Peshawar, the Karts, being located at a distance, did not succeed in leaving any permanent impression on culture and society, or even politics of Peshawar. The territory of Peshawar seems to have been assigned to them in the absence of any local recognizable leader or force at that time; its status does not appear to be more than that of a no man's land. As a matter of fact this taxing silence about Peshawar in the records is because of the inability or absence of any paramount or recognizable local force or leadership that could have taken the lead for the care or identity of Peshawar and its residents at that time. Now if we compare this absence of Peshawar from the annals of history, during the Mongol era, with some other popular spots and seats of government and authority in Afghanistan, we

find most of the popular cities missing in that period, with the single exception of Herat. According to Bahadur Shah Zafar Kakakhel:

From the invasion of Changez Khan in (1220 AD) till the conquest of Babur (1504 AD) the history of Pukhtoons remained in dark. In this long period of about 300 years we find that the names, language, lives and conditions of the Pukhtoon tribes is absolutely missing in the records…. Due to the repeated invasions of the Mongols Afghanistan suffered from anarchy and autocratic highhandedness…. The only exception for any regularity, Government and advancement was that of the city of Herat.[473]

The above quotation shows that Peshawar was not the only city, being lost under the tyrannical rule of the Mongols; almost the rest of Afghanistan[474] lost its name and identity.

As for the reasons of this loss of Peshawar and Afghanistan in the annals of history, a sizeable portion of responsibility can be placed behind none other than the Pukhtoons themselves. The fear and pressure of Mongols made the rock-strong Pukhtoons drift and melt towards a comparatively soft and prosperous India. It was a more attractive choice for the Pukhtoons of Peshawar against the brutal and lawless rule of Mongols in their lands; which they jumped upon to cash. Their earlier association with the cause of Islam and the Delhi Sultanate also facilitated their acceptance and adjustment in India. No doubt, at that stage, the Sultans of Delhi were also in desperate need of manpower and fighters against the Mongols.

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[473] Syed Bahadur Shah Zafar Kakakhel, ***Pashtoons Tarikh ka A'yene Mayn,*** tr. Syed Anwarul Haq Jilani, (Peshawar: University Book Agency, 2007), 218.
[474] Not known then as Afghanistan.

As far as the Mongol response to this new trend of migration or transfer of capable or potentially resistant elements to India was concerned, it was precisely in conformity to their calculations. It was rather must for the maintenance of their peaceful existence in the far flung areas. They tried their best to cause as much devastation as possible to:

i) Practically cripple the resistance. Wherever they went they preferred to annihilate all the resources along with its manpower. Nothing was left for the sultans of Delhi or any other leader to build or even aspire upon, any form of structure of resistance from the lands from where the Mongols have once passed.

ii) As part of the Mongol therapy, the havoc caused by the Mongols also left the survivors psychologically handicapped. The gruesome mass-scale, indiscriminate carnage accompanied by disgrace, rapine, loot and enslavement made such a horrific impression on the minds of survivors that they preferred not to see the Mongols again, not even for the reasons of revenge. No mother would allow her children; no wife to her husband; no sister to her brother; and no child to his/her father; to go against the Mongols. Their terror was one quite

> successful psychological war tactic through which they stole the will power and courage of their opponents to stand against them.

In the light of these arguments it is not difficult to conclude that the conditions in and around Peshawar were so difficult and un-conducive for the growth and success of any government or society that its absence, loss or omission from the records of history was inevitable. Sir Olaf Caroe very rightly sums up, acknowledges and ranks this absence of Peshawar from the records by saying:

We hear nothing of this time of the Abdalis or other tribes latter prominent in the Kandahar region, very little of Kabul, and less then nothing of Peshawar.[475]

So we can sum up this period of Kart-Mongol rule in Peshawar as that of darkness and anarchy along with most of the Afghan country. Unfortunately the Delhi dynasties, on their part, were also failing to ensure and extend any regularity and discipline in these regions.[476] The Kart dynasty withered away by the year 1379 AD when Herat was captured by one new invader from Central Asia, the Tamerlane.[477]

5.8.Peshawar up to 1290 AD

Balban ruled as the sultan at Delhi from 1266—1286 AD. During this period the Mongol raids became more frequent and

[475] Caroe, ***op.cit.,*** 156.
[476] ***Ibid.,*** 461.
[477] Taimur was lame, and therefore known as Timur Lang, hence Tamerlane.

powerful. Without making an all out attempt at conquest the Mongols almost annually visited the country for loot and plunder. Of all those invasions, however, there were two important Mongol invasions undertaken in the reign of Balban in 1279 and 1285 AD. These invasions were so devastating that they drained away all the strength and resources of Balban. Though the Mongols were defeated and driven away, Prince Muhammad, the son of Balban, lost his life while fighting against the Mongols.[478]

In response to that emerging threat Balban embarked upon number of measures to contain the Mongol threat to the frontiers of the Sultanate. The Khokars were punished and the Salt Range was subdued and pacified. A chain of fortresses with well-equipped and adequately provisioned garrisons were built. The command of the military and defense of the frontier was given to the seasoned military commanders like Sher Khan Sanqar, a cousin of Balban.[479]

After the death of Balban, however, his successors failed to distinctly identify themselves against the Mongols. They on the contrary made an extremely poor show by approaching the Mongol court of Ghazni for assistance against the rival contender for the throne. Sultan Muizuddin Kaiqubad succeeded Balban in 685 AH/ 1286 AD.[480] His cousin Kaikhusrau, who was holding the charge of the province of Sindh and Multan, refused to acknowledge his suzerainty and approached the court of Tamar Khan at Ghazni, the Mongol viceroy of the province, to aid him with troops to depose his cousin Kaiqubad.[481]

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[478] Muhammad Tariq, ***History of Muslims in South Asia: Sultanate Period,*** (Lahore: ND), 190.
[479] ***Ibid.,*** 190.
[480] He was the son of Bughra Khan and grandson of Balban. Barni ***op.cit.,*** 34.
[481] Ferishta, ***op.cit.,*** 274-75.

The elevation of Balban to the zenith of authority at Delhi failed to provide any form of relief to Peshawar, as his prime interest was the defense of Delhi with its frontiers ending in Punjab. Peshawar being out of that frontier did not attract the attention of the monarch and thus was left at its own; its status was not better than a buffer zone or a no man's land or a waste land not needed by Delhi to avoid any unnecessary burden of maintenance and responsibility and that also with high risk of waste. If the Mongols were capable of knocking repeatedly at the doors of Delhi despite the preparedness on the part of its Sultan, showing concern for Peshawar would have been tantamount to snatching meat from the lion's mouth. So Balban tried to remain contented without it to reduce and minimize the number of his already excessive frontier worries. It was sort of undocumented and undecided general understanding and consensus for the borders of Sultans of Delhi and the Mongols. The Sultans of Delhi had to restrict and content themselves up to the eastern banks of Indus, whereas the Mongols had to do the same up to its western banks. His successors, nevertheless, by showing weakness, once again offered the Mongols to look for opportunity towards India. The opportunity, for which the areas like Peshawar and, for that matter, rest of northern India, up to Delhi, were required to pay in the form of deprivation and miseries. So we may say that the period up to 1290 AD was simply a continuation of the old deadlock for the fate of Peshawar and its residents.

5.9.Mongol Internal Struggle for Power and Peshawar

After the death of Changez Khan in 1227 AD his empire was divided among his sons. Ögedei (1229—1241 AD) became the great Khan with China and Zungaria, a region which for exact boundaries later became a bone of contention between the successors of Changez

Khan. The descendents of Jöchi, who had died (1225 AD) in the life time of Changez, obtained the Khanate of Qipchaq and Tolui was put in charge of the home clans of Mongolia. Chaghtai was to rule the kingdom of Transoxina and Hülegü Khan, son of Tolui and grandson of Changez, later on founded the line of Il-Khan rulers in Persia. The relations between these Mongol Khans on their respective power pedestals soon got strained as each one of the ruler in his pursuit of extension of authority considered the other as one active or potential threat. Tolui's son Möngke Khan ousted Ögedei's son Güyük from the Khanate and himself became the Great Khan in 1244 AD; that resulted in the outbreak of a struggle for supremacy between the houses of Ögedei and Tolui.[482] Möngke died in 1259 AD and was followed upon the throne by the famous Qublai Khan, another son of Tolui. Qublai's staunchest enemy was Qaidu (1271—1303 AD), grandson of Ögedei who never recognized the claim of Tolui's descendents on his ancestral dominions. Qaidu found a very faithful ally in Duva Khan (1272—1306 AD), ruler of Transoxiana.[483] Duva in collaboration with Qaidu fought continuously against Qublai and his descendents on the east and Il-Khans on the west, both of whom had descended from Tolui. Now it is with these two houses, the Il-Khans of Persia and the Chaghtais of Transoxiana, that we are most concerned; because wherever they found some respite from their fratricidal warfare in Central Asia they imposed war upon northern India. So we find that all the Mongol expeditions to India were sent either from Persia or from Transoxiana. Either of the

[482] Rashiduddin Fazlullah, ***Jami al-Tavarikh,*** (Tehran: Bungah-i Tarjumah va Nashr-i Kitab, 1960), 132-33.

[483] Dava was a descendent of Chaghtai, who died in 1241 AD and was succeeded by his grandson Qara Hülegü who ruled until 1265 AD. At his death the great Qublai Khan (1260—1294 AD) appointed Mubarak Shah, the son of Qara Hülegü to rule Transoxiana, but he was ousted by prince Borak, a great grandson of Chaghtai. He was followed upon the throne by Tuka Taimur, who in his turn was ousted by Dava, son of Borak.

two houses wanted to wrest land from each other's territories. And Duva Khan of Transoxiana, who was most unsuccessful against his adversaries, wanted to try his luck in India as well, and constantly sent out expeditions to this country.[484]

The difference between earlier Mongol invasions of India and this new phase of invasions was that earlier the Mongols were a single force against India or its frontier chiefs but after the eruption of internal disagreements the opposing Khans tried to deprive each other of the strength derived from northern India. In other words they extended their internal and family war into the limits of India. Once again Peshawar along with other frontier regions and even up to Delhi turned into a battlefield for the three aspirants of authority, two contestants from Mongols and one from Delhi. In utter disregard to all signs of civility and consideration the blinkered and greedy military generals resorted to their customary and bloody language of sword and deprived the innocent and peace longing ordinary residents of Peshawar and other parts of northwestern India of their minutest ease and pleasure. All types of miseries were piled up at the doors and courtyards of helpless Peshawarites with the earnest desire to prove the strength and greatness by their victors.

After the removal of Qarlugh, Banian, Koh-i-Jud traces and the entire region west of Indus (Peshawar etc.) became direct part of the Chagatai Khanate of Central Asia that now extended to the territories west of Indus. Next Ghazni and the territories west of Indus came under the sway of Qaidu, who had rebelled against Qublae Khan (1260-1294

[484] Kishori Saran Lal, ***History of Khaljis (AD 1290—1320),*** (Karachi: 1950), 129-30.

AD). In this way Balban was now placed face to face against the Mongols with definite boundaries and direct government.[485]

5.10. Peshawar, Khiljis and Mongols (1290—1320 AD)

This period of about thirty years was full of struggle between the two powers around Peshawar. In the first half of it particularly after 1296 AD the position of Peshawar was most vulnerable due to Mongol resolve to overpower their underestimated neighbor, the Sultans at Delhi. In their bid for authority they often overran the frontier provinces and towns causing some serious damages to their economy and society. One can assume that the conditions at Peshawar during those times would never be conducive for the growth of any culture and economy; bear survival rather would have been a big achievement. In those conditions one can visualize Peshawar at that time as a very weak and sick socio-economic unit with no promise for the commoners. But as it is said that every night is succeeded by a day; Peshawar too had a bright phase of respite after that dark period. In the second half of that Khilji era Mongols were forced to step back from all their highhandedness and claims in India; they were no more allowed to play havoc in India. Consequently the bordering provinces and towns which served as home grounds and bases for their trails and imposition of wars in India also witnessed a phase of long awaited period of stability and harmony.

5.10.1. Mongols and Sultan Jalaluddin Firoz Shah Khilji (1290—1296 AD)

[485] Hamdani, ***op.cit.,*** 95.

Jalaluddin was one competent governor, administrator, general and soldier of the Sultanate of Delhi. He had shown signs of greatness in the management of his state assignments as the governor of the frontier post of Samana and in his number of battles fought against the Mongol invaders; later on he was also promoted to the post of *Ariz-i-Mamalik*[486] by Sultan Kaiqubad. When crowned with responsibilities as Sultan of Delhi in 1290 AD he displayed no weakness in dealing with his old enemies, the Mongols. Though the Mongols at that time were too much occupied in settling their own fratricidal wars in Europe, Middle East and Central Asia and were not in a position to try their luck in India again but the heavy costs incurred on those wars necessitated for them to replenish their reserves from India. Consequently, in 1291 AD "Abdullah, the grandson of the accursed Hülegü Khan," according to Barani, "invaded Hindustan with fifteen *tumans*[487] of Mongols in AD 1291. Sultan Jalaluddin Khilji assembled his forces of Delhi and marched from Delhi to meet them with a large and splendid army. The Mongol advance guard has arrived in the boundaries of Baram[488] and the two armies were encamped opposite to each other with a river between them."[489] In the ensuing warfare the Muslim army outclassed the Mongols and they were reduced to negotiate for peace. Mongol assessment of comfortably harvesting the crops of Indian treasures was turned wrong and now they had to sue and arrange for a respectable retreat. On the other hand Sultan Jalaluddin also seemed to be desirous of winning the hearts of his former enemies instead of the war. This stratagem seemed to have

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[486] *Ariz-i-Mumalik* was head of *Diwan-i-Arz,* ministry of war, and was responsible for the maintaining the army in a state of efficiency and for entire administration of military affairs. I.H. Qureshi, ***The Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi,*** (Lahore: 1942), 197.

[487] 150,000.

[488] This is according to Barani. Modern historians like K.S. Lal takes it for Sunam.

[489] Barani, ***op.cit.,*** 148.

worked as the Il-Khan id rulers of Persia always respected their agreement with the Sultan of Delhi and desisted from raiding the territories of the later.

This attainment of strength by the Delhi Sultans turned out to be a good omen for the bordering provinces and towns. Earlier it happened to be a demonstration of brute force and annihilation on the part of Mongols. These reverses as well as excessive engagement in their war within family forced them to abstain from any transgressions lest it should encourage the local remnants to join the party with Delhi against them. So we can say that Sultan Jalaluddin's policy towards Mongols restricted the later, though for the time being, from causing any havoc on the borders.

5.10.2. Duva Khan (1272—1306 AD) and Peshawar

Duva Khan, the Chagataid ruler of Transoxiana and a determined enemy of Hindustan, was responsible for the rupture in that atmosphere of peace on the borders of India. He was also one of those generals who wanted to be known for their strength through their atrocities. He got a firm recognition for the strength of his muscles and nerves in the Mongol external encounters and internal strife after fighting some forty battles in Afghanistan and Central Asia.[490] Soon he succeeded in snatching Ghazni from the Il-Khans and made it a base of operations against India. This acquisition of Ghazni provided him with a sound base to explore into Indian territories. By the end of Alauddin Khalji's reign, Mongols under his command once again placed a claim for their lost territory, dignity and booty in India. In 1296 AD, the year of Alauddin's death, Duva Khan sent an army of 10,000 strong under

[490] Hamdani, ***op.cit.,*** 131.

the command of Kadar.[491] He remained in office for about thirty four years and as long as he lived he kept on dispatching armies to invade India, ravaging Punjab and Sind.[492] Similarly Peshawar, Multan, Lahore and Delhi were also being sacked at different times between 1296 and 1301AD.[493] Though he failed to cause any serious damage to the Delhi Sultanate but for Peshawar and some other frontier provinces and towns his rule was no less than a nightmare. He not only added to the confusion and darkness of the history of Peshawar but further minimized the chances for its any near revival.

5.10.3. Offensive Policy of Sultan Alauddin Khilji (1296—1316 AD)

From 1296 to 1306 AD Sultan Alauddin was unable to check the Mongol penetration into India due to his over occupation in Indian affairs and the high spirits of the Mongol leadership. Though he was quite successful in his retaliations to the Mongol transgressors from Delhi breaking their back bone by causing some unbearable losses but the frontier provinces and towns like Peshawar were left utterly at their mercy. The Mongols so terrorized and handicapped the dwellers of those bordering provinces of India that they often succeeded in challenging the Delhi authorities in Punjab mostly without any resistance. The death of Duva Khan in 1306 AD, however, changed the conditions both for the Mongols and the Sultans of Delhi altogether. At Transoxiana his death was followed by severe family disorder; the issue of succession pitched one group against the other preventing the Mongols from continuing their invasions of India. This furnished the

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[491] Juzjani, ***op.cit.,*** 18. Hamdani ***op.cit.,*** 124.

[492] *Tarikh Ferishta* dates that invasion of Mongols in 1305 AD after which they never came on offensive during the reign of Alauddin Khilji. ***Ferishta, op.cit.,*** 363-64.

[493] Daughlat, ***op.cit.,*** 36.

Sultan at Delhi, Alauddin Khilji, to plan and promote his policy for the frontier as well as parts of Afghanistan. In the first place Sultan Alauddin strengthened his power through his military reforms. Then he ordered Malik Ghazi[494] to invade Mongol territories. According to Barani:

Ghazi Malik who like Sher Khan before him led expedition every year to Kabul, Qandahar and Garmsir, and plundered and ravaged those regions and levied tribute from their inhabitants. The Mongols had not the courage to come and defend their own country against him.[495]

From these initiatives of Ghazi Malik we can conclude that the Sultan went for the policy of offence as the best form of defense. He not only made use of army for the extension of his influence in Mongol territories but also demanded for the Khutba to be read in his name in those territories.[496] Now this sort of demand gives us an impression that the influence of Alauddin Khilji was fully established in the Mongol territories, at least up to Ghazni. This might be the reason that after 1307 AD the Mongol inroads were almost dried up against India. Amir Khusrau is reported to have remarked, "Fear and terror now ended, their desire of coming to Hindustan was warded off from their breasts and they created no trouble till the end of Sultan Qutbuddin Mubarak Shah Khilji's reign."[497] It was one magnificent accomplishment of the

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[494] The future Sultan Ghiyasuddin Tughluq (1320—1325 AD) known for his bravery and skills. He held the territory of Dipalpur and Lahore and until the end of the rule of Qutbuddin Mubarak Shah Khilji (1316—1320 AD) he proved a barrier to the inroads of the Mongols occupying the position formerly held by Sher Khan. Ziauddin Barni, ***Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi,*** (ed.) Sheikh Abdur Rashid, (Aligarh: 1954), 211.

[495] ***Ibid.***

[496] Hamdani, ***op.cit.,*** 132.

[497] ***Ibid.,*** 132-33.

Sultan that the Mongols which were once a permanent source of great trouble for the bordering provinces and towns of Indian government were made to seek for peace. An atmosphere of peace and tranquility, no doubt temporary, flourished in the territories once exposed to the highhandedness of Mongols; once again the people of the area carried on their agricultural pursuits in peace.[498]

The people of Peshawar may also have benefited generally from that show of strength. Though again we do not find any out right mention of the name of Peshawar any where in historical documents but based on the conclusions of Hamdani we can assume that Peshawar might equally have benefited from that provision of peace.

5.10.4. Under Qutbuddin Mubarak Shah (1316—1320 AD)

Things remained as they were for Peshawar during the reign of Sultan Qutbuddin Mubarak Shah. The effective steps taken by Sultan Alauddin Khilji during his tenure kept the Mongol invaders from Afghanistan and Persia at respectable distance from Indian borders. In the presence and continuation of Ghazi Malik as the warden of Indian north-western frontiers any adventurism or indecency on the part Mongols was a rare possibility. Besides, there was no sign of any threat from the Koh-i-Jud tribes (Khokhars) as they were no longer the allies of the Mongols against the Delhi Empire. On the contrary they preferred to be on good terms with the Sultans of Delhi. So we can say that the policy, towards Mongols, of Sultan Alauddin continued during the reign of Sultan Qutbuddin Mubarak Shah and thus the results particularly for the bordering provinces and towns were quite similar to the earlier, i.e. peace and stability.

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[498] ***Ibid.,*** 133.

5.11. Peshawar, Tughlaqs and the Mongols (1320—1413 AD)

We have noticed in the previous discussion that the Mongols after their initial rise had started to show all signs of weakness. They were no more the same old horrifying Mongols, their chill and terror was now missing. No doubt they still kept on testing the strength of their sinews against India, but failed to cause any significant impression. This, however, was not the case with our subject area, Peshawar. Delhi's negligence, caution, contentment, limiting their area of responsibility and maintenance to a manageable size or whatever other reason we may assign, kept Peshawar out of their interest which was equal to providing a free hand to Mongols or any other regional force to place claim over, and benefit from it. So despite their weakness the Mongols were able to move into the valley of Peshawar whenever it suited their purpose. We hear almost nothing of Delhi defending its positions against the Mongols at Peshawar or rather on the eastern bank of Indus. Keeping in mind this entire scenario we find this war of superiority being fought amongst the Mongols and Tughlaqs strewn with phases of extreme estrangement and respectful co-ordination. During all these phases Peshawar got impacts of minor magnitude from one or the other party including some reports of its physical possession by the Delhi Sultans. Let us now explore these impacts.

5.11.1. Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq (1320—1324 AD)

Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq was not new to the Mongols. As a matter of fact he played quite an instrumental role in warding off the Mongols while in service of Alauddin Khilji. It was due to his swift and befitting

actions against the Mongols that they turned their face away from India. His accession to the throne of Delhi in 1320 AD was a sort of surety for restricting the Mongols to their existing locations. The repeated upheavals and disintegration on the Mongol side, supplemented with relatively more focused and serious efforts by the Delhi government to buzz them off the Indian frontiers was the main key for the fall of former and the rise of the later. Best of their best officers were often deployed by the Delhi Sultans to guard their western frontiers. Their competence can be understood from the fact that quite a few of these generals on the northwestern frontier later on succeeded in filling the post of Sultan whenever it fell vacant. This was precisely the situation in case of Sultan Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq. And when on the eve of his accession he called for the assembly of Amirs and Maliks; they commended him as follows:

You Ghazi Malik decidedly command our allegiance, for so many years you have been our protection against the Mongols. It is on account of you that the Mongols ceased to invade India.[499]

Having the earlier rich experience of Mongols he went for a fool proof arrangement for the protection of Delhi against them, by assigning responsibility to the best amongst his generals to take care of provinces and location in that particular direction. But here again we find arrangements made only for the territories lying east of Indus, signifying that for the sultan/s of Delhi Peshawar, or for that matter territories lying west of Indus were not taken as a part of their responsibility or territory seriously. Their approach to Peshawar was only of some emergency nature and immediately after the culmination of that emergency they preferred to go back to their old position. All

[499] Barani, ***op.cit.,*** 228.

the arrangements made by Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq were to check any adventurism or mistake from Mongol side against Delhi on the eastern side of Indus. Ferishta, however, tells us, though incompletely, about some arrangements being made by the Sultan on the western side of Indus:

> The King [Sultan Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq], meantime, stationed troops on the Kabul frontiers, and built forts to protect his dominions from the incursions of the Moguls, which so effectually answered the purpose, as to prevent his being troubled by these invaders during the whole of his reign.[500]

This reference from Ferishta does show that Ghiyasuddin was prudent enough to restrict, challenge or face the Mongols in their lands instead of indolently waiting for them in his lands. It was probably equivalent to capturing the initiative instead of leaving it for the enemy. His attempt to go for the protection of his regime from beyond the Indus can further lead us to assume that Peshawar may have also enjoyed few days of peace and stability under him. If he was planning from the borders of Kabul which is located geographically ahead of Peshawar, we can not rule out presence of forces and administration of Delhi Sultanate from Peshawar. Its form and status, however, still poses a difficult challenge for our study particularly when the primary records remain lip tight. We can safely and only dare to say that much for the status of Delhi's hold over Peshawar that it may well have been a very loose and irregular military encampment that could be abandoned safely and immediately in case of emergency.

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[500] Ferishta, ***op.cit.***, 403.

Nevertheless, fortunately for Peshawar, it happened so that the Mongols due to their internecine feuds failed to make any attempt towards India. The Il-Khanids, Jöchids[501] and Chagatayids kept themselves so much busy against each other that they could not even think of India. However, according to Isami, they did invade India once but were repulsed successfully by the armies of Delhi placed in Samana under the command of Gurshasp.[502] According to Barani the invasion took place in 1324 AD.[503] The significance of this invasion is that it was the last recorded Mongol invasion of India before the coming Timur Lang. Thereafter, the western frontier of Delhi kingdom became quite safe from further raids of the Mongols.[504]

5.11.2. Muhammad Bin Tughlaq (1324—1351 AD) and Mongols at Peshawar

Peshawar also happened to be under the control of Muhammad bin Tughlaq for some time. Muhammad bin Tughlaq who is known in history for some wishful plans of his, immediately after his accession (1324 AD) led an expedition towards the North-West of his empire. While the Sultan halted at Lahore, his troops took Kalanawr and Peshawar and had the Khutba read there in his name.[505] The way forces of Sultan got hold of Peshawar suggests that the Mongols did not create any problem for them. It may be attributed to the Mongol over engagement in the inter-clan affairs in Afghanistan and Central Asia as well as their repeated defeats and humiliation at the hands of the forces from Delhi. On the other hand the people of Peshawar also seem to

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[501] Later in 16th century 'Golden Horde' was the term used for them.
[502] Abdul Malik Isami, ***Futuh-us-Salatin***, (tr.) Agha Mahdi Hussain, (Bombay: 1967), 214.
[503] Barani, ***op.cit.,*** 450.
[504] Hamdani, ***op.cit.,*** 142.
[505] Peter Jackson, ***op.cit.,*** 231-2.

have caused zero resistance to the forces of Sultan of Delhi. As a matter of fact the assumption of charge by the forces of Delhi was a blessing in disguise if compared with the brutal, exploitative and tyrannical sway of Mongols.

Nevertheless, their stay is reported to be short lived due to acute scarcity of grain and fodder. The hold of the generals of Muhammad bin Tughlaq did not last for more than a few weeks, and they rejoined their Sultan who was stationed at Lahore at that time.[506]

This above reference gives us some clue that the socio-economic conditions of Peshawar at that stage were far from satisfactory. People of Peshawar were forced to live very miserable lives with bear minimum to survive. Had there been any form of prosperity, the forces of Delhi might not have abandoned their hold so quickly. Delhi's swift departure speaks louder than words that there was nothing left with the war stricken residents of Peshawar. The only thing they afforded was subsistence, without any form of comfort. Peshawar had now lived with Mongols for more than a century; a century of oppression, negligence, deprivation and carnage, the generation familiar to bravado, liberty, ego, and respect was replaced by the one who were only exposed to extortion and servitude. The newly migrated residents of Peshawar, the Pukhtoons, seemed to have forsaken their commitment for the city for better prospects in interior India. Only those who were absolutely incapable mentally or physically were the remnants of Peshawar's residents. It appears that the fertile valley of Peshawar seized to be fertile at that time. The sense of insecurity, spoilage and wastage made them too conservative to explore for opportunities and add to their boon. They knew that they would not

[506] ***Ibid.,*** 232.

be allowed to benefit from their labor; so the best way was to wait for the right time; and what a lengthy wait that turned out to be.

Peter Jackson, on the basis of some reference from Ibn Battuta's *Tuhfat al-Nuzzar* narrates:

Another consequence of this campaign seems to have been the incorporation of the Peshawar region into Muhammad's dominions, since Ibn Battuta describes Hashtnagar as 'the last inhabited place on the confines of the land of the Turks [i.e. the Mongols]' and elsewhere indicates that it was a frontier post where the sultan's customs officials levied duties on imported horses.[507]

If we take lead from these references of Ibn Battuta and Peter Jackson we come to an understanding that the abandonment of Peshawar by the generals of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq was not in totality; they probably did maintain some form of their control over this region; after all the trade activity, no matter what poor, still continued through these waste lands of Peshawar and the frontier provinces, to and from both eastern and western lands. The period from 1307 to 1324 AD was that of a relative peace for Peshawar and the frontier region. It was the time during which the Mongols left India un-invaded.[508] So we can assume that despite some very un-conducive conditions there was reason and room for both the Mongols and the Delhi Sultan to look after their interests at Peshawar.

This period of peace for Peshawar also seems correct when we find Delhi moving for friendly ties with Mongols. The accounts of

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[507] ***Ibid.,*** 231-32.
[508] Hamdani, ***op.cit.,*** 191-92.

Barani[509] and Isami[510] tell us that Muhammad Tughlaq gave special favor to the Mongol amirs. It is also significant to note that unlike Minhaj, Barani nowhere states these Mongols as infidels. It seems very likely that the court of Delhi had become an asylum for Mongol nobles. One Halajun Mongol was appointed at Lahore by the Sultan, who rebelled when the Sultan was at Mabar. He was defeated and made prisoner.[511] It, however, did not affect the Sultan towards the Mongol nobles in his service. During Taghi's revolt Muhammad Tughlaq received 5,000 soldiers under Altun Bahadur from Khurasan.[512] After the Sultan's death at Thatta, on the provocation of Amir Nauroz, was enjoying the confidence of the Sultan, these Mongol troops revolted and started plundering the imperial forces. This provided a chance to the nobles to declare Firoz Shah as the new Sultan of Delhi, and the Mongols were dispersed.[513]

The proximity between the two arch rivals narrates by itself that they have learnt the art of respectful co-existence, either because they have exhausted their energies or learnt the futility of warfare. Whatever may be the case, in the light of all these evidences we may say that Peshawar also might have enjoyed the fruit of growth of friendly ties between the earlier blood-thirsty enemies.

Historians are divided in their opinion about yet another attempt on India by a Mongol named Tarmashirin[514] some where around 1327 AD. One group, led by Isami tells us about his barbaric presence in India, claiming for his ancestral occupations and avenging their

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[509] Barani, ***op.cit.,*** 462, 494, 499.
[510] Isami, ***op.cit.,*** 501.
[511] ***Ibid.,*** 471.
[512] Barani, ***op.cit.,*** 533.
[513] ***Ibid.,*** 535-37.
[514] A Chagatayid Mongol and a convert to Islam.

disgrace.[515] The other group opines it to be a friendly visit as both Tarmanshirin and Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq had cordial relations.[516] Whatever may be the case we are not told by any authority about the impacts of this Mongol presence over the socio-political fabric of Peshawar. The areas and names referred by Isami, however, give us a lead that this entrance of Tarmanshirin was from Sindh to Punjab side and not via Peshawar to Punjab.[517] Now this then allows us to believe that if there was any type of loose hold of Delhi over Peshawar earlier, it may have continued unaffected during that expedition by the Mongols. It may have continued successfully till the end of Sultan Muhammad Tughlaq's regime in 1351 AD as we do not hear from any quarter about any disturbance there at Peshawar.

5.11.3. Sultan Firuz Shah Tughlaq (1351-1388 AD)

The Mongols though too weak to pose any serious challenge to the Delhi Sultans, having the old memory of authority and leadership did not waste any opportunity to reassert themselves. Though, at that phase of their history, they never succeeded to capture any territory off the hands of Delhi Sultans but they never failed to keep all of them at their toes throughout their sway. A similar test Sultan Firuz Shah Tughlaq was made to pass right at the very beginning of his rule. The Mongols who had had a military alliance with the late Sultan Muhammad Tughlaq joined hands with the rebels of Sindh and the defected elements of the royal camp and intended to wrap up the chapter of Tughlaq dynasty. Sultan Firuz, however, stood by his ground

[515] Isami, ***op.cit.,*** 462.
[516] Ibn Batutah, ***op.cit.,*** 68.
[517] Isami, ***op.cit.,*** 462.

and with some extra ordinary performance of bravery made them run for asylum.[518]

The Sultan then reversed the policy of conciliation, accommodation, and assistance towards foreign nobles of his predecessor. All the foreign nobles were sent back to their homelands e.g. Sistan, Aden, Egypt, Kusdar and other places.[519] No band of Mongols crossed Indus into his kingdom. The doors of friendship were closed for Mongols.[520] Nevertheless, some Mongol nobles did remain in his service i.e. Kitbugha and Ahmad-i-Iqbal, who remained loyal to the court throughout their life.[521] This struggle between the two camps continued despite acknowledgement by the Mongols of their rear chances of success.[522]

After being turned out of the arrays of friendship by the Delhi Sultan, the Mongols went for a policy of alliances and destabilization from within the sultanate instead of relying wholly on their share strength. As a matter of fact their home governments at that time were undergoing a period of disarray and family feuds and thus were not in a position to support them in India. Even then they succeeded in making a military demonstration and causing some concerns for the Sultan in the year 1358 AD. They came up to Dipalpur but the result was not different from the previous; they had to return before the approach of Delhi forces.[523] As the Delhi Sarkar persistently maintained its first line of defense on the eastern side of Indus and was now too much entangled with the Indian affairs it seems a remote probability that they

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[518] Barani, ***op.cit.,*** 266.
[519] ***Ibid.,*** 538.
[520] ***Ibid.,*** 601.
[521] ***Ibid.,*** 484-85.
[522] ***Ibid.,*** 268.
[523] Hamdani, ***op.cit.,*** 151.

had still thought seriously about Peshawar. Consequently no activity has been reported at Peshawar from their side during this period.

The coming of Amir Timur, a Barlas Turk, infused a new spirit in the decaying Chagatai Mongol regime. The new general once again prepared the Mongols to look for opportunities in India. In India on the other hand a struggle for power started after the death of Firoz Shah in 1388 AD. His weak successors dished-out yet another opportunity to the anti-state Ghakhars in north-west frontier to dream again for their own independent homeland. The governors too turned insubordinate and acted according to their own whims. These circumstances once again swung the fulcrum of advantage in favor of the brave, organized and composed Timur. Taking advantage of these conditions and after making all the important calculations he marched towards Delhi in AD 1398 and with a single blow caused an end of the all hollow royal dynasty of Tughlaqs.

5.12. Peshawar and Timur-i Lang (1398 AD)

We find Peshawar expressionless, motionless and almost referenceless during the advance and presence of Timur in India. It seems that in the absence of any genuine leadership to defend its cause and being betrayed by it new residents Pukhtoons, Peshawar had learnt the art of entering into its cocoon of disregard and impartiality in times of upheavals. Timur during his brief stay in India did appear and perform with his full forces couple of time in the vicinity of Peshawar with a very plain response from its population. It was the same Peshawar which at one stage was in the fore front of the politics of Europe, Central Asia, Afghanistan, and India but now times have

changed and the detest for politics and politicians was visible all around Peshawar.

Timur, known in history as Tamerlane, was born at Kesh, near Samarqand, about the year 1336. His family had been settled there for two hundred years, and had held high positions. Timur possessed almost the same organizing genius as Changez Kahn, from whom, in female line, he was descended;[524] he almost equaled him in ferocity and was quite reckless in the achievement of his aims. At an early age he had succeeded in gathering in his own hands the guiding-reins of the Tatar tribes in Central Asia, and finding himself master, he began at once to carry terror and devastation into neighboring countries. Having laid waste the countries of Afghanistan, Persia, Circassia, Georgia, Mesopotamia, and the southern parts of Russia he prepared to invade India.[525]

Timur before exploring opportunities and accumulating riches in and around Delhi spent about six months in the bordering tribal areas around Peshawar conquering Hazara and Bannu districts.[526] This was his first appearance close to Peshawar. He was having all the support of Pukhtoons in his adventure against Pukhtoons and other communities of India. The leaders of his Pukhtoon supporters included Malik Habib Sturbani, Malik Khizir Sarwani, Malik Bahauddin Niazi, and Malik Yousaf Sarwani.[527] Timur remained in India for about 15 months[528] and amassed countless riches and curses in the name of Islam. After satisfying his hunger for loot, plunder and carnage he opted for return

[524] This is one debateable issue.
[525] Col. G.B. Malleson, ***History of Afghanistan,*** (Peshawar: Saeed Book Bank, 1984), 115.
[526] Muhammad Shafi Sabir, ***Story of Khyber,*** (Peshawar: University Book Agency, 1966), 58.
[527] Kaka Khel, ***op.cit.,*** 216.
[528] ***Ibid.***

to his beloved capital Samarqand through Khyber. Here we find once again historians being unfriendly towards Peshawar for not furnishing us with the details of his stay here. Going to Afghanistan, passing through Khyber Pass and no mention of Peshawar clearly tells us about the criminal negligence of historians of that time along with the story and reason of Peshawar's poverty in historical records. One other reference of Stanley Lane-Poole also helps us in a way to deduce his presence at Peshawar.

Timur and his invincible host marched beneath the sloping eaves of India, and, after a final rhinoceros hunt, disappeared up the Afghan valleys.[529]

Keeping in view the famous reference of *Tuzuk-i-Baburi* regarding Babur's hunt of rhinoceroses at Peshawar[530] we may allow our imaginations to take the above reference to be one clearly directing for his presence and stay at Peshawar.

As a result of that invasion the Frontier province and some areas of Punjab were declared parts of Timur's empire.[531] Though there is no mention of Peshawar specifically but we can assume it to be a part of Timur's government as parts of Punjab cannot be held in isolation of Peshawar. Khizir Khan, Timurid supporter in India was declared ruler over Multan, Dipalpur and Lahore. The government at Delhi continued with its phases of feuds, rivalries and uncertainty for some more time and was not in a position to follow any assertive policy towards the northwestern frontiers.

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[529] Stanley Lane-Poole, ***Mediaeval India,*** (Lahore: 1979), 160.
[530] ***Gazetteer of the Peshawar District, 1897-98,*** Compiled by Punjab Government, (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 1995), 52.
[531] Shafi Sabir, ***Tarikh-e-Suba Sarhad, op.cit.,*** 260.

Nothing different or new was available for Peshawar during all this episode of Timurid invasion. It was more or less the status up to the coming of Babur who was the first person after that extended period of anonymity and trials to have once again laid the foundation of a regular government for Peshawar.

All along this period, Peshawar bore the burden of the Mongol invasions. When the Mongol empire was established in Afghanistan, Peshawar Valley lay at the margin of both the mighty empires and served as a buffer zone between them and was engulfed in the cataclysm brought about by the Mongol invasion. The Muslim capital of Delhi kept their hands off from Peshawar and restricted themselves, at the most, up to the western banks of Indus to be on safe side. There were so many aspirants for authority in that region right from the very beginning that it was much prudent to forget about it lest the play of fire should cause burns to their safe abode or person. The Sultans of Delhi tried to maintain their first line of defense limited to Lahore or at the most up to the eastern end of Indus and went for battle field only when that line was attempted by any adventurer. That, however, does not mean that the Sultan's have altogether forsaken the thoughts of extension of their rule beyond Indus. At occasions whenever the throne of Delhi was adorned with any accomplished Sultan, we do find them attempting far beyond Indus, ensuring their rule and authority at even Kabul and Ghazni, some hubs of enemy's activity particularly against India. This happened usually when the Mongols grew weak due to their internal divides. The Sultans are occasionally reported to have secured possession of Peshawar but in the given conditions it was really an uphill task to maintain it particularly through attaining the popular support. For the people of Peshawar the only safe passage in those trying and turbulent time was to become absolutely impartial or at least

pose like that. Any over commitment could have attracted added miseries from any of the two main claimants. It was just like a fight of two wild elephants and coming in the middle of it or becoming any part of it might have caused irreparable injury to Peshawar and its residents. So the best way to move in that time was to pass un-noticed.

Here we can also conclude in the absence of any local big name assertion and recognition on the part of Peshawar was next to impossible. The immigrant Pukhtoons, who happened to be the standard bearers of Islam too have replaced the population, culture as well as the religion of Peshawar. And when it came to the defense of Peshawar, with whom they had but a less historical commitment or bonding, they preferred to salute the rising sun towards Central Northern India that was more promising and less scary. So the pain evaded by the community was solely spared for the land as we do find the Pukhtoons benefiting at other locations both in India and Afghanistan by joining hands with the rulers in their respective areas. In this way we find Peshawar; once a shining star, a seat of government and culture, a hub of political and financial activity, leading a fatherless, motherless life of anonymity and ignominy with no one to weep when it was hurt. Peshawar was forced to lead a life in wilderness wandering for respect and recognition. Comparing the track record of Peshawar, the way it was held in esteem by the earlier invaders of subcontinent or it enjoyed a respectable status if not that of a capital, with that of our present study period - under Mongols - we may say that an important key or cure for the Mongol pain of Delhi was none other than Peshawar. The failure of Delhi Sarkar to realize this reality soon watered the venomous Mongol bushes into strong trees of resistance. And if we attempt to excuse the Delhi Sarkar for it in the beginning, it was very much possible in the latter phase roughly starting from 1307

AD onward when the Mongol magic had started faltering and was not that effective. That was the time when investment and commitment for Peshawar could have provided them with an invincible bastion for their Indian possessions. Their failure to discern that cure not only multiplied their problems in their other Indian possession but also added innumerably to the days of miseries and anonymity of Peshawar.

The Mongol tactic of devastation and terrorizing Peshawar and its residents and other frontier regions was a part of their policy of depriving the Sultans of Delhi of any forward basis against them. Peshawar being populated by a marshal, immigrant race of Pukhtoons and having played vibrant role in past needed to be properly defused lest it should cause any trouble for the Mongols in their plans for India in future. So right from the very beginning, starting from Changez Khan, attempt was made to chop off all wings of Peshawar and its residents for any manly performance by imposition of terror, loot and carnage. Changez Khan made it a point before leaving India after his first appearance in 1221 AD to send armies against Peshawar and other Pukhtoon areas around Peshawar and cause as mush insult and injury as possible to make them realize of the consequences of any future insubordination or animosity. They made such a horrifying image of theirs in the minds of the people that they should desist from supporting any adventurism against them from the direction of Delhi. On the other hand besides this psychotherapy they financially so strangulated the area, by destroying their crops and habitats and also indiscriminate carnage that Peshawar grew practically impotent to serve as a forward base against them.

Chapter 6

Pukhtoons and Peshawar

In the period under discussion (1000—1526 AD) Pukhtoons also played a significant role in the formation of historical course of Peshawar. It was during this period that some major tides of Pukhtoon migration to Peshawar and India took place. The Pukhtoons besides developing an unbreakable future bond and fusion with Peshawar and India also influenced immensely the socio-religious outlook of it. Peshawar underwent a mega change both in its dwellers and its culture. Pukhtoons though familiar with Peshawar even before Islam, during this period, made their appearance at Peshawar as the standard bearers of Islam. The fusion of this martial race and the new ideology of Islam had revolutionalised their approach. This new union was capitulated in its best proportions by the young and charismatic leadership evolved at Afghanistan and Central Asia. They accompanied their imperial partners in their conquest of Peshawar and India to never leave it again. In case of Peshawar they adopted it as a permanent abode for themselves in India, close to their original homeland. On the other hand when the Muslim invaders from Central Asia decided to settle permanently in India it became all the more important for them to encourage these Pukhtoons to settle in India. In this way Peshawar and Pukhtoons turned into a need, demand and necessity for each other.

Once part of Peshawar and India these Pukhtoons played a distinctive role in the Indo-Muslim history and made some remarkable contributions to its political, social and cultural trends along with that of the subcontinent. A virile and bold people, they invigorated the Muslim state and society and left a precious legacy in administration

and culture to the succeeding generations. In their migration and extra ordinary performance their location in the mountainous regions of Afghanistan, less promising in terms of financial wellbeing, played a key role. Whenever any invader, in his pursuit of name or riches of India, happened to cross the Pukhtoon territories, these Pukhtoons generally hooked themselves up to them for better economic prospects. Their tough and marshal habitat and build up facilitated them for accommodation by any adventurer trying his luck in the alien lands of India. This union of necessity bore fruits for both the hosts (invaders) as well as their parasites (Pukhtoons). The impacts of this union were far reaching for both the parties; if for the hosts it temporarily added to their coffers, land and grace, for the parasite Pukhtoons the same additions were permanent.

In their search for opportunities in India they repeatedly came into contact and got integrated in different spheres of life and society from the very top to the very bottom. They soon realized that India has much more to offer them than their expectations, particularly with reference to their abode. Though they successfully marched up to the eastern extremes of India, they also noticed the availability of a near, fertile and well protected valley of Peshawar which could have been easily occupied in case of their mass scale migration. Compared to their mountainous habitat this new location was much more promising. For the invaders also, whom they joined, it was convenient to have their assistance in an Indian plain base of Peshawar instead of being located at any distant mountainous position. So an attempt was always made by invaders at different times to encourage various Pukhtoon tribes to migrate en-mass towards Peshawar for the furtherance and protection of their interests in India. Peshawar in this way was converted into a military base of the trans-Hindukush rulers and administrators of India.

Here in this chapter we will make an attempt to look into their coming and performances in Peshawar during our subject period by familiarizing ourselves with their trends and options.

6.1.Pukhtoons

Looking towards the great role they played in the history of Peshawar and India it seems very important to look into the details of origin and introduction of Pukhtoon race. Once they got themselves recognized as a very effective tool with the adventurers of India, particularly towards the end of first millennium all sorts of opportunities were laid open to them for exploration. Slowly and gradually they got themselves recognized in all spheres of politics and society. It was this successful introduction and integration of Pukhtoons in the Indian environment that questions were put forth for their origin in later history.

6.1.1. History of Inquiry of Their Origin

The Pukhtoons as a nation acquired their importance in real sense only after being introduced in the politics of India; maybe because history writing got its real impetus only after the start of Muslim rule in India. This Muslim political start in India also happened to be the starting/ introduction point for the Pukhtoon element in Indian politics and culture. As the Pukhtoons also played a reckonable role in the furtherance of Muslim rule in India, attempts were made to look into the details of their origin. However, the real peep into the origin and history of Pukhtoons was initiated for the first time during the days Mughal rule in India which is quite distant and later from our subject period. This subject of origin and history of Pukhtoons failed to attract the attention of both Indian and Central Asian Muslim or non-Muslim

rulers of that period. Slowly and gradually the Pukhtoons succeeded in securing distinctions and authority of that level which paved the way for some discussions and questions of their past. This, however, was initiated for the first time by Mughals. Once in the court of Jahangir – the Mughal King, the question of the origin of Afghans was raised. Taking advantage of the situation the Turks and Persians, being the leading and ruling partners of Pukhtoons attempted to degrade and ridicule them to satisfy their fire of rivalry. The Persian ambassador at that time narrated quite a disgraceful story for their origin, as descendants from *devs* and gave the following account for the satisfaction and pleasure of the king:

Book of authority recounted that once King Zuhak, hearing of a race of beautiful women that lived in some far-off western countries, sent an army thither, which army was defeated by the beautiful women, but afterwards, a stronger expedition being sent under Nariman, they were reduced to sue for peace and gave in tribute a thousand virgins. When, on its return march, the army was one night encamped close to a wild mountainous country, there suddenly came down upon it a phantom, smote and scared the troops in all directions, and then, in that one night, ravished all the thousand virgins. In due time all became pregnant, and when Zuhak learnt this, he gave orders that the women should be kept in the remote desserts and plains lest the unnatural off springs should breed strife and tumult in the cities. This offspring was the race of Afghans.[532]

This narration of Afghan origin led one Afghan Ameer Khan Jahan Lodhi to engage his subordinate Khwaja Naimatullah for an in-

[532] Muhammad Hayat Khan, ***Hayat-i-Afghani***, tr. Henry Priestly as *Afghanistan and its Inhabitants*, (Lahore; 1981), 53.

depth inquiry into the history of origin of the Afghans. Naimatullah sent five of his Afghan servants including, Qutub Khan, Sarmast Khan Abdali, Hamza Khan, Umar Khan Kakar, and Zarif Khan to the Afghan country to probe into the origin of the Afghan races and collect all possible data. The effort initiated by Khan Jahan Lodhi with the assistance of Haibat Khan Kakar the Royal events writer (*wakai navees),* and Naimatullah Harvi resulted in the form of *Makhzan-e-Afghani* as the genuine, respectable and acceptable probe for the origin of the community. In that presentation the Pukhtoons were for the first time referred as one descendents of Bani Israel.

6.1.1.1. Bani Israelite Theory

The Bani Israelite Theory about the Pukhtoons origin or ethnicity tells us that the Pukhtoons belong to the lost tribes of Bani Israel. According to Naimatullah Harvi they are of the twelve tribes who were descended from Yahuda, son of Hazrat Yaqub Alihissalam. One of them was Qais and his son Sawal, known as Talut, were the forerunners of Pukhtoons.[533] This Talut became the king of Bani Israel. After his death two of his sons Barkhea and Armea were assigned civil and military responsibilities respectively by the successor king Daud (pbuh).[534] Barkhea and Armea were succeeded by their sons Asif and Afghana in their respective posts. After the death of these two cousins Bakht-e-Nasr got possession of Syria and Jerusalem and after incurring too many cruelties upon the conquered made them run for asylum in different directions.[535] The descendents of Asif and Afghana headed

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[533] Naimatullah Harvi, ***Mahzan-e-Afghani***, tr. Bernhard Dorn, ***History of the Afghans,*** (London: Susil Gupta, 1965), 28. Pareeshan Khattak, ***Pushtoon Koan,*** (Peshawar: Pushtoo Academy, Peshawar University), 15.

[534] Sayyad Bahadar Shah Zafar Kaka Khel, ***Pukhtanah da Tarikh pah Ranra kay*** (Pashto) (Peshawar: University Book Agency, n.d.), 24.

[535] Kaka Khel, ***ibid.,*** 25, Khattak, ***op.cit.,*** 25.

towards Ghor, Ghazni, Kabul, Qandahar and Koh-e-Firoz, where they prospered and grew in great numbers and fought against the idol worshipers till the days of Mahmud of Ghazni and Muhammad Ghori.[536]

This tribe of Bani Israel is also reported to have been invited by Hazrat Khalid Bin Walid (ra)[537] towards Islam, which is reported to be thoroughly impressed by its teachings. It was this exalted image that made them send a delegation under Qais towards Medina. Prophet Muhammad (sm) very happily received these relatives of Hazrat Khalid (ra) and gave the Islamic name of Abdur Rasheed to their leader Qais along with the titles of Malik and Buthan.[538]

This theory of Semitic origin of the Pukhtoons has been supported and opposed by a number of modern researchers. Pukhtoon writers like Hafiz Rehmat Khan, Afzal Khan Khattak and Qazi Ataullah Khan have supported that while Orientlists like H.W. Bellew, Sir William Jones and Major Raverty have also subscribed to this view on the basis of the Pukhtoon physiognomy and the striking resemblance of facial features between Pukhtoons and Jews. They believe that the prevalence of biblical names, certain customs and superstitions, especially smearing of blood of sacrificial animals, further substantiates this theory. Some later researchers like Professor Pareshan Khatak, however, severely criticized that effort on the basis of not fulfilling the scientific requirements of a historical search and it's failing to bridge some huge historical gaps. He says:

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[536] ***Ibid.,*** 25-26.
[537] Hazrat Khalid bin Walid belonged to another ousted Israelite tribe who had opted for Mecca for their abode.
[538] Harvi, ***op.cit.,*** 37-38.

If the Mughals have distorted history (of Pashtoons) from one side, the Pashtoons in retaliation did the same with history from the other side.[539]

Syed Bahadur Shah Zafar Kaka Khel in his book ***Pukhtoon da Tarikh pa Rana ke*** and Sir Olaf Caroe in his research work ***The Pathans*** place little reliance on Naimatullah's theory of the Semitic origin of the Pukhtoons and say that his account of the Pukhtoons suffer from historical inaccuracies. To disprove the assertion that the Pukhtoon tribes had embraced Islam en-bloc after the return of Qais Abdul Rashid from Medina, the accounts of Al-Beruni and Al-Utbi, the contemporary historians of Mahmud of Ghazna, establish 'that four centuries after the time of Qais the province of Kabul had not Islamized and this was achieved under the Ghaznavids. The Hindu Shahya kingdom of Jaipal extended almost to Kabul, Mahmud had to fight against infidel Afghans of the Suleiman Mountains.' Even Prithivi Raj had cavalry of Afghans in the Battle of Tarain against Muhammad Ghori. Other writers, after a careful examination of the physical anthropology of the Pakhtoons say that difference in features of the various Pakhtoons point to the fact that they must have 'mingled with races who passed through their territory to conquer Hindustan.'

6.1.1.2. Aryan Race Theory

This theory stands for the Aryan origin of Pukhtoons who laid the foundations of a new culture about 1500 BC. As for the land link some considered them northern European people, while some are of the opinion that the northern bank of black sea was their original homeland. Some traced their origin to the southern territories of Russia

[539] Khattak, ***op.cit.,*** 24.

while others consider Mongolia and Chinese Turkistan as their birthplace. However, most of the modern researchers agree on their birthplace lying in between the Pamirs and Oxus, which in history was known as Bakhtar. It was here in the fields of Bakhtar that they breaded slowly and gradually. With the passage of time their number increased which made them move from the green fields of their homeland. One of their main groups, which later on came to be known as Indo-Aryans, crossed Hindukush and settled in the valley of Laghman. Next, their mobile tendency helped them in gradually reaching up to the valleys of Swat and the Indus River. They even crossed the River Indus and penetrated and settled in the Punjab. The vacant, fertile and promising opportunity offered by India further encouraged these new settlers to invite their compatriots to join them over here. As a result migration to India became a popular trend for them. Khyber Pass and Peshawar turned out to be popular passages and abode for them. Their successful march did not even end their in Punjab and soon they were present in the valleys of Ganges and Jumna. The earlier inhabitants of the area — the Dravidians— were continuously pushed by these Aryans and most of them left their lands and migrated to other parts of India. Another part of the same Aryan stock crossed Herat areas and formed the present day Iran. When two of the large parts of the Aryans had migrated from Bakhtar, the lands were then in plenty for the remaining ones, who were known as the central Aryans or Aryans of Bakhtar.

According to the historians, the same Bakhtaran Aryans were the ancestors of the Pukhtoons, they had settled in the areas of Balkh, Herat, Kabul and Gandhara. They gave it the name of Aryana. In the hymns of Rig Veda, there was a clear-cut indication of sindho (inus), kubha (Kabul), kurrma (kurram), gumati (gumal), suvastu (swat) and

other rivers of the area.[540] Philologists agree that Pashto joined hands with the Aryans group of languages. Abdul Hai Habibi, one eminent Pukhtoon scholar, has given a list of Pashto words, which resemble other languages of house of Aryans.[541] Like Aryans the Pukhtoons are also mostly fair in complexion and with a stout physique.

6.1.1.3. Mixed Race Theory

The geo-strategic location of the areas inhabited by the Pukhtoons attracted the attention of all the adventurers of India. It remained a centre of great military activities and has been invaded, trampled and occupied by different invaders, and also remained a battlefield throughout its known history. It also had its relations and links with different nations and ethnic groups. Not only migration has been made to the land inhabited by the Pukhtoons but the land and the people have also been frequently invaded throughout the course of its history. All these resulted in the settlement of a large number of the migrated people and the invading forces in the area, and their becoming part and parcel of the local population or the Pukhtoons, in the course of time, and adopting their language and customs and also adding to their virtues and vices (culture). In this way the Pukhtoons did not remain a pure race or ethnicity because of the admixture of blood of a number of other races and ethnic groups, due to which the Mixed Race Theory has been put forth.

This theory provides the safest passage to the researchers of the origin of Pukhtoons and has been the main stay of the modern researchers on scientific lines. Instead of entangling themselves in a

[540] 'The Geography of the Rigveda' http://www.tri-murti.com/ancientindia/rigHistory/ch4.htm Date retrieved 13/7/2008.
[541] Abdul Hai Habibi, ***Afghanistan: An Abridged History,*** (Arizona: Wheatmark, 2003), 20.

debate for which they cannot provide logical and scientific proof some modern researchers found it convenient to relate the origin of Pukhtoons to all those who had ever been in their vicinity. In this regard James W. Spain states that the origin of "these people has not yet been made completely clear. In a purely scientific sense, it is doubtful if it ever will be."[542] He further says:

It is sufficient for our present purpose, however, to emphasize that the inhabitants of the Frontier are clearly of varying origin. They probably include among their ancestors some of the original Aryan occupiers of the region. Over the course of the centuries the Greek, Persian, Turkic [sic], and Mongol invaders who passed through the Frontier also added their blood.[543]

Greeks soldiers under the Achaemenian Empire and Alexander the Great were stationed in these areas, most of whom latter on opted that area as their permanent abode.[544] It was due to the Greek settlement in the area that the said Greeks became known as Indo-Greeks or Bactrian Greek, and they also established their rule in the area, at the fall of the Mauryan Empire.[545]

6.1.1.4. Other Theories

Besides these popular theories there are certain others which are comparatively less discussed. These include the Banu Qaturite theory;

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542 James W. Spain, ***The Pathan Borderland***, reprint (Karachi: Indus Publications, 1985), 39.

543 ***Ibid.***

544 Sayyad Bahadur Shah Zafar Kaka Khel, ***Pushtun: Tarikh kay A'yeney mayn (550 BC—1964 AD),*** Urdu tr. Syed Anwar-ul-Haq Jillani, (Peshawar: University Book Agency, 2007), 176.

545 For details see A.K. Narain, ***The Indo-Greeks***, reprint (London: Oxford University Press, 1962); George Woodcock, ***The Greeks in India***, (London: Faber, 1966).

according to which they are the descendants of Prophet Ibrahim *Alayhisalam* by his wife Qatura.[546] Some suggest them to be the soldiers of Alexander the great, whom he left in these countries after he had conquered them; and from some Greek colonist who, under the kings that succeeded that emperor, subsequently joined the descendents of his victorious legions. Others affirm that the Copts of Egypt, the Chaldaeans, and even the Armenians, were their ancestors; but the majority of eastern writers consider them to be the descendents of one of the ten tribes of Israel—and this seems to be the opinion of the Pukhtoons themselves.[547]

6.2.Causes of Their Migration

In most of the theories regarding the origin of Pukhtoons, discussed above, we have seen them coming from elsewhere first to their present habitat in Afghanistan and from there to our subject area Peshawar. The question arises, what made them shift towards Peshawar? What were their attractions and constraints? Answering of this question will help us in making a concrete picture for their time-to-time migration in different phases of history and then ultimate adoption of this valley as their permanent abode. Pukhtoon migration to Peshawar and India was, in fact, a combination of both compulsory and optional factors. Those compulsions and options can be defined in economic, political, religious and social ways. India as a matter of fact was quite a familiar land for them. Their earlier cultural and economic contacts had already developed in them fascinations to opt for India, which were further accentuated by the fresh opportunity to find livelihood under different imperial and socio-religiously motivated

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[546] See Kaka Khel, ***op.cit.,*** (Pashto) 51-54.
[547] J.P. Ferrier, ***History of the Afghans***, (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel, 2002), 1.

forces during the medieval period. However, it is worthwhile to mention here that in their mass migration during the medieval period, their time-tested military capabilities played a key role. They were always welcomed, encouraged and respected by the adventurers in India for their martial traits and potentials. To the Pukhtoons this service entailed a better opportunity of livelihood as compared to their mountainous, mostly barren, and generally tough habitat. Gradually by dint of their individual merits and their ability to adjust in different socio-political and economic environment they succeeded in reaching the top most positions in India. Against that background it would be easier to understand and conclude that the episode of their migration to Peshawar and India is extended over a period of centuries and attributing it to one particular date would not be possible and fair.

6.2.1. Scarcity of Resources

Mountainous nature of their homeland spared usually narrow strips of cultivable land scattered over a vast area for the Pukhtoons. Thus, the scarcity of cultivable land owing to the geography of the region fostered a tribal spirit among the Pukhtoons. Complimented with convenient pastures of the western regions (Seistan, Qandhar and Ghazni) of Afghanistan the synthesized situation contributed to the preservation of nomadic cattle-breeding economies. Under the prevalent socio-economic conditions during the Middle Ages these lands could be used as pastures only.[548] The local resources were never sufficient for the fulfillment of demands of its population. Hence under such a condition the surplus population could find means of their

[548] AK Thakur, ***India and the Afghans: A study of the Neglected Region (1370—1576 AD),*** (New Delhi: Janaki Prakashan, 1992), 15.

subsistence only by engaging themselves in cattle-breeding.[549] The nomadic nature of their society and economy with concomitant poverty is quite clear from the fact that the setting of land here (in Afghanistan) was of a much more prolonged character. Even in the 19th century cattle-breeding remained the chief occupation of a considerable size of population which confirms the transitional forms of the economy partly cattle-breeding and partly land-tilling.[550] Poverty and backwardness bestowed upon the Afghans by the Nature has been a constant feature of their culture.

Hence, it may be conclusively said that poverty of the cultivable soil forced the Afghans to leave their homeland and they moved further downwards in search of a new and vast area of cultivable land and pastures. It has been reflected in the writings of Ferishta and others that in about 766 AD they occupied Peshawar and other places falling within the territorial limits of Raja Jaipal, the ruler of the Punjab and Kashmir. After a futile struggle of some months, Jaipal, who had to face the rising Ghaznavid power, also made peace with the Afghans and allowed them to settle in some places of Lamaghan. Fakh-i-Mudabbir mentions Adhira Afghan as *shahna* and *kotwal* under Jaipal.[551] The Afghans then erected a fort in the mountains of Peshawar, which was called Khaibar.[552]

6.2.2. Political Confusion

Besides the scarcity of sources of viability, and martial traits, the political confusion and vacuum in the land beyond Indus also

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[549] ***Ibid.***
[550] ***Afghanistan Past and Present,*** No. 3, (USSR, 1982), 45.
[551] Thakur, ***op.cit.,*** 15
[552] Muhammad Kasim Ferishta, ***Tarikh-i-Ferishta,*** tr. John Briggs, ***History of the Rise of Mahomedan Power in India,*** Vol.-I, (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel, 1977), 8.

played an important part in the immigration and the rise of the Pukhtoons to power in Peshawar and India. The new socio-political scenario of Peshawar and India of that time also presented opportunity to the Pukhtoons to come and explore for their fortune. It started with the fall of the Mauryan Empire where a political vacuum was generated which was followed by various Central Asian tribal inroads of the Scythians and the Kushans. Romila Thapar rightly links this Indian and Central Asian political and socio-cultural drives by saying,

> after the decline of the Mauryas northern India found itself caught up in the turmoil of happenings in Central Asia.[553]

She notifies that immediately after the decline of a strong Mauryan government in India, the socio-political confusion of Central Asia which was there since the 8th century on-wards came to influence the socio-political destiny and outlook of India as well. As a result of limited and inferior local options in Central Asia one finds a huge shifting of population from there during that period. In successive waves the Seljuq, the Ghuzz, the Khital, the Ilbari and the Qarlugh tribes (Turkish tribes) left their Central Asian abode and spread all over the neighboring Islamic lands for better socio-economic prospects. They established kingdoms and empires and on pressure from behind yielded and moved further afield. Thus they overran Iran, Iraq, Afghanistan and India.[554] The new comers in Afghanistan often left little options and hope for the local Pukhtoons in general and in order to avoid any miseries they preferred to migrate and step further down towards South East Asia. Hence the immigration of the Pukhtoons towards Peshawar and India started taking place in a considerable size

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[553] Romila Thapar, ***A History of India***, Vol.-I, (London: Panguin, 1966), 227, 229.
[554] ABM Habibullah, ***The Foundation of Muslim Rule in India,*** (Lahore: 1945), 3.

as is reflected in the writings of Ferishta[555] and others. These Pukhtoon contingents were instrumental in the plunder of Amir Sebüktigin and his son, Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni.[556] The Pukhtoon soldiers were employed in a considerable number by Sultan Muizzuddin ibn Sam in his campaign against India.[557] Minhaj-us-Siraj mentions the presence of Pukhtoon soldiers in Ulugh Khan's (Balban's) army which subdued the revolt of Mewatis.[558] But the major immigration followed apparently as a result of the upheaval caused by the Mongol invasions. It is clear from the fact that not less than fifteen sovereign princes from Muslim Asia had found asylum in his kingdom because Balban succeeded in withholding the Mongol storm when all other rulers failed in their resistances.[559] One can easily make out from this fact that if princes were seeking asylum at Balban's court what options could have been available for the common Pukhtoons of the then Afghanistan. The Mongol menace must have resulted into a major immigration of the Pukhtoons. Thus one may conclude from the prevalent conditions that the political upheaval in Central Asia may have pushed them to immigrate en-block towards Peshawar and India.

6.2.2.1. Mongol Storm

As mentioned above the Mongol menace left little options for the people in authority or the rulers, they followed some similar attitude towards the Pukhtoons masses of Afghanistan being the partisans or supporters of the rulers. It was customary with them to erect pyramids of skulls after their mass scale butchery. When Khwarzam Shah was

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[555] ***Ferishta, op.cit.,*** 8.
[556] ***Ibid.,*** 9.
[557] Thakur, ***op.cit.,*** 17.
[558] Zia ud-Din Barni, ***Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi,*** Prof. John Dowson (ed.) (Lahore: 1974), 57.
[559] Habibullah, ***op.cit.,*** 244.

pushed back across Indus by the invading armies of Changez Khan, similarly the Pukhtoons were also forced to move across Indus under their barbaric influence. Though forced to migrate from their previous habitat, for Pukhtoons it was a blessing in disguise, in absolute contrast to the reasons of Jalaluddin Khwarzam Shah. The instable and barren conditions of their homeland were in total contrast to the comparatively stable and prosperous conditions of India. In the initial phase, however, heavy casualties were incurred upon these Pukhtoons in the aftermath of Khwarzam Shah's defeat. Contingents of Mongols were sent towards Peshawar and Swat to chastise the Pukhtoon supporters of Khwarzam Shah.

6.2.3. Encouragement by Adventurers

Another strong and undeniable motivation for the drift of Pukhtoons towards Peshawar was their encouragement by the adventurers who were heading towards Peshawar and India. Pukhtoon for them were a very promising and handy assistance for them which only needed some organization and refinement. For the fortune seekers from Central Asia it was quite valuable to hold tight the hand of Pukhtoons in their Indian adventures. Pukhtoons were just like the horses that multiplied their effectiveness and speed against their Indian contestants. This was something easily discernable for any military genius and which made their work quiet convenient. These horses were effectively utilized by most of them. They took the standards of Islam along with that of the invader's with an exemplary zeal, and posted it in all the corners of India.

Pukhtoons did not move into Peshawar in one go. Their coming here was rather in phases. According to Gankovsky the Pukhtoons

moved in the plains of Peshawar, Kohat and Bannu in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, to Swat, Kurram and Panjkora as well as to Zhob, Loralai and Quetta in the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries.[560] Though the major immigration followed during the 13th century and onwards, but it was only a part of the long and phased phenomenon. It goes back to Indus Valley Civilization days when there was a trade link between Afghanistan and India. Commercial links between these two countries show a continuous trend except some respite after the Guptas. In this process, people of these two countries got acquainted with each other. In the ancient world-trade Afghanistan and India always played a remarkable part as it was working as a middle land between the East and the West. In that trade activity Afghanistan also enjoyed a significant status due to its geographical location. For the poverty stricken Afghans this trade activity provided yet another opportunity by becoming drivers of pack animals or guarding trade caravans that passed through Qandhar.[561] One more fact is to be noted that cultural contacts of Afghan land with India were also well-established during the ancient period.

Thus we see that the commercial and cultural contacts and, hence, acquaintance with the geography of one another compounded with economic and political compulsions forced the Afghans to leave their homeland and immigrate to India.

6.2.4. Martial Traits

The hilly terrain of their homeland and scarce source of subsistence fostered within the Pukhtoons martial traits. Ecological

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[560] Yu. V.Gankovsky, ***The Peoples of Pakistan: An Ethnic History***, Trans. from the Russian by Igor Gavrilov (Lahore: Peoples' Publishing House, 1964), 130.
[561] ***Afghanistan Past and Present, op.cit.,*** 50.

forces molded them as stubborn and daring soldiers, and even now it produces one of the best fighting forces of the world. Perhaps, natural scarcity and meager means of livelihood have contributed in producing martial races at different places and at different times in history. This was also very much right in case of Marathas of southern-central India as well who gave a very tough time to the Mughals emperors in India, particularly after Aurangzeb Alamgir. It was because of these war potentials of the Pukhtoons that whenever Muslim invaders of India and the sultans of Delhi had to undertake any difficult task and enterprise, they entrusted it to the Pukhtoon chiefs, and their contingents and followings.[562] Almost all the time the work was accomplished in an excellent way. Their war like abilities always remained fruitful for the Muslim rulers of India. Though the Muslim conquerors were not wholly dependent on the Pukhtoons but they did form a unique and successful weapon in their armory. For their utilization in administration Minhaj-us-Siraj states that Balban settled these Pukhtoons in Bhojpur, Kampil and Patiali which were three principal centers of disaffection, disturbance and robbery.[563] This clearly shows their importance for the Sultans of Delhi. This positioning of Afghans and Pukhtoons in those particular areas is also reported in the travel accounts of Ibn Batuta.[564] So we can conclude from here that their quality and potential as a hard-built warrior race also turned out to be one important reason for their enrollment and success in India.

6.2.5. Propagation of Islam

[562] Dorn, ***op.cit.,*** 11.
[563] Maulana Minhaj-ud-Din Abu Umar-i-Usman Al-Juzjani, ***Tabakat-i-Nasiri,*** vol. I, tr. Maj. HG Raverty, (Lahore: 1977), 57-58.
[564] For details see Samuel Lee, ***The Travels of Ibn Battuta: In The Near East, Asia And Africa, 1325-1354,*** (London: Dover Publications, 2004), 98.

Islam has a claim for being the final religion for the welfare of rest of humanity. For the followers of Islam it is compulsory to work for its popularization. Once in folds of the religion of Islam it becomes the responsibility of each and every Muslim to make effort for the propagation of Islam. The Muslims of later ages though did realize their duty but usually and unfortunately faltered in the methodology as being taught by their Prophet Muhammad (sm). The Pukhtoons, after their conversion to Islam, also showed great concern and commitment for the cause of Islam. Besides the other driving forces it appears fair enough to relate that this compulsion, desire and zeal for the furtherance of Islam might also have guided/ herded them towards Peshawar and India. In the following we will now attempt to look into the details of establishment, development and synchronization of political and cultural relation between our subject Pukhtoon nation and Islam.

6.3.Islam in Peshawar and Pukhtoons

The story of Islam and Peshawar is closely related to the arrival of Pukhtoons over here. Nevertheless, it does not mean that Islam or Pukhtoons were in anyway new for Peshawar. Being neighbors of Peshawar Pukhtoons were quite familiar with Peshawar much before the coming of Islam and their mass migration to the valley. The movement of the forces of Islam towards India shifted the mere acquaintance of Peshawar and Pukhtoons into a full fledge, unbreakable and lifelong fusion and partnership of the two. The neighbors of the past initially entered into a partnership that gradually resulted into an unbreakable merger and fusion. The distinct independent identity of both Peshawar and Pukhtoons was replaced by one and they became single for ever after. As for the coming of Islam

to Peshawar, right from its very inception, Islam, as a philosophy, showed all signs of movement and progression in all direction, captivating and capturing the minds of near and distant masses irrespective of their cast, color, age, sex, origin, background and status. The spirit of Islam and the enthusiasm infused by Prophet Muhammad (sm) into the Arabs produced remarkable results. Within a short span after the death of Prophet (sm) Islam was knocking at the doors of Peshawar and India. It was an epoch making episode both in the history of Islam and Peshawar as it left a permanent impression on the subsequent ages of Peshawar as well as India. For a long time to come, and it would not be wrong if we take up to present time, Peshawar became a vassal, a champion and a source of emanation of Islam in its surrounding as well as distant locations.

Though initiated earlier in the days of Hazrat 'Uthman (ra), Islam reached Peshawar and India at a time when the political and spiritual bonds between distantly located Muslim provinces or states had started growing weak. [565] The result was that the rulers of Muslim provinces/ states identified themselves impartially at a time when Islam and Muslim authority was challenged by forces like Mongols.

The Muslim rulers of India could not be said to have totally adopted the missionary methodology of Islam but for India itself a symbolic and strong Muslim representation was accomplished. The crown of popularization of Islam amongst the Indian masses can rightly be placed on the heads of the Sufi saints and not that of Muslim rulers. Nevertheless, one must bear this in mind that political strength always

[565] The Muslim Caliphate had grown huge in territory by the union and merger of independent states of past as its provinces; the growing political weakness of Muslim Caliphate gave way to the identification of these Muslim provinces as independent states under their independent dynasties or Sultans.

contributes highly to the socio-cultural change. The Muslim political heads in India, called Sultans, did forward all possible material and moral support to all those missionaries. Islam in India may be regarded as one most important event in the history of India since the Aryan invasion, as it radically changed the entire directions of Indian history and society, in a way that no other single event has yet done or is likely to do in future. The arrival of Islam to Peshawar can be divided, for the sake of understanding, into the following few phases.

6.3.1. In the Period of Hazrat 'Uthman (ra) or Islam in Afghanistan

In the 31 Year of Hijra Hazrat 'Uthman (ra) sent the forces of Islam under the command of Abdullah bin Atham towards Khurasan. Muslims succeeded in capturing Sijistan, Neshapur, Tus, Sarakhs, Herat, Badghees, Ghargistan, Merv, Talikan, Ghor and Balkh. Besides governors for other areas, Khalid bin Abdullah was appointed governor over Herat, Ghor and Gharjistan.[566] After the death of Hazrat 'Uthman (ra) besides other parts of Khurasan, Sijistan also came under the influence of revolts and uprisings against the Muslims. In order to suppress those uprisings and continue the advance of Muslim forces an army was sent under the command of Abdur Rehman ibn Thumrah. He succeeded in capturing Bust (the center of Sijistan) and Zamindawar but failed to capture Kabul. Here it is important to note that the army under Abdur Rehman also carried some religious preachers who successfully converted a good number of people to Islam. These new

[566] Ferishta, ***op.cit.,*** 3.

converts on their turn played important role in the Muslim capture of Kabul and Gandhara.[567]

6.3.2. Ist Politico-Military Attempt in Peshawar

In 664 AD/ 44 AH Al-Muhallab bin Abi Safra, a lieutenant of Ibn Samurah raided as far as 'Bannah and Al-Ahwar, towns between Multan and Kabul, where he was attacked by thirteen Turkish Knights.'[568] This is the earliest reference in any Muslim record, of the localities on the frontier which are identifiable today. We will take our first lead for the approach of Islam in Peshawar from this very reference of Baladhuri. One usually jumps to the word Bannah for equating it with Bannu but the other word Al-Ahwar also seems to be very important. One manuscript of Al-Baladhuri reads Lahor for Al-Ahwar, a trifling variation in Arabic script. It appears that the reference is to the site near the present village of Lahor, in the neighborhood of Hund in the Yousufzai areas of Peshawar. This village is four miles inland from the Indus at the Hund ford, and is surrounded by five very large mounds, one of which stands fifty feet above the plain. There are also four or five other mounds, almost as large and located two miles away and on the south of next village of Jalsai. This surely might be the place to be equated with the referred early Arab raid.[569] Here it also

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[567] Tor Gul Chamkani, ***Qabail Tarikh kay Ayne Mein,*** (Peshawar: Golden Printing Press, 2005), 31.

[568] Ahmad bin Yahya bin Jabir al Baladhuri, ***Futuhul Buldan,*** tr. Syed Abul Kher Maududi, (Karachi: Nafees Academy, 1986), 402; Elliot and Dowson, ***The History of India as Told by its own Historians,*** Vol. I, (Lahore: Islamia Book Service, 1979), 116.

[569] Tabqat, 'Notes on Afghanistan' p. 319, has a long passage pouring his usual scorn on the identification with Lahore, and says it should be Ahwaz in Khuzistan close to Basrah. But he sustains his argument by assuming that Muhallab could never

seems timely and appropriate to correct one other confusion created by the use of word Lahore. Ferishta in the introduction of his work, calls Lahore as the capital of Raja Jaipal, the Hindu Shahiya ruler[570] which does not seems to be meant for the Lahore of Punjab. If compared with the Lahor located close to Hund this appears to be the right choice. If we take the query to Waihind (Hund), to which the Hindu Shahi at one time were removed, even that was not at the present day Hund. Hund is right on the river bank and is built within a small fort. It is too exposed to have ever been a capital and must have served as a strong point at the fort-head. There are no big mounds there to show the ruins of an old city. The capital itself would have been at a point secure from floods, four miles inland from the river and situated where the great mounds stands around Lahor.

6.3.3. Second Muslim Attempt at Peshawar

In 53 AH/ 672 AD an Arab governor of Sajistan, Abbad ibn Ziyad, raided the frontier regions of India and reached up to the borders of Al-Kandahar where the inhabitants after putting a great show of valor were forced to leave their city for the invaders. The Muslim forces also suffered heavy casualties.[571] The Kandahar mentioned is not the city known today as part of Afghanistan. The city was not known at any rate by this name at that time. Actually the city under discussion was Gandhara (old name of Peshawar). This is also supported by some later references in Al-Beruni, writing in the time of Mahmud of Ghazna in the eleventh century. Al-Beruni speaks of Hindu kings who ruled in Kabul and Kandahar with its capital at Waihind (modern Hund or as we

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have got so far as Lahore, the present capital of Punjab. He seems to be unaware of the existence of the village of Lahor near the Indus in Gandhara.

[570] Ferishta, ***op.cit.,*** 7.

[571] Kakakhel, ***op.cit.,*** (Urdu),169. Baladhuri, ***op.cit.,*** 403.

have discussed above, Lahor close to Hund.) The identity of this earlier Kandahar of the Arab writers is clinched by yet another passage in Al-Beruni who, quoting an itinerary from Punjab to Kabul writes: 'and to Jihlam on the west of river Biyatta is 8 farsakhs, and to Waihind the capital of Kandahar on the west of river Sindh is 20 farsakhs, and to Purshawar is 14 farsakhs.'[572] This early entry into Kandahar, the Peshawar valley, was the last Arab invasion of Gandhara for which we find a clue in Islamic history. Though in terms of influence and occupation these invasions were temporary and fruitless but it's a fact that the Arabs had reached Gandhara much before the Ghaznavids somewhere in the middle of seventh century.[573] It is also possible that due to these invasions the Pukhtoons of Gandhara were exposed to Islam and Muslims and may be some of them even converted to Islam.

Al Baladhuri also informs that, during the days of Muawiya, Abdullah bin Sawwar Al-Abdi was appointed governor of Indian borderland. In fact we hear of a governor of Sijistan separate from that of Khorasan from this time onward. It was the governor of Sijistan who looked after this region and kept his vigilant eye on Kabul Shah.[574] The spread of Islam among the Pukhtoons was one impact of this Arab activity in the Indian borderland. Though there are no direct evidences available for the working of Arab missionaries among the Pukhtoons, the case of Khalid bin Abdullah as an immigrant settler in this part can help us understand for the Pukhtoon exposure to Islam. In this way we can say that the Pukhtoons must have received Islam quite early and

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[572] Abu Raihan Al Beruni, ***Kitab ul Hind (Alberuni's India),*** tr. Edwad C. Sachau, Vol.-I, (Lahore: Sh. Mubarik Ali, 1962), 276.
[573] Kakakhel, ***op.cit.,*** 169.
[574] He was the Kshattriya ruler of Kapisa i.e. Ratbil, the Kabul Shah of Arab chronicles.

were converted to the new faith as a result of the Arab activities in Sijistan, Zabul and in the border of the then India.[575]

As far as Islam in Peshawar is concerned, after its first journey to Peshawar through Arabs, it also found new standard bearers in the form of Pukhtoons. Through these sources Islam made its first politico-military appearances at Peshawar. That does not, however, mean that the people of Peshawar were absolutely unaware of Islam till that time; the socio-economic forces might have bridged the gap between the two quite in advance of these contacts. The relation of Peshawar and Pukhtoons is older than the relation of Peshawar and Islam. The Pukhtoons were in contact with Peshawar, most probably, much before the coming of Islam in Peshawar. The conversion of Pukhtoons to Islam was then equal to conversion of Peshawar to Islam. As we know, in a tribal society like that of Pukhtoons the conversion must have been whole scale, and fired with the new zeal of Islam, it is not unreasonable to believe that they followed the march of the Arabs arms into Gandhara.[576] The task of Pukhtoons and Islam must have been rendered much easier if we assume that the residents of Peshawar and its environs included a good number of their cousin Pukhtoons.

6.4.Pukhtoons and Islam

Prophet Muhammad (Sm) right from the very beginning of Islam demonstrated its missionary and propagative nature. In the sixth year of Hijra messengers were sent to the neighboring empires and states calling them towards Islam or at least acknowledging its superiority. The same trend of carrying the message to far flung areas

[575] Ahmad Hassan Dani, ***Peshawar: Historic City of the Frontier,*** (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel, 1995), 83-84.
[576] ***Ibid.***

of the known world turned out to be the prize and pride of the immediate four successors of the Prophet (sm) in particular and the latter Caliphs in general. The result was that the simple, practical and caring message spread like a wild fire. Taking some gigantic strides, shortening the geo-cultural distances within quite a lesser time, soon it was knocking at the doors of Pukhtoons in Afghanistan. The capacities of Islam for change were blooming at their best under some of its early leadership. Some Muslim generals succeeded in capturing a major portion of eastern Afghanistan. Instead of consolidating their gains they concentrated more on western Afghanistan, with the result that the inhabitants of eastern Afghanistan continued under the control of local Hindu Rajas.[577] As for their religion, it is said that till the tenth century AD, bulk of the Pukhtoons were non-Muslims and practiced Buddhist and Magian religions. Some authors also report them as idol worshipers.

Islam gained real momentum and popularity amongst the Pukhtoons when their land fell under the political control of the Ghaznavids. This political superiority paved the way for the socio-cultural, including one most important religious, change amongst the Pukhtoons. Pukhtoons found the fair and sincere teachings of Islam quite proximate, appealing and comprehensive verses their own code of life. So the roaring rivers of Pukhtoon tribes soon surrendered themselves to the serenity and calmness of the ocean of Islam. The bond thus formed was so strong that despite parting away from the main and simple teachings of Islam, mostly due to the juggleries of opportunists in the form of both the *mullah* and the *mashar,* the Pukhtoon in general is still found bowing to the flag of Islam. They

[577] Haroon Rashid, ***History of the Pathans,*** vol.-1, (Islamabad: Printo Graphics, 2002), 81.

generally do not know how? But they still have their unshakable firm belief that Islam is the only way out for them and rest of the humanity from the clutches of imperialist economic forces. For some, these so called, illiterate Pukhtoons might be the main and prime reason for disorder and destabilization, which cannot be ruled out altogether. Here, however, one should also try to appreciate these poor people's sincere feeling and ambitions, for the emancipation of humanity from the excessive burdens of some tyrant and exploitative economic structures or regimes which are serving the purpose of few resourceful individuals and enterprises at the cost of mass enslavement of some close and distant weak human victims. They might be wrong and might be playing in the hands of some enemies of humanity but the fact remains that most of them are doing all this in the name of betterment of humanity through Islam. Just like our present secular world, they also consider it their right and duty to arrange things they feel good for the ailing humanity. The agenda of secular world though glittering but the socio-economic constraints over a common man and the brutal way it has adopted to crush resistance, is adding to the popularity of this alternative force with which the Pukhtoons are associated. These are some modern time references which, though not altogether irrelevant, came under discussion by the way. Our main focus here is to analyze the initial or primary phase of link developed between Pukhtoons and Islam. Let us start with some of Pukhtoon cultural traits and gauge their compatibility with Islam.

6.4.1. Pukhtoon Culture

The Pukhtoons found their manners and customs quite convenient with the instructions of Islam. It was this acceptance of superior set of principles of Islam which made them surrender to this

foreign rule otherwise all their history, before and after Islam, is witness that they resisted to any other form of permanent foreign subordination. Actually it did not go with their extreme love and commitment to independence. It is true that they have been transiently subdued, but never enslaved or permanently conquered or held in subjugation by a foreign power. The difference with Islam was that instead of conquering their bodies politically it succeeded, after some initial delays, in winning their thoughts and souls. Once surrendered to the philosophy of this religion every act and performance of their turned out to be in its name, to the extent that at times even their tribal and cultural identities were made to bow in front of it. It was considered un-Pukhtoon to be negligent to the instructions of Islam.

Pukhtoonwali is a term used for an unwritten code that controls the way of life of a Pukhtoon. Though the civic life style and exposure to global cultures, due to information age, has brought significant changes in the life and behaviors of the modern day Pukhtoon and they do not appear to be under strict control of the Pukhtoonwali code but still in principle he is bound by honor to respect it and to abide by it. In case of defiance he will bring disgrace to himself and to his family members. This code requires a Pukhtoon to defend his motherland, to grant asylum (nanawati) to fugitive, irrespective of their creed and caste, to offer hospitality (melmastiya) even to his deadly enemy, and to wipe out insult with insult (badal). In the following we will try to look into Pukhtoon cultural traits and their proximity to Islam for a better understanding of their reversion to Islam and its worth for them.

6.4.2. Pukhtoonwali and Islam

In order to understand the strength of the bond between Pukhtoons and Islam and the impact of Islam on them we will now attempt to look into and compare their code and culture with that of Islam. Mawlana Abdul Qadir in one of his essay about "Pushtoo Philosophy" tells us that Islam is completely embedded in the Pukhtoon code of life. The simple life of an ordinary and common Pukhtoon is in conformity with the teachings of Islam. In Pukhtoon code it is must to stand by it whatever is accepted once.[578] According to Abdul Qadir a Pukhtoon cannot be anyone other than a Muslim. He will live and develop like a Muslim and die like a Muslim. He will be extremely ego conscious, kind to guests, trustworthy, protective and promise keeper. He will always abide by the 'Jirga' and will never be insubordinate. An individual away from Pukhtoon society may ask a question that if there were Pukhtoons before Islam how did they survive without Islam before Islam? Actually then it was their Pukhtoonwali that served as their religion. Islam was, after its commencement added and adopted as an integral part of their Pukhtoonwali, as referred above by Mawlana Abdul Qadir. In short the components of Pukhtoon code of life are available to their perfection in Islam. In a Pukhtoon society religious people like *Aalim, Mullah, Talib* and people related to the family of Prophet Muhammad (sm) or other religious pirs like Syed, Mian, Sahibzada, and shrine caretakers etc. are held in high esteem.[579] Professor Pareshan Khattak in his book ***Pushtoon Koan*** says that Islam is a religion of equality and Islamic democracy. Pushtoo was also having some similar characteristics which ultimately turned out to be reason for their wholesome conversion to Islam. Some similar qualities

[578] Maulana Abdul Qadir, ***The Pushtoo Falsafa,*** Lecture notes in Pushtoo, (Peshawar: Pushtoo Academy, Peshawar University, n.d.), 1-2.
[579] ***Ibid.***

might be available in some other nations as well but these were at their best in Pukhtoons.[580]

For the sake of convenience Pukhtoonwali can be further divided into three. The belief part of it includes religion, believes, chastity (haya), personality (serat), ego, commitment to Pukhtoon code (nang), greatness (pat), (ghairat), bravery, courage, and jihad etc. The societal part of it includes mosque, (hujra), home (kor), relatives (azizwali), a body composed of elders for resolution of local issues (jirga), support (malatar)love for land (watandari), placing turbon on the head of someone as a symbol of scholarhood (dastarbandi), being kind to guests (melmastia), seniority (mashari), and partisanship (dala para). Third important thing with pukhtoonwali is related to their character. This includes sending jirga for resolution of disputes, sending ladies for request (nanawatay), (soghat), oath (qasam), (badrage), promise, humanity, loyalty (wafa), sincerity (ikhlas), abidance (tega), and revenge (badal) etc. With all these positive qualities of Pukhtoonwali there are some detestable aspects of Pukhtoon cultural code as well that include for instance idleness (Naisti), extra-intimate and frank friendship (yarana), blaming (tohmat), reprimand (malamat) and shallow attitude (bay-nang).[581] Prof. Preshan Khattak narrates that there is no room for false witness and false oaths in Pukhtoon code of life. According to him Pushtoo (Pukhtoonwali) was there before the coming of Islam and it was converted into full fledge Islamic nationalism by the Pukhtoons. Khadim Muhammad Akbar[582] and Samandar Khan Samandar[583] have

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[580] Khattak, ***op.cit.,*** 136.

[581] Bushra Naseem, ***Pushtoon Koom par Islam ka Folkwari Asar,*** (Influence of Islam on Pushtoon Culture), (Peshawar: Pushtoo Academy & Lok Virsa Islamabad, 2008), 24-25; Khattak, ***op.cit.,*** 136-37.

[582] Son of Mirza Ahmad, he was born in 1888 at Charsaddah. After getting his education he joined the revenue department as a *patwari*. During the Khilafat

similar opinion about Pushtoons and Islam. They say that the Pukhtoons became complete and more illuminious after accepting Islam. In short it can be said that Islam and Pukhtoonwali made and excellent union for which the Pukhtoon remained proud ever after.

6.5.Pukhtoons Gradual Rise to Power

Pukhtoon gradual migration to Peshawar and India was more under the influence of socio-economic forces than the political and religious. No doubt they had strong religious and political affiliations but it would not be correct to say that these factors were primarily responsible for their shift towards Peshawar or India. In words of S.M. Jaffar:

Economic forces such as increase in population, etc., necessitated the outward expansion of the Afghans who migrated to the border-land between India and Afghanistan and colonized in the territory which comprised Kurmaj, Peshawar and Shnuran.[584]

This colonization was seen with serious concern and dislike by the Hindu Shahi ruler of Waihind, Raja Jaipal. The Raja visualized that the Pukhtoon migration could cause heavy consequences for his rule and authority particularly when fresh and energetic blood was continuously being pumped in the form of leadership in the political scene around. This fear on the part of Raja and search for better

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movement, he resigned from service. He contributed in prose and poetry to the journal *Pakhtun*. He supported Pakistan Movement and died in 1954.

[583] Samandar Khan Samandar talks about the subject in his book entitled ***Pakhtane,*** 2nd ed., (Peshawar: University Book Agency, 1957).

[584] SM Jaffar, ***Mediaeval India under Muslim Kings: The Ghaznawids,*** vol. 2, (Peshawar: 1940), 9-10.

prospects on the part of Pukhtoons soon resulted in the form of first skirmishes, and then fully pitched battles between the two parties. Throwing light on this tussle between the two parties Ferishta writes:

In the year 63 AH/ 682 AD the Mahomedan Afghans, issuing from their mountains, invaded and laid waste the inhabited countries, such as Kirman, Sheewuran, and Pishawur. The Raja of Lahore, who was related to the Ray of Ajmeer, sent 1000 horse to attack and annihilate these marauders; but the former being defeated with severe loss, the Raja dispatched his nephew with a force of 2000 horse and 5000 infantry to make a second endeavor to expel them.

The Afghans having procured reinforcements from Khulij, Ghoor and Kabul, to the number of four thousand men, marched against the Indian forces. The two armies fought, in the five ensuing months, seventy actions; but the winter setting in severely, the Indians were compelled to retreat to Lahore, an object which they effected with great difficulty.[585]

In this way the rivalry between the two groups played a decisive role in the drift of the Pukhtoons towards the enemies of the Hindu Shahis. The coming of Islam and their association with the then Central Asian adventurers of India also welded and strengthened their position against their Indian rivals. It was one most appropriate time for the Pukhtoons to en-cash, which they successfully did as the later events suggest. Any failure on their part could have caused an irreparable loss of opportunity.

After the fruitless struggle of some months, the Hindu Shahi ruler Jaipal, who had also to face the rising power of Ghaznavids, made

[585] Ferishta, ***op.cit.,*** 7.

peace with the Pukhtoons by allowing them to settle in some places of Lamghan. The Pukhtoons then erected a fort in the mountains of Peshawar which they called Khyber.[586]

Sebüktigin also realized the importance of martial character of the Pukhtoons, enrolled them in his army and bestowed all possible favors up on them. These mercenaries also found respectable room for themselves in the army of Mahmud of Ghazna. Mahmud in his invasions of 1017 and 1023 AD made Peshawar as the gathering place for his armies, of which the Pukhtoons formed the main part.[587] The chiefs of these tribes were held in great esteem. These tribes were encouraged to settle in the Khyber hills to serve as a barrier between his country and that of his powerful enemies in India (Raja Jaipal and after his death his descendents). The Afridis, according to their own accounts, were brought from the Ghor country and accommodated in their present abodes for the defense of the Khyber Pass. Following the footsteps of Mahmud, Shihabuddin Ghori also reinforced his position by encouraging and transporting fresh tribesmen from the same quarters. The Afridis claim to be Karrani Pukhtoons. They are notoriously predatory and warlike people, of lean wiry built, keen eyes, and hungry features, of light complexion but not of fine physique.[588]

As a matter of fact, Muhammad Ghori did all in his capacity to induce the Pukhtoons to settle in the mountains around Peshawar. Consequently some mass scale migrations took place during his times. These Pukhtoons tribes retained their independence in the mountains, and took no significant part in the conquests and losses of their brethren

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[586] ***Ibid.,*** 8.

[587] ***The Gazetteer of the Peshawar District, 1897-98,*** (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 1995), 51.

[588] H.W. Bellew, ***An Enquiry into the Ethnography of Afghanistan,*** (Karachi: 1977), 91.

in Ghor. Conversely, those tracts occupied by the Pukhtoons were the constant asylums for the princes expelled by the Ghorians in their struggle for power.[589]

In the latter conquests of India by the Muslim rulers at Delhi these Pukhtoons stationed in Peshawar and other locations in India played a very prominent role. Their handy availability at an Indian base Peshawar and its environs highly contributed to the success story of Muslim rulers in India. Qutbuddin Aibak engaged them as hirelings in his conquest of India.[590] Contemporary historian Minhaj-al-Siraj had also reported that Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud's noble Ulugh Khan employed in 1260 AD 3,000 Pukhtoons for subduing the insubordinate hill tribes of Mewat.[591] The Afghan colonies in the south-west of Delhi came to be known as Afghanpur.[592] Balban also settled the Pukhtoons in Bhojpur, Kampil and Patiali, three principle centers of disaffection, turbulence and robbery.[593] Same was the case with the Khilji Sultans of Delhi who continued to employ the Pukhtoons.[594] By the time of Muhammad bin Tughlaq, they became a fairly powerful community in the empire and this is reflected in their rebellions against the sultan in Multan,[595] Gujrat[596] and Daulatabad.[597] All this clearly indicates that the Pukhtoons had grown into a very strong and reckonable force and were weighing their wings to grace the throne of Delhi. With the assumption of authority and Sultanhood by these Pukhtoons in India

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[589] ***Gazetteer, op.cit.,*** 53.
[590] Dorn, ***op.cit.,*** f. 39b.
[591] Minhaj, ***op.cit.,*** 381.
[592] Barani, ***op.cit.,*** 452.
[593] Barani, ***op.cit.,*** 57-58. The places are in Farrukhabad district of U.P.
[594] Dr. MA Rahim, 'The Origin of the Afghans and their Rise to the Sultanate of Delhi', ***Journal of the Pakistan History Society,*** (ed.) S. Moinul Haq, Vol. IV, Part I, (Karachi: Pakistan Historical Society, 1956), 68.
[595] For details see Barani, ***op.cit.,*** 482.
[596] For details see KK Basu's translation of Mubarak Shahi, 115-16.
[597] For details see Barani, ***op.cit.,*** 258. MA Rahim, ***op.cit.,*** 69.

more and more Pukhtoons started migrating not only towards Peshawar but also towards other northern and southern destinations in India. The Lodhi and Suri Pukhtoon rulers of India persuaded many Pukhtoon tribes and clans to come and settle in India.

6.6.Coming to Peshawar

According to Gazetteer of the Peshawar District the Pukhtoons made their first mass appearance at Peshawar towards the close of the seventh century.[598] Before coming to Peshawar they were reported to have held the hills of Ghor and Sulaiman[599] at the time of fall of Persia (AD 650), to the Muslims.[600] The pressure exerted by Muslim forces was not only endured by the Pukhtoons but also was utilized by them to make some headway towards India. At about the same time a series of attacks were initiated by them up on their Indian neighbors of the Khyber Hills and the countries bordering up on the Indus. Particularly the countries of Kirman, Sistan and Peshawar were invaded and laid waste. In this way a struggle between them and the Hindu leadership of North-western India was initiated. The Raja of Lahor who was one relative of the Rai of Ajmer, sent an army of 1000 cavalry to attack and annihilate these Pukhtoon intruders. This, however, did not bear any fruit. Consequently another stronger force of 2000 cavalry and 5000 infantry was dispatched to make a second endeavor to expel them. The Pukhtoons on the other hand also received reinforcements of about four thousand men from Khalaj, Ghor and Kabul. After undergoing through some seventy extensive and serious military encounters between the two armies within a span of five months, it ultimately resulted in the

[598] 682 AD/ 63 AH. Ferishta, ***op.cit.,*** 7; Gazetteer, ***op.cit.,*** 49.
[599] Located between Peshawar and Multan. Ferishta, ***op.cit.,*** 6.
[600] Gazetteer, ***op.cit.,*** 49.

success of Pukhtoons.[601] The Pukhtoon first ever mass scale movement and shift in the direction of Peshawar was the trophy and impact of success in those 70 battles. The Indian forces were never prepared to let go their claim over Peshawar but at that crucial moment the Gakkhars stepped into the affair from Pukhtoons side to push the pendulum of advantage in their favor. The contact of Pukhtoons and Peshawar thus established grew stronger and stronger both in magnitude and quality with the passage of time. This success of first phase of Pukhtoon immigrants encouraged more of their races to think and opt for a comparatively far superior habitat of Peshawar.

Second major phase of Pukhtoons shift towards Peshawar initiated with the coming of Muslim invaders from Afghanistan towards India. The economic and religious prospects served as strong stimulants for those invaders. In their pursuits they could not fail to appreciate the marshal spirit of Pukhtoons and did all in their capacity to encourage them to join in their attempts in India. They were rather encouraged to shift en-block to keep a watch of the invaders' interests. At the accession of Mahmud in 997 AD these Pukhtoons were largely employed as soldiers in his army. Mahmud was indeed greatly indebted to these Pukhtoon soldiers for his successes in his various military expeditions and extension of his territory on either side of his empire. In particular these Pukhtoons were successfully utilized Mahmud in his repeated invasions of India. It was because of those successes of Mahmud encouraged them for mass-scale migrations and settlement at Peshawar and other parts of India. The Pukhtoon chiefs were treated with honor and were encouraged to settle with their tribe at Khyber hills to serve as a barrier between his country and that of his powerful

[601] Ferishta, ***op.cit.,*** Vol. I, 7.

enemy.[602] He wanted to make use of their numbers and restless spirit for the furtherance of his objectives in India. Large bodies of Pukhtoons or Afghans were transported to various provinces of his Indian conquests and there they were planted as military colonists.[603] The most important stations where these Pukhtoons or Afghans were positioned included Peshawar, Rohilkhand, Multan, and Derajat.[604]

During the ascendency of Ghaznavid dynasty, that lasted about 188 years, these Pukhtoons, who at first usually occupied a subordinate position in the army and the country, gradually rose into prominence and power. They succeeded in it basically because of their soldierly qualities and their prolonged stay in the arenas of authority. The power thus acquired was turned into their own advantage and about the year 1150 AD, aided by their countrymen and confederates of Ghor they succeeded in supplanting the dynasty of Ghaznavid sovereigns by that of Ghor, in the person of Suri, an Afghan Prince or chief of Ghor.[605] Though that Suri Prince was later on captured and killed by the Ghaznavid representative Bairam in 1151AD but by then it was too late. Damage had already been done. The lion was out of its cage and that also with the smell of blood. The Afghans kept on their journey to the realms of power and authority till they acquired complete charge of the land once known as Ghaznavid Empire. Both Afghanistan and Indian parts of it, including Peshawar came directly under the control of these Pukhtoon rulers.

Nevertheless, their coming and settlement at Peshawar did not happen to be the end of their success or desires. All that glory and the

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[602] Gazetteer, ***op.cit.,*** 51.
[603] H.W. Bellew, ***Journal of a Political Mission to Afghanistan in 1857,*** (Lahore: Oriental Research Center, 1978), 79.
[604] ***Ibid.,*** 80.
[605] ***Ibid.***

amount of land seized by them seemed insufficient to quench the thirst of these Pukhtoons. They were now prepared enough to complete the unfulfilled agenda of the conquest of rest of India.

Conclusions

Peshawar enjoyed a significant place in the socio-political, cultural and economic history of the region. It played vital role in the promotion of Buddhism and Islam in their west-ward and east-ward movements respectively. It served as the seat of government of Kushans and a cradle for their Gandharan civilization. Peshawar witnessed number of political and military adventures on both its Indian and Central Asian sides which were undertaken by different fortune seekers at various stages of history. The impact of these maneuvers was that the land remained blessed or oppressed, depending on the kind and level of interest of the adventurer. This was the reason why Peshawar remained known and unknown in history.

Looking for the Medieval History of Peshawar was really a difficult job as no earlier research on the period covering any social, political and cultural aspects, outrightly, was available. The available documents only furnish us with some passing references of Peshawar, its people, their political affiliation and attempts which are extremely insufficient to develop a full and comprehensive picture of the politics and society of Peshawar. As a matter of fact this non-availability of any earlier attempt on these particular issues became the main reason for the present attempt in that direction. The next task in front was how to develop any politico-social structure of a place in the absence of sufficient requisite information? After the extension of Muslim political and military forces towards Peshawar and India, and secondly after the establishment of strong military regimes on both Indian and Central Asian sides of Peshawar the focal worth of the vale gradually

withered away. From the earlier status of hub of socio-political and cultural activity in the region it now assumed its new status, which was like a grain in the middle of two giant grinding stones. From one launching base of Buddhism, the Kushan seat of government, cradle of Gandhara civilization and an Indian base for the medieval Central Asian Muslim adventurers of India it turned into one insignificant and shattered war zone. In these circumstances the only option left with the researcher was to look into the politico-social patterns of the surrounding and to deduce a somewhat relative picture of the subject area. Though it may not be termed as the absolute true outlook for sure; in the absence of any credible account that may be the only course left open for the researcher to fill the otherwise un-bridgeable gap.

The strategic and secure location of Peshawar along with the rich fertile land could have very conveniently served the purposes of adventurers from both Indian and Central Asian sides. For any fortune seeker on either side of it occupation and effective control and utilization of Peshawar was in no way any option but was rather a compulsion. In case of ignorance or negligence of this fact chances of peaceful and useful continuation of rule and authority on either side of Peshawar were greatly undermined. This was the mistake committed by the successors of Mahmud Ghaznavi who by leaving this post poorly protected, in a way, facilitated the job of their Ghorid successors. As a matter of fact for anyone seeking peaceful and successful authority on either side of Peshawar the importance of this vale was undisputed. And if that was the case with authority on one side of Peshawar, its worth for authority on both sides can also be imagined.

It was only after the establishment of strong military regimes in both India and Central Asia (Afghanistan) that the strategic status of Peshawar underwent a radical change. The once blessing in the form of strategic location turned into a curse. The military regimes on either sides of Peshawar after realizing the futility and devastation in case of any adventurism found it better to be contented with their respective possessions. With the exception of some occasional outbursts and show of strength they usually remained silent and strictly restricted to their areas. Its most devastating impact for Peshawar got expression when, in order to deprive and discourage the enemy of any advantage every attempt was made to keep Peshawar and its inhabitants as humble and demoralized as possible. Right from the very beginning the Mongols came harshly upon the Peshawarites to: i) avenge for their religio-communal political alliance with the Khwarzam Shahs and ii) to crush even any futuristic desire for resistance or insubordination. Now that brutal policy of Mongols was not for one time as it continued for up to their political and military supremacy in Central Asia. One gruesome impact of that attitude and policy of Mongols was socio-political and cultural devastation or rater infertility of Peshawar. The people of Peshawar were forced to survive under the shadows of fear and uncertainty. To the extent that for that period we hear nothing of Peshawar in any sphere of politics and society. A dark curtain of obliviousness was drawn around the vale that allowed no ray of identity or recognition step out through it.

In search of the reasons for the loss of Peshawar in record of past it was also felt that the vale played central role when it was at the centre and ceased to play the same when it was not at the centre. By that I mean the canvas or frame. When the political frame was placed in a way that Central Asia or at least somewhat of our present

Afghanistan and northern or north-western parts of subcontinent were all parts of one regime, Peshawar naturally acquired a central position and status. Whereas in case the political frame was set in a more eastern or western direction from Peshawar, its position and status became more a peripheral one with less worth and recognition. The development of strong military regime in India shifted the centre of activity and attraction away from Peshawar. In the presence of strong Mongol forces with whom the Sultans of Delhi were reluctant to open hostilities, the only safe option for them was to forget about Peshawar and other north-western border areas for the time being. It was only after the appearance of Babur on the scene that serious attempts were made for the re-union of Central Asian and Indian political frames, bringing about or restoring the earlier central status of Peshawar. Babur's depiction of marshy lands and hunt of rhinos tells the story of hardships Peshawar might had experienced before its ultimate rescue, recognition and retrieval. Once again a single ruler on both sides of Peshawar succeeded in endorsing the central and militarily strategic position of it.

Another important fact to note here is that the way Central Asian governments harshly and indifferently dealt with Peshawar shows that they never took Peshawar as a part of their government. Their only interest was maintenance of control so as to ensure safety of their regime. On the other hand for the Sultans of Delhi prime concern from Peshawar or rather rest of north western side was security. For opportunities they had so many options in India that they could easily afford indifference or forgetfulness of Peshawar. Attention to it was rather tantamount to inserting hand in a honeycomb causing fatal threats to their enterprises in otherwise secure parts of India. The way Mongols permanently kept the Sultans of Delhi on guard with their

repeated inroads made it crystal clear that they were on the offensive. For the Sultans it was in no way possible to think of taking charge of Peshawar. They rather depended solely on local and regional alliances with different stake holders. In addition to that they limited themselves to the defense of territories starting from Punjab onward towards Delhi.

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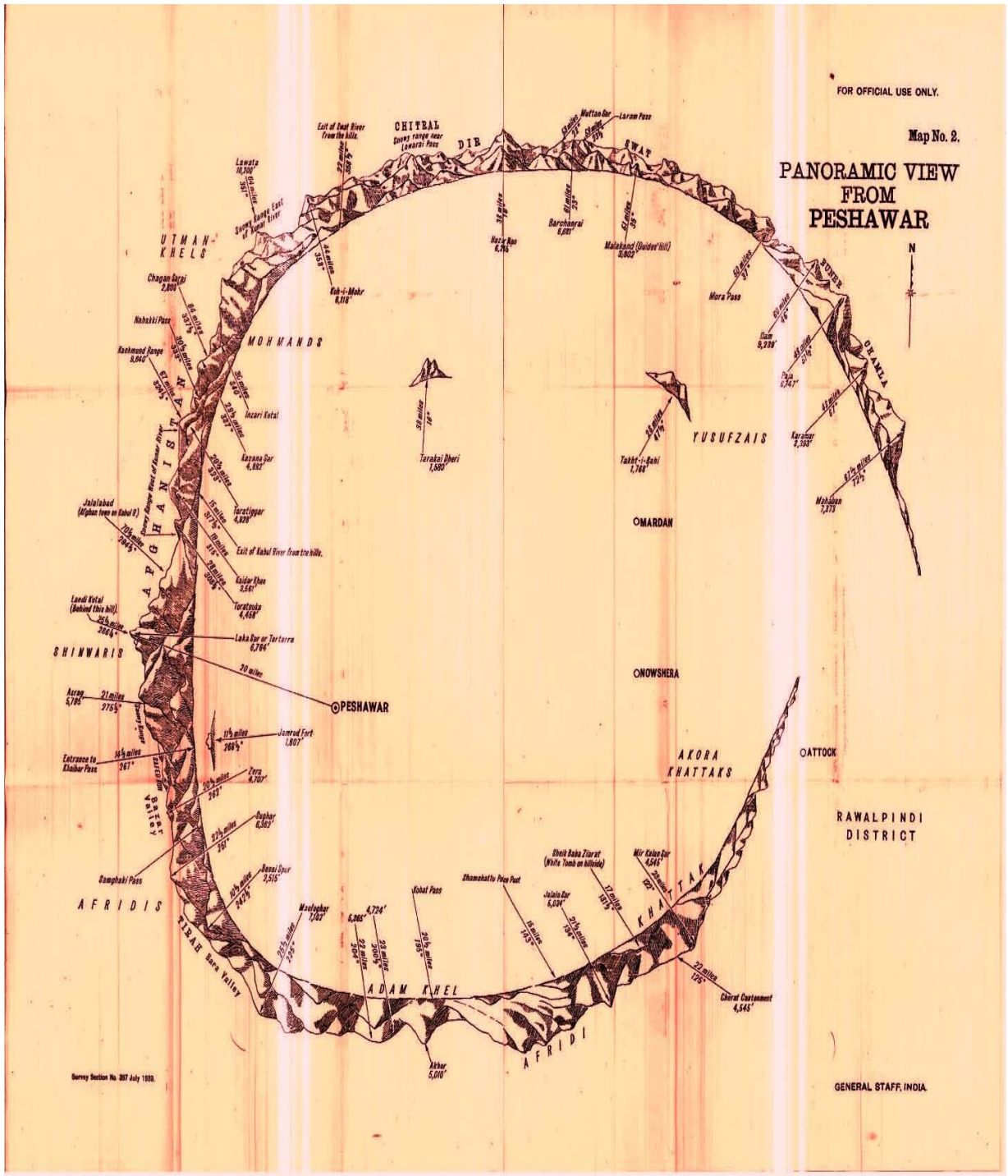
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Annexure A: Maps of Peshawar

Panoramic View of Peshawar

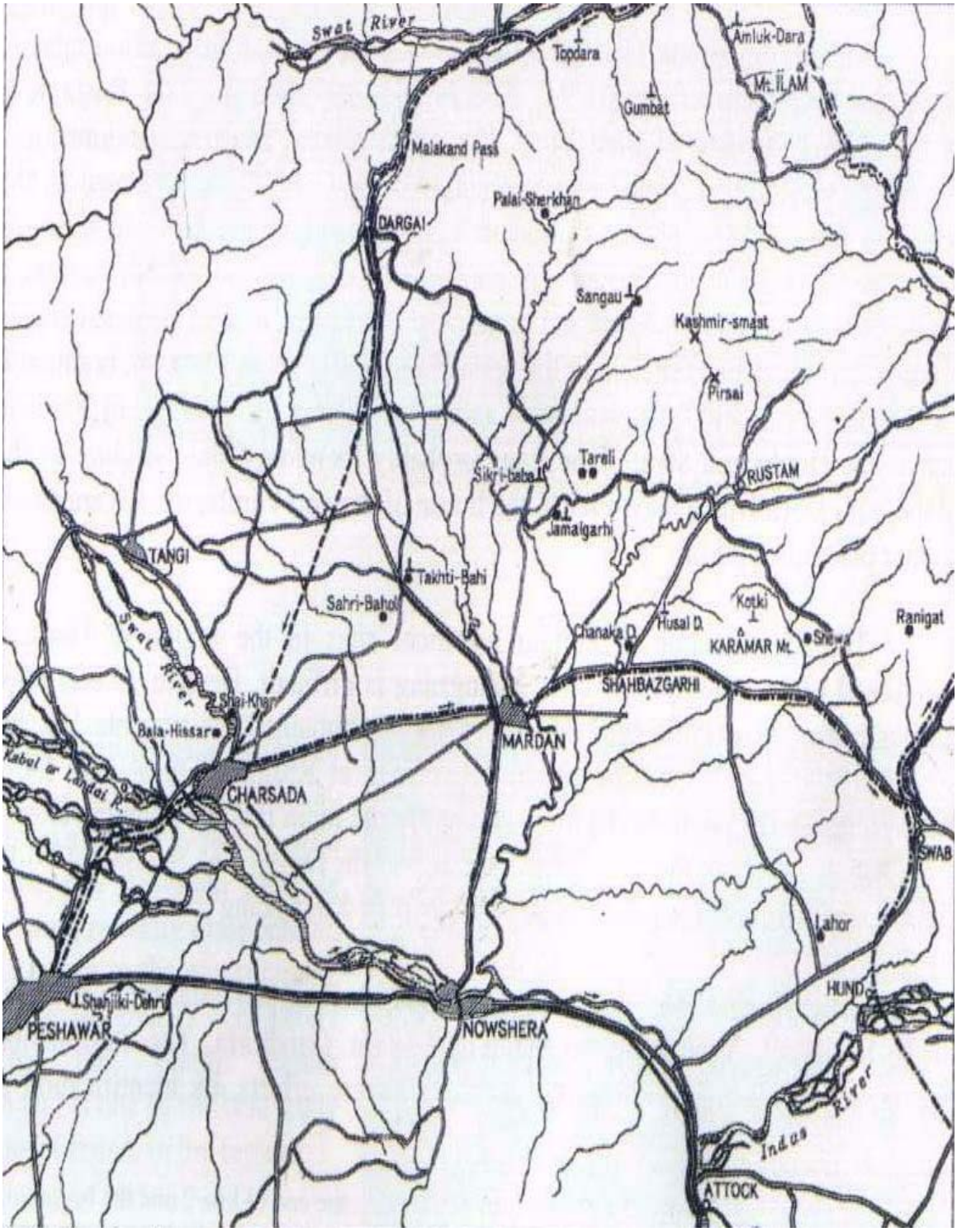


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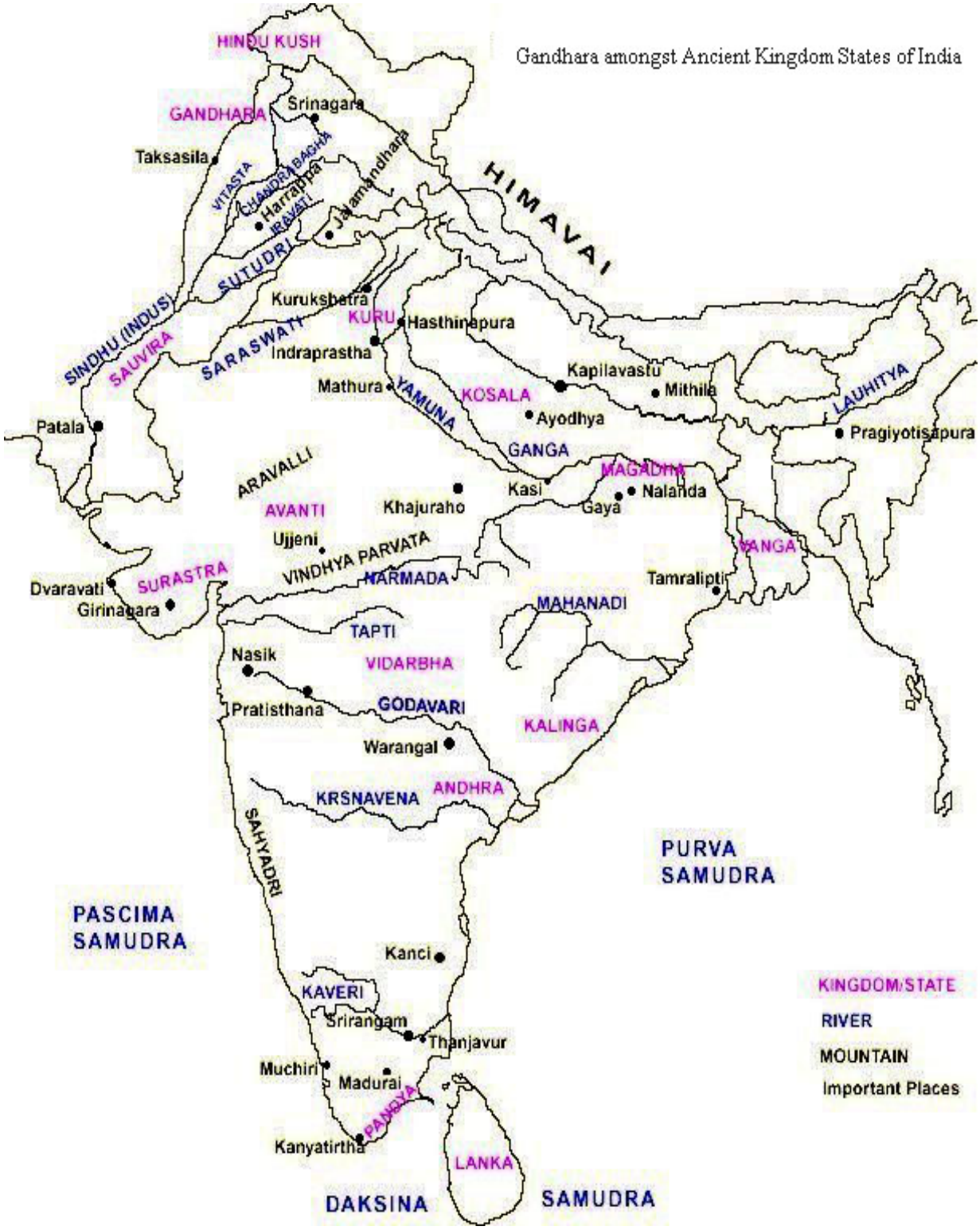


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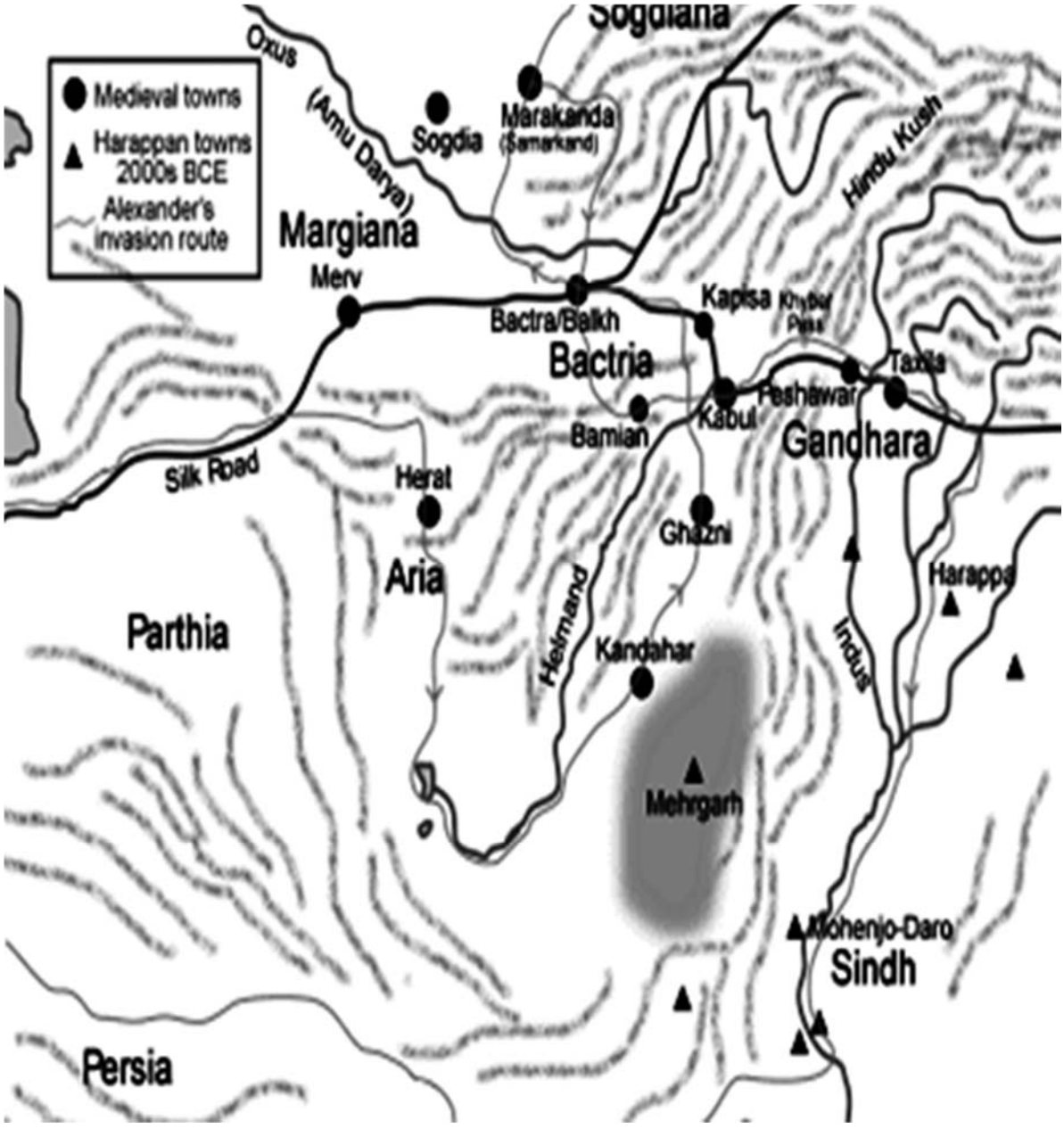
Ancient Sites in Gandhara



After: Khan M. Nasim, 2006.


Gandhara amongst Ancient Kingdom States of India
HINDU KUSH
GANDHARA
Srinagara
Taksasila
VITASTA
CHANDRABAGHA
Harrappa
IRAVATI
Jalamandhara
HIMAVAI
SUTUDRI
Kuruksbetra
KURU
Hasthinapura
SINDHU (INDUS)
SAURIRA
SARASWATI
Indraprastha
Kapilavastu
Mithila
LAUHITYA
Mathura
YAMUNA
KOSALA
Ayodhya
Patala
Pragiyotisapura
GANGA
ARAVALLI
MAGADHA
Kasi
Nalanda
Gaya
AVANTI
Khajuraho
Ujjeni
VINDHYA PARVATA
VANGA
Dvaravati
SURASTRA
NARMADA
Tamralipti
Girinagara
MAHANADI
TAPTI
Nasik
VIDARBHA
Pratisthana
GODAVARI
KALINGA
Warangal
KRSNAVENA
ANDHRA
SAHYADRI
PURVA
SAMUDRA
PASCIMA
SAMUDRA
Kanci
KAVERI
Srirangam
Thanjavur
Muchiri
Madurai
PANDYA
Kanyatirtha
LANKA
DAKSINA
SAMUDRA
KINGDOM/STATE
RIVER
MOUNTAIN
Important Places

Gandhara amongst Medieval Towns



Peshawar Under Haphthelites I

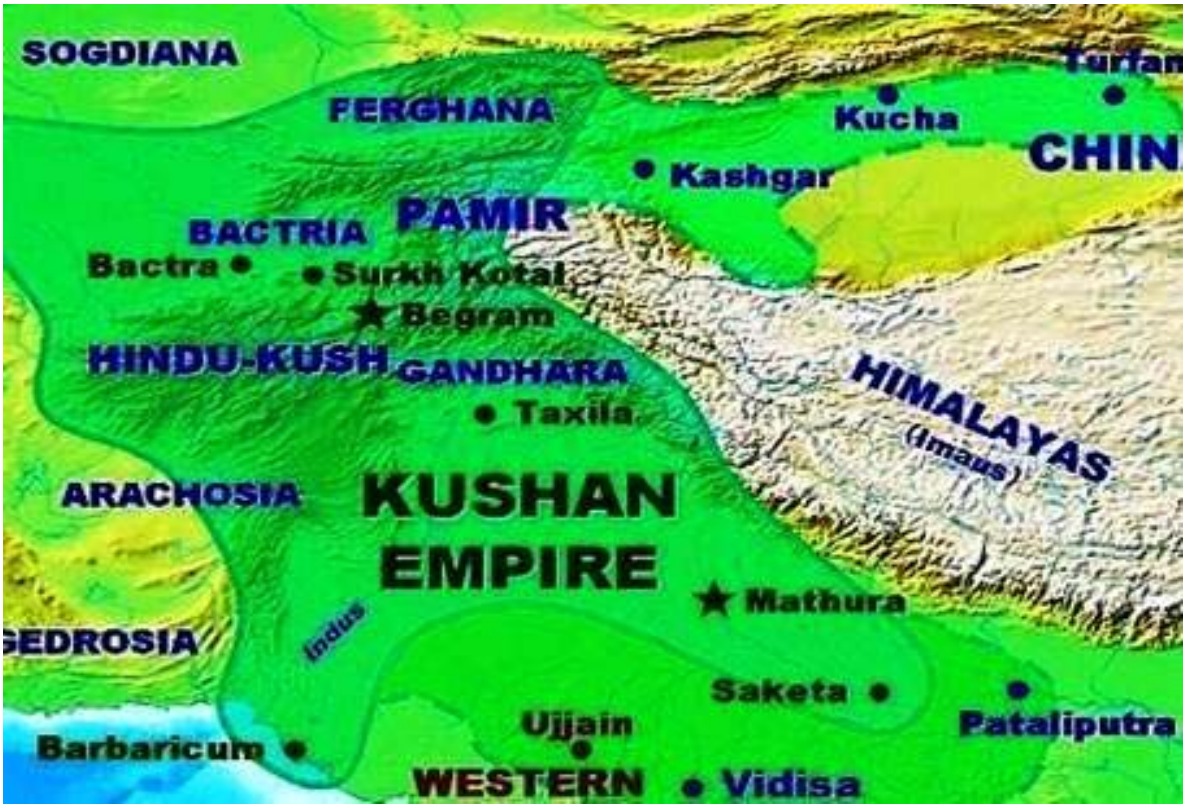


Peshawar Under Haphthelites II

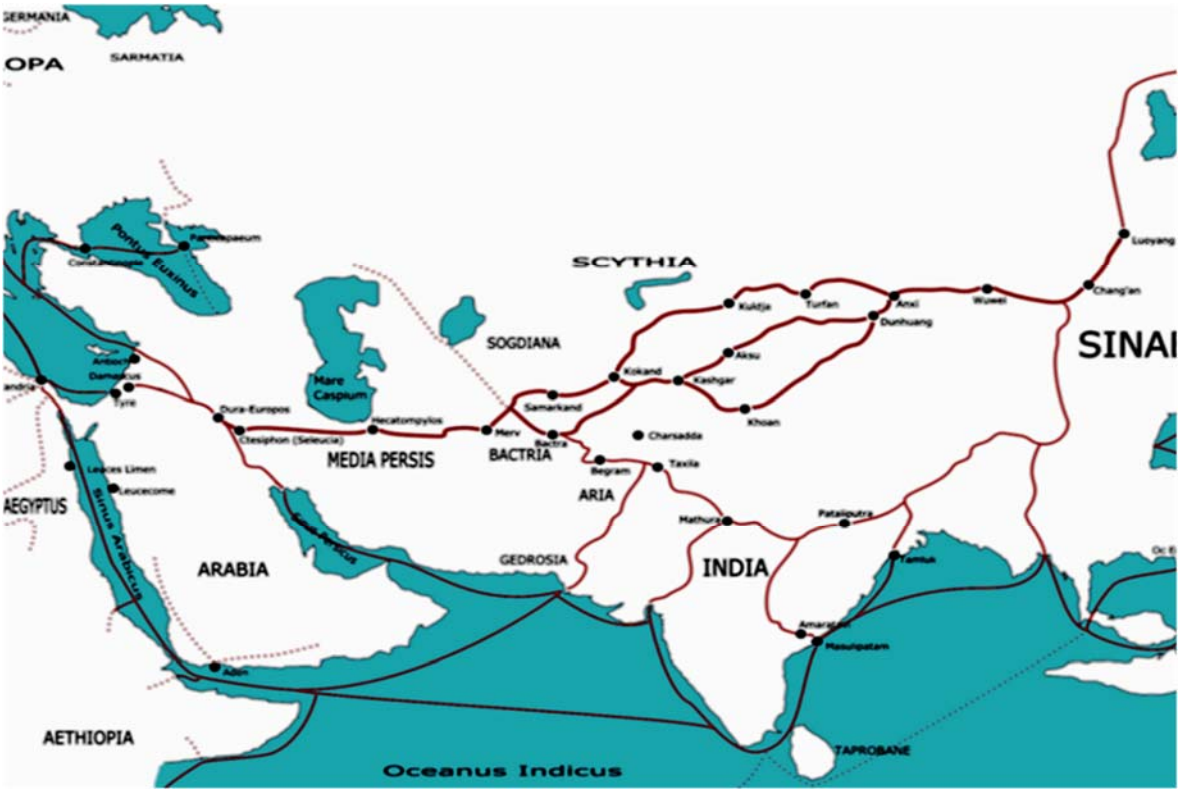


Peshawar Under Kushans

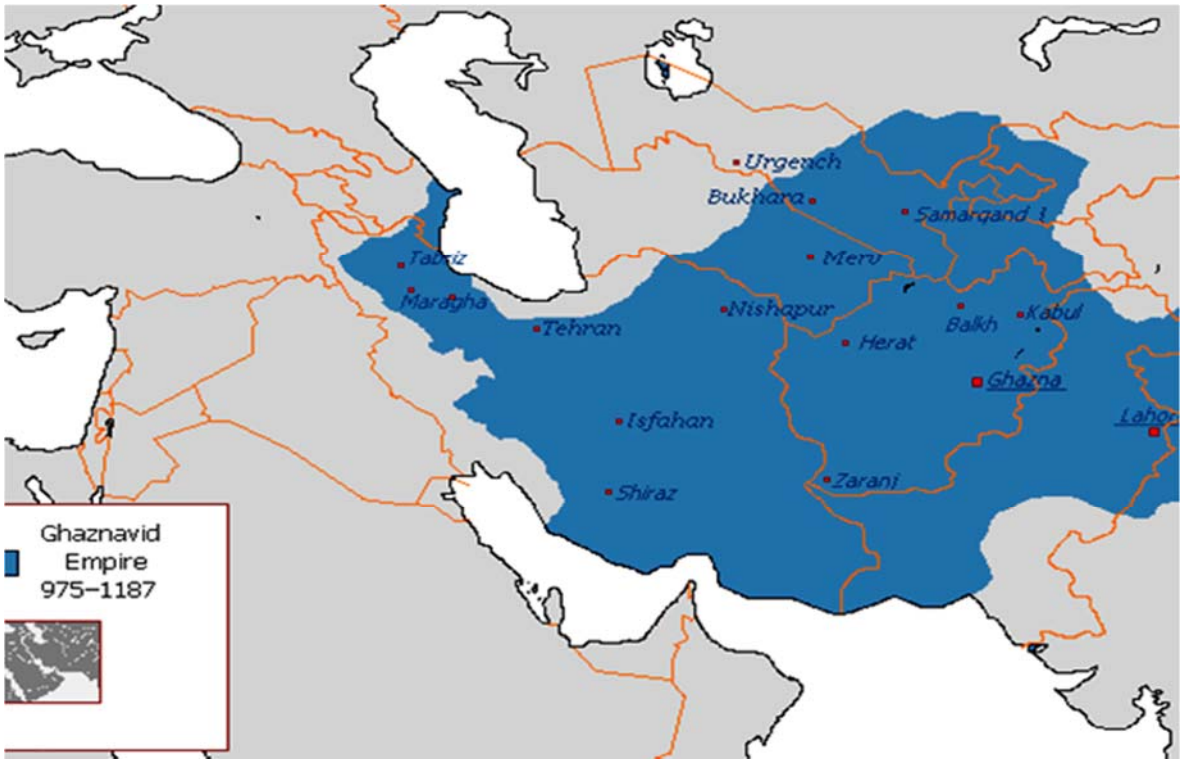




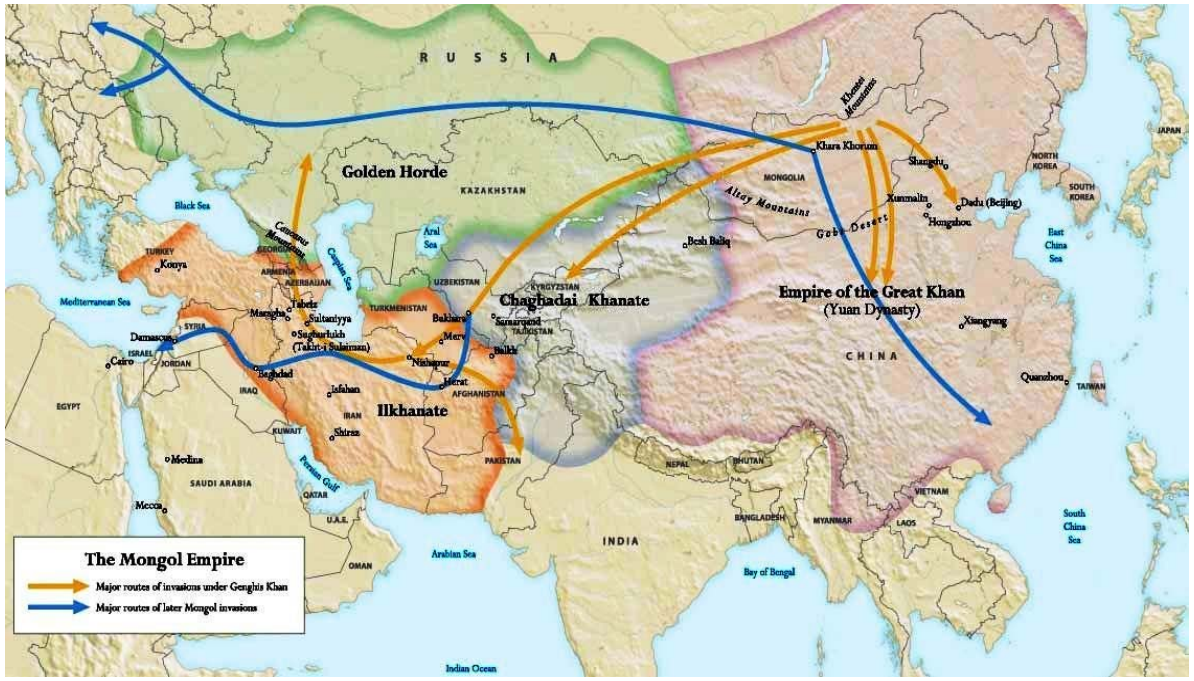
Ist Century AD Trade Route Peshawar with the title of Bagram



As Part of Ghaznavids Rule



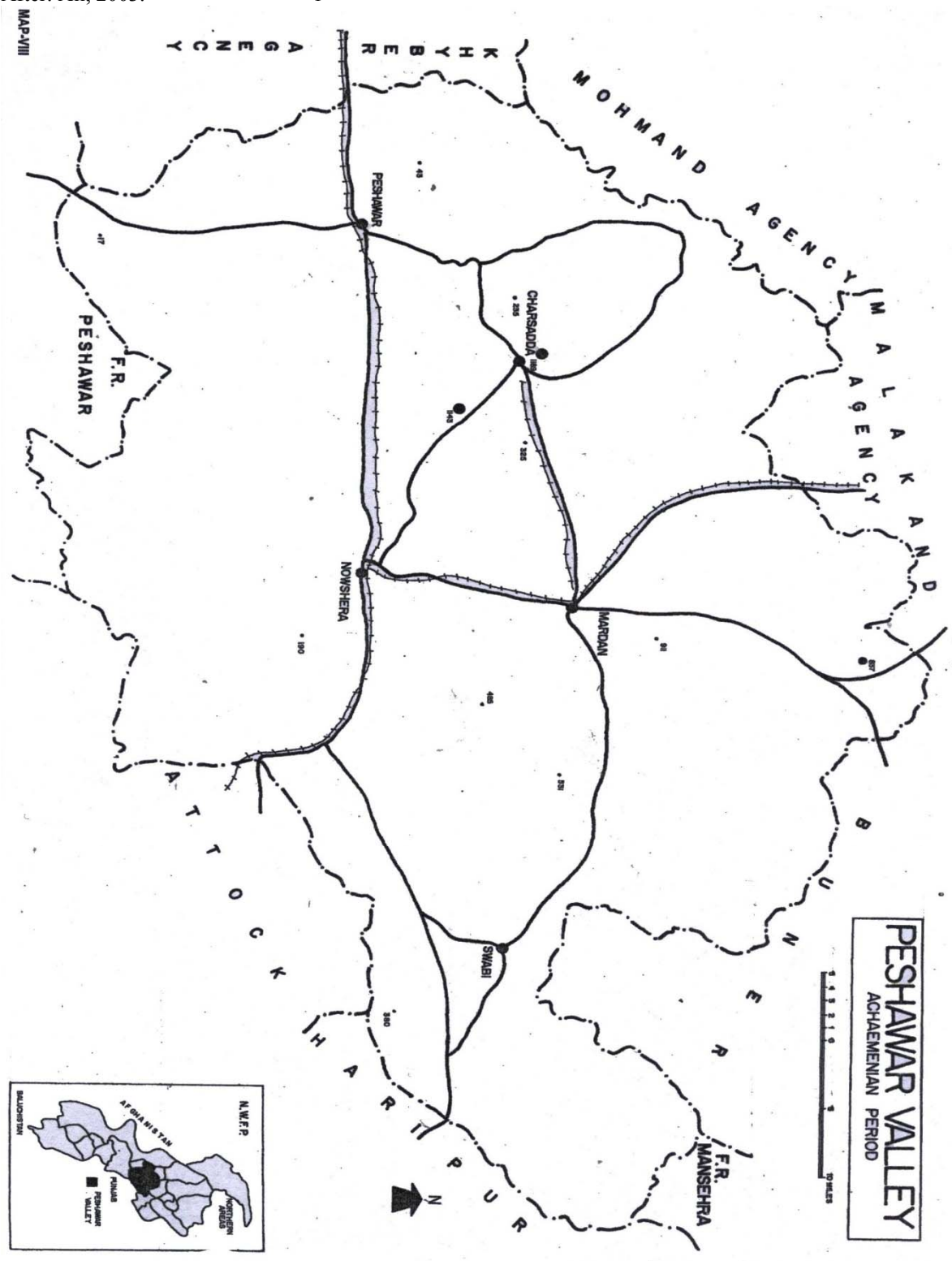
Mongol Successor Khanates



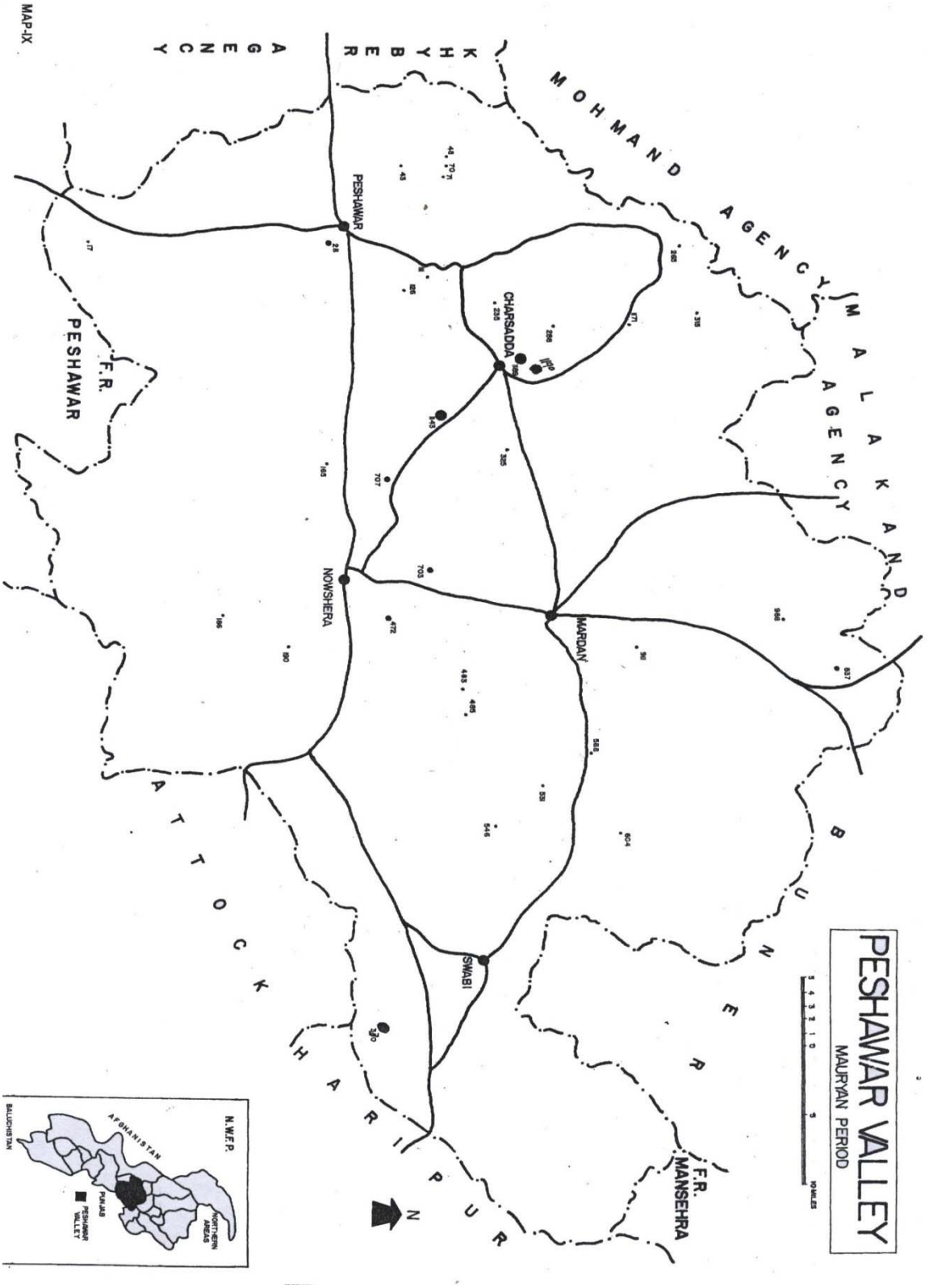

Chagatai Khanate
late 13th century
Golden Horde
Altai Mountains
Karakorum
Empire of the Great Khan
Almalik
Turfan
Bukhara
Samarkand
Kashgar
Khotan
Kabul
Herat
Kandahar
Ilkhanate
Sultanate of Delhi

Annexure B: Maps (1-8): Archaeological Sites of Peshawar

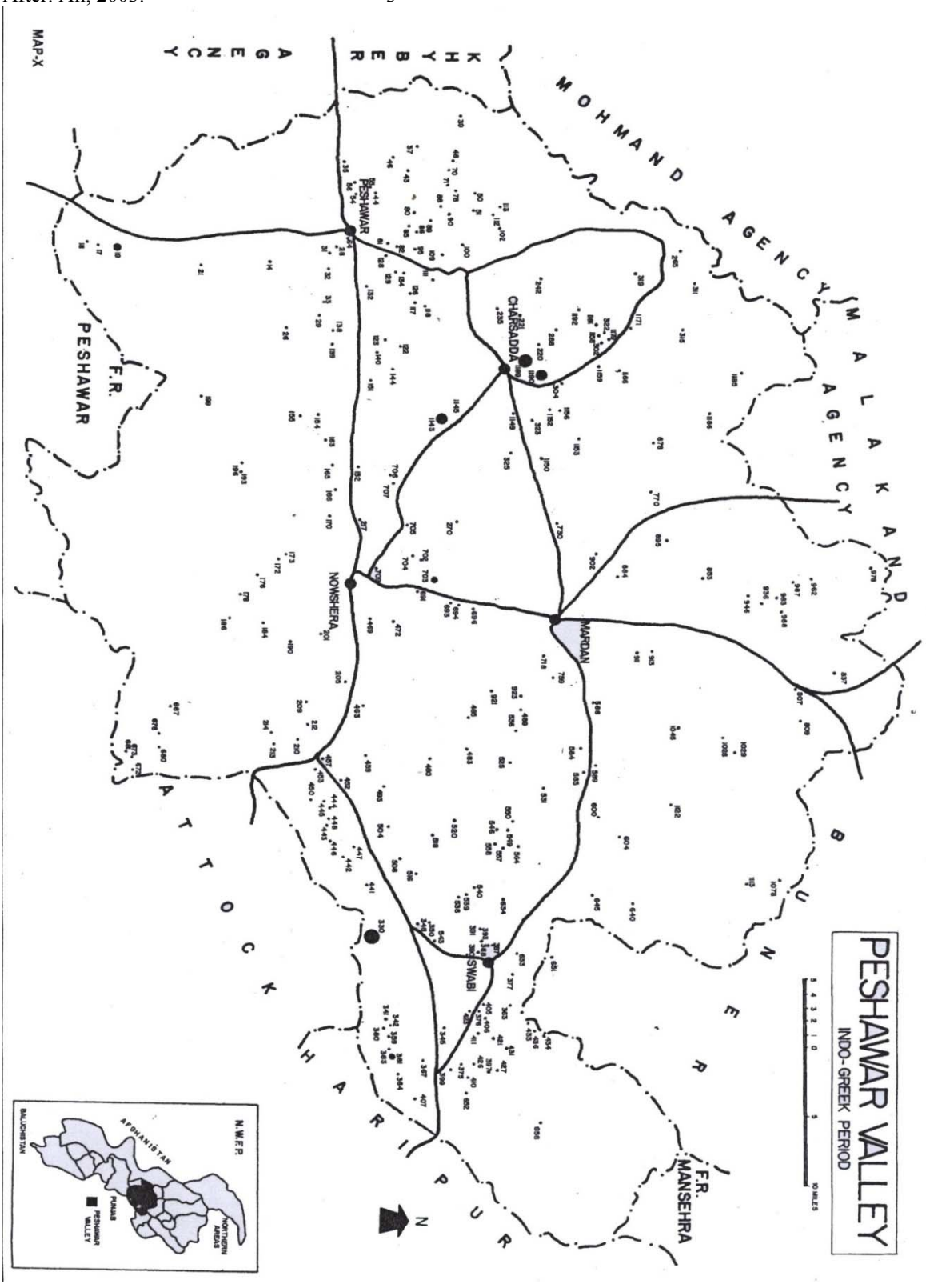
After: Ali, 2003. 1



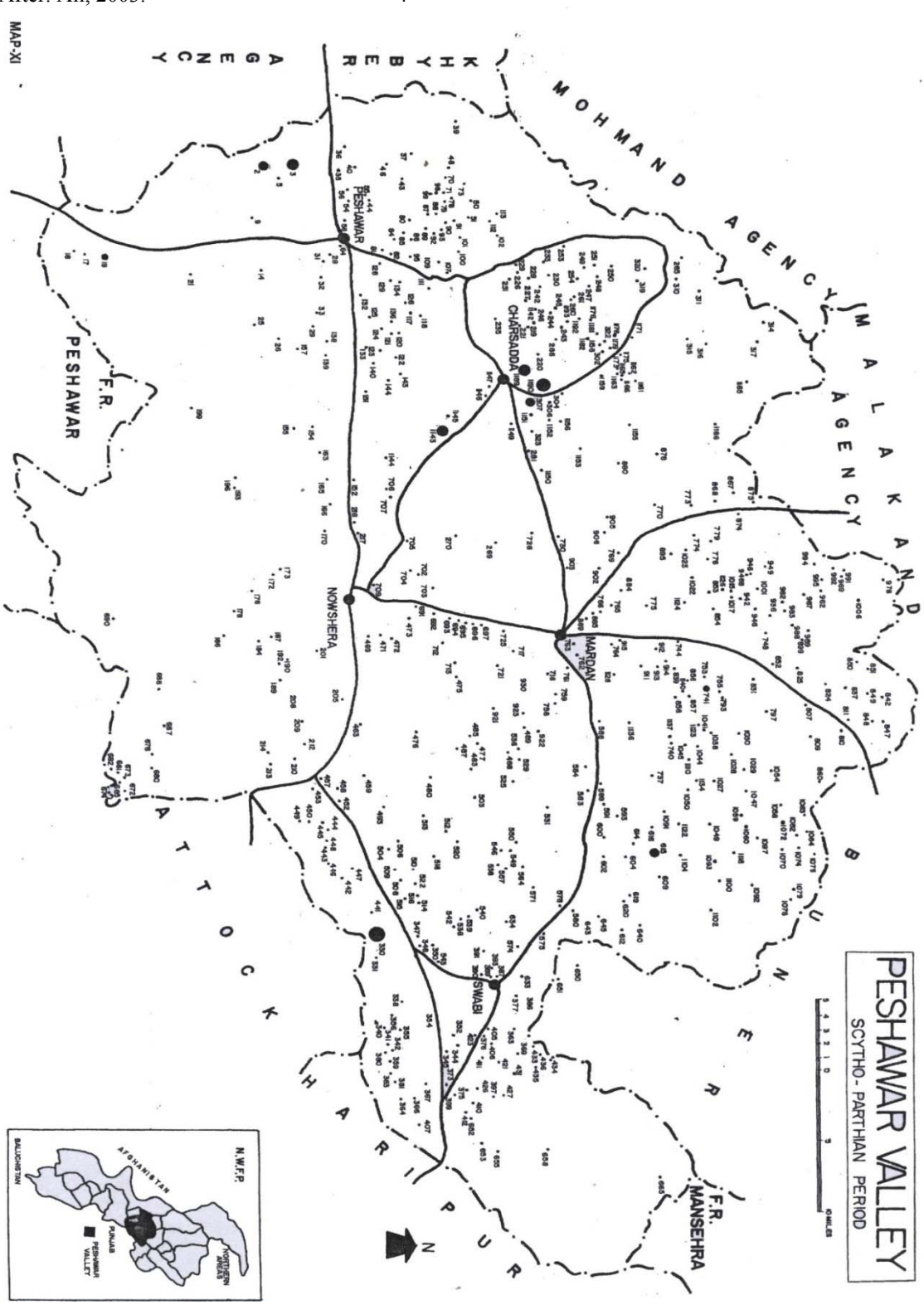
After: Ali, 2003. 2



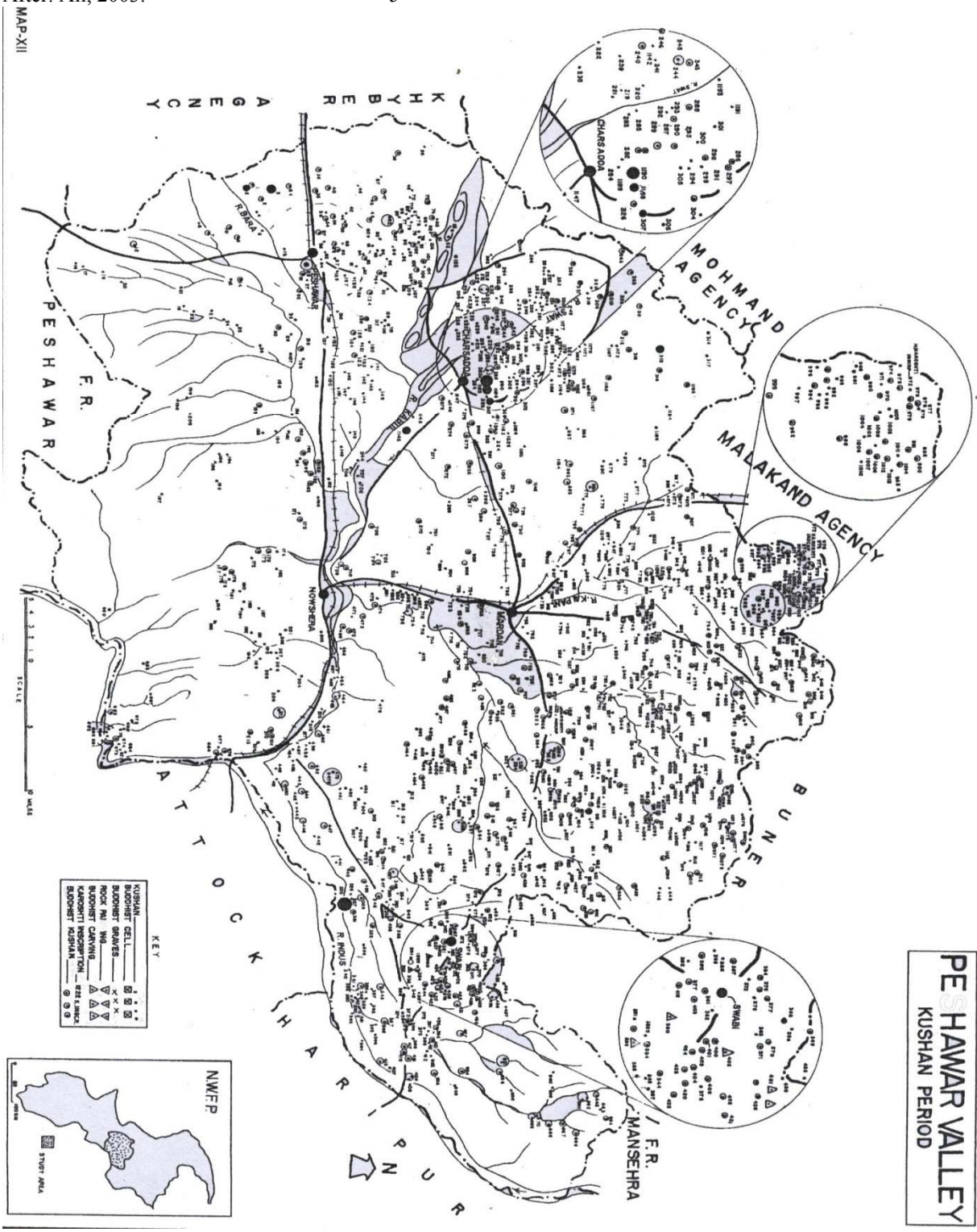
After: Ali, 2003. 3



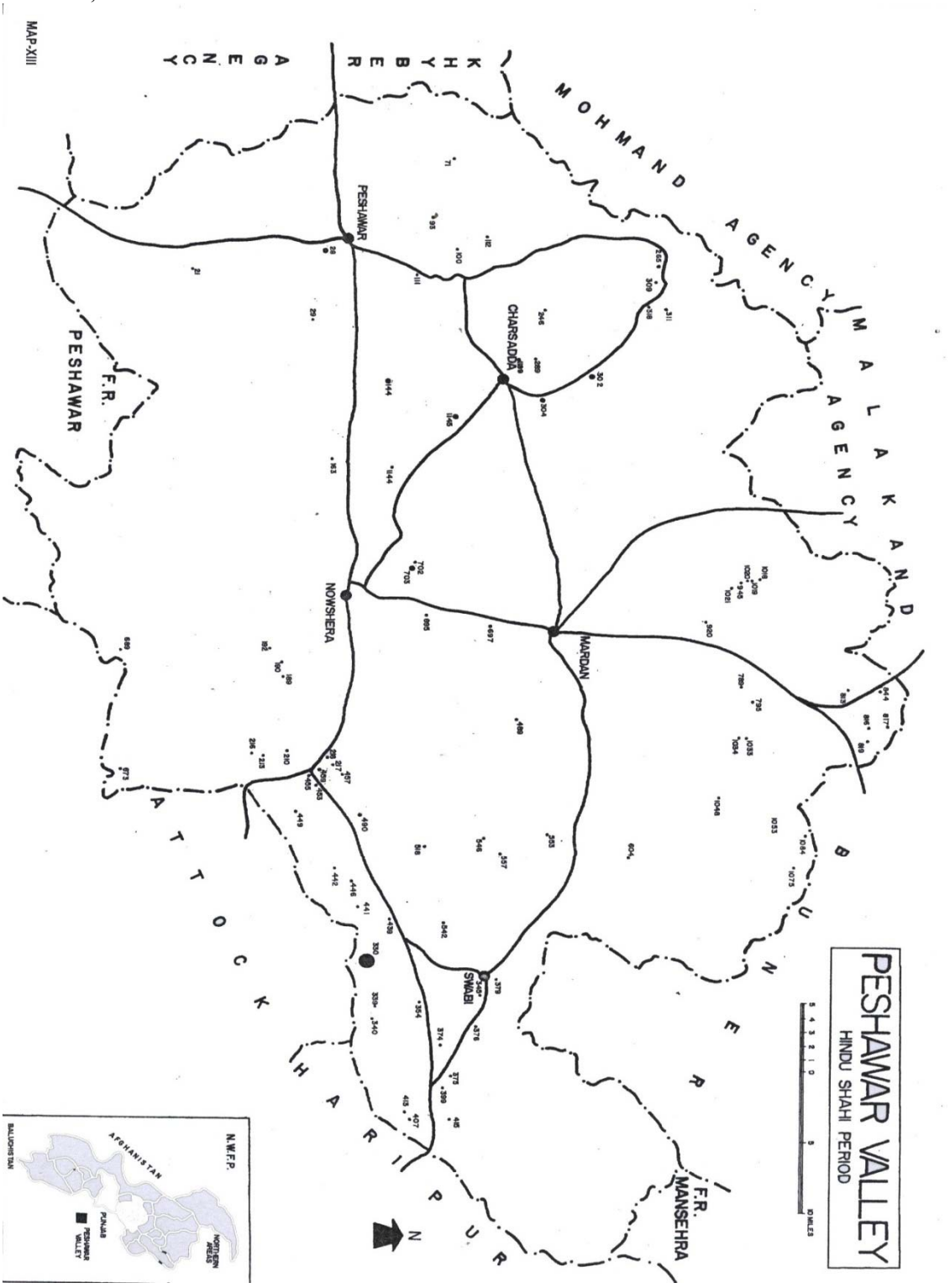
After: Ali, 2003. 4



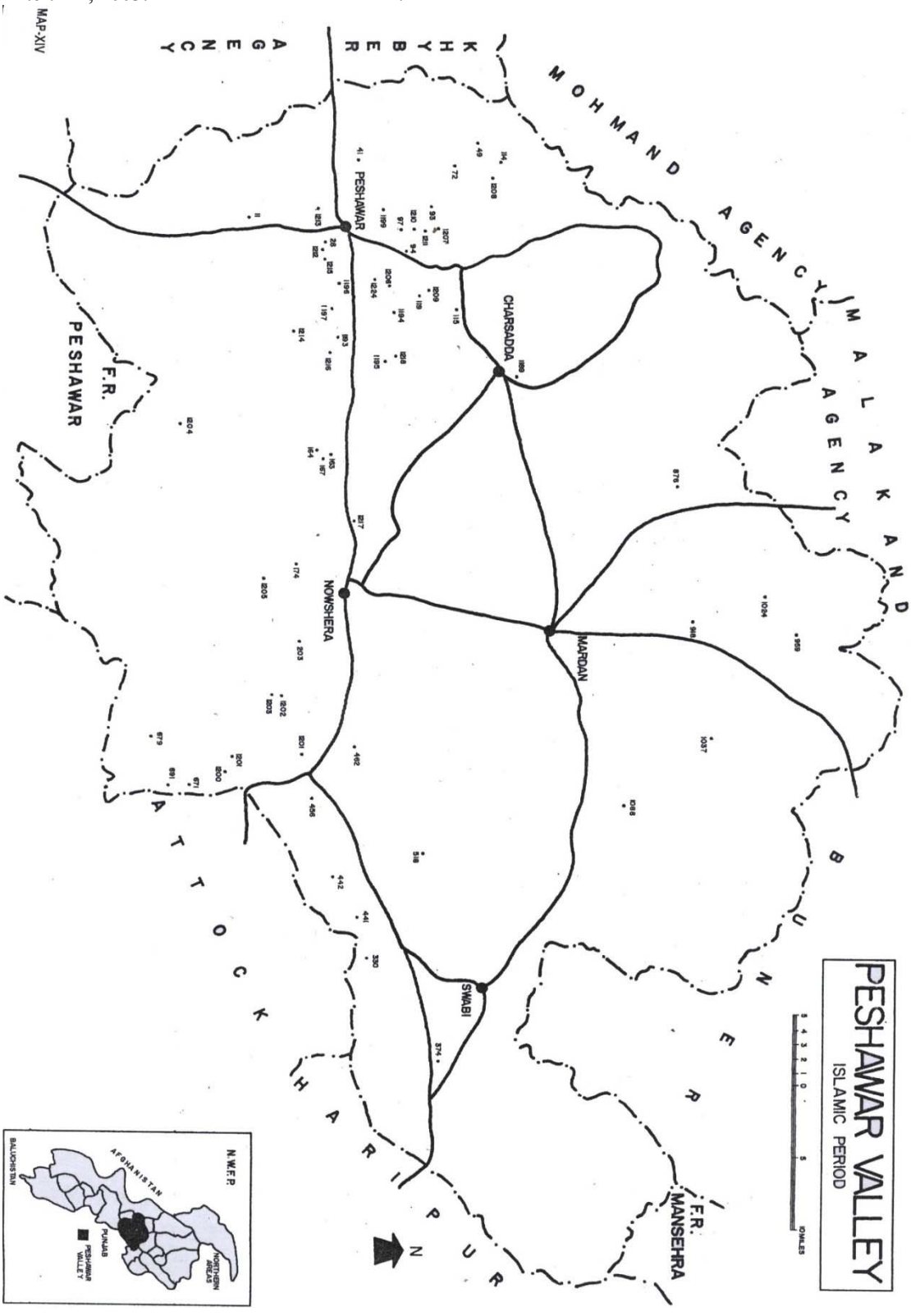
After: Ali, 2003. 5



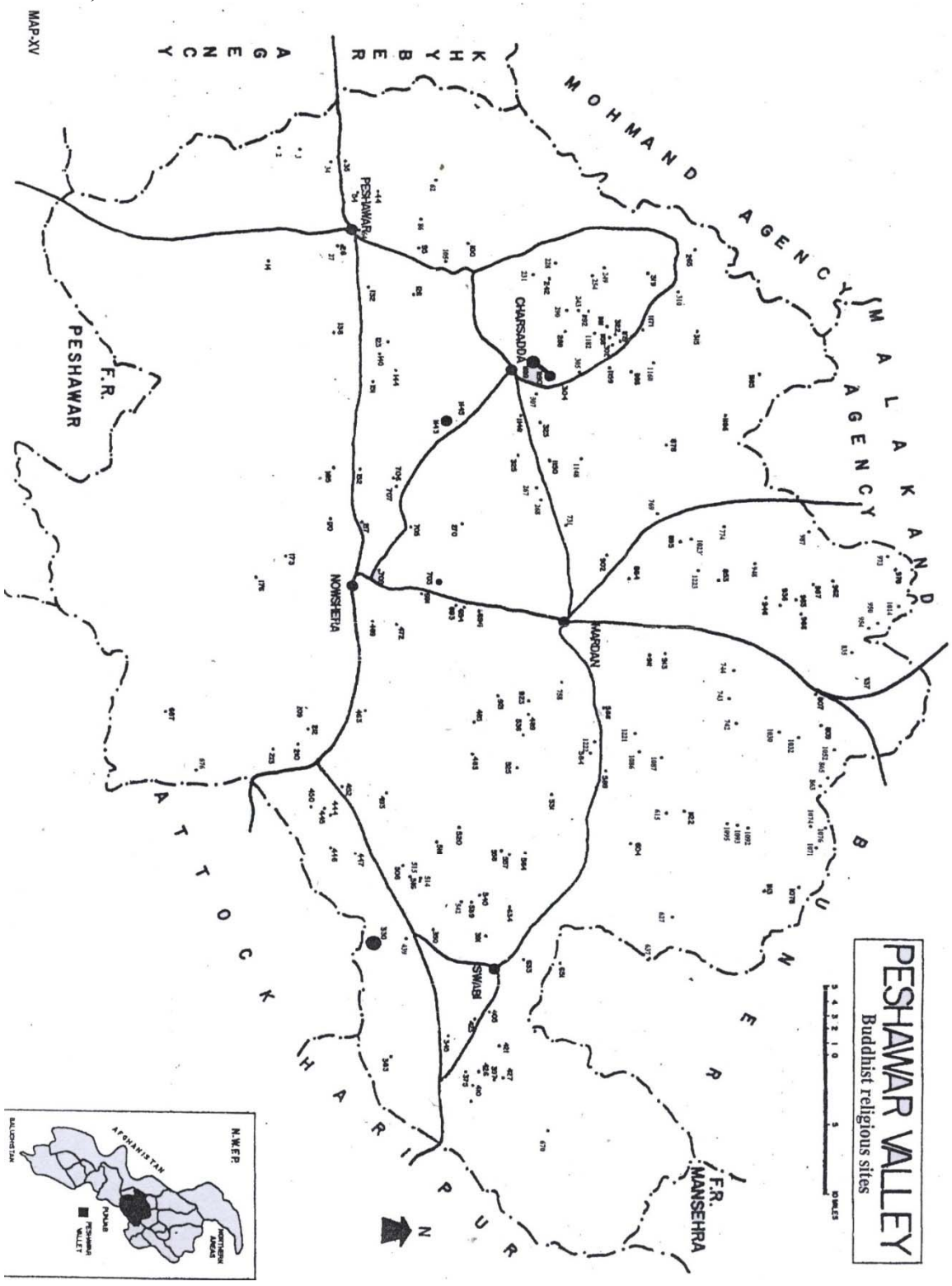
After: Ali, 2003. 6



After: Ali, 2003. 7



After: Ali, 2003. 8



Annexure C: Ruling Dynasties of Gandhara (Peshawar Valley) From Early times to 1500.

(L = Local Capital)

Dynasty	Capital	Date-bracket	Rulers	Comment
1. Achaemenian (Iranian)	Susa, Persepolis, L. Paskapuros (Peshawar) and Peucelaotis (Charsadda).	550—351 B.C.	1. Cyrus 2. Darius the Great, 3. Xerxes, 4. Darius Codomannus.	Many of the Great Kings are omitted from this list.
2. Macedonian (Hellenic)	Pella, Babylon, Susa, L. Peucelaotis (Charsadda).	327—305 B.C.	Alexander the Great, Seleucus.	Seleucus lived till 280 B.C. but was expelled from Gandhara in 305.
3. Mauryan (Indian).	Pataliputra (Patna).	323—190 B.C.	Chandragupta, Ashoka.	Ashoka's date 264—227 B.C. Apostle of Buddhism.
4. Graeco-Bactrian (Iranian with Greek veneer).	Taxila.	185—97 B.C.	Demetrius, Menander.	In Bactria dynasty founded 256 B.C. Gandhara conquered 185 B.C.
5. Saka (Iranian).	Taxila.	97 B.C.—A.D. 5.	Maves, Azes I.	Scythian nomads, akin to Parthians.
6. Indo-Parthian (Iranian).	Taxila.	A.D. 7—75	Gondophares.	Overflow from the great Arsacid dynasty of Persia, 249 B.C.—A.D. 225.
7. Kushan (Iranian, with Indian affinities in later years).	Purushapura (Peshawar).	A.D. 60—225.	Kadphises I and II, Kanishka, Vasishka, Huvishka, Vasudeva.	Kanishka, the second great apostle of Buddhism. In its closing years this dynasty embraced Brahmanism.
8. Sassanian A. (Iranian).	Stakhr, L. Paskiboura (Peshawar).	A.D. 230—365.	Ardashir, Shapur (240—73).	This dynasty held Persia for over 400 years (226—642). Power extended to Indus during two separate periods — see 11.
9, Kidarite (Iranian?)	Uncertain.	A.D.365—455.	Kidara.	Driven out of Bactria by 10.
10. White Hun *alias* Ephthalite or Haytal	Balkh L. Sakala (Sialkot).	A.D. 455—550.	Toramena, Mihiragula.	In Bactria lasted to 568, when defeated by Sassanians.

(Turkish).				
11. Sassanian B. (Iranian).	Stakhr, Ctesiphon, L. uncertain.	A.D. 568—644.	Khusrau I, Khusrau II, Yazdgard.	Defeated by Arabs at Nihawand in 642 (H. 21).
12. *(a)* Kabul Shahi. *(b)* Rutbil or Zunbil (Turco-Iranian).	*(a)* Kabul *(b)* Uncertain, but near Ghazni.	A.D. 650—870.	*(a)* Spalapati? (Kallar) *(b)* Rutbil, a title, name unknown	Probably of mixed Kushan and Haytal origin, with Indian affinities. Not Muslims.
13. Saffarid (Iranian and Muslim).	Zaranj (Sistan).	A.D. 86l—900.	Yaqub-i-Lais. Amr-i-Lais.	Yaqub took Kabul from 12 (a) in 870 and founded Ghazni. He never controlled Gandhara.
14. Hindushahiya (as 12, but Indianized).	Ohind (Hund or Lahor on Indus in Gandhara).	A.D. 870—1021.	Samand, Kamalu, Bhim, Jaipal Anandpal.	Probably same dynasty as 12 (a). The last Hindu power in this region.
15. Ghaznavid (Turkish *mamluk).*	Ghazni.	A.D. 960—1150.	Sebüktigin, Mahrnud, Masud.	The first Muslims to rule in Gandhara. Defeated 14.
16. Ghorid (possibly Tajik, viz. Iranian).	Firoz Koh, Ghazni and Delhi.	A.D. 1181—1206.	Alauddin Jahansoz, Muizzuddin Muhammadd Sam.	Scarcely extended rule to Peshawar except as passage-way.
17. Khvarzam Shahs (SeljukTurk).	Urgench.	A.D. 1210—1220.	Muhammad, Jalaluddin.	Controlled Ghazni. Anarchy in Peshawar. Swept away by Chingiz Khan, No. 18.
18. Chingizids (Mongol).	Almalik on Ili River.	A.D. 1220—1369.	Chingiz, *d*. 1227, Chaghatai, *d.* 1241. Successors of little importance.	Period of anarchy in Peshawar and in most of Afghan country. Delhi dynasties failed to control from their side.
19. Timurids (Turco-Irano-Mongol).	Samarqand, L. Kabul, Kandahar, Herat.	A.D. 1380—1501.	Tamerlane, *d.* 1404. Shahrukh, Abu Said, Ulugh Beg II (1469—1501). Husain Baiqara in Herat and Kandahar.	Period of dynastic strife and anarchy in Afghan and Pukhtoon country. Ulugh Beg II ruler of Kabul.

After: Caroe, 1985

Annexure D: Numismatics

Kushans coins



After: Khan, 2006

Kushans coins



After: Khan, 2006

Kidarites coins



After: Khan, 2006

Islamic coins: New varieties



After: Khan, 2006

Islamic coins (continued)



After: Khan, 2006

Hindu Shahi coins



After: Khan, 2006

Islamic Period



After: Khan, 2006

Ghaznavid coins



After: Khan, 2006

Khvarzam Shahs



Mongols



After: Khan, 2006

Qarlugh coins



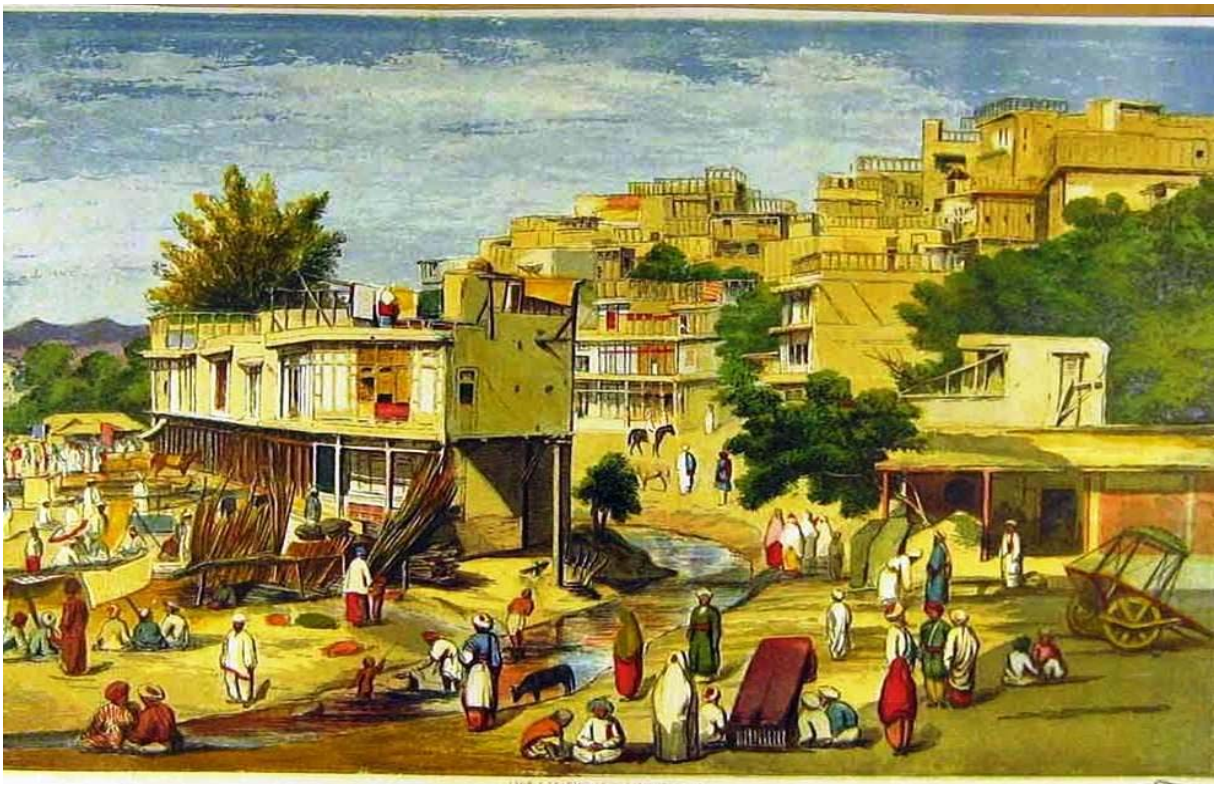
Sultans of Dehli



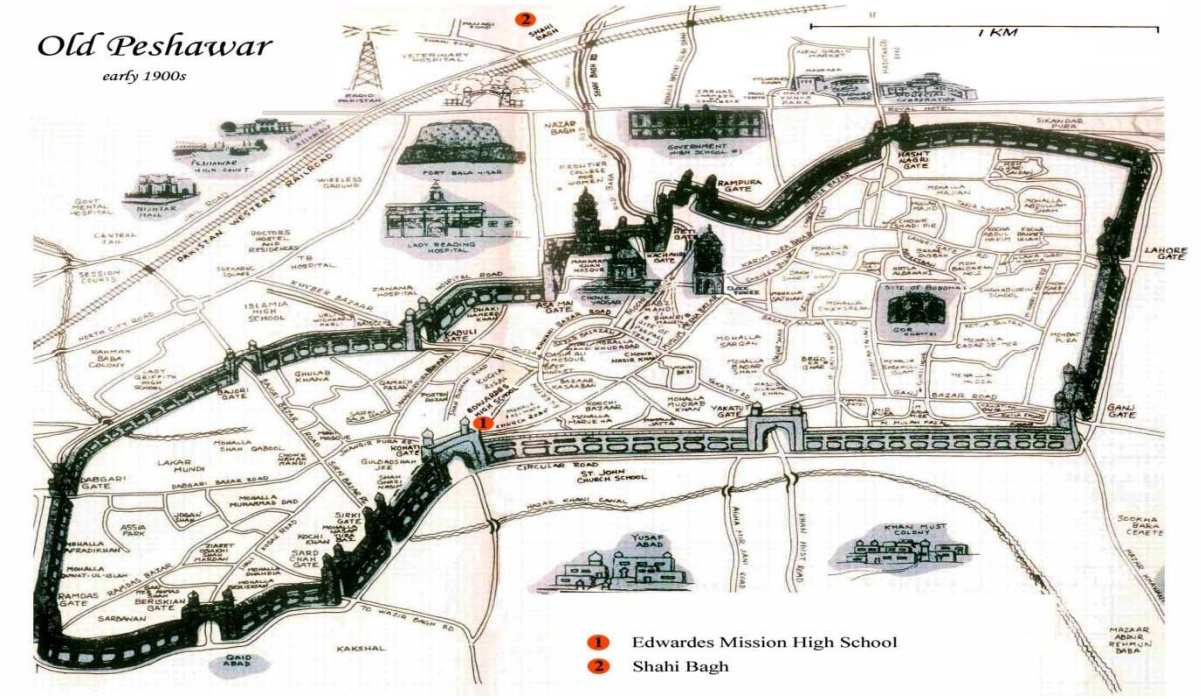
After: Khan, 2006

Annexure E: Miscellaneous

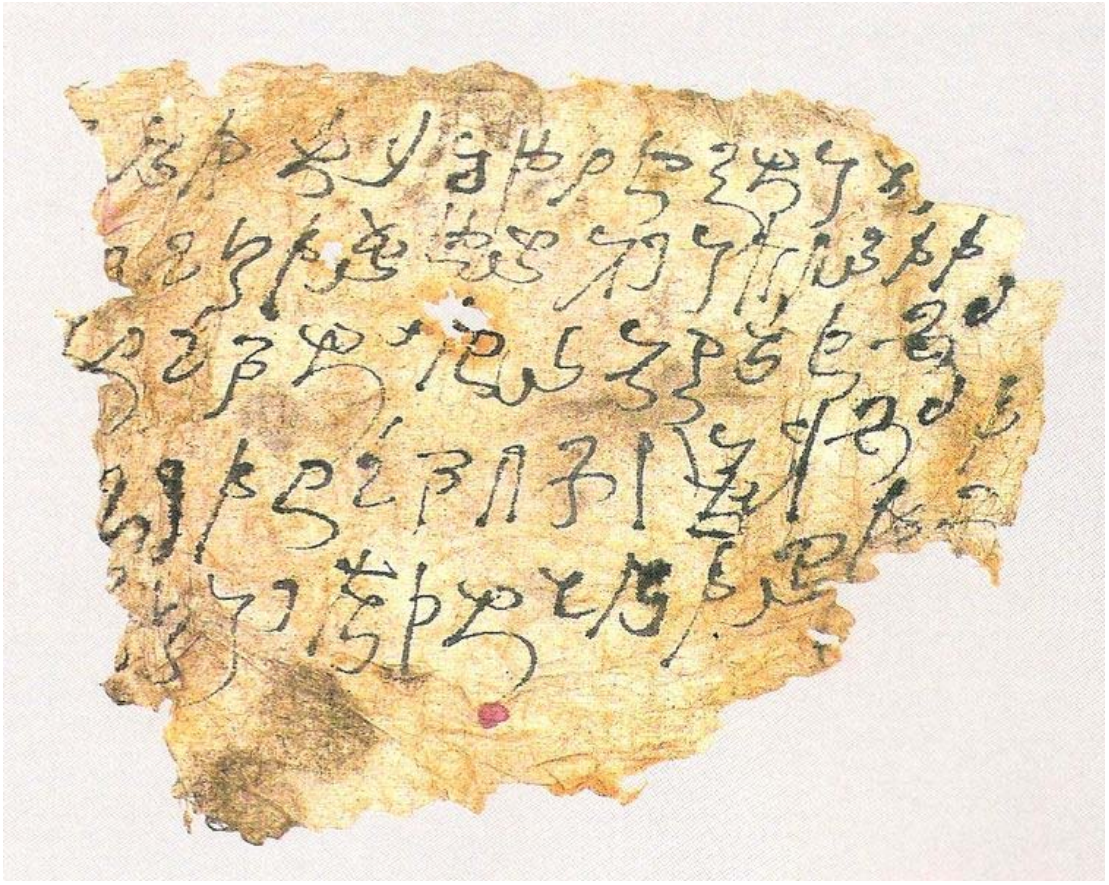
Old Imaginary View of Peshawar



Wall and Gates around Old Peshawar



Kharoshthi Record of Ara near Attock (Dani, 1995)



(To be read from right to left)

Poshapura (Peshawar) in the oldest text.

Translation

During the reign of the *Maharaja, Devaputra, Kaisara, Kanishka,* the son of Vajheshka, in the forty-first year-41-on the 25th day of the month *Jyaishtha,* this well was dugs by Dashavhara, of the *Peshawarian* scions, in honor of his mother and father, for the benefit of himself with his wife and son, for the welfare of all beings in the (various) births. And, having written this (might there) for me……..

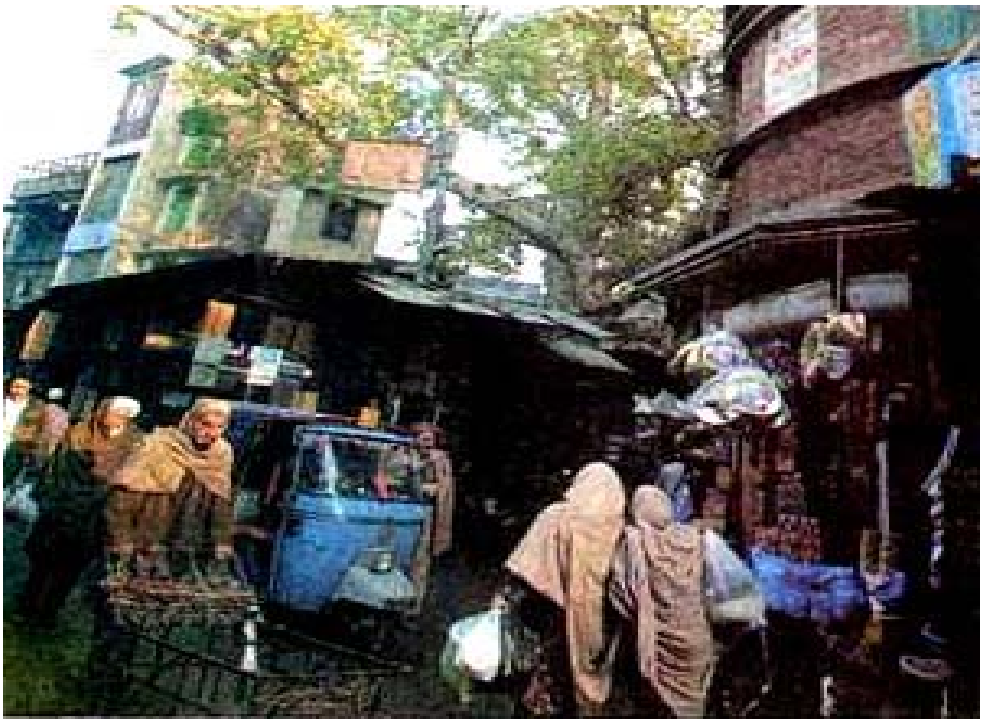
Kanishka Casket 127AD With Buddha Flanked by Indra and Brahma and King Kanishka Shown in Standing position at the Lower Part. (Peshawar Museum)



Buddha relics from Kanishka's stupa in Hazar Khani, Peshawar Pakistan now in Mandalay Burma Teresa Merrigan 2005



Bodi Tree at Pipalmandi Peshawar



Taimur Lane

