PESHAWAR
HISTORIC CITY OF THE FRONTIER

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Pl. 1

Unforgettable march through Khyber.
PREFACE

Peshawar is the oldest living city in Pakistan with a history as varied and adventurous as the romantic charm of the surrounding hills and the world-famous Khyber. From at least the beginning of the Christian era to the present day it has had a continuous story unfolding waves after waves of the migration of peoples who pushed down the western passes to make history in this valley. A book on Peshawar has necessarily to recapitulate this long story. The purpose of the present book is to retell that story within the short compass of this volume. Perchance those who are living here today and those who visit this fabulous city, may like to know something real and abiding about it. Whatever may be the response, for a person like me, who is a new-comer to Peshawar, the story is really fascinating. I venture to present this book as a token of my appreciation of the great part that Peshawar has played in history.

An idea of this book came up some two years ago, when, owing to financial difficulty in the University, my hands were free from excavations in the field. I devoted the time to the study of the city. The first two chapters were written in 1966 and were published in the "Journal of the Research Society of Pakistan." My later engagements in the field kept me away. For some months in the present session, when the classes were suspended, the opportunity came again. I availed of it to complete the book.

In 1945 Mr. S.M. Jaffar (now Director of the Peshawar Museum) published his "Peshawar Past and Present," dealing mainly with selected historical monuments. It was primarily meant to be a guide to the historical places in and around Peshawar. But a book of this type without maps and photographs has little appeal. When so many tourists come to Peshawar every year, it is strange that the book could not come up to meet their need. The readers will find my account of the historical places in the last two chapters. Each monument has a historical introduction and also a description with highlights on its archaeological and architectural features. For tourists
maps and photographs have been added and proper indication of the approach roads given.

In the first six chapters the history of the peoples, who erected these monuments, is given with full documentation though many of the details have been omitted for the sake of brevity. It may be noted that the history covered in this book is given in greater detail by Sir Olaf Caroe in his work, "The Pathans." But the readers will find the difference in interpretation, treatment and geographic perspective which all follow my understanding of history. I have endeavoured to catch the warmth of the people, be sympathetic with their feelings, and present personalities in the different circumstances they are found. I have tried to tell the story in the words of the contemporary authors in a narrative style so that the readers may get at the contemporary scene. As my appeal is to the general reader, I have not used diacritic marks at all. If this book could lead to a better understanding of the history of the Pathuns and create interest for the preservation of the monuments and for improving facilities to the tourists who have here the best attractions in the whole of Pakistan, my efforts will have been duly rewarded.

I owe a word of apology to my Pakhtun friends as I have not strictly confined myself to the use of the term Pakhtun. Its more popular forms Pathan and Afghan have been used here synonymously. In the writing of this book several persons have helped me with information, photographs and materials. It is not possible for me to name all of them. But I must thank Dr. Mir Wali Khan and Dr. Miss Lal Baha of the University of Peshawar for the opportunity they gave me to read their unpublished doctoral theses. My eldest son Anis Ahmad went through the proofs. I must also thank Sh. Zakaullah of the Khyber Mail Press, who undertook to publish the book. The main burden of printing lay on the shoulder of Mr. Ziauddin, to whom I am greatly obliged.

DR. AHMAD HASAN DANI

O-1, University of Peshawar
April, 20, 1969.
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I) "Whence art thou come once more, delight-ful spring,
To deck our meadows with the blossoming

2) Of iris, lily, jasmine, sweet rihan,
Narcissus, pomegranate, and arghawan,

3) And above all the tulip royal red,
As from a parterre lifts her queenly head.

4) Now every lass plucks posies for her breast
And every lad a flower to crown his crest.

5) Come, Minstrel, lay the bow across the string
And draw sweet music from its quavering."

Tr. by Howell and Caroe
P. 49
CHAPTER I
CITY AND ITS ENVIRONS

"Wonderful fields of flowers were enjoyed. In some places sheets of yellow flowers bloomed in plots; in others sheets of red (arghwani) flowers in plots, in some red and yellow bloomed together. We sat on a mound near the camp to enjoy the site. There were flowers on all sides of the mound, yellow here, red there, as if arranged regularly to form a sextuple. On two sides there were fewer flowers but as far as the eye reached, flowers were in bloom. In spring near Parashawar the fields of flowers are very beautiful indeed."

—BABAR

Origin of the name: Peshawar has long been known as "the Frontier—town." Standing right at the mouth of the world-famous Khyber Pass, it holds the key to the gateway of the subcontinent of Pakistan and India. For the British it was the headquarter of their North West Frontier Province. For those coming from the side of Kabul, for instance, the Durranis and the Mughals, Peshawar was the first city that they met on their way to Hindostan (India of yore) and hence, according to some, the name is derivable from the Persian Pesh awardan. The Mughal emperor Humayun regarded the holding of Peshawar as a real beginning to the conquest of India. It was Cunningham, who first suggested that the "present name we owe to Akbar (Humayun's son), whose fondness for innovation led him to change the ancient Parashawar, which he did not know the meaning, to Peshawar." His court historian, Abul Fazl, uses four forms—Parshapur (پرشارپور) Parashawar (پرشاروار) Peshawar (پشوار) and Pishawar (پشوار)—in the Akbar-namah. Babar always spells the word as Parashawar, while Abdul Fida gives the form Farshabur (فرشابور). As early as the eleventh century A.D. Alberuni records two variants—Parshawar and Purshur. In the seventh century the Chinese pilgrim, Huien Tsang writes Po-lu-sha-
pu-lo\textsuperscript{11}, while another traveller Fa-Hien, in the fifth century, gives the name as Fo-lu-sha\textsuperscript{12}. All these are variants of one and the same name, which, in one of the local dialects, is pronounced as Pekhawr. The old Gazetteer\textsuperscript{13} records a Hindu tradition that the name Parashapura is after a Hindu king, called “Purrus” or “Purrush,” and hence the meaning “is simply the seat of Purrus or Porus”. But we have no evidence of the existence of such a Hindu king. However, the Persians\textsuperscript{14} (both the Achaemenians and the Sassanians) are known to have exercised long sway over this region. The Achaemenians particularly assumed the title of “Lord of Parsa” (i.e. king of the Persians), and it will be no wonder if the name Parashapur is due to them. The oldest name has been traced in a Kharoshthi record\textsuperscript{15}, found at Ara near Attock, dated in the (Kanishka) year 41 (A.D. 119), where it is spelt as Poshapura. Dr. Sten Konow rightly rejects the pedantic original Purushapura and argues that Posha represents Paushpa, from the Sanskrit word Pushpa (meaning “flower”). If this suggestion is correct, the word would mean “The City of Flowers”\textsuperscript{16}—a name which the place really deserves. But the persistence of the form Parsha in all the literary accounts would argue in favour of its connection with the Persians who have all along exerted a strong cultural influence in this region.

**Meaning of Bagram:** Abul Fazl\textsuperscript{17} gives Bagram or Bigram as a second name of Peshawar, and as he uses the latter for the city as well as for “Wilayat-i-Peshawar”\textsuperscript{18}, he observes that, “The Tuman of Bigram is called Parashawar”.\textsuperscript{19} He further adds, “In Kabul as well as in Samarqand and Bokhara, a Parganah which comprises towns and villages is called a Tuman.” Gopal Das\textsuperscript{20} records a tradition that a Hindu raja called Bigram (correctly Vikrama) rebuilt the city and named it after him. But this tradition is as imaginary as the king Vikrama himself. Charles Masson\textsuperscript{21} derives the word from the Turki bi or be “chief” and the Hindi gram. Cunningham\textsuperscript{22} takes the word to mean “the city” par excellence and traces it
from the Sanskrit Vi and grama. According to him “it is also applied to three other ancient sites in the immediate vicinity of great capitals, namely, Kabul, Jalalabad and Peshawar”. It seems, however, that the name consists of two original Sanskrit words Vara (best) and grama (village). In course of time Varagrama got corrupted into Bagram. There are other villages in this region which bear the name of Baragram or Batugram.

Nature of the City: This old city has seen several changes in history. Its rise and fall are inseparably linked with the story of the peoples that pushed through the western gates and made a bid for new historic life in the vale of Peshawar—the haven of refuge for the wandering humanity over the rugged western hills, the Roh of the old historians. Macmunn rightly puts: “Here is movement, battle, might and domination, and it is here that our own history makes stirring reading.” Amidst all these clashes one common aim has been the possession of the city of Peshawar—the focus of all the passes—the crown of the valley—a city towering at the apex of a smaller triangular plain, bounded on the south by the river Bara, on the north by the river Budni, the southernmost offshoot of the Kabul river, and on the west by the Khyber hills. In between the channels and across the line of hills open great highways, which shoot out routes to the heart of Asia, awakening the masses of humanity from slumbering hunger to a new vista of domination over the world. All these currents of history converge in the city of Peshawar before the plans are finalised for a further push “Eastward ho”. For the whole of the Peshawar plain, the hills and the rivers bend their way eastward to meet the Abasin, the Father Indus, which drains into the Arabian sea and dictates alike the western hills as well as the eastern plains—the two main features of the country comprising West Pakistan. Peshawar is the city, par excellence, of the hills—a great sentinel to the marches of historic invaders.

Environs of the City: The hills, emerging from the Pamir knot range along the Hindukush, which lets down
spurs after spurs, enclosing pockets of smaller valleys, high plateaus, and running brooks and springs, with a variegated landscape full of snowy peaks and rugged barren rocks—the home of the virile Pathan tribes—the intervening land separating the plain of the Indus from that of the Oxus. It is over the jagged hills and through the channels cut by river torrents that historic marches have gone on and on for centuries. Tribes of people have clasp-ed the hill terraces around the water springs, or perched over the wind-swept plateaus, or have moved along the river beds to seek a livelihood for the stay of their offspring. But it is the resources of either plain that have affected the trend of movements political, commercial or cultural. The tribes have fully participated in these movements and have added their own strength and at the same time profited by the recurring flow of men and materials—a blessing for the heavenly distribution of prosperity to the humanity at large. Peshawar is the chief emporium of overland communications on the side of the Indus.

*When Spring-time flushes the desert grass,*  
*Our Kafilas wind through the Khyber Pass,*  
*Lean are the camels but heavy the frails,*  
*Light are the purses but heavy the bales,*  
*When the snowbound trade of the north comes down,*  
*To the market square of Peshawar town.*

—Rudyard Kipling

In actual fact Peshawar is situated away from the Indus in a valley, girdled by a circle of hills issuing torrents of water during the flood season, like the dishevelled hair of a voluptuous girl, but all drained by the placid Kabul river, which cuts the valley in twain and flows majestically eastward through a gap to meet the Abasin. The valley including the surrounding hills represents the true Gandhara of ancient history, which in time extended beyond the Indus right up to Taxila to incorporate the Chach plain within its orbit. The valley proper is nearly circular, about thirty-five miles in diameter, extending from the Indus to the Khyber. "It is bounded on the
north and north-east by hills which separate it from the valleys of Swat and Buner; to the north-west are the rugged looking mountains occupied by the Utmankhels and Mohmands; on the west stand the Khaibar mountains overlooked by the Tartarra peak; to the south the boundary is the continuation of a spur which branches from the Safaid Koh, and runs to the Indus—the lower portion of this branch separates the districts of Peshawar and Kohat—to the south-east; the only portion not bound-ed by the hills, is the river Indus, which divides it from the Chach plain in the Rawalpindi and Hazara districts.

(See Map No. 1). On entering the valley from Attock (correctly Ashtaka or Shattaka) on the Indus, the lofty ranges of Khattak (or correctly Shattaka) hills greet our eyes on the left, which culminate in the heights (4545' above the sea) of Cherat—a cool hill station, while on our right across the Kabul river gradually emerge in the dis-tance the low hills rising to the peaks of Mahaban (7373'), Paja (6747') and Ilam (9239'), beyond which spread out the snowy sheets of the eternal Himalayas comforting the baby ranges within its sheltering arms. Nearer in the view march westward the spurs from the Paja, now low and now high, cleft at times by gushing torrents and sur-mounted very often on terraced tops by peaceful monas-teries of the Buddhists and finally terminating in the flats of Takht-i-Bahi (literally "The Throne of spring") con-cealing within its bosom the last remains of dying Bud-dhism. Still nearer can be seen, forming the northern bed of the Kabul river, a gradually terraced deposit of allu-vium, which heaps up in the so-called Sar-i-Maira,—once a water-logged waste land but now lush with sugarcane fields, tobacco and wheat crops—a gift of the new irriga-tion channelling. Such a rich greenery is to be witnessed all along in the northern part of the valley, fertilised year after year by several snow-fed rivers, the Doaba of Hasht-nagar (correctly Ashtakanagar) being the richest home—the true granary of the region. No wonder the northern half is teeming with towns and cities, villages and hamlets, and old dheris (mounds) and ruined garhis (fortified places). The old major road also passed to the
north of the Kabul river striking straight at Hund on the Indus. In contrast, the southern half of the valley is an undulating plain covered by shingle and reddened pebbles rolled down from the heights of the Khattak hills by occasional torrents, which have turned the whole area into a barren tract—the Ashtaka-dhana of the Sanskrit tradition. It is only the passage along the Kabul river that holds a noble view of greenery and forms a real dividing line between the desert of the south and the flourishing fields of the north. When the road hits Peshawar, the north and the south unite to turn the smiling nature into a man-made orchard of fruits and paradise of attractive flowers. For Peshawar, though situated south of the Kabul river, is lying in an irrigated plain of the Bara and the Budni.

"The numerous gardens and scattered trees were covered with new foliage, which had a freshness and brilliancy, never seen in the perpetual summer of India. Many streams ran through the plain. Their banks were fringed with willows and tamarisks. The orchards, scattered over the country, contained a profusion of plum, peach, apple, pear, quince, and pomegranate trees, which afforded a greater display of blossom than I ever before witnessed; and uncultivated parts of the land were covered with a thick elastic sod, that perhaps never was equalled but in England. The greater part of the plain was highly cultivated, and irrigated by many water-courses and canals. Never was a spot of the same extent better peopled."28 "Such attention has been paid to agriculture and the amelioration of the soil, that no part of the Panjab country can equal the cultivated districts of Peshawar in beautiful scenery. The agreeable avenues and handsome houses extend not only over the suburbs, but also over the whole of the gardens which surround the city, and are adorned with the richest verdure; an adequate idea of the grandeur of which is not easily conveyed by words."29

Looking from a distance we can better appreciate the nature. "The scenery of the Peshawar valley especially at certain seasons of the year has earned frequent eulogy. In
the western tract this is quite distinctive and peculiarly attractive, a land of streams and rivers, the frequent villages often half hidden amid groves of sheltering trees. Giant crops of sugarcane and maize, alternating as the seasons change with broad stretches of verdant wheat or barley, spread a picture of rural plenty to be equalled possibly but surely seldom surpassed in the length and breadth of India. There is an intimate charm about these scenes which grows the more frequently they are revisited.30 And again "true grandeur is not wanting in the scenery of the district as the view in panorama proves. Seen from Cherat in the cold clear light of a winter day the great plain with its converging rivers and rectilinear canals—both shot to silver here and there as the day revolves—this and the amphitheatre of surrounding hills, backed in the north by a chain of giant mountains, provide a prospect which is not easily to be forgotten by the beholders."31 The ranging hills form a real frame, cut and sculptured, and thrown in high relief against a clear sky. Climbing the nearest hill top at Tartara (6764') with Warburton, we have a nice view: "The panorama from here was grand to a degree. Just below us nestled Fort Jamrud. Peshawar, with its church and double-storeyed barracks and its mass of trees, occupied the foreground. To the left lay the Caubul River, and further north could be seen the Swat stream, with the plains of Yusufzai, the Mora and Ilam Ranges, with the Indus in full blood running due south at the eastern extremity of the Peshawar valley."32 Coming down by the winding road through the Khyber Pass, we have several glimpses of the valley until we reach the Bab-i-Khyber at Jamrud when the bright smiling buildings of the University of Peshawar glisten in between the green groves of trees and send a note of welcome to the weary traveller.

The main city: Out of the dusty path we shake off the clinging dust from our body and partake of the clean clear water of the Bara to quench our thirst in the city of Peshawar. The Bara is the real boon of Peshawar for its water, as the people say, digests away all kinds of food
and illness. In the olden days the city stood in the middle of its two forks, the northern skirting the ramparts of the Bala Hisar and the southern kissing the feet of the lower city. We read that in the last century “all the gardens and the neighbouring fields are watered by brooks and fountains, conducted from the river Bara, which enriches the country.”33 Today the Bara has drifted away to farther south and the Budni and the other canals from the Kabul river come down to irrigate the valley. Peshawar is situated in this irrigated portion of the valley, about 9 miles east of the Bab-i-Khyber in latitude 34°2′ and longitude 71°3′. The distance by road from Rawalpindi is 104 miles, from Kabul 190 miles, from Kohat 40 miles and from Mardan 41 miles.

To-day the rivers Bara and Budni never meet but, coming closest near Peshawar, turn away to join separately the Shah Alam branch of the Kabul river. But the very name Budni (literally “old”) suggests the importance of the river. Until the end of the last century the river Budni was frequently visited by the people and particularly in summer days the Muslims went on picnic and for cool bath in its water. The Hindus selected another spot on the Budni for their social gathering, where they built a temple. Mohan Lal writes: “I went this morning to the Hindu temple called Gorakh Nath. It is a fine place. All Hindus, both men and women, with their children, assemble here on Sundays and bathe in the pond, which has a beautiful fountain in the middle. Its clear and crystalline water, which washes the northern side of Peshawar, forms a narrow rivulet.”34 Still earlier in the time of Babar35 there was a great lake in this neighbourhood, created by the seepage of waters from the Budni and the Bara. As a result there were thick jungles and muddy patches where rhinoceros could be hunted, as was done by Babar himself. With the shifting of the rivers and the rise of the lake bed the area is now water-logged and is given to grass farms. On our way to Charsadda we cross the Budni. It has now become a real Budni (Buddhi), an old and narrow
rivulet, hardly suggesting that it once carried the majestic flow of the Kabul river water.

The old city: The rivers having departed, the city now stands alone, bereft of its surrounding gardens, but still retains the historic romance of its successive growth and decay. The sad tale of decline is entombed in the numerous graves that are scattered to the south and south-east of the old city. In the south stood the Wazir Bagh, where, according to Gopal Das, Muslims went every Friday for merry-making and enjoyment. Sir Alexander Burnes describes one such day: “On Friday after our arrival we accompanied the chief and his family to some flower-gardens, where we spent the greater part of the day in conversation. The chief himself sat under one tree, and we ranged ourselves beneath another. Iced Sherbet and confections were brought to us . . . . In the afternoon we returned to the king’s garden, which is a most spacious one, and sat down on the ground with Sooltan Mahommed Khan and his family to partake of sugarcane cut into small pieces . . . . . We then followed the chief to his family burying-ground, where his two elder brothers, Atta and Yar Mahommed Khan, who fell in battle, lie interred. The whole branches of the family were present, and offered up their afternoon prayers in a mosque, close to the grave. The sight was an impressive one . . . . The day finished with a visit to a holy man named Sheikh Iwaz and such is the usual manner of spending a Friday among the Dooranee nobles of Peshawar.” To the south-east stood the famous stupa of Kanishka at a spot now known as Shah ji ki Dheri, which can be approached by a road going to Hazar Khani. To the east of the city lay Sayid Ka Bagh, where we can still see one or two surviving watch-towers and the famous Dargah of Shaikh Junaid. But the people have dug down and sold away the earth in such a fashion that the old watch tower is perched high on a lone surviving tila. Here a new suburb, called Rahimabad, has recently developed but around the Dargah is the locality of Shaikhhabad, now fast growing with the overpopulation of the old city. The name of the
Syed (correctly Sayid still clings to a watch tower, standing between the Dargah and the city, with its dilapidated brick well that once supplied drinking water to the people. Sayid Khan lies buried in another part of the city in a garden tomb, now occupied by the Mission Hospital, the tomb alone surviving but the garden having perished completely (See below). Further ahead on a low-lying area stands Gul Bahar Colony opposite Lahori Darwaza, the most important gate in the old time, wherefrom issued the old Trunk road to Lahore. This old Kachcha road is even now traceable through an avenue of trees right up to the village of Chamlkani. The British diverted the road soon after their occupation in 1848 and built the present Grand Trunk road leading directly to the British Cantonment. The population then gradually moved out from the walled city to the localities on either side of this new road. North of the road can be seen the city Railway Station and the Mahallas of Jagannathpura, Nanakpura and Panch Tirath. On the south are found the new buildings in the old maidan of Nazar Bagh and the mahalla of Sikandarpura and further eastward has developed, after Independence, the new colony of Nishtarabad, where in the past a weekly cattle fair was held. Going back to the north towards Charasadda road, we notice many new buildings coming up in the vacant space left by the Jinnah Park (old Cunningham Park) and the Shahi Bagh—the two remnants of the famous Shalimar Garden of the Mughal period. In between the Jinnah Park and Shahi Bagh we have a junction of roads, one going to the old city, the second to the Cantonment, the third to the city Railway Station, the fourth is the old Charasadda road terminating at the village of Dalazak on the Kabul river, the fifth is the new Charasadda road, on which the last construction belongs to Nishat Sarhad Textile Mill on the left bank of the Budni, and the sixth leads to the Polo Ground, which again gives access to an old road that goes to Chagar Mitti and thence after crossing the Shah Alam river to Michni. The railway line passes between the two gardens and along the western side of the Bala Hisar and makes its way through the old dried-up bed of
the Bara. The Grand Trunk Road goes underneath it at the south-western tip of the Jinnah Park while near the Jail there is an over-head bridge that takes the traffic going direct to the Kabuli Darwaza. There is another over-head railway crossing for a road coming from Dabgari gardens to the Cantonment. The gardens today survive only in name reminding us of the real garden around the tomb of Sayid Khan, but the area is now occupied by Mission Hospital, Lady Griffith School, the quarters of the medical doctors and further ahead by other quarters of the State Bank of Pakistan employees. From the Dabgari gardens to the Kabuli Darwaza, immediately behind the Railway bridge, there is a continuous line of shops over an area through which flowed an irrigation canal from the Bara. In the last century there were sandy banks, some thick bushes and a few graves around an old Idgah now no longer traceable. Nearabout were Bullock Line, Elephant Line (Fil-Khana) and Camel Line, where today stand the buildings of the Lady Reading Hospital and the Frontier College of Women (formerly the Khalsa College). Facing the Kabuli Darwaza opens up the Khyber Bazar, to which has now been added the Soekarno Square, named after the Indonesian President, Dr. Ahmad Soekarno for his gallant support to Pakistan in the recent Indo-Pakistani War (September 1965). To the south-west of the old city spread out the suburbs of Bhana-Mari, Dheri Baghbanan and Kotla Mohsin Khan, which are linked by road on the one hand with the village of Landi Arbab and on the other with Nauthea (correctly Nau dih = New Village). These surrounding localities of the British and post-British periods crowd around the old walled city of Peshawar (See map No. 2) which includes within its wall an area of 437 acres.  

**Peshawar Cantonment and University:** To this historic city the British added their military cantonment for the maintenance of a large garrison to hold the “Frontier.” With the achievement of independence from the British authority in August, 1947, another plume has
been added to the city in the foundation of the University of Peshawar around the nucleus of the old Islamia College and there has developed in its neighbourhood a new University town. To-day we look at the development of the city in three distinct stages—the old city, the British Cantonment and the Pakistani township around the University of Peshawar. The old city had a population of about 100,000 in 1809 when Elphinstone paid a visit. After the Sikh devastation the population dwindled to 80,000 in 1832. It continued to reduce until in 1891 it was only 63,079 souls. In 1931 it rose to 87,440 and in 1951 census it stood at 1,09,715. The British Cantonment, which had 21,112 inhabitants in 1891, rose to have 34,426 persons in 1931. In the last census of 1961 the figures stand as 1,66,273 for the city municipal limits and 46,925 for the Cantonment. The University of Peshawar has 12,686 on its ration rolls at the time of writing (February 1966). This development marks the gradual shift of the new population from the east to the west and further to north-west, from the lower irrigated plain of the Bara to the higher ground north of that river. While Jamrud was 13 miles from the Kabuli Darwaza, it was 9 miles from the last gate of the British Cantonment, and now it is only 5 miles from the University. When the new industrial zone (to be located beyond the University), is developed, the city may spread right up to Jamrud—an extension of the city life to the very foot of the Khyber Hills, thus, leading to the dawn of a new era of prosperity for the “tribal” and “settled” population on the road to economic and social integration in fulfilment of the aim in Pakistan.

A look at the old city: The old city consists of the high ground of Bala Hisar separated by the Hospital road from the walled town and is composed of the historic remains beginning from at least the Kushan time (1st century A.D.) to the end of the Sikh period. The British have added very little to this city except some slight modification in widening a few roads and erecting some memorials (See below). The city still gives the
look of antiquity and retains the charm of old life. The Bala Hisar, situated to the north-west of the walled town, answers to the ancient concept of a citadel dominating over the lower town of the common people. But the town itself has nothing of such an ancient period to show on its surface, except probably the uneven ground which strikes the eye when one moves from one quarter to the other and which may suggest to an archaeologist the prospect of a buried treasure underneath the towering houses of the present day. But the meandering lanes and by-lanes through the closed quarters like Andar Shahr, Karimpura, Pipalmandi, Jahangipurpura, Ganj and Namakmandi and planned Katras like that of Abresham, the Chowks (Squares) like the Yadgar and finally the caravanserais like the Gor-kathri and bazars like those of the Bazazan (Cloth-merchants) and Misgaran (Bronze wares) speak more of the mediaeval Muslim town than of the ancient. However, the mediaeval glory is all washed away. We read in the account of Moorcroft, who came here in 1842:

Sikh Destruction: “The city of Peshawar, and plain in which it is situated have been so fully and accurately described by Elphinstone . . . . . Both, however, had much fallen off since his visit, in consequence of dissensions and hostilities with Ranjit Singh. Many of the houses of the city were untenanted and in ruins, and in the plain very many of the villages were deserted, and extensive tracts of rich land were uncultivated. In the immediate vicinity of the town the Sikhs had inflicted more mischief than many years labour could remedy, by destroying gardens and orchards, and demolishing the wells and channels of irrigation. The Bala Hisar, which, at the time of the British embassy, was the occasional residence of the king, and in which their audience took place, was a heap of rubbish, and the only use made of it by the rulers of Peshawar was as a quarry from whence to procure materials for dwellings of their own erection.” 47
As a result, many houses and localities had to be rebuilt or renovated during the brief Sikh period. Today the houses and shops in the city show those features which became popular at this time. The old art of painting the walls deteriorated but the fashion survived along with fine craftsmanship in wood architecture. This change is told by the contemporary traveller, Alexander Burnes: 48 "I found that the Sikhs had changed everything; many of the fine gardens round the town had been converted into cantonments; trees had been cut down; and the whole neighbourhood was one vast camp, there being between 30,000 to 40,000 men stationed on the plain . . . . . . . . . . If, however, some things be changed for the worse, others are improved. The active mind of Monsieur Avitabile has done much to improve the town and tranquillize the neighbourhood: he was building fine bazars and widening streets." It was avitabile who delimited the city by erecting a wall all round while it was in the time of another Sikh Sardar "Kurruck Sing" that the Bala Hisar was rebuilt and named "Sumungur". 49

Bara River: The greatest change effected in the city is in its relation to the river Bara. Both Elphinstone 50 and Mohan Lal 51 record that "two or three brooks run through the different parts of the town, and even there are skirted with willows and mulbery trees. They are crossed by bridges." But to-day these brooks are no longer seen. The flow of the Bara river into the city was stopped, as we read in the old Gazetteer, "In 1860 the city was threatened by a flood in the Bara river which caused great loss to public and private buildings in the city; but dams have been constructed outside the Kohot and Edwardes gates at considerable cost to turn the flood water in the outer drain of the city and the tendency of the river to run into its old channel has been checked by a large dam at Landi Akhund Ahmad, some 3 miles up-stream, and as long as this holds the city is fairly safe." 52 To-day these old channels are traceable in two great gutters, the one running through the Kabuli
Darwaza along the Qissa Khwani Bazar and the other coming from the Kohati Darwaza, both meeting just behind the Qissa Khwani Bazar and advancing together towards Chowk Yadgar on way to Shahi Bagh.

The Walled City: These channels afford an important evidence to study the development of the old city. They divide the walled town into three areas. East of the channels lie the highest ground centring round Gor Kathri with Karimpura to its north-west and Pipalmandi to south-west. At the Pipalmandi can still be seen the old Pipal trees, described by Babar,53 This area was certainly occupied in the pre-Muslim period. Today, besides smaller lanes and by-lanes, two broad streets traverse this area, the one, starting from Chowk Yadgar, goes to Gor Kathri and near Clock Tower branches off to Karimpura and finally leads to Hashtnagari Gate and Lahori Gate; the other starts from Pipalmandi and proceeds towards Ganj and Ekkatut gates. This pre-Muslim city is separated by the joint flow of the channels near Chowk Yadgar from Andar-Shahr, the locality in which stands the mosque of Mahabat Khan. The mahalla of Dhakki nalbandi forms an adjunct of this part. This whole area is again a high ground with shops of jewellery works and of the famous Peshawari Lungis (turbans). The name, Andar-Shahr, i.e. Inner City, is very suggestive but the way in which it is separated from the older part by a channel and its proximity to Bala Hisar suggests that it once formed a part of the citadel area, though later in the Muslim period it was cut away to accommodate the overflow of the population from the older city. However, the third area is clearly defined. Between the Kohati Darwaza channel and the Qissa Khwani channel lies Jahangirpura, where the local variety of felt caps (Swati caps probably the old flat kausia) are made, the name of the locality probably commemorates that of the Mughal emperor Jahangir, in whose reign this area must have been developed. From here the Mughal city spread out between the two channels westward with Sar Asiya (the head of a water mill) making the limit of the exten-
sion. In this zone we have also a Mughal well, known as *Sard Chah* (cold water well), very famous for its drinking water. The focus of this zone is Namakmandi, which in the olden time was the hub of the grain market but now the grain shops have been transferred to Pipalmandi. From Namakmandi the streets lead to Sar Asiya Gate, Sard Chah Gate, Saraki Gate, Bajauri Gate and Dabgari (correctly *Dabba-gari*, box-making shops) Gate. This whole zone is on a lower level than the older pre-Muslim part of the city and extends lengthwise along the old bed of the Bara channel. To this was added another locality named after Ramdas who was a treasurer during the Sikh regime. These areas of the old city were protected by a wall, originally earthen but later strengthened by brick facing, erected during the Sikh regime, with sixteen gates for entry and exit. The old wall still runs round the city along with the gates, though renovated and some removed, marking the extent of the pre-British city. The gates are named (clockwise) Kabuli Darwaza, Darwaza Andar Shahr (Asamai), Kachehri Darwaza (Tangsali), Reti Darwaza, Rampurwa Darwaza, Hashtnagari Darwaza, Lahori Darwaza, Ganj Darwaza, Darwaza Ekkutat, Kohati Darwaza, Saraki Darwaza, Sard Chah Darwaza, Sar Asiya (or Tabiban) Darwaza, Darwaza Ramdas, Dabgari Darwaza and Bajauri Darwaza.

With the development of a new sense of security and promulgation of the rule of law, today the importance of these gates no longer remains. Increased traffic has demanded widening of the streets and removal of the gates. The houses and shops, which were all within the walled city, can now be seen outside and in many places the old walls have been incorporated into new houses. In the older town the residential areas were closed quarters and the shops ranged in the *Katras* (octagonal or square) and *Sarais* for reasons of safety. Such *Katras* and *Mahallas* can even now be seen in Peshawar. Behind the Kachehri Darwaza opens Chowk (Square) Yadgar, which gives access to Katra (Octagonal in shape) Abresham (Silk-
merchant’s shops). To its one side opens Pipalmandi, incorporating within it smaller squares, and to the other goes Katra Bazazan. However, today the most important are the open bazars. The Kabuli Darwaza, which was renamed Edwardes Gate by Sir Herbert Edwardes, the second British Commissioner of Peshawar, after its reconstruction, leads to the famous Qissa Khwani Bazar: “This is the Piccadilly of Central Asia and the fame of the Qissa Khani or Story-Tellers Bazar is known throughout the length of the Frontier, Afghanistan and far even beyond.” According to Gopal Das this open Bazar was originally built by Avitabile. It is mentioned neither by Elphinstone nor by Mohan Lal, who have described other bazars. From here we pass on to Bazar Misgaran (Bronze ware shops), in one lane of which is hidden Peshawar Pottery workshop. Further ahead is the Batera Bazar (Pet Shops) leading to fruit market and finally to Chowk Yadgar. The first British Commissioner, Lt. Colonel Frederick Mackeson renamed Jahnigirpura as Mackeson-ganj but the older name is still popular. The name Chowk Yadgar is after the Hastings Memorial, built in 1883, which commemorates Colonel E.C. Hastings. Today it is a centre of all political meetings. From here the bazar turns towards Gor Kathri. On our right is the Sabzimandi and in front stands the Ghanta-ghar (Clock Tower), erected in 1900 by Balmukund of Peshawar in memory of Cunningham, another Commissioner of Peshawar. From Qissa Khwani to Ghanta ghar lie the main bazars of the old city, though to-day odd shops are seen in most of the streets.

Old Bazar Scene: Elphinstone describes a scene in the bazar: “When we returned, the streets were crowded with men of all nations and languages, in every variety of dress and appearance. The shops were all open. Dried fruits and nuts, bread, meat, boots, shoes, saddles, bales of cloth, hardware, ready-made clothes, and postees, books etc., were either displayed in tiers in front of the shops, or hung up on hooks from roof. Amongst the handsomest shops were the fruiterers, (where apples,
melons, plums, and even oranges, though they are rare at Peshawar, were mixed in piles with some of the Indian fruits; and the cook-shops, where everything was served in earthen dishes, painted and glazed, so as to look like China. In the streets were people crying greens, curds etc., and men, carrying water in leathern bags at their backs, and announcing their commodity by beating on a brazen cup, in which they give a draught to a passenger for a trifling piece of money. With these were mixed, people of the town in white turbans, some in large white or dark blue frocks, and others in sheep-skin cloaks; Persians and Afghans, in brown woollen tunics, or flowing mantles, and caps of black sheep-skin or coloured silk; Khyberees, with the straw sandals, and the wild dress, and air of their mountains; Hindoos, uniting the peculiar features and manners of their own nation, to the long beard, and the dress of the country; and Hazaurehs, not more remarkable for their conical caps of skin, with the wool, appearing like a fringe round the edge, and for their broad faces, and little eyes, than for the want of their beard, which is the ornament of every other face in the city". 57

_Bala Hisar_: Bala Hisar, with its high walls and prominent bastions, stands alone by the side of the Grand Trunk road. At the time of Elphinstone's visit "some handsome structures belonging to the Balla Hissaur, form the southern side; and part of the hill on which that castle stands, is included in the (Shalimar) garden." 58 On its western side runs the high embankment (of railway line), which was originally built to stop the flow of the Bara channel that must have gone round the Bala Hisar. On its one side lay the Fil-khana (Elephant Line) and the Shutr-Khana (Camel Line) just close to Dhakki Nalbandi (the high place for fixing horse-shoes to these animals), But they are no more to be seen. They have become part of the old history of the city.

_The old gardens_: The old city, with its mediaeval appearance and delapidated fortification wall, is bereft
of its proper setting and ancient grandeur. No more can be seen the running brooks and arched bridges with willows and lilies smiling and inviting the passers-by. The romantic gardens with their attractive flowers, where people went on holidaying, have dwindled and decayed, somewhere surviving in name, at some places parcelled out into playfields, at others assimilated into the built-up areas or left to be engulfed in the growing greenery of nature. Bagh Nawab Sayid Khan can be recognised in the name of Dabgari Gardens. The residence of Yar Muhammad Khan near Kohati Darwaza has been turned into Edwardes High School and the surrounding garden, through which passed the Kohati Bara channel, is reclaimed for housing the All Saints Church built in 1883. The southern side of the city was full of orchards and gardens but the only survival is a poor show in the present Wazir Bagh. To the north of the Bala Hisar spread out the Shalimar Bagh, built by Ali Mardan Khan. Its beauty can be visualised in the description of Elphinstone: “In the gardens, indeed, flowers are abundant, and disposed with considerable taste. A description of one of them that belonged to the King, and is the finest at Peshawar, will give a true, though favourable idea of the rest. It is called the garden of Shauh Lemaun (correctly Shalimar). Its shape is oblong. Some handsome structures belonging to the Balla Hissaur, form the southern side; and, part of the hill on which that castle stands, is included in the garden, the other sides are inclosed with walls. The northern part of the garden, which is cut off from the rest, is laid out irregularly, and is full of trees, The remainder forms a square, divided by avenues, which cross each other in the middle of the garden. That which runs from east to west, is formed by stately rows of alternate cypresses and planes; and contains three parallel walks, and two long beds of poppies. At the east end of this walk is the entrance; and, at the west, a handsome house containing a hall, and two other apartments. The space from north to south is also bordered by cypresses and planes, beneath which are bushes planted very thick of red,
white, yellow, and China roses, white and yellow jasmine, flowering cistus, and others were entirely new to me. At the north end of this opening is a house, such as I have already described. The space between the walks is filled up by six long ponds, close to each other; and so contrived, that the water is continually falling in little cascades from one to another and ending in a basin in the middle of the garden. In the centre of this basin is a summer-house, two stories high surrounded by fountains; and there are fountains in a row up the middle of all the ponds: there are sixty-nine fountains altogether, which continued to play during the whole day we spent at the garden, and were extremely agreeable, as the summer was then far advanced. The rest of the garden was filled up with a profusion of fruit-trees, which I have mentioned, as growing at Peshawar. Some of them were so thick that the sun could not penetrate them at noon, when they afforded a dark, cool, and picturesque retreat."  

To-day the name Shahi Bagh survives in a poor representative of the old garden.  

Ali Mardan’s garden: Ali Mardan Khan built another garden retreat away from the city, part of which was later converted into the Company Bagh, now in the British Cantonment. Mohan Lal writes: “An evening walk led me to the garden of Ali Mardan Khan, a Persian nobleman, who has filled the country from Mashad to Delhi with monuments of his taste and magnificence, In the centre of the garden is a fine building, three stories high, surrounded by fountains. The rest of the garden is filled with an exuberance of fruit and rose trees. I left the garden a little before sunset, and passed on the road through the garden named Shahlemar.”  

The garden of Ali Mardan has long been destroyed but his building has been renovated and in use by the old British Residency and later by the Brigade and Station Staff. The open area on the eastern side of this building has been turned into Services Ground where we have a fine Cricket ground and on the other side of the Residency a new garden was laid, formerly called
Mackeson garden and now known as Company Bagh. To the south-east of this garden was a Muslim graveyard, where we can still see the grave of a Naugaza Pir.

**British Cantonment**: At the time of Moorcrafts' visit, westward of this area was a long plain. He writes: "The march lay over the western part of the plain of Peshawar; the ground was uncultivated and plentifully strewn with small stones, with patches of good pasture. That it had been once under tillage was evident from numerous traces of water courses and ruined villages." It was on this high ground that the British Cantonment was built. As early as 1848-49 it was used as the camping ground of the British forces but very soon, in spite of contrary opinions on the part of some military officers, the Cantonment was laid, and in order to provide further protection barbed wire was put around the Cantonment with gates at the exit roads: Kohati Gate, Nauthia Gate, Bara Gate, Abdarra Gate, Tahkal Gate, Michni Gate, Saraki Gate, Jail Gate, Bajauri Gate, and Dabgari Gate. But these gates are outdated in the present day of freedom and security.

The railway line divides the old city from the Cantonment. Its site is a curved elevation looking towards the Khyber Hills. The old village of Nauthia and Nawa Kila impinge on its western side. On the Kohat road can also be seen new constructions. Government Polytechnic school, Small industries centre and very soon a new satellite town are on the way. Within these limits the average length is three miles while the breadth is about one mile, the actual area is about five square miles. The whole Cantonment is laid on a new pattern, which sharply distinguishes its European character from the Eastern nature of the old city. It is the laying of broad roads, meant for wheeled carriages, with houses arranged and trees planted in line, that gives a completely new look. The main highway is a continuation of the Grand Trunk Road, that circles the whole Cantonment and hence is known as North Circular Road and South Circular Road. The second important is an old path the
started from Bala Hisar and went past the garden of Ali Mardan Khan. It is for this reason that it bears the name of Fort Road. The third is the Mall that starts not far from the Cantonment Railway Station and the last is the Saddar Bazar Road. The main shopping centre is the Saddar Bazar which ranges on either side of the main road and now has extended into Arbab Road and the Mall. Earlier the shops lined the streets that cross at Chowk Fowwara (Fountain) and the fashionable shopping was done at the Gora Bazar (now called Jinnah Street). Today the Saddar Bazar is brisk with life every evening and the modern youth finds a pastime in walking through the streets in all gaiety or visiting cinemas or partaking of a cup of tea or Coca-cola in the restaurants. At the end of the Saddar Bazar on the South Circular Road has now been built a stadium where public functions are held. The old Catholic Church on the Mall now runs a girls’ high school and nearby is a Cantonment College for girls. Opposite this church on the other side of the Mall is a new shopping centre. The Peshawar Club stands near St. John’s Church. Edwardes College occupies a spacious area at one extremity of the Mall. On the eastern side of the Cantonment stands the Peshawar Museum housed in the Victoria Memorial Hall. Behind it is the new building of the Abasin Art Society. The Shahi Mihmankhana is a close neighbour. Near the Saraki Gate are the buildings of High Court, Radio Pakistan and District Courts. On the other side of the road opens up the Golf course. The Government House is situated on an avenue off the Fort Road, and not far from this place are the buildings of the old Secretariat. The whole of the Cantonment is neatly set with beautiful trees giving long vistas. The churches and double-storied barracks with overlooking chimneys on the North Circular Road remind us of the old British days but the new Saddar Bazar with its humming cars and noisy youth at once speaks of the change that has come about in the city. The military lodgings of old are still hanging on to provide accommodation to the officers and the open maidans do provide a spectacle of brisk parade going on here and
there but the old British military aspect of the Cantonment, cut off from the Civil life of the city, has considerably changed. The Cantonment to-day is a growing part of the city, in which many of the new intellectual class of the society have found comfortable houses to live in. It has indeed become a part and parcel of the new life of Peshawar.

**Old cemetery and Race Course:** Outside the Tahkal gate stands one Christian cemetery, in which names of old British officers can be read on grave stones. Another graveyard lies outside the old Abdarra gate, now within the limits of the aerodrome, and hence no longer in use. The old race course and parade ground is the nucleus of the present aerodrome, which covers the area on either side of the old Khyber road. On the east stand the two villages of Tahkal and on the west Abdarra. The railway line to Khyber runs through it. To-day the Khyber road starts from Tahkal gate and goes past the University of Peshawar and Burj Harisingh to Jamrud, where a monumental gate, called Bab-i-Khyber, was built in 1963.

**The University area:** An open plain by the side of the (Narai or Palosi) Khwar, north of the Cantonment and separated from it by the aerodrome, has developed into an important education centre. The plain lay outside the village of Tahkhal and was given to cultivation. But in the last century thirteen dheris (mounds) were scattered in this area according to Gopal Das. Several gold and silver coins were dug up from them. Of the biggest mound Burnes writes: "The only antiquity which we discovered near Peshawar was a tope, or mound, about five miles distant, on the road to Cabool, and evidently of the same era as those of Manikyala (near Rawalpindi) and Belur (Bhallar near Taxila). It is in a very decayed state, and the remains would not suggest any idea of the design, had we not seen those in the Punjab. It was nearly a hundred feet high, but the stone with which it had been faced, had fallen down or been
removed.”71 Today a settlement site72 lies by the old Khwar on either side of a new Warsak canal, the highest mound being occupied by the grave of a Naugaza Pir. The southern part of the mound is levelled and assimilated in the fields. The “tope” mentioned by Burnes marked the southern limit of this mound. There was another tope to its west, but now levelled down, in between which stands an old graveyard, marked by the well-known grave of another Naugaza Pir. Later excavation conducted in the twentieth century revealed the Buddhist character of the stupas. It is in this ancient site of an old settlement and Buddhist centre of monastic education that a new centre of education was founded in 1913 so that the rays from this house of learning may spread into the hills and even beyond just as the Buddhists had earlier pioneered in propagating the religion of peace to the world. The nucleus was the Islamia Collegiate School started in 1913, followed by Islamia College in 1914. After the independence the University of Peshawar came into existence in 1950. Soon the regional branch of the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research set up its laboratory and finally came here the Forest Research Institute and the Academy for Rural Development. In 1953 an idea was mooted to develop a residential area for the intellectual class of the society. This led to the buildings in the private sector, to which the name of University Town has been given. While the buildings appertaining to the Islamia High School, College, Oriental library and teaching staff were all planned in a nice setting of oriental colour, the developments after the independence were rather too hasty and hence could not be in tune with the old style. Add to this necessity the number of foreign architects who were invited to plan the different buildings of new colleges and institutions. The result was the creation of buildings which have no one architectural style nor are they adjusted in their proper setting. The developments took place probably without the services of a town planner and hence the growth has been more or less haphazard. But fortunately the good sense of broad streets with
long avenues of trees has prevailed in the alignment of houses, and the carrying out of tree plantation has given such a noble effect of greenery that charms the visitors to the University of Peshawar. On coming from the city we first get the University Town on the left side of the Khyber road and then comes the Academy. Further ahead is the domed structure, in which the University of Peshawar was founded. Next can be seen the new buildings of the Islamia School and College and a small shopping centre. On the right side of the Khyber road first comes the Regional Laboratory building and then the Departments and Colleges of the University of Peshawar, finally ending with the majestic buildings of the Islamia College. About a mile away from the Khyber road on way to Palosi stands the grand structure of the Forest Research Institute and its close neighbour is the Agriculture College. The Khyber road is the main highway of communication. The roads leading into the University cut away at right angles, mainly four in number, but they tend to curve round the far end, beyond which are fast growing new residential buildings for the teaching staff. The university area is the intellectual centre not only of the city of Peshawar but also of the whole region. It has attracted students from far and near, from the settled area as well as from the hilly region and has acted as a great leveller to harmonise the cultural achievements of all the people. Young boys and girls from the seclusion of hoary tribal tradition have trekked into its precincts to rub shoulders with the cultivated towns folk, and they have together struggled to profit by the new facilities of education and lay the foundation of a new life of healthy progress in this rich valley of Peshawar.

We have now passed along the three important stages in the development of the city of Peshawar. The old town, the Cantonment and the University area may be regarded as the three cities of Peshawar. While the old historic town retains the oriental charm and eastern look with its slow-moving life and traditional colour and
taste, the Cantonment gives the appearance of the British military station with the nineteenth century architecture of England imitated in the barracks and churches but the new life since independence makes a complete departure and is writ large in the new developments around the University of Peshawar. The old tradition is face to face with the modern world, not only in the field of education but also in every walk of life and culture. There is a clash of ideas and struggle for better living, and the youth, as usual, is rash to take to the new facilities and build for himself a future of happiness and progress. The signs of this new spirit are underlined in the latest city now being built, and this has gone a great way in giving a new colour even to the older part, nay to the whole land of the Pathans. Peshawar has once again come to the forefront as a harbinger of new and free life in the independent country of Pakistan.
CHAPTER II
ANCIENT PESHAWAR

KHAROSHTHI RECORD FROM ARA NEAR ATTOCK

(To be read from right to left)

Poshapura (Peshawar) in the oldest text.¹

Translation.

“During the reign of the Maharaja, Devaputra, Kaisara Kanishka, the son of Vajheshka, in the forty-first year-on the 25th day of the month Jyaishtha, this well was dug by Dashavhara, of the Peshawarian scions, in honour 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 . . . . . .”²

Introduction: Peshawar’s origin is wrapped in fanciful traditions and is further confused in hypothetical propositions. As its history is not the story of the city alone, attempts have been made to ascribe the various historical events of this whole region to it. Though the city can claim association with all the events after it gained pre-eminence, the earlier history can hardly form
its part. But its beginning being shrouded in mystery, it is better to see its rise in a wider perspective. In this light the tale of the city goes beyond the confines of Peshawar valley and echoes and re-echoes with the rival ranges that raise their heads to cast greedy eyes on the plains. Nay, the mountains follow up the thread, chains after chains, and open the routes to the bold and sturdy that could push through the passes and stake their future for the crown—a symbol of sovereignty held aloft by Peshawar. The crown must be secured over the heads of the bubbling populace on the surrounding hills, who have been ever ready to climb down and advance eastwards into the plains of the Indus and even beyond into the Gangetic valley. Through all these movements of people the story of Peshawar is enlarged more and more bringing a new perspective and newer definition of the city. It is this imperial role that characterizes the ancient history of Peshawar and particularly marks the augmentation of the city by the Great Kushans, who ushered in a new era of prosperity and artistic efflorescence in Gandhara.

Gandhara in the Hindu Sources: We have to go a long way to reach the full light of the Kushan age. The earlier picture, remoter in age, gets darker and is shrouded in the paucity of reliable evidence. While the archaeologists painfully search for the early man in the prehistoric cave of Sanghao (Mardan district), or pick up the titbits of quartz flakes scattered by the hunter-man in the valleys and over the slopes of hills, or even dig deeper into the soil in Swat, Dir and Bajaur to unearth the graves and settlements of the late Bronze and Iron ages, the historians have scanned the pages of the Vedic literature and gleaned some passages to enlighten on the heroic deeds of the Aryans who were fast moving out from their tribal seclusion to win and profit by the irrigated land of the Indus system. This hazy picture speaks of their exploits on the banks of the rivers Suvastu, Kubha and Krumu but so far no archaeological remains have been traced to catch their movements. How then can we recognize and identify them? We hear
of a few names like Pakhthu, Siva and Yadu, all busy in tribal feuds and mutual jealousies. But how far can we take them to survive in the modern Pakhtuns, or the people living round the village of Siva in Mardan district, or the Gaduns or Jaduns on either bank of the river Indus, is difficult to say. One thing comes out boldly that the Peshawar valley, even in those early days, was called Gandhara and was famous for its fine sheep wool. It is about this name Gandhara that the Hindu traditions weave a historical narrative which converges in the older city of Pushkalavati, identified with the ruined mounds near Charsadda and located at the old confluence of the rivers Kabul and Swat. No wonder the same city produced a king, who also bears a significant name of Pushkarasati (Pushkala-sakti, i.e. Might of Pushkalavati) or Pushkarasarin (i.e. Leader of Pushkalavati). He is known to have ventured eastwards against the ruler of Avanti (Malwa) in India. What type of a ruler was he, is difficult to ascertain. But obviously he must have had to contend with the congeries of tribes that overlooked his capital city. Or probably he was the leader of the band of tribes whose number is sometimes given as eight but without detailing their names. Pushkalavati was, no doubt, the chief city of these eight tribes and hence the local tradition persists in preserving the more popular name Hashtnagar, or correctly Ashtakanagar, and now applied for the Doaba of the Kabul and Swat rivers. With the death of Pushkarasati in the sixth century B.C. the Hindu traditions peter out, though his name survived in that of the city, but the common name Ashtaka reverberated in the hills until probably it got fixed up in the name of the Southern Range, now known as Khattak (= (A) Shtaka) Hills—the hills which impinge on to the Indus at a spot where much later in history the Mughal emperor Akbar built a ferry and named the town Attock (Banaras).

Iranian and Western Classical References: With this change the Indian perspective fades away but the city of Pushkalavati still dominates the scene. Henceforward
Peshawar valley, nay the whole of the Indus zone, beams forth in the light of the Achaemenian history of Iran and in the pages of the Western Classical accounts. To the old Iranians all this land was known, in their own language, as Paruparaesanna, i.e. "The Land beyond the Mountains". The Iranian name is preserved in the Babylonian and Elamite versions of the official inscriptions in place of Gandhara. From this term was derived the Greek word Paropamisadace, with numerous variants of spelling, and later applied to the restricted valley of the upper Kabul river. However, the local name Gandhara became more popular in the inscriptions of Darius and his successors, and it was he, if not his predecessor, Cyrus, who brought an end to the rule of Pushkarasat and extended Persian suzerainty over this region. We also hear of the command of Darius issued to Skylax of Caryanda to find out where the river Indus emptied itself into the sea. It is this geographical exploration which provided information about the people and the country to the western world. Unfortunately the original report of Skylax is lost. A few fragments preserved by others make the issue more confusing. We have, for example, in Herodotus explicit mention of the "country of Paktuike" and again of "the Sattagudai and the Gandarioi and the Dadikai and the Aparutai". Later he speaks of the people: "The Gandarioi and the Dadikai had the Bactrian equipment in all respects . . . . . . the Paktues wore cloaks of skin and carried the bow of their country and the dagger." Obviously the "Gandarioi" are the people of Gandarioi and the "Paktues" are the people of Paktuike, and as the peoples have been differentiated, the two countries are also different. Even then Sir Olaf Caroe takes Gandhara to be same as Paktuike. This view is propounded on the basis of another reference which tries to spotlight the place where the journey was commenced by Skylax. According to Herodotus he "started from the city of Kaspaturus and the country of Paktuike". From this passage can we infer that Kaspaturus was in Paktuike? Sir Olaf answers in the affirmative, not on the strength of this quotation, but taking a
cue from Hecataeus, who spells the name as “Kaspapuros” and says that it was in Gandhara. While the city is obviously one and the same given in two different forms of spelling, it is rather far-fetched to identify Paktuike with Gandhara. The clarification can be made from the earlier quotations of Herodotus. But we may agree with Hecataeus that Kaspapuros was in Gandhara. What does Kaspapuros stand for? Can we take it to represent Parasapur (Peshawar) or Paskur (or Paska or Pushkalavati)? As far as our present information goes, it was the city of Pushkalavati which was then at the zenith of glory. With all the personal knowledge of local geography that Sir Olaf Caroe possessed, it is fair to state that any naval expedition, then or even today, of the type that Skylax led, must start from Pushkalavati, standing as it was on the confluence of the two rivers, rather than from Peshawar situated far away from the main Kabul river. And therefore it is better to identify Kaspapuros with Pushkalavati than with Peshawar. In fact the name Pushkalavati has become classical in the western sources. It was this city which was besieged by the two generals of Alexander the Great. It was again here that the later Bactrian Greek rulers founded a new city at the present site of Shaikhan Dheri; nay one of their kings significantly bore the name of Peucolaus, evidently derived from that of the city. If Tarn is to be believed, we also get the province-name Peucelaitis. Thus the Western Classical sources are familiar only with the names of Gandhara and its important city Pushkalavati. Nowhere in these accounts do we get the name of Peshawar, or its other well-known forms of spellings. As late as the time of the Sassanian emperor, Shahpur I (middle of the 3rd century A.D.), the name “Pashkibur” is given in his Nakshi Rustam inscription to define the eastern limit of his empire. This Pashkibur has again been identified with Peshawar without any hesitation, probably on the assumption that the Sassanian reference was to the then capital of the Kushans. And this capital is generally believed to have been Peshawar (see below), and not Pushkalavati, though today archaeological ex-
ploration has revealed ample remains of the Kushan period in the latter city. In fact the French scholar Ghirshman has gone a step further and given an alluring picture of Shahpur's victories: "his victorious army seized Peshawar, the winter capital of the Kushan king, occupied the Indus valley, and pushing north, crossed the Hindu Kush, conquered Bactria, crossed over the Oxus and entered Samarkand and Tashkent". The simple fact is that the Sassanians defeated the Great Kushans and imposed their suzerainty over them, and therefore Shahpur I was correct in asserting his claim over all the territories of the Kushans, the eastern region being referred to by the general name of Pashkibur along with others. It is because of such a general reference that Professor Richard N. Frye argues that the name Pashkibur implies the district or the valley rather than any one city. If such be the case, it is no wonder that the traditional name Pushkalavati, in the form of Pashkibur, should occur in the Sassaian inscription. Therefore there is no explicit reference to the city of Peshawar in any of the Western Classical sources or even in the early Iranian records.

**Foundation of Peshawar:** The city of Peshawar does not appear in the early literary accounts. However, as Pushkalavati is rich in the Hindu traditions, Peshawar draws its inspiration from the Persians as if it is the latter city which inherited the great traditions of the Achaemenians, the Sassanians and the later Persians. Whatever may be the truth, the influence of Persian tradition and culture in this region has been persistent and that alone is responsible for the origin of the story that the city was founded by a Persian ruler. Gopal Das records that the founder is said to be Hoshang, the grandson of Kaimurs of Shahnama fame. And this tradition suggests the correct restoration of the name to Parashpur (i.e. the city of the Persians) rather than to the pedantic Sanskrit Purushapura. Another tradition recorded by Hamdullah Mustawfi, the author of Nuzhatul Qulub (composed in 740 H./A.D. 1340), also gives credit to
the Sassanian emperor: "Shahpur, son of Ardeshir, reconstructed the city and called it Bashapur after his own name. Indeed it was originally Shahpur but in course of time it became Bashapur (Peshawar)."19

Kushan Capital: The oldest reference to the city of Peshawar has been traced in the name Poshapura given in the Kharoshthi inscription at the head of this chapter. The next reference is thus noted by Sten Konow: "The Ma-Ming-p'u-sa-chuan, the biography of Asvaghosha, which was translated into Chinese before A.D. 412, expressly states that Asvaghosha's patron, i.e. Kanishka, was king of Siao Yue-chi. And in its description of the Little Yue-chi kingdom of its own time the Wei-shu gives the information that its capital was Purushapura, i.e. Peshawar."20 If this quotation is understood literally, it only means that Peshawar was the capital of the Little Yue-chi kingdom in the days of Wei-shu but the latter flourished centuries after the time of Kanishka when the old Kushan dynasty had been overthrown by the Sassanians and a new line of kings, called the Little Kushans, were ruling in Gandhara. There is nothing in this quotation to support that Peshawar was also the capital in the time of the earlier Kushan kings. However, the records of the later Chinese travellers speak of the erection of Buddhist stupas and monasteries by the Kushan kings in the vicinity of this city, and this building activity, though not a conclusive evidence, has led all the historians to assume that Peshawar was the Kushan capital.

Chinese References: The three Chinese travellers21 came all the way from their country to collect Buddhist manuscripts and to pay visits to the places associated with Buddhism. In their narrative they have recorded only Buddhist traditions and places of interest and made only casual reference to mundane affairs. The first traveller Fa-Hian22 makes a distinction between the country of Gandhara and the country of Peshawar, the earlier one was to him apparently the region of Pushkalavati. And he does not say that Peshawar was the capi-
tal of Gandhara. The second traveller Sung-Yun refers to “the capital of the country of Gandhara” without naming it, but the description of the Kanishka vihara (see below) in its connection suggests that he had Peshawar in his mind. It is only Hiuen Tsang who gives a full account: “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 royal family is extinct, and 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 sugar-cane, 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 the true law. From old time till now this border-land of India has produced many authors of Sastras; for example, Narayanadeva, Asanga Bodhisattva, Vasubandhu Bodhisattva, Dharmatata, Manorhita, Parsva the noble, and so on. There are about 1000 Sangharamas (monasteries), which are deserted and in ruins. They are 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”.

Hiuen Tsang on the City: Here again Hiuen Tsang is speaking of his own time and the “royal residence” referred to by him need not necessarily belong to the time of Kanishka. However, the Chinese word Kung shing used for it is very significant. It is explained as “fortified or walled portion of the town, in which the royal palace stood”. In view of this explanation and again a separate mention of the city, which was apparently not fortified, it seems that the royal residence formed the nucleus of a citadel which must have been further protected by a
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moat. If this reconstruction is accepted, it is not difficult to identify the site of the royal residence. In chapter I we have discussed the possible courses of the old Bara river and conclusively shown how the Bara channel surrounded a high spot in the old city, which includes the area of Bala Hisar and Andar Shahr. This higher area could have been the citadel. It was separated from the main city that spread out to the north and east on the other side of the channel, where there was an important foundation—a precious tower of the Patra (bowl) of Buddha. An indication of the south-eastern limit of the main city is further given. "Outside the city, about 8 or 9 li to the south-east, there is a pipala tree about 100 feet or so in height." It is difficult to say from which place the distance is measured, but if that place be Bala Hisar area, it is not difficult to recognize the spot of the Pipala tree with the present Pipal Mandi, where even today many Pipala trees are standing (see map No. 2). Hiuen Tsang describes the tree: "Its branches are thick and the shade beneath sombre and deep. The four past Buddhas have sat beneath this tree, and at the present time there are four sitting figures of the Buddhas to be seen here." Babar saw the "great tree" in his very first visit to this part but by then the figures had all gone. If the identification of the spot of the Pipala tree is accepted, the place, where the tower of Buddha's bowl stood, can be justly located at the present high site of Gor Kathri which was built again and again in different periods of history for different purposes and so well known in local traditions.

Buddha's Alms-Bowl: Fa-Hian gives the complete story of the alms-bowl of Buddha, which "is still in this country. Formerly a king of the Yue chi, swelling with his army, came to attack this country, wishing to carry off Buddha's alms-bowl. Having subdued the country, the king of the Yue-chi, deeply reverencing the law of Buddha, wished to take the bowl and go; therefore, he began his religious offerings. The offerings made to the three precious ones being finished, he then caparisoned a great elephant and placed the bowl on it. The elephant then fell
ANCIENT PESHAWAR

to the ground and was unable to advance. Then he made a four-wheeled carriage on which the dish was placed, eight elephants were yoked to draw it, but were again unable to advance. The king then knew that the time of his bowl-relationship was not come. So filled with shame and regrets, he built on this place a *stupa* and also *a sangharama*; moreover, he left a guard to keep up every kind of religious offering.” By the time Hiuen Tsang came, the alms-bowl had been taken away to Persia. The buildings in connection with the alms-bowl were the first Buddhist constructions in Peshawar. The long quotation from Fa-Hian makes it quite clear that the Yue-chi conqueror of this part was the first to build a monastery here. We have no tradition on record about any earlier Buddhist monument. Nothing is ascribed to the famous Mauryan ruler Asoka who is so well-known for his building activity in all other places, traditionally believed to have some connection with Buddha. Obviously the story of Buddha’s relation with the alms-bowl at Peshawar must have started long after the reign of Asoka. The Buddhist community may have chosen the spot of the *Pipala* tree for their religious gathering until they selected a better site at the Gor Kathri. But they had to wait further until the first Yue-chi conqueror, probably Kujul Kadphises, the first Kushan king, built the stupa and monastery here. From this date began the religious importance of Peshawar—in the eyes of the Buddhists. It must, however, be remembered that Peshawar is not stated to have become the Kushan capital.

*Kanishka-Vihara*: The second Buddhist establishment relates to a stupa built by Kanishka “to the south of the Pipala tree.” All the three Chinese pilgrims tell the story how Kanishka, in his wandering, came to this spot and erected the stupa. According to Hiuen Tsang it was a forested spot and according to Fa-Hian it lay by the roadside, but no one clearly says that it was near the capital city of Kanishka. Hiuen Tsang describes: “These two stupas are still visible. In aggravated sickness, if a cure is sought, people burn incense and offer flowers, and with a
sincere faith pay their devotions. In many cases a remedy is found. On the southern side of steps, on the eastern face of the great stupa, there are engraved (or carved) two stupas, one three feet high, the other five feet. They are the same shape and proportion as the great stupa. Again, there are two full-sized figures of Buddha, one four feet, the other six feet in height. They resemble him as he sat cross-legged beneath the Bodhi tree. When the full rays of the sun shine on them they appear of brilliant gold colour, and as the light decreases the hues of the stone seem to assume a reddish blue colour. On the southern side of the stone steps of the great stupa there is a painted figure of Buddha about sixteen feet high. From the middle upward there are two bodies, below the middle, only one. To the south-west of the great stupa 100 paces are so, there is a figure of Buddha in white stone about eighteen feet high. It is a standing figure, and looks to the north. To the left and right of the great stupa are a hundred little stupas standing closely together, executed with consummate art. According to the prediction of the Tathagata, after this stupa has been seven times burnt down and seven times rebuilt, then the religion of Buddha will disappear. The record of old worthies says that this building has already been destroyed and restored three times. When I first arrived in this country, it had just been destroyed by a fire calamity. Steps are being taken for its restoration, but they are not yet complete. To the west of the great stupa here is an old Sangharama which was built by king Kanishka. Its double towers, connected terraces, storeyed piles, and deep chambers bear testimony to the eminence of the great priests who have here formed their illustrious religious characters (gained distinction). Although now somewhat decayed, it yet gives evidence of its wonderful construction. The priests living in it are few; they study the Little Vehicle. From the time it was built many authors of Sastras have lived herein and gained the supreme fruit (of Arhatship). Their pure fame is widespread, and their exemplary religious character still survives. In the third tower (double-storeyed tower)
is the chamber of the honourable Parsvika, but it has long been in ruins; but they have placed here a commemorative tablet to him. .............. To the east of the Parsvika's chamber is an old building in which Vasubandhu Bodhisattva prepared Abhi-dharmakosha Sastra; men, out of respect to him, have placed here a commemorative tablet to this effect. To the south of Vashubandhu's house, about fifty paces or so, is a second storied-pavilion in which Manorhita, a master of the Sastras, composed the Vibhasa Sastra."

Location of Kanishka Vihara: The site of the Kanishka Vihara has been identified by Foucher with Shah Ji ki Dheri. It was excavated by Spooner in 1907 and he was able to locate the stupa and discover the famous bronze reliquary casket but the excavation (see chapter VII for description) had to be given up and the site is again a deserted ruin. It is a strange coincidence that not far from this great monastic educational centre of old lie buried two of the most famous Pashto poets of a later age, Akhund Darweza and Rahman Baba (see map No. 2).

End of Kanishka Vihara: Alberuni is the last to mention this Vihara under the name of "Kanik-caitya" but he gives only the heresay account. Long before his arrival the Vihara had become extinct. The disappearance of this famous monastery must have taken place long after the invasion of the Huns and much before the conquest of Mahmud of Ghazni i.e. sometime between the middle of the seventh and the end of the tenth century A.D., and its destruction should be connected with the general decay and death of Buddhism in this region. There are many causes that were instrumental to this effect. They are better understood in the background of the age in which Buddhism along with its cultural activity dominated the field.

Buddhist Ruins near Peshawar: The Chinese pilgrims speak of only two Buddhist establishments in con-
nection with Peshawar and then they move away to Push-
karakot to describe more centres there. But archaeologi-
cal exploration has revealed many other mounds in the
neighbourhood of Peshawar. The most well-known are
the ruined mounds in the University. In the vicinity of
the village of Tahkal on the left side of a Khwar can be
seen spoiled heaps of old called Dheri Kiriri strewn over
with pottery. Following this old path towards Michni we
first meet with a long stretch of Buddhist ruins on the
left side of Palosi Khwar and two more mounds further
ahead. All these have produced fine Gandhara sculptures.
On another road from the city towards Chagar Mitti we
get a huge mound, known as Dheri Das Mal, near the
Grass Farm and a second one about a few miles ahead. To
the east of the city of Peshawar the nearest Buddhist
ruins lie at the village of Valai beyond Nowshera near a
water spring. Similar Buddhist ruins abound on the Khy-
ber road from Jamrud onwards to Dakka, the two well-
known being the stupas (now almost gone) at Ali Masjid
and the other Sphola Stupa. These and many other archa-
eological remains, which are yet to be surveyed, speak of
the glorious surrounding of Peshawar, which added glam-
our to the wide-spread Buddhist culture in this region.
The language of this culture was Prakrit and the script
Kharoshthi, written from right to left, as is seen in the
documents of the time. But the finest creation is seen in
art, expressed in the beautiful productions of stone sculp-
tures and stucco modellers. When such innumerable pro-
ducts of Gandhara art are surveyed along with the desert-
ed ruins of old stupas and monasteries and standing
mounds of buried cities and towns, we are at once amazed
with the richness of the country and the enlivening spirit
of the culture that must have spurred the imagination of
the people to make best use of the wealth which that age
had brought to them. It was an age of prosperity, wide in-
ternational contact, commerce and trade, and above all
of encouragement to the people to profit by the situation
and leave an abiding human creation as a heritage for the
coming generations.
Pre-Kushana Background: This age of prosperity was not co-extensive with the whole of ancient history. It formed but a small portion of time, and that was really the Golden Age of Gandhara. Its roots go far deeper in history but its decline and fall are not yet properly defined. Some of its elements go back to the Achaemenian period. Archaeology has, however, recovered only a few traces of the cultural period in the Bala Hisar mound at Char-sadda. In spite of this meagre evidence from excavation three important avenues of heritage from this time can be ascertained. The first refers to the instruments of organised government which introduced the satrapal system of machinery to execute imperial orders over the scattered tribals, and this machinery was revived again and again along with the Achaemenian imperial traditions. The second is the evolution of a common medium of exchange between the rulers and the ruled and this was achieved in the creation of the Kharoshthi writing on the basis of the Aramaic, the lingua franca of the Achaemenian empire. This Kharoshthi continued to be used by the subsequent foreign conquerors of the land. Finally we note the establishment of a firm economic basis founded on coin currency, the local varieties being the bent bar silver coins and other punch-marked coins, all following the Daric system of weight. Other aspects of life like art and architecture, though inferrable from later evidence, remain to be discovered in future. When Alexander the Great made a sweeping dash (See Map No. 3) into this far-flung region of the Achaemenian empire, he had just the time to reorganise the administrative machinery by appointing his own governors but his premature death let loose the forces of disintegration. It was a Taxila trained Indian prince Chandragupta Maurya, who, taking advantage of the situation, retrieved the bureaucratic machinery of administration and united the whole of the Indus zone with the Gangetic pattern. The Achaemenian heritage became the legacy of the Mauryas. It is reflected in their administrative system, art and architecture and above all in the fashion the royal edicts were engraved on rocks by Asoka the Maurya. The Mauryas also established con-
tacts with the newly-founded Greek kingdoms in Western Asia and beyond, but the rock inscriptions at Shahbazgarhi in Mardan district tell of the new Gangetic influence that was then penetrating into this region in the wake of Mauryan cultural re-organization. Of these the most important element was the spread of the Buddhist faith among the people. The end of the Maurya rule in Gandhara in second century B.C. was precipitated by a new wave of Greek invasion, this time from their new home in Bactria, but their return did not in any way diminish the influence of Buddhism in this region. In fact the name of their greatest ruler, Menander, is perpetuated in the Buddhist work *Milinda Panho* ("Questions of Menander"), and again a Kharoshthi inscription from Bajaur records the establishment of Buddha's relic during his reign. The Bactrian Greeks popularized the Greek language and script, laid the foundation of new cities in the Hellenistic pattern, e.g., the city uncovered at Shaikhan Dheri (Charsadda), and gave a wide currency to the new types of their silver and copper issues based on Attic standard. It is in their coins that we meet with beautiful portraits of kings, either busts or heads, and it is again their coins which depict not only western gods and goddesses but also city goddesses of Pushkalavati and Kapisa and a few other deities which are decidedly local. What other arts and crafts they developed, we have no examples to illustrate. But their mutual feuds and constant wars must have been a great hindrance in the cultivation of a peaceful cultural life. In the first century B.C. the Greek rule was swept away in the new wave of invasions by the Scythians and the Parthians. These new rulers continued the coin currency along with the use of Greek on them, but the art of making fine portraits, seen in the earlier coins, almost died out and we meet with only a ruder version in a few series. Three remarkable developments are seen in this period. More and more local deities appear on the coins. Large number of Kharoshthi inscriptions speak of the erection of Buddhist monasteries in Gandhara and thus attest the popularization of the faith among the masses. But the most important is the renewed contact with the
western world which the local Parthian rulers made. As a result we begin to get new types of art products in the excavations at Charsadda and Taxila. Most of the so-called "Hellenistic" materials, found by Sir John Marshall at Sirkap, belong to this period. It was from these Parthians that the Great Kushans took over in the first century A.D., and from the Kushan time we first hear the name of Peshawar in the form of Poshapura.

The Kushan Age of Gandhara: Whether Peshawar became the Kushan capital or not, we know for certain that the first Kushan conqueror, Kujul Kadphises, laid the foundation of a stupa and a monastery at Peshawar. It may not be unreasonable to suggest that this religious act on his part persuaded him to assume the title of Sachadhramathida ("Firm in the True Faith") as is known from his coins. Since this humble beginning, the fortune of Peshawar gradually increased, and along with it dawned the age of prosperity for Gandhara and the Golden Era of Buddhist culture in this region. After the first generation of conquest and re-organisation, the Kushans built up a mighty empire that extended from the Oxus to the Ganges and from Pamir to the mouths of the Indus. Of prime importance was the change of the seat of their government from Bactria to Gandhara. This change was a historic decision which revitalised the fountains of Gandhara culture, gave a new incentive and firm support to its progress and maturity, and finally facilitated its outward movement in the whole of Central Asia. This was possible because of the riches from three great valleys—the Oxus, the Indus and the Ganges which now flowed into this new home province of the Kushans. This was due to the diversion of the famous world trade routes which now began to toe their lines down the river Kabul and the Indus, thus opening new avenues for the Gandhara tribals for the first time in history to look eastwards at the Indian plains, to raise their heads over the walls of China in order to view the "Good Earth", and finally to turn westward to profit by the fast approaching Roman trade and commerce. It is along these routes and
by-roads that new market towns, administrative centres, Buddhist monasteries and grand stupas cropped up their heads. This building activity is the hallmark of the Kushan age, which put an end to the earlier period of conflicts and internecine feuds and made way for an atmosphere of peace, in which Buddhism could flourish and bring about a revolutionary change in the general pattern of the socio-religious life, resulting in the large-scale cooperative efforts, expressed in the erection of grand monasteries. The bubbling activity, which was earlier wasted in wars, was now directed in search of the Buddhist way of salvation for life. No wonder the whole of Gandhara became a second home of Buddhism and a prime source of the new Buddhist spirit that characterised this religion hereafter. The great Kushan monarch Kanishka rose up, as a second Asoka, to carry forward the culture of this neo-Buddhism into the innermost hearts of Asia. The social change, resulting from this new atmosphere, bred a new spirit, which became extremely productive and found expression in the creative art and architecture of Gandhara. The soul-stirring message of Buddha fired the imagination of the people and the rugged hills of schist and granitic rocks humbled low to yield to human creation by the artist, who twisted and turned, chiselled and smoothed, and modelled and sculptured the dead stones to embody the life that had enraptured the masses of the time. The sweet melody of life was expressed in beautiful figures that to-day lie entombed in several mounds. In these derelict settlement sites we probe the ruins of old towns and look for tracks to determine the ancient routes that connected them. But in every nook and corner of the valleys, river bends and hill slopes tall stupa mounds gaze at us and mock at the quarrelsome tribals who have forgotten completely what their ancestors built and left for them. They only covet the tit-bits of art for a few rupees, little realizing that they are the real evidence of that age of prosperity and harmonious living which marked the reign of the Great Kushans.
Gandhara Art: The age is marked by the issue of a new series of gold currency which brings entirely a new tradition of depicting full or half figures of kings in Central Asian dress on the obverse and on the reverse a medley of deities that were directly connected with the people living within the empire of the Kushans. Their gods and goddesses, almost all Asian, were suitably represented on the coins along with their names in Greek. The old portrait figures now disappeared. The old silver issues are no longer followed (only a few silver Kushan coins have been found). After some early attempts in copper by the first Kushan king, the gold currency was instituted by the second Kushan emperor Wima Kadphises in order to meet the fresh demands of international trade, while for the common consumption copper issues came out in bulk with a similar pattern and design. The overland commerce and overseas trade enriched the country with imports of all types of luxury goods, toilet objects, glassware, art products and materials of daily use. It is this wider world contact which gave pre-eminence to the Kushan age. We hear of several ambassadorial exchanges with the Roman emperors and close relation with the Chinese. Such exchanges speak of political stability and recognition of the mighty power of the Kushans who reigned supreme for more than a century. They established those peaceful conditions of living which favoured the growth of social integration under the inspiring ideals of Buddhism and led to economic development by utilising the profits of rich world-wide trade. But though commercial profits increased the prosperity of the people, the Kushan empire was not in any way commerce-based, as was the case with the ancient Aegian Civilization. It was an age of boosting the home resources on the borrowed technology of the world with which the Kushans were in contact. The use of these techniques in industrial products, so well illustrated in archaeological materials, excavation of irrigation canals, wells and tanks to increase agricultural produce as well as introduction of new varieties of seedling and finally utilization of the wealth for educa-
tional and literary encouragement, all these provide a clue to the understanding of the Kushan age. Unfortunately we have no Herodotus nor Abul Fazl to tell the story of progress but a few traditions are preserved in the accounts of the Chinese pilgrims. On the other hand we witness all over Gandhara numerous ruined mounds of this period and a sudden outburst of Gandhara sculptures. These sculptures have been stylistically compared with either the Greek or the Roman art, and without taking into account the contemporary historical and social forces, the art-historians have coined such phrases as “Graeco-Buddhist” or “Romano-Buddhist” art in order to distinguish the style from the contemporary art of India. There is no doubt that some motifs and techniques have been borrowed from western classical art as well as from that of Iran and also from the Ganges valley, because such borrowings were natural to the age of the Kushans or to any other country which needs to keep pace with the progress of the world. But the real issue is to understand the whole cultural product, the way these techniques were applied, the different ideas were integrated and the final forms that resulted from them. Decidedly here we have a new setting, a new inspiration and a new ideal impressed on the modelled figures. Here we have no place for statues or portraits. A few moulded heads in stucco recovered in the excavations at Taxila are completely local in spirit and physiognomy. The common style consisted in relief representation and the figures stand out boldly from the stelae because these sculptures were meant to decorate the walls of stupas or monasteries and narrate the story of Buddha and his message in a medium that was commonly understood by the people. Neither the narrative style nor its soul-inspiring idealism come any nearer to the western classical styles much less can we regard the sculpture of Gandhara “as a provincial Roman school”, as is fondly believed by Professor Benjamin Rowland. This western comparison has been so much propagated and abused that even Sir Olaf Caroe gave a plate of likeness between the portrait of Alexander the Great and of a Pathan militiaman in
Kurram for obvious suggestion. Such comparisons can neither prove the Greek origin of some Pathan tribes nor can they lead to the proper appreciation of the art. The Chinese pilgrims do not give any tradition of Greek origin for any of the local tribes or dynasties, though the Greek sources seek in the identity of some local customs as evidence for Greek ancestry. As far as the art is concerned, the artists developed their own sense of beauty and a particular local style, which may be defined as the Gandhara School. It is the social revolution brought about by Buddhism that gave birth to it and the peaceful conditions established by the Kushans that facilitated its growth. The Gandhara art is primarily a Buddhist art expressing the great motivating force behind the rise of Gandhara, generated by the conditions that prevailed in the Golden Age of the Great Kushans.

Kushan Shahis: It is no wonder that the Kushans became famous in the traditions of Gandhara but all the Kushan emperors should not be taken to be Buddhist by faith. It is only Kanishka who is remembered for his patronage of Buddhism and he alone depicts the figure of Buddha on his coins. The second emperor, Wima Kadphises, assumed the title of Mahisvara and loved to depict Siva-and-bull motif on his coins. This type became the standard issue of the Kushans ultimately replacing all other types in the coins of the later successors. We also find a change in the royal name. The Central Asian forms Kanishka, Vasishka, Huvishka gave place to the local form Vasudeva, who was the last great Kushan emperor. In spite of the popularity of Siva in the coin device and the adoption of the name Vasudeva (which is a synonym for Krishna), we have no evidence to show that Buddhism in any way suffered at this time. On the other hand the rarity of figures other than Buddhist in the Gandhara art suggests the wide currency of Buddhism throughout the Kushan age. It seems that the Kushan emperors were not fanatic in their views. They adopted the deities of different cults and religions on their coins. Similarly in the matter of writing they did
not impose any one system. The first two emperors kept up the older practice of using both Greek and Kharoshthi on their coins but the later emperors from Kanishka onwards used only Greek. However, in the inscriptions we find them using Greek but rarely, while in Gandhara Kharoshthi was adopted and in India Brahmi. Greek was used to express the Kushan language, which does not seem to have its own script while Prakrit was used in the other scripts. On the other hand Kanishka's court poet Asvaghosha wrote in the Sanskrit language. The later Kushan emperors evolved their own imperial title. "The epithet Shaonano Shao from which the later Shahanu Shahi or Shahan Shah is derived, is undoubtedly a Kushana adaptation of the Parthian title Basileos Basileon, in itself the old Persian Kshayathianam Kshayathiya in Greek garb". This title Shahanushahi of Kushan Shahis along with their noble work survived long after but the empire of the Great Kushans was shattered by the advance of the Sassanian Persians.

Sassanian Overlordship: The great Central Asian empire of the Kushans who dominated the scene for over a century became involved in the Iranian politics—a struggle for supremacy between the earlier Parthian rulers and the newly-rising Sassanians under Ardashir. According to Ghirshman the support given by the Kushans could not keep up the feeble Parthians, and Ardashir forged ahead and even went beyond in bringing down the Kushans to their feet. The victory is proudly recorded, as we have shown before, in the Naksh-i-Rus-tam inscription of Shahpur I. Ghirshman concludes: "The Kushan dynasty, founded by the great Kanishka, was deposed and replaced by another line of princes who recognized the suzerainty of the Persians and ruled over a state considerably reduced in area". This change of government is duly recorded on the coins. The last of the Kushans, Vasudeva's coins continued to be minted long after his death but soon the name was replaced by that of a Sassanian prince, though the type remained the same. We get the legend Hormizd Vuzurg Kushanshah.
In other coins the title is changed to *Kushan Shahanshah*. We also get the Sassanian type of coins with the legend, which can be translated “The Mazda-worshipping divinity Firuz, great Kushanshah.” This title of Kushanshah is also adopted by some of the Sassanian emperors on their coins. This adoption of the title speaks of the great prestige that the Kushans had built for themselves and over which now the Sassanians were making their own claim. We also read of an Iranian tradition regarding the marriage of Narseh’s son Hormizd II with a daughter of the Kabul Shah. The Sassanian overlordship introduced some of the Iranian elements in the Gandhara culture, particularly in the Gandhara art. The subordinate ruling family in the Peshawar region is generally known by the name of *Shaka*, as the word occurs on their coins. So far we have recovered only part of the names of the rulers, which read as *Sayatha, Sita, Sena, Pra, Mi, Bhri* and *Bha*. These rulers may have continued to hold for about hundred years till the end of the 3rd century A.D.

**Kidar Kushans**: In the fourth century A.D. a new dynasty of the Kidar Kushans came to occupy Gandhara with their capital at Peshawar. It is these rulers who are known as Little Kushans. Their history began with their subordinate rule under the Sassanians but two of the rulers, Kidar and his son Piro, tried to make themselves independent but met with a defeat at the hands of Shahpur III. The successors of Piro assumed Indian names and from the coins we have recovered the following: *Kritavirya, Siladitya, Sarvayasas, Bhasvan, Kusala* and *Prakasa*. These Kidar Kushans continued to rule in the 4th and the early part of the 5th century A.D. until they were overthrown by the fresh invasion of the White Huns. It is in the period of the Kidar Kushans that the Chinese traveller Fa-Hian visited Gandhara, but though he is all praise for Kanishka, he has not a word to say about his own contemporary rulers. It is doubtful whether the Kidar Kushans were Buddhists. Their coins show mainly two types: the Sassanian variety with a bust of the king on one side
and fire-altar on the other, and the second Kushan variety with a standing king on one side and the goddess Arodochsho (Lakshmi) on the other. This latter coin closely resembles the issues of the Indian rulers, the Imperial Guptas of the Ganges Valley. But the most remarkable change that we notice from this period is that the use of Kharoshthi in the coins is given up and an Indian script (Gupta) Brahmi takes its place. This Indian influence, observable in the coin type as well as in the script, has more than an ordinary significance. The Kidar Kushans must have tried to profit by the rivalries of the two great empires—that of the Sassanians in Iran and that of the Imperial Guptas in the Ganges Valley. Their attempt to free themselves from the yoke of the Sassanians must have brought them nearer to the Guptas and this nearness is reflected in the Indian influence. Nay, it seems this also led to some sort of a political understanding, and it is probably this understanding which is hinted in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription 75 of Samudra Gupta. There the ruler designated as Daivaputra Shahi Shahanushahi is said to have paid homage to the Gupta emperor. The homage consisted of three parts: (1) “offering oneself as sacrifice”, or personal attendance, (2) “presenting unmarried daughters and giving them in marriage,” and (3) twofold request asking for charter to make Gupta type coins and for self-government. 76 This description is no doubt an exaggeration by the court poet. But the political circumstances of the Kidar Kushans and one of the coin types clearly point the way the wind was blowing. Though the Sassanians ultimately succeeded in establishing their authority over them, the Indian influence became more and more felt henceforward. It is because of this that the national script of Gandhara, Kharoshthi, was completely finished and replaced by (Gupta) Brahmi. The same source must be responsible for the increase of what Hiuen Tsang calls “heretical” religion in Gandhara and the consequent decline of Buddhism, which we will see in the next period. But so far we have not been able to trace the influence of Gupta classical art in Gandhara,
though the sculptures from Fondukistan in Afghanistan bear unmistakable influence. There is no doubt that the Gandhara art continued to flourish on the support of the people.

_Hun Shahis:_ The Huns were a band of nomadic tribe who originally lived in the neighbourhood of China. They appeared on world history in the fifth century A.D. They struck against the Sassanians, and moving south of the Oxus, finished off with the Kidar Kushans in Gandhara. Their first advance into India was checked by the Gupta emperor Skanda Gupta in about A.D. 455 but they, no doubt, shook the Gupta empire. In 520 when the Chinese pilgrim Sung-Yun visited Gandhara, the Huns were the masters of the country. McGovern concludes: “From a passage in the Chinese chronicles it would appear that they commenced their career of conquest in this region by the invasion and capture of Gandhara in North-Western India about A.D. 465. This conquest, of course, was at the expense of the Kushans, ruled over either by Kidar or one of Kidar’s successors, who had been expelled from Bactria at the time the Ephthalites first swept into Southern Turkistan. We are further told that the Ephthalites appointed a special official, a Tegin or princely viceroy, to rule over their Indian domain.”

The Huns now assumed the same role which the Great Kushans had earlier played. We learn from the contemporary sources how their important ruler Toraman struck down into the heart of India and extended his territory up to Central India. His son Mihirakul was a ferocious conqueror and a worshipper of the Hindu god Siva but he could not hold India for long though he kept himself strong in the Indus region. The downfall of the Huns was heralded by the advance of the Turks into the Oxus Valley, and a joint campaign of the Sassanians as well as the Turks against them resulted in the complete destruction of their far-flung empire. The date of this destruction is given by McGovern as A.D. 565. The Huns have been greatly maligned in history as destroyers of civilization. McGovern remarks: “Their ruler was espe-
cially relentless in his persecution of Buddhism and Buddhist monks\textsuperscript{62}. What we learn from Sung-Yun is the following “This (Gandhara) is the country which the Ye-thas (i.e. Huns) destroyed and afterwards set up Laelih to be king over the country; since which events two generations have passed. The disposition of this king (or dynasty) was cruel and vindictive, and he practised the most barbarous atrocities. He did not believe the law of Buddha, but loved to worship demons. The people of the country belonged entirely to the Brahman caste; they had great respect for the law of Buddha, and loved to read the sacred books when suddenly this king came into power, who was strongly opposed to anything of the sort.”\textsuperscript{83} The king in question was most probably Mihirakul, who is known from the epigraphic record\textsuperscript{84} to be an ardent worshipper of Siva. Even during his reign we read of the existence of a number of Buddhist monasteries. Again in the time of his father Toraman Shahi an endowment was made in the Buddhist monastery near Kura\textsuperscript{85} in the Salt Range “for the attainment of the highest knowledge by all the queens, princes and princesses of Toramana Shah Jaubl and by all other people.” It seems therefore unjust to blame the Huns for wholesale destruction of Buddhism, as has been generally supposed. Actually speaking, in the earlier period when the Kidar Kushans ruled here, the Indian cultural influence from the Gupta empire had begun to penetrate and we have seen how Kharoshthi script was replaced by (Gupta) Brahmi. The Kura inscription of the time of Toraman was also written in the western variety of this script\textsuperscript{86} and the language is Sanskrit. All their coins now use this script and language. Thus culturally speaking, the Huns adopted the system that had taken currency in Gandhara before their arrival. But the general people, as Sung Yun points out, though respected the law of Buddha, “belonged entirely to the Brahman caste”. This may hint at the Indianizing tendency. However, the Huns themselves had their own way of living. Sung-Yun, describing their country, says: “The lands of this country are abundantly watered by the mountain streams, which
fertilise them, and flow in front of all the dwellings. They have no walled towns, but they keep order by means of a standing army . . . . . They receive tribute from all the surrounding nations . . . . more than forty countries in all. When they come to the court with their presents for the king, there is spread out a large carpet about forty paces square, which they surround with a sort of rug hung up as a screen. The king puts on his robes of state and takes his seat upon a gilt couch, which is supported by four golden phoenix birds. When the ambassadors of the Great Wei dynasty were presented, (the king), after repeated prostrations, received their letters of instruction. On entering the assembly one man announces your name and title; then each stranger advances and retires. After the several announcements are over, they break up the assembly. This is the only rule they have; there are no instruments of music visible at all. The royal ladies of the Ye-tha country also wear state robes, which trail on the ground three feet and more; they have special train-bearers for carrying these lengthy robes. They also wear on their heads a horn, in length eight feet and more, three feet of its length being red coral. This they ornamented with all sorts of gay colours, and such is their head-dress. When the royal ladies go abroad, then they are carried; when at home, then they seat themselves on a gilded couch, which is made (from the ivory of) a six-tusked white elephant, with four lions (for supporters). Except in this particular, the wives of the great ministers are like the royal ladies; they in like manner cover their heads, using horns, from which hang down veils all round, like precious canopies. Both the rich and poor have their distinctive modes of dress. These people are of all the four tribes of barbarians the most powerful. The majority of them do not believe in Buddha". 87 But the great empire, which the Huns built, shattered at the hands of the Sassanians and the Turks who divided the territories between them. The territories south of the Hindukush fell to the lot of the Sassanians and those to the north went to the Turks. When Hiuen Tsang came in early seventh century A.D., it is these
Turks who were strong in Bactria. But south of the Hindu Kush from Kapisa (Kabul valley) to the Indus another kingdom had appeared, over which ruled a Kshatriya king according to Hiuen Tsang. This kingdom must have been formed over the weakness of the Sasanian hold in the east.

Turki Shahis and Hindu Shahis: The history of Gandhara hereafter is thinly documented. Alberuni rightly deplores: “Unfortunately the Hindus do not pay much attention to the historical order of things, they are very careless in relating the chronological succession of their kings, and when they are pressed for information and are at a loss, not knowing what to say, they invariably take to tale-telling”. The result was a confused tradition about the pre-Muslim history that crept into the Muslim accounts. Alberuni himself was mistaken when he talks of the Turki Shahi rulers of Kabul, who, according to him, ruled for sixty generations and who included, among others, the king called Kanik (obviously Kanishka). Such a statement is hardly borne out by the historical detail given by us earlier. We have left the account at a point when the Huns were defeated and the Turks established in Bactria. The Chinese travel accounts, quoted before, distinctly distinguish the Huns from the Turks but the Muslim accounts, being far removed in date and lacking reliable information, have confused the issue. To them all the earlier rulers were of Turkish origin, as is said by Alberuni. This is particularly because by then the Huns were completely forgotten and the Turks were supreme in the region. If we keep in mind this confusion that crept in the early Muslim accounts, only then can we clearly understand where the history of the Huns ended and where that of the Turks began. It is in this background that we have to understand a reference to the Hayatila (i.e. Ye-tha of the Chinese, implying Huns), as given in the Mafatih-al-ulum of Al-Khwarizmi and made much by Sir Olaf Caroe: “The Hayatila are a tribe of men who had enjoyed grandeur and possessed the country of Tukharistan; the Turks called Khalukh, or Khalaj.
are their descendants.” As we learn from Hiuen Tsang, at the time of his visit Turks were in Tukharistan. Therefore it was quite natural to confuse the Huns with Turks. If Khalaj were Turks, they could not be Huns. And again the “Turki Shah” was the general term used by Alberuni. If Kanishka of the Kushan dynasty was really a member of this line, the race was not Turkish. However, it is possible to understand the course of history. When the Huns were defeated by the joint campaign of the Sassanids and Turks, one of the survivors of the old Kushan Shahis may have regained power. It is probably this king who is referred to as Kshattriya by Hiuen Tsang and the same fact may have led Alberuni to include Kanishka among them and to count sixty generations of this line. But unfortunately we know very little about these so-called “Turki Shahi” rulers who were clearly distinguished from the Hindu Shahis of Hund by Alberuni. According to him these latter kings usurped the power from the last ruler of the “Turki Shahis”, whose name is given as Lagaturman, a corrupt name probably to be restored as Laga (or Raja) Toraman, a name which recalls that of the Hun ruler. That the “Turki Shahis” were actually Kushans, is also proved by a late inscription of the year A.D. 862 belonging to the rulers of Zabulistan, who call themselves Khojanaputra (i.e. Kushan putra = scion of the Kushans). We may also note that according to Hiuen Tsang the “Kshattriya” king was actually the ruler of Kapisa, to whom Gandhara and Fa-la-na (i.e. Bannu) were subject. In other words his territories extended from Kapisa to the Indus (Taxila region was under the Raja of Kashmir) and from the foot hills of the Hindu-kush to Bannu plain. Unfortunately the Hindu sources do not give the name of the ruler but keeping in mind the time (middle of 7th century A.D.) when Hiuen Tsang wrote, we can identify the ruler from the Arab sources because soon after this in the time of Hazrat Uthman the Arabs had begun to advance into the heart of Afghanistan. They speak of Kabul Shah and give his name as Ratbil or its variants. The name is generally Sanskritised as Rana-bala (“Strong in the field of battle”) or Ratna-
pala ("Jewel among the protectors"). As this name perpetuates in all the Arab accounts, it is supposed to be a family name rather than that of any one person. Whatever may be the truth, there is good ground to identify this Ratbil with the "Kshattriya" king of Kapisa as described by Hiuen Tsang. The Kabul Shah maintained his precarious hold over Kabul until A.D. 870, when he was finally defeated by Yaqub ibn Lais. It is at this time that we hear of the rise of the Hindu Shahis who established their capital at Waihind (modern Hund). 95 Alberuni, not knowing the real course of history, speaks of Kallar, identified with Lalliya, the founder of the dynasty as intriguing with the queen of the last "Turki Shahi" sovereign and usurping the throne for himself. Actually speaking, the final defeat of the Kabul Shah must have led to the rise of the Hindu Shahis in Gandhara. Dr. Nazim 96 rightly says that they "ruled the territory from Lamghan to the river Chinab and from the southern Kashmir hills to the frontier of the kingdom of Multan". It is quite understandable why the Hindu Shahis left Kabul and strengthened themselves in Gandhara but it is not clear why they abandoned the old city of Peshawar and established their capital at Waihind. This abandonment of Peshawar is probably connected with the history of another people to be told in the next chapter.
CHAPTER III
MEDIAEVAL PESHAWAR
(The Up surge of the Afghans)

Translation

"In the year 143 H/A.D. 760 when their (Afghan's) children increased in number, they came out of Kohistan (i.e. Koh Suleman) and occupied the prosperous villages of Hindustan, e.g. Kurnaj (i.e. Kurram valley), Peshawar and Shinawaran (i.e. Shinwarai in the Doaba between Hangu and Thall in Kohat district). The Raja of Lahore (Lahur in Swabi Tehsil of Mardan district), who was related to the Raja of Ajmer, decided to do away with these trouble makers and sent one of his Amirs with a thousand horsemen to wage war against them. The Afghans rose up in arms and killed a number of the Hindus."

Afghans in Peshawar: Peshawar remained the capital of Gandhara in the ancient period until the foundation of the Hindu Shahi kingdom. This new dynasty abandoned Kabul as well as Peshawar and fixed their seat of government at Waihind (ancient Udbhandapura, modern Hund) on the bank of the Indus, about fifteen miles north of the point where the river Kabul today meets the great Abasin. This shift of the capital of Gandhara from Peshawar—situated south of the Kabul river in a central place—to Hund at the exit gate of the main valley remains unexplained. The retreat of the Hindu Shahi kings from
Kabul and their choice of Hund as the capital of Gandhara are not without any significance. While we read about their wars in Lamghan and only once in the neighbourhood of Peshawar against the Ghazni Sultans, for about two centuries Peshawar fades away from historical accounts unless we are prepared to accept the information (quoted at the head of this chapter) supplied by Farishthah. In spite of the romantic way of narration he throws some light on this dark period. If we can accept the occupation of Peshawar and of the area south of the Kabul river by the Afghans in 8th century A.D., we can well understand why the Hindu Shahis chose Hund for their capital. But the appearance of the Afghans in Peshawar has to be understood in a wider perspective of local geography.

*Historical Geography*: Historical geography is a great corrective of historical narration. It is in the wide expanse of geography that peoples and their activities, kings and their wars, movements of armies and migrations of tribes are properly understood. A wrong identification may reverse the course of history. When Farishtah brings the Afghans in Peshawar in 8th century A.D., Peshawar region obviously was not included in their original home country. But Sir Olaf Caroe assumes: "Gandhara, as we know, corresponds to Herodotus’ Paktuiken, and is the Peshawar valley. From time to time it probably included certain surrounding tracts to east and west." On this assumption the ancient tribes of Gandhara should be Pakhtus with their own language, but Caroe cautions: "As to the vernacular language of Gandhara at this time we have no positive information." This observation of Caroe is based on the known fact that the written language in Gandhara in ancient time was Prakrit, which does not show any word from Pakhtu. Even then Caroe goes on to identify some of the modern Pakhtu tribes in Gandhara with the ancient names; e.g. the Yusufzais are said to be variants of the Aspasii, mentioned by Alexander’s historians, even though it is well known that the Greek version is a rendering of the Sanskrit name Aspayanas.
Having assumed the existence of Pakhtus in Gandhara, he speaks of their gradual conversion to Islam at the time of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni, because, as is generally believed, it was this Sultan who introduced Islam in Gandhara. But as late as the time of Shihabuddin Ghori Abul Fida speaks of the ferocious heathen tribes in Tira, who were a source of constant trouble to the Muslims in Farshabur (Peshawar). According to this author one of the heathen leaders accepted Islam at the hands of Shihabuddin Ghori. His description clearly shows that the people of Tira then were not Pakhtus, though today Tira is occupied by the Pakhtu tribes—Afridis and Aurakzais. We agree with Morgenstierne in identifying Afridis with Apritai of Herodotus but the country Apriti cannot be corresponded with Tira. Tira (meaning a crossing or Pass from Pushto Teredal, Sanskrit Tri), like Swat, Dir, Bajaur, Hashtanagar (correctly Ashtakanagar) are older names, which have survived but not Gandhara. After 11th century A.D. Gandhara as the name of a country vanishes along with the end of the Hindu Shahi rule and Peshawar once gain came to prominence and in course of time the region came to be known as Vilayat-i-Peshawar. In the last chapter sufficient arguments have been given to show that Gandhara of Herodotus was entirely different from his Paktuike. It is on the older geographic scene that the Pakhtu tribes came to settle, and their emergence in history has to be traced on fresh lines, different from that narrated by Sir Olaf Caroe. However, the geographic term Gandhara was apparently not acceptable to them as it was associated with the Hindu Shahis. The later prominence of the city of Kandahar after the destruction of Bust in Afghanistan has nothing to do with the end of this Gandhara, which was a name only of the country. The upsurge of the Afghans in history is connected with the re-assertion of power by Peshawar and as this new development took place in the wake of the onward march of Islam against the Hindu defenders of Gandhara, it is not surprising that the Hindu name Gandhara should have been obliterated from history, and Vilayat-i-Peshawar should gain currency along with the new fortune.
that was to come to the Afghans. From this time onward the Afghans became the carriers of the banner of Islam. But who were the Afghans?

_Afghan and Pakhtu:_ The European writers generally make a difference between an Afghan and a “Pathan.” Morgenstierne sums up: “A distinction is sometimes made between Afghan and Pathan, the former name being applied to the Durrani and allied tribes. But the difference is probably only one of nomenclature, the Persian designation Afghan (of unknown etymology) being naturally applied chiefly to the Western tribes, while Pathan, the Indianized form of the native name is used about the eastern ones.” This distinction is hardly acceptable to any native. Historically also this is not true. The word Afghan, Avghan or Abagan, which is found in all the Muslim accounts, has been traced only to the Sassanian inscription of 3rd century A.D. and to Varaha-mihira’s _Brihatsamhita_ of the 6th century. It is from the Persians that the Muslims got the word Afghan and made current in their literature. Right from the time of the Ghazni Sultans this word alone is used to denote these people whether they live in the west or in the east. It is Farishtah who has given its equivalent term:

"They are known as Afghan but the Indians call these people “Pathan.” How the word “Pathan” became current in India, is not definitely known, but there is a general agreement that it is a corrupt form of Pakhtun or Pashtun, the terms common among the natives. As Morgenstierne has pointed out, the ending—un is based on the Persianised form—ana, and therefore the original form is Pakht (or Pasht). Even then he would not admit the identity of Pakhtun (Pashtun) with the Paktues of Herodotus, as suggested long ago by Lassen and others. He argues that the dialectical difference between kht and sht is of later date, the original form being sht. Accordingly he says that “the probable ancient form was Parswana derived from Parsu, cf. Assyrian—Babylonian Parsu (a) Persian.” He compares it with Parsuantai of Ptolemy.
All this is based on his Persian bias, which is not unnatural, for we find so much Persian influence on the Pathans and their language. Even then we would like to state that though the land and the people under discussion definitely come within the Persian sphere of influence still they are not wholly Persian. The divide between old Persia and old “India” (i.e. Indus region) lay west of Paropamisus. East of that divide we should seek the names in the Sanskrit literature. And when we find a tribal name Pakhthu in the Rigveda, we do not see any reason why they should not be identified with Pakht (or Pasht). This form comes closest to the Paktue of Herodotus. If this is acceptable, we can say that Pakhtu is the oldest form of the name but the Persians themselves never used this term. They popularized the new form Abagan or Afghan for the people who lived in Paropamisadi (i.e. “Land beyond the Hills”). Sir Thomas Holdich suggests; “It is difficult to account for the name Afghan: it has been said that it is but the Armenian word Afghan (Mountaineer). If this is so, it at once indicates a connection between modern Afghan and the Syrian captives of Armenia.” If this meaning of the word Afghan is correct, it is understandable why the Persians chose this term and made it popular. In Sanskrit also we get the phrase Parvatasrayinah (mountain dwellers) and Herodotus himself talks of the “hill tribes” from whom recruits were drawn by the Achaemenians. It is quite likely that the original “mountain dwellers” may not be all Pakhtus. But in course of time the older term Pakhtdu was almost superseded by Afghan. It is on the authority of Farishtah that we identify the two.

Original Afghanistan : Farishtah again records –

“Kohistan is also known as Afghanistan for here there is nothing else available except the Afghan and the noise.” But what was Kohistan? Today the word is very commonly used in this part for the hill area. It is not unreasonable to suggest that “Koh” is equivalent to the mediae-
val word “Roh”. This word comes from the Sanskrit Rohitagiri\(^2\) (meaning “Red Hill”), where, according to the Sanskrit grammarian Panini, the Highlanders were settled. Raverty\(^23\) records the name of the lower or easternmost range of the Sulaiman mountain as “Koh-i-Surkh” “Rata Pahar”, and further quotes a definition of Roh as “the large tract of country belonging to, and inhabited by, the Afghans, the easternmost boundary of which extends to Kashmir, and the western to the River Hirmand, a distance of two-and-a-half month’s journey; and on the north its boundary extends to Kashmir, and its southern boundary to Baluchistan. It therefore lies between Iran, Turan and Hind; and its people are termed Rohilahs.”\(^24\) This wide extent of the Roh country is of later origin. As early as the fifth century A.D. Fa-Hian records: “After remaining here (Ningrahah) during two months of winter, Fa-Hian and two companions went south across the Little Snowy Mountains (i.e. Safed Koh)

On the south side they reached the Rohi (“Lo-i”) country (i.e. Afghanistan). In this vicinity there are 3000 priests, belonging both to the Great and Little vehicle. Here they kept the rainy season. The season past, descending south and journeying for ten days, they reached Bannu.”\(^25\) Hiuen Tsang gives the name of a country read as O-Po-Kien and Cunningham\(^26\) takes it for Afghan and locates it in the same region which Fa-Hian calls Rohi. describing this country on the western frontier of Bannu, Hiuen Tsang says “The people live among the great mountains and valleys in separate clans: They have no chief ruler. They breed an immense quantity of sheep and horses.”\(^27\) It is in the same region that the author of Hudud-al-Alam\(^28\) places “Saul, a pleasant village on a mountain. In it live Afghans.” In the eleventh century Alberuni notes. “In the western frontier mountains of India there live various tribes of the Afghans and extend up to the neighbourhood of the Sindu valley.”\(^29\) Here Alberuni has not definitely located the habitat of the Afghans. He has made a general reference to “western frontier mountains.” Earlier on P. 265 he makes a difference in this mountain zone. He says. “In marching from our country
to Sindh we start from the country of Nimroz, i.e. the country of Sijistan, whilst marching to Hind or India proper we start from the side of Kabul.... In the mountains which form the frontier of India towards the west there are tribes of the Hindus, or of people near akin to them—rebellious savage races—which extend as far as the farthestmost frontiers of the Hindu race.” Are these Hindu tribes identical with the Afghan? Sir Olaf Caroe apparently accepts the identity, but this is not necessary. We have seen earlier how Abul Fida records savage tribes in Tira, who were not Afghans. Similarly we know of the existence of the Hindu Shahiya kingdom from Lamghan to the Indus north of the river Kabul. Again it is in the region around Koh Sulaiman that all the local traditions trace the original home of the Afghans. It is in the same region that the historians of the Ghazni Sultans place the Afghans. Later we find the Afghan Sultans of India, the Lodis and the Surs, emerging from the same direction and extending their influence from Bhira on the Indus to the northern part of India. There should therefore be no hesitation in accepting Raverty’s location of their “original country, that is to say the tracts from the Koh-payah or hill-skirts, immediately east of Ghazni, to the eastern slopes of the range of Mihtar Sulaiman or Koh-i-Siyah—Push’ht, or Puk’ht, or Pas’ht or Pak’ht.”

Islam and the Afghans: Sir Olaf Caroe suggests that it was in the time of Mahmud of Ghazni when the Afghans embraced Islam. He argues, “it is reasonable to assume that missionaries of the new Islam must have accompanied the Arab armies which overthrew the Sassanian dynasty of Persia in A.D. 642 at Nihawand, and went on to conquer and proselytize Transoxiana under the Arab general Qutaiba by the end of the seventh century. At that time in fact most of the Afghan country was by-passed and remained uncovered until some centuries later.” This hypothesis is at variance with the Pathan traditions which speak of the spread of Islam during the life-time of the holy Prophet through Khalid bin Walid.
Quoting *Matla-al-Anwar*, Farishtah\(^3\) gives another version of one Khalid, son of Abdullah, who, according to some, was descended from Khalid bin Walid, and according to others from Abu Jahl. This Khalid, who was for some time governor of Herat, Ghor and Gharjistan and also looked after Kabul, when relieved of his duties, chose to settle in Koh Sulaiman, and through his daughter, married to a converted Afghan, Lodis and Surs are said to have descended. Though the story of the origin of the Lodis and the Surs may have been invented, Khalid bin Abdullah is known to have been a historical figure from other sources.\(^3\) Why this Khalid, instead of going to Iraq or Hejaz, should like to stay behind in this part, is not convincingly explained, but from the account it is clear that he settled in a region which was not completely untouched by Islam. Caroe is wrong when he says that most of the Afghan country was by-passed by the Arab army during their early campaigns. He has himself referred to the events of 44 H. (A.D. 664): “In that year Al-Muhallab ibn Abi Sufra, a lieutenant of Ibn Samurah, raided as far as Bannah and Al-Ahwar, towns between Al-Multan and Kabul, where he was attacked by eighteen Turkish knights.” Again he records “A few years later (53 H/A.D. 672) another Sijistan Arab governor Abbad ibn Ziyad ‘raided the frontier of Al-Hind and crossed the desert to Al-Qandhar, where he put the inhabitants to flight but incurred heavy casualties.”\(^3\) Though Caroe records these Arab incursions into Gandhara, still he believes that the early Arab soldiers by-passed the country of the Afghans. Actually speaking he has overlooked the two-pronged attack of the Arabs — the one was directed towards Khorasan, Balkh and Samarqand and the other led towards Sijistan, Zabul and Gandhara. It is in the second direction that the country of the Afghans lay. According to Hiuen Tsang all this area was subject to the Kshattriya ruler of Kapisa i.e. Ratbil, the Kabul Shah of Arab chronicles. From Tabari and Al-Baladhuri we learn that the first military action of Muhallab ibn Abi Sufra was not just a raid in fruitless venture. It was a part of a concerted action against Kabul Shah, under
whose authority Banna and Al-Ahwar were then included. Al-Baladhuri further informs that, during the time of Muawiyah, Abdullah bin Sawwar al-Abdi was appointed governor of the Indian border-land. 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 the Kabul Shah. The spread of Islam among the Afghans was a by-product of this Arab activity in the Indian borderland. Though we have no direct evidence of Arab missionaries working among the Afghans, the case of Khalid bin Abdullah as an immigrant settler in this part is a strong corrective of the Pathan tradition, according to which Khalid bin Walid is credited to have passed on Islam to them. In North Waziristan we have still the famous Dargah of Malik Azdar, who may be identified with one of the Al-Azdi soldiers who fought in Bannu. In any case the Afghans, who according to the Chinese accounts were Buddhists, must have received Islam quite early and were converted to the new faith as a result of the Arab activities in Sijistan, Zabul and in the border of the then “India”. In a tribal society like that of the Afghans the conversion must have been wholesale, and, fired with the new zeal of Islam, it is not unreasonable to believe that they followed the march of the Arab arms into Gandhara. It is only on such a reconstruction that we understand the above-quoted passage of Farishtah, who brings the Afghans to Peshawar in 143 H./A.D. 760. Their march through Kurram, Shinawari to Peshawar again shows the direction which must have followed the advance of the Arabs from Zabul into Gandhara and by the way this confirms the location of the original habitat of the Afghans. In any case the Afghans must be in the region of Peshawar long before the campaigns of Amir Subuktigin, who after defeating the Hindu Shahi king Jaipala, recruited them in his army. 39

The Afghans in Peshawar Valley in the Pre-Mughal Period: Farishtah alone continues the history of the Afghans in Peshawar valley. He talks of an agreement
between them and the Hindu Shahi king, by which a few villages in Lamghan were given to them and they in turn agreed to guard the frontier against the inroads of the Arabs. He further says that they built a fort, called Khyber, in the Kohistan of Peshawar. The presence of the Afghans in Ningrahar is also attested by Hudul al-Alam,⁴⁰ which speaks of the Afghan wives of its ruler who made a show of conversion to Islam. Farishtah adds that in the days of the Samanid kings when Alptigin was at the helm of affairs in Ghazni, Subuktigin, the army general, raided Lamghan and Multan. The Hindu king, being unable to withstand, called in Shaikh Hamid, a man of trust among the Afghans, and raised him to Amirate. He appointed his kinsmen in the different places and since this day dawned the greatness of the Afghans.⁴¹ This information is not corroborated in any other account, but the presence of the Afghans in Peshawar region is also attested by Utbi. What was the actual relation between the Afghans and the Hindu kings is not at all clear in the contemporary accounts. The Hindu kings are always connected with Lamghan and Waihind and Ghazni Sultans concentrate their power in the city of Peshawar as if Peshawar stood in opposition to the Hindu capital of Waihind. We are further told that when Subuktigin became supreme in Ghazni, he removed Shaikh Hamid and appointed Abu Ali with 10,000 horse as governor of Peshawar.⁴² It is important to note that Farishtah clearly speaks of the Afghans as Muslims, and nowhere in the contemporary sources do we learn that they were non-Muslims.

The subsequent history of the Afghans in the Peshawar valley is little recorded in the general historical literature available today. The historian Utbi⁴³ records the submission of the Afghans and the Khaljis and speaks of Mahmud's army composed of Turks, Indians, Khaljis, Afghans and Ghaznavids. Peshawar continued to be the headquarter of an administrator and we get the names of several local officers like Abdur Razzaq,⁴⁴ Mubarak Marde⁴⁵ and others. Peshawar's importance was next to
that of Ghazni until it was taken by Sultan Shihabuddin Ghori. It lay on the main route from Ghazni to the Indus. We read of the coffin of the dead Sultan Sihabuddin passing through Peshawar. Later Jalaluddin Khawarizmshah, being chased by Changhiz, passed through Peshawar and left the city in the charge of Malik Ikhtiyaruddin Muhammad Ali Kharpots. History is silent about Timur's occupation of Peshawar but it seems that he passed through Peshawar on his return march from Bela across the Indus towards Ghazni and back to Samarqand. All along in these centuries Peshawar bore the brunt of invasions from the west with the result that all earlier monumental remains are wiped out. When the Timurids established themselves in Herat and the northern part of Afghanistan fell into the hands of another branch of the descendants of Timur, Peshawar valley lay at the margin of their empire. The Muslim capital of Delhi was a far cry and there was hardly any political relation between this region and the Delhi kingdom. In fact after Timur we hardly hear of Peshawar coming into historical picture until we come to Babar. Even Timur, on his way to India, crossed the Indus on Bhira route. The same path was followed by the Lodis and Surs, who later founded the Afghan empire in India.

What was happening in Peshawar valley? Why did the famous route through this valley lose its importance? If the Afghans were well-established and supreme in this region, why did they not push through into India like their brethren in the south? Sober history has no answer to these questions. If the traditional accounts are to be relied on we hear of tribal migrations in this period and find the main branches of the Afghan tribes firmly settled in the northern part of Peshawar region. In the historic period tribal migrations from the southern parts of Afghanistan and Pakistan could possibly take place in two distinct stages. In the first place the Arab conquest of this region in 7th-8th centuries A.D. paved the way for the first Turkish kingdom of Ghazni. This political change must have created a stir among the tribes settled in this
region. Prior to this period the Huns and the Kushanas and even the Greeks had greater interest in the northern parts of Afghanistan and Pakistan. As a result we have seen earlier how the circumstances favoured the migration of the first Afghans in the wake of the Arab conquest into Peshawar valley. The Afghans became hirelings of the Turks and it is the Turks who dominated the political scene. What group of the Afghans must have come in this first movement? Historical evidence is lacking but two well-founded traditions could be cited. The Dilazak tribe, well-known in the Babar's Memoirs, is no longer traceable in the Peshawar valley but the Yusufzais are known to have received some land from them when they first came to settle in the northern part of the Peshawar region. Another well-known tribe is of the Khattaks who still have share in the Sher Tala land of North Waziristan, signifying that originally the Khattaks must have been living in about that region. Now they occupy the southern part of the Peshawar valley and even intrude into the northern part. Both these tribes belong to the Karlanri group—a group which is sometimes said to have no direct relation with the other three groups. But in this group fall the well-known tribes, like the Waziris, Mahsuds, Orakzais and Afridis etc. The Afridis have been earlier traced to Herodotus and to Panini. There is, therefore, no doubt that this group includes the oldest tribes of the Afghans or Pakhtuns. If these tribes are placed in a map, they are today seen occupying mainly those regions which lie in or to the south of Peshawar valley. There is therefore greater likelihood of these tribes migrating from the south or south-west and occupying the areas where they are predominant today. All traditions point to their being the first in migration and if we could associate this event with those forces that ushered in after the Arab conquest, we will get to the first step in understanding the history of the Afghan people in this region.

The second great event that affected the political scene of Asia was the Mongol inroads which later paved
the way for the empire of the Timurids. As one branch was established in Herat and its hands reached as far as the borders of West Pakistan, there is greater chance of the tribes settled in the southern part of Afghanistan to have cause for movement. It is exactly at this time that we hear of two different groups of migrations. One group, which centres round Bitan or Batni, gave rise to well-known royal dynasties of Lodis and Surs and includes the famous Niazis in Isa Khel and Mianwali. There are only a few branches of this group in Bannu and Tank and in Afghanistan. Their eastward march to India and rise to the masnad and further deadly conflict with the Timurid descendants of Babar are significant events of Indian history. It is this group which dominated the political scene in India and as a result of their influence the later historical myth of the Afghan race is created. The second group of migrations centres round Sarbanri, in which we get well-known names of the Yusufzais, Khalils, Daudzais, Mohmdans etc, who are now settled in the northern part of Peshawar region. This group, as traditions clearly mention, came after Dilazaks and it is they who waged incessant wars against the descendants of Babar in Peshawar region but their conflict was in no way related to that of the imperial Afghans in India. These tribes were already present in their present locale when Babar came here in the early sixteenth century A.D. Another branch of the Sarbanri group gave rise to, what is usually called, Western Afghans, to which are attached the later rulers of Afghanistan, the Abdalis or Durranis, who wiped out the remnants of the Timurid rulers from their country. They also went upward from southern Afghanistan. The last group, which is connected with the latter two groups, mentioned above, is known as Ghurghasht. Many branches of this group are located in Baluchistan. Only two branches — Gadun or Jadun on either bank of the Indus river and Safis in the northern part of Peshawar region right up to Bajaur — are seen in our area. This is a very small group and is likely to be coeval with the Sarbanris. It is also possible that some older tribes like
Gadun have been deliberately accommodated for the sake of explanation.

Thus in the historical background and geographical perspective, as given above, we find two major classes—A. Karlanri and B. (i) Bitan, (ii) Sarbanri, and (iii) Ghurghasht. Class A has been associated with the first historical impact of the Arabs, and Class B with that of the Timurid rulers. The latter class produced three main branches who had to grapple with the Timurids: In the Indian plains the Lodis and Surs fought with the descendants of Babar but were ultimately defeated. In the Peshawar region the Yusufzais continued interminable hostilities with the Mughals and maintained their own against heavy odds. But it was left to the Durranis to overcome the Mughals completely and lay the foundation of an Afghan kingdom. The story of this second category of the Afghans will be told in the following chapters. Here it is necessary to emphasize this new perspective so that we are in a position to make some headway towards getting the history of the Afghans.

It is only on the basis of this classification that we can easily follow why Karlanris are not directly associated with the groups in class B. After all historical myth, as we know of the Afghans, is not something unique. Such myths are known of other peoples as well. The classification of the Rajputs under the categories of Surajvamsis, Chandravamsis and Agnivamsis is a close example. It is again easy to understand how and why the Afghan myth became codified in the Persian tradition of Mughal India where the defeated Afghans could claim a better ancestry than their conquerors, the Chaghtai Turks. It was impossible for them to seek relationship either with the Rajputs or with the Persians, where historical myths were already written down by this time. As against the Turko-Mongols on the one hand and the Arabs on the other, the connection with the lost tribes of the Jews was easy to lay hand on so that an ultimate link with the Semites could be established. Whatever may be the origin of the
Afghan myth, all evidences point to the fact that these tribes were well settled in the southern parts of the Roh country in West Pakistan and Afghanistan before they embarked on their new role in history, first in the wake of the Arab conquest and second as an after-effect of the Turko-Mongol penetration south of the Hindukush. In the Memoirs of Babar we get the first genuine account of the distribution of the Afghan tribes in Peshawar valley. This account takes us to the Mughal period in the following chapter.
CHAPTER IV

MUGHAL PESHAWAR

(The Afghan — Mughal Conflict)

_Biya lah pasa da Dihli badshah Babur Shuh,
Chih ye kar da Pukhtanah puh barkat wuh . . . .

English Translation

After him was Babar King of Delhi,
Who owed his place to the Pathans.

—Khushhal Khan Khattak

Introduction: The first definite glimpse of the Afghan tribes that were settled in Peshawar Valley is seen in the Memoirs of Babar. He never used the word Pakhtun as his knowledge about the people being derived from Persian sources, the Persian terminology of Afghan found favour with him. He was, however, certainly speaking about the same people as the details about the tribes and their names clearly prove. Babar’s advance into this region and even beyond into the Indian plains rested on his apparent claim to the conquests of his ancestor Amir Timur. But more certainly his push was in line with the inroads of other Central Asian peoples into this area. As he had already established his power in the Kabul Valley, his next step was to open up the routes towards India, which he achieved in his five campaigns. Unlike the Great Kushan as in ancient history, Babar and his descendants, having lost the valley of the Oxus, were bent to establish themselves on the riches of the Indian plains. The story of the Mughal empire is the history of a great Central Asian Turkish people who made themselves supreme in the Indian political scene and evolved a mediaeval culture associated with their name. Peshawar played a minor role in the evolution of this culture but it was a major link between their possessions in Kabul and their main stake in the Indian plains. The story of Mughal
Peshawar is a long history of this imperial life line, for the maintenance of which the Mughal emperors adopted different policies towards the tribes who had real stake in this region. These policies fall into three chronological phases, which again had their own particular motives. But throughout the period the disunity of the tribes owing to peculiar local geographic factors, helped the Mughals in achieving their objective and the common religion of Islam further gave a moral support to their mutual understanding. However, history has made it clear that while the Mughal empire is no more, the tribes are still thriving in Peshawar region.

First Phase

As the first phase of the history begins with the Yusufzais and their relation with Babar, it is necessary to trace the earlier connection of this tribe with the Timurid rulers. Before we quote the relevant authorities it is pertinent to dispel the commonly held notion that originally the Yusufzais lived in Gandhara and in about fifth century A.D. they migrated to Kandahar region as a result of Hun invasion. This suggestion was made by Dr. Bellew to explain the origin of the city of Kandahar from the well-known regional name of Gandhara as a result of these migrant refugees. In Dr. Bellew’s time of historical research this was acceptable, and it is also possible to agree with the author in the Encyclopaedia of Islam that the term Kandahar in modern Afghanistan is identical with Gandhara of ancient history. But while Sir Olaf Caroe doubted the Yusufzai migration theory, he could not suggest a better hypothesis. It is a well-known historical phenomenon that all migrations from the Roh country is towards the Indian plains and we hardly know of any great migration from this region towards Afghanistan. Again new archaeological materials are coming up to show that while the Huns did cause some damage to the Buddhist monasteries in the plains of Peshawar, Buddhism continued to flourish in Swat, Dir and Buner long after their invasion. There is therefore little likelihood
of a tribe migrating in the fifth century A.D. from Peshawar valley to Kandahar. How is it then possible to show a connection between the two names? Only once in history do we know of an administration well established in ancient Gandhara stretching its hands towards Kandahar. This was the time when Seleukos Nikator handed over some provinces to Chandragupta Maurya in the late fourth century B.C. 3 That this territorial transfer was more than formal, is proved by the find of an inscription of Asoka in the vicinity of Kandahar 4 (on a rock at the entry of Shahr-i-Kuhna) in which the Mauryan emperor exhorts the local people to follow the Dhamma. This extension of Mauryan administration to this region has a greater possibility of carrying the name Gandhara, but the city must have dwindled in course of years until it rose up again after the destruction of Bust. More and more archaeological materials are now coming up to show the earlier spread of Buddhism in Southern Afghanistan, 5 and the antiquity of old Kandahar is still lying buried in the remains of Shahr-i-Kuhna.

It has been earlier shown (see Chapter III) that in the main valley of Gandhara and in the hill zone to its north the Afghan tribes had hardly any place in the remote ancient past. The coming of the Yusufzais and other allied tribes to this area must be traced to those political factors which led to the establishment of a branch of the Timurids in Herat. It was natural for them to seek shelter with another branch in Kabul under Ulugh Beg. Their close relation is revealed in the traditional history quoted below. Again a disillusion between them drove away the Yusufzais to their new home where they are still living. However, Babar, being a later successor to the throne of Ulugh Beg, must first deal with the same Yusufzais. Before we tell that story, we give below the traditional history as recorded by Elphinstone:

"The original seats of the Eusofzyes were about Garra and Noshky, the last of which places at least is on the borders of the Dushtee Loot, or Great Salt Desart,
and now held by the Beloches under Kelauti Nusseer; their numbers at that time must have been very inferior to what they are now as they only formed a branch of the tribe of Khukkye; the other branches of which were the Gugggeaunees, the Turcolanuees, and the Mohammedzyes. They were expelled from Garra and Noshky, about the end of the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth century of the Christian era, and soon after settled in the neighbourhood of Caubul. Before they had been long there, they afforded their protection to Meerza Ulugh Beg, the son of Meerza Aboosaid, of the house of Timour, and were very instrumental in raising him to the throne of Caubul, which had before been held by his ancestors, but which probably was lost in consequence of the calamities which befell the house of Timour, on the death of Meerza Aboosaid. Ulugh Beg, on his first accession, treated the Eusofzyes with the greatest distinction; he was, indeed, dependent on their assistance for the support of his throne; but the turbulent independence of the Eusfozyes was not suited to an intimate connection with a sovereign, and their insolence increasing with their prosperity, they insulted Ulugh Beg's authority, plundered his villages, and even filled his capital with tumult and confusion. Ulugh Beg, whose power was now strengthened by the accession of many Moguls, who flocked to his standard, resolved to rid himself of his troublesome allies; he began by fomenting dissensions between the Eusofzyes and Gugggeaunees (for the Khukkyes had now broken into independent clans), and soon after attacked them at the head of that tribe and his own army. He was defeated at first; but having cut off all the chiefs of the tribe at a banquet, during an insidious peace which he had the art to conclude with them, he plundered the Eusofzyes of all their possessions, and drove them out of Caubul. The Eusofzyes, reduced to extreme distress, took the way to the neighbourhood of Peshawar.

"That country was then in a very different state from that in which it is at present. The tribes who now possess it were then in Khorassaun, and the plain of Peshawar,
with several of the neighbouring countries, was possessed by tribes which have since either entirely disappeared or have changed their seats. Lughmaun was in the hands of the Turcolanaeuses, who are now in Bajor; the tribes of Khyber and the Bungushes had already occupied their present lands, but all the lower part of the valley of the Caubul, all the plain of Peshawar, with part of Bajour, Chuch, Huzureh, and the countries east of them, as far as the Hydaspes, belonged to the Afghan tribe of Dilazauk, which is now almost extirpated. The country between the Dilazauks and the Range of Hindoo Coosh, on both sides of the Indus, formed the kingdom of Swat, which was inhabited by a distinct nation, and ruled by Sultaun Oveiss, whose ancestors had long reigned over that country.

"On the first arrival of the Eusofzyes, they threw themselves on the generosity of the Dilazauks, who assigned them the Daubeh for their residence; but as fresh bodies arrived, they found their lands too confined, and, as their strength increased, they seized on the Dilazauk part of Bajour, and engaged in a war with that tribe, in which they deprived them of all their possessions north of the Caubul river. They also expelled Sultaun Oveiss from his former possessions, and forced him to retire to the Caufir country, where he founded a new monarchy, which was enjoyed for some generations by his descendants.

"During these wars, Ulugh Beg had died, and the kingdom of Caubul had fallen into the hands of the famous Emperor Bauber, who was then rising into notice. He several times attacked the Eusofzyes, but made no great impression on them, as they always found a secure retreat among their hills. At last, Bauber made peace with them, and secured them in his interests, by marrying a daughter of their Khaun. Bauber himself describes these campaigns in his Commentaries, and confirms the story of his marriage." 6

This story is more or less confirmed in the Akbar-namah (see below). Babar refrained from advancing into
the Yusufzai area of Swat after a pact was made with their chief Shah Mansur resulting in the marriage of Bibi Mubarka with him. Could this Yusufzai resistance be the reason why Babar and his descendants abandoned the Bajaur route and concentrated on Khyber? The importance of Khyber to the Mughals is clear from the fact that later in 1586 Akbar got a road built by his engineer Qasim Khan through this pass. It is probable that to maintain this route Babar espoused the cause of the Dilazaks but their fate was sealed. They lost ground before the pressure of the new migrant Afghan tribes.

Unlike other Muslim invaders Babar chose the Khyber route (see map No. 3) for most of his campaigns in Peshawar valley, as he came from Kabul and not from Ghazni. The Bajaur route, which was followed by Alexander the Great, could be adopted by him only when he had established his control over Ningrahar and Bajaur valley and made some agreement with the Yusufzais in Swat. The Khyber route could not be crossed by Babar, or as a matter of fact by any other invader, without the help and guide of the tribes in the pass or in Peshawar valley. In his very first campaign, begun in 1905, the headman of the Gigiani tribe led him through the Khyber pass. The route was defined through Garm Chashma, Ali Masjid and Jam (or Jamrud), which led directly to Bagram where stood Gor Kathri and the Great Tree. Babar describes Gor Kathri: “This is a smallish abode, after the fashion of a hermitage, rather confined and dark. After entering at the door and going down a few steps, one must lie full length to get beyond. There is no getting in without a lamp. All round near the building here is let lie an enormous quantity of hair of the head and beard which men have shaved off there. There are a great many retreats (hujra) near Gur-Khattri like those of a rest-house or a College.”

From the Peshawar plain to Kohat Babar describes the route. “We broke our plan of crossing the Sind-water into Hindustan, marched from Jam (Jamrud), forded the
Bars-water, and dismounted not far from the pass (daban) through the Muhammad—mountain (fajj). At that time the Gagiani Afghans were located in Peshawar. We left the camp at midnight, crossed Muhammad—fajj at day-rise and by breakfast—time descended on Kohat."

Later he gives a vivid description of Bajaur route, as has been shown in the map, and traverses the northern part of Peshawar valley right across Swabi to Hund, goes to Bhira and returns to Peshawar valley after recrossing the Indus a few miles below Attock.

Besides Babar's own engagements with different tribes in Peshawar valley, we hear of two rival rulers of Swat—Sultan Alauddin and Sultan Wais—who stood in opposition to Malik Shah Mansur, son of Malik Sulaiman Shah, the chief of the Yusufzais. There is, no doubt, that at this time the Yusufzais were coming into greater importance and probably for this reason Babar sought to enter into matrimonial alliance with them. With his northern flank thus safeguarded, Babar got busy in opening the main route through Khyber but his first concern was to provide for corn and fodder. On the advice of Dilazaks he went forward to attack the Yusufzais in Hashtnagar and later the Afridis in Bara and determined that "The forts of Hashtnagar and Parashawar shall be put into order; part of the corn shall be stored in them and they be left in charge of Shah Mir Husain and a body of brav'es."

On his final campaign to India Babar's stop at Peshawar is vividly described:

"We dismounted near Bigram; and next morning, the camp remaining on that same ground, rode to Karg-awi (rhinoceros home). We crossed the Siyah-ab in front of Bigram, and formed out hunting-circle looking down-stream. After a little, a person brought word that there was a rhino in a bit of jungle near Bigram, and that people had been stationed near-about it. We betook ourselves, loose rein, to the place, formed a ring round the jungle, made a noise, and brought the rhino out, when it took its way across the plain. Humayun and those come with him
from that side, who had never seen one before, were much entertained. It was pursued for two miles; many arrows were shot at it, it was brought down without having made a good set at man or horse. Two others were killed. I had often wondered how a rhino and an elephant would behave if brought face to face; this time one came out right in front of some elephants the mahouts were bringing along; it did not face them when the mahouts drove them towards it, but got off in another direction12.

Throughout the Memoirs of Babar his main concern appears to be Kabul, Balkh and Badakhshan. Peshawar valley figures in his exploration of the different routes leading to India. He chose Khyber as it opened into corn-producing doaba of Hashtnagar. With Peshawar well-guarded, he pushed on to India to lay the foundation of the Mughal empire. He succeeded in his aim as the Afghan rulers of India could not put up a united front. Their mutual quarrels and jealousies had invited Babar, who came, not to satisfy the Afghans, but to establish his own kingdom. Babar succeeded over the tribal feuds of the Afghans who had not yet shaken off their ancestral traits and remained unaffected by the social order of the Ganges valley. But soon after the death of Babar, his son Humayun was unable to face the united move organised by Sher Shah and had to retreat to Persia by the Sind route as his own brother Kamran, who was seated in Kabul, would not give him passage. Sher Shah was fortunate in building a new Afghan empire in India with the help of those social and political forces which were supreme in northern India. He had no control over the Afghans in Peshawar valley nor was any joint attempt made to throw away Babar’s son Kamran and finish for ever the Mughal rule from the Afghan home territory. The tribes in Peshawar valley were busy in their own particular interests. The result was the reappearance of Humayun after getting help from Persia, first to fight against his brother Kamran and later to win back his throne from the successors of Sher Shah. Like his father he again chose the Khyber route and made the occupation of Peshawar a stepping stone to the conquest of India.
Second Phase

So far the Afghans in Peshawar valley were considered from the view of the Mughal interests in Kabul and it was the Mughal authority in Kabul which was directly concerned in establishing some sort of political relationship with the tribes of the valley. This state continued till the early years of the reign of Akbar, when Mirza Hakim, the ruler of Kabul kept an eye over the routes leading to India. But with the death of Hakim on 30th July 1585 and the growing power of Akbar the tables were turned. From this time to the early years of the reign of Aurangzeb another phase of the Afghan-Mughal conflict starts, in which the Mughal authority in Delhi exerted its political and military pressure on this region. Again the Yusufzais and the Khyber route play a dominant part. As the two are not closely connected, they are treated here separately. With the second question of the route is connected the rise of the Raushaniya (the Tariki of the Mughal works) movement.

Akbar and the Yusufzais

From the angle of the Mughals Abul Fazl gives an account of the Yusufzais, which partly confirms the local tradition. "This large tribe formerly lived in Qandahar and Qarabagh. From there they came to (the district of) Kabul, and became powerful. M. Ulugh Beg Kabuli massacred them by a stratagem. Those who remained took refuge in the Lamghanat. Afterwards they settled at Hashtnagar. It is nearly one hundred years (i.e. about 1485) since they settled in Swad and Bajaur, and lived there in the practice of robbery and turbulence. In this land there was a tribe that had the title of Sultani, and claimed to be descended from a daughter of Sultan Sikandar. The Yusufzais for some time zealously served them, and then became ungrateful and took possession of the choice lands. Upto the present day some of the former inhabitants spend their days in distress in the defiles, and from love of their native land are unable to leave."
The home of the Yusufzais is thus described. "The homes of this rebellious crew are in the hill country of Swad (Swat) and Bajaur. Many of them live in the plains. The Indus surrounds them on two sides. On the two other sides they have the Kabul river, and the northern hill country. The length of their territory is 30 kos, and its breadth 15--20. There are delightful valleys and beautiful tracts." 

The origin of the quarrel is thus stated: "During the Kabul commotion (of Mirza Hakim in 1581) the heads of the Yusufzais submitted and had recourse to fawning. They expressed shame for their former wickedness and made promises of service. One of them, Kalu by name, was treated very graciously. In a short time, however, they returned to their former ways, and applied themselves to robbery and oppression. Kalu himself fled from court. Khwaja Shamsuddin caught him near Attock and sent him back. He again absconded, and took refuge in his former dwelling, and led astray other landholders." The history of the quarrel is further traced: "From the days of Ulugh Beg, the Yusufzai tribe, which was more than 100,000 strong, had, by the help of their difficult mountains, practised highway robbery. They had caused much injury to traffic and intercourse. The Kabul rulers had not the strength to chastise them and the rulers of India on account of pressure of other business, and the chatter of persons of small capacity, had not attended to this matter. At this time the holy idea was to restrain (the Yusufzai) from injuring people, and from evil ways and to make them obedient and serviceable." 

So far we have had the background of the Yusufzais. But the real issue starts after the death of Mirza Hakim, when Akbar despatched Raja Mansingh to Kabul in order to establish his authority. Attock fort was built. A road to Kabul through Khyber was made by Qasim Khan. Akbar himself came and spent three months and twelve days at Attock and, according to some account, Malik Akoray, great grand-father of Khushhal Khan Khattak, is given
the responsibility of protecting the road from Attock onwards to Peshawar. On 20th December 1585 Akbar sent an army to conquer Kashmir and on the same day Zain Khan Koka “was sent off to guide aright the Yusufzais and to conquer Swad and Bajaur”.

The Mughal objective is thus quite clear. It may be noted that the tribes in Peshawar valley did not rise against the religious policy of Akbar. It was the new imperial policy of Akbar that led to fighting. The official version is described in great detail by Abul Fazl. Besides Koka who started his move from Bajaur side, two other noted generals were Raja Birbal and Hakim Abul Fath who were sent to help. It is at this time that Koka laid the foundations of a fort in Chakdara, “which is the centre of the country”. From Chakdara as the base the army set off towards Karakar in order to attack the Yusufzais in Buner. There the Mughal army met with a disaster. Raja Birbal was also killed. When Zain Khan Koka came back to Attock, Akbar would not see him. This first campaign, which appears to have been directed personally by Akbar from his base at Attock resulted in failure insofar as the Yusufzais in Swat and Buner could not be brought under control. Akbar’s “design was to plant the royal standards on those hills and to punish the wicked tribe, but at the entreaty of his loyal followers he refrained from this.” This statement of Abul Fazl clearly confirms the acceptance of the failure and final change of the plan. Henceforth the Mughals never bothered to try the hills again. Their efforts remained confined to the Peshawar plain and round the western routes. Before leaving Attock Akbar made new arrangements for the defence of the plain. Raja Mansingh established a fort at Ohind, “which was one of the great cities of old times, and concerning which a mound of earth now speaks eloquently.” Later Ismail Quli was posted there. “Raja Todar Mal established a camp near the Lungar hills (Langar-kot) which belong to Swad.” Shah Begh built a fort in the village of Bara. Sayyid Hamid Bokhari was the fief holder of Peshawar and was in the charge of guarding the road to Afghanistan. He passed his time in the fort of Bagram. It was the Rau-
shaniyas under Jalala who came upon Bagram fort and killed Sayyid Hamid. Once Jalala went off from the defiles of Tira to the Yusufzais; "The Tarikis and Yusufzais fortified the Nawala Pass (probably Nawa Pass on the Afghan border) and prepared for battle." Later Zain Khan Koka advanced from Bajaur, built a fort at Panchkora and reached Chakdara. A battle of game started between the Yusufzais and the Mughals in which hill forts played a dominant role. The Yusufzais made stockades on the hill of Batkhari (probably Batkhela) and Mohra (probably Mora) while the Mughals erected forts at Chakdara, Malakand and on the plain near a hill at Sarobi. The Mughals learnt the tactics of hill fighting from the Yusufzais and as long as they held the forts they managed to keep the passage open. However, except for this passage over Malakand to Chakdara and beyond to Bajaur, the Mughals never attempted to enter the main home of the Yusufzais in Swat and Buner. At the town of Khar (Bajaur) there still stands a three-domed Mughal mosque and outside can be seen a deserted garden beside a Mughal hauz (water-pool).

_**Akbar and the Raushanias***

The Raushanias are referred to as Tarikis in the Mughal accounts. Akhund Darweza informs that the latter name was due to the rival saint Hazrat Sayyid Ali Tirmizi, popularly known as Pir Baba, whose dargah stands in Buner and whose influence generally kept the Yusufzais away from the Raushanias. This term, which derives from Roshan, meaning light, is related to their head, Mian Bayazid Ansari, who styled himself Pir-i-Roshan. He aimed at leading the people from darkness to light. His life history is gleaned from Hal-namah (not yet published), written by Ali Muhammad, son of Abu Bakr Kandahari. He was born in Jalandhar in East Punjab in 930 H. (1525 A.D.) and belonged to a family long settled at Kanigoram in North Waziristan. He lived to the age of about sixty years. Being dissatisfied with his father Abdullah, a Qazi of the place, who had taken a second wife, Bayazid went his own way to make
his living. As he was of a religious bent of mind, he sought solace in quiet meditation and found the answer to all his religious questions in the Holy Book, the Quran. He claimed to be Pir-i-Kamil and when he was convinced of the true path, he started preaching among the tribes in the neighbourhood. His preaching is much reviled in the contemporary and later works, particularly by Akhund Darwezah, who was a disciple of Pir Baba, his arch enemy in religious matters. Pir Baba represented the orthodox view of contemporary Islam while Bayazid Ansari was a mystic and saint. His philosophy followed more Sufistic lines and he rejected the common-place rituals that had grown in the Muslim society of the time. It must be remembered that his movement had nothing to do with the religious questions that were discussed in the court of Akbar. We only learn that he sent his book Siratut-Tauhid to Akbar and received presents from him. Even the orthodox class of this region does not appear to have any concern with Akbar's religious questions. We do not find any revolt here on that ground. As we have noted earlier, when Mirza Hakim raised commotion in Kabul, the tribes in Peshawar valley were happy in their own affairs. On the other hand we hear of the early skirmishes of Bayazid's followers with the officers of Mirza Hakim. It is therefore evident that the Raushania movement was a local affair. Its influence does not appear to have reached outside this region. While the contemporary writers are all against the Raushania movement, the modern authors have come forward to justify his views. There is, no doubt, that the real controversy lay between the orthodox opinion, led by Pir Baba, and the mystic approach of Bayazid Ansari, who had vigorously come forward to rid the society of those beliefs and practices which, according to him, were not founded on the Holy Book. The recent publications of his writings amply show that he was neither a Shia nor an Ismaili. He had developed his own philosophy after being influenced by the thought currents of the time. His quest for religious truth should not be divorced from the contemporary religious movements that were then taking place in Pakis-
tan and India. According to him the real object of all prayers was to achieve *Ilm-ul-Tauhid*—knowledge of the unity of God. This could be obtained through the guidance of a *Pir-i-Kamil*, on whom he laid great stress. "Allegiance to the Shaikh is like allegiance to the Prophet." The true Shaikh guides the disciples by stages to the final destination of union with God. These stages are *Shariat, Tariqat, Haqiqat, Marifat, Qurbat, Waslat, Wahdat*, and *Sukunat*. The definition of the stages, as given in his works, clearly shows how deeply he was impressed by the Sufistic thought currents of his time. In his philosophy we hardly find any more pantheistic influence than that found in some other Sufistic thoughts. We have again no evidence to prove his belief in the metempsychosis. The opposition to him on religious grounds could be derived from two factors—his stress on his own particular interpretation of Islam and admonition to his followers to give up other current beliefs and practices. As his own philosophy was based on abstruse Sufistic ideas, the orthodox section could not see eye to eye with him. But the greatest cause for worry was his concept of *Pir-i-Kamil*. This concept put all other religious heads of the time at a disadvantage and it naturally created rivalry and jealousy. Though this concept could also be derived from the Sufistic idea of a *Shaikh*, still its individualistic character in Bayazid’s philosophy with all its social implications, in which he alone counted among his followers, led to serious repercussions. Akhund Darweza unnecessarily accused him of claiming to be a Prophet. Even Badayuni wrote that he was "notorious for atheism and infidelity." It was the practical application of his philosophy that was more irksome. Bayazid snubbed the Muslims as irreligious, hypocrirical and devoid of righteous actions. He said to Kazi, Mulla and Mufti, "You aim at worldly benefits by your religious activities, and whoever desires the world for his deeds, for him there is no share in the life hereafter." His preaching produced peculiar results among the tribes. He was first accepted as leader by the Barki tribe. Later Aurakzais, Afridis and Tirahis owed their allegiance to
him. His influence was not of much consequence among the Khalils, Mohmands, Daudzais, Gigianis and Yusufzais. It is said that some of his followers hailing from Tawi tribe plundered a caravan on way to Kabul probably on the plea that no importance should be attached to materialistic things. This was a cause of worry to Mirza Hakim's administration of Kabul and Peshawar. Though Bayazid could explain away the conduct, when he was summoned to Kabul, its effect on the local tribes was great as their means of sustenance was limited. Probably such activity may have led the author of Dabistan-i-Madhahib to write: "Bayazid along with his sons used to way-lay the travellers and loot them. He would deposit 1/5 th of the loot in his Bait-ul-Mal and distribute it among the needy." The political implication of this philosophy was still greater. As the tribes, who became Bayazid's followers, mostly lived in Tira and Khyber—the well-known routes that led from Peshawar to Kabul, they got a religious inspiration from the Raushania movement and stood in the way of the imperial Mughal lifeline. According to some authors Bayazid's son and successor Jalaluddin Ansari (well-known as Jalala in the Mughal history books) aimed at establishing an "Islamic State" in this region after driving away the Mughals. But the details of his activities and those of his followers suggest that they only interfered when the Mughals pressed their passage through the routes. We do not hear of any great plan made by them to combine with other forces in the region with the sole object of uprooting the Mughal rule from Peshawar valley. In fact it is said that in 1581 Jalala was "kindly received" by Akbar. Only once in 1586 do we find the Mohmand and Ghori tribes, who had "made Jalala Tariki their leader" invested the fort of Bagram and killed Sayyid Hamid Bokhari, the fief holder of Peshawar. The Mughal activities against Jalala Tariki continued throughout 1586 and 1587. It is described in detail in the Akbar-namah. The struggle abated only when Jalala fled to the hills in Chitral and died therein about A.D. 1600. However, the movement continued under his successors Ahdad Ansari and Abdul Qadir and twice
Peshawar was attacked by them in 1613 when Qulij Khan died at Peshawar and in 1630 when Muzaffar Khan suffered a defeat. But in the reign of Shah Jahan, Abdul Qadir submitted to the emperor and joined the Mughal service. The movement as a political force subsided in Peshawar valley though as a religious sect it lingered longer.

**Third Phase**

By the time of Shahjahan some sort of political balance had come to prevail in Peshawar valley. The Raushania movement had lost its force. Bahaku Khan, the new leader of the Yusufzais in the plains had received a *farman* from the emperor. The route from Attock to Peshawar was guarded by the Khattaks. But a new situation was created when, with the illness of Shah Jahan, his four sons quarrelled among themselves for succession to the throne. New political alignments emerged in the Mughal empire. It affected both the people as well as the class of administrators. In this region the first to be involved was Bahaku Khan, who had shown signs of favour to Dara Shikhoh, the arch-enemy of Aurangzeb who succeeded to the throne. Quite naturally Aurangzeb would like to take action at a suitable moment. The second relates to the administrative arrangements which involved personal likes and dislikes of the emperor—a question which must rest with the emperor's own concept of his personal security on the Mughal throne. This led to the transfer of the lovable Mahabat Khan, the Governor of Kabul, and the appointment of Sayyid Amir Khan Khwafi in his place with Abdur Rahim as his deputy in Peshawar. The new governor remained seven years in this region and his administration created new problems that disturbed the political balance achieved in the earlier reign. Khushhal Khan Khattak, the national poet of the Pakhtuns, is a creation of this new political situation. In his emotional poems he inspired the tribes to rise above tribal spirit and imbibe a new political consciousness but historical events that followed show that tribal relations continued in the usual manner because of local geographic and economic forces.
The Khattak-Yusufzai conflict had waged since the early days of Akbar when in the Peshawar plain their interests clashed. The Khattaks had been the chief supporter of the Mughal cause as this gave them a political grounding and economic benefit. The Mughals took advantage of the tribal jealousy and favourably used them against the Yusufzais of the plains. In the time of Aurangzeb the cause of operation was soon found when Bahaku Khan advanced into Hazara for further material benefit—an area which was given in jagir to the faujdars of Attock. The imperial forces were in the march and the Khattaks gave them full support. In the two battles at Hund and Shahbazgarhi deadly fights were waged but in the plains the tribals could not score their game. After severe fighting the Yusufzais gave way to the superior arms and resources of the Mughals and the later conciliatory policy of the Mughals settled this question for the time.

The second trouble of the Khattaks reveals, in clear perspective, on the one hand the new imperial approach of Aurangzeb and on the other the tribal sense of ancestral rights and prestige, which could as in the case of Khushhal Khan Khattak, rise to the heights of national emotions. Yet his emotions were directly rooted in the chief character of the tribals. He sings:

If Mughal stand, then broken falls Pakhtun;
The time is now, if God will that we die;
The spheres of heaven revolve uncertainly,
Now blooms the rose, now sharply pricks the thorn,
Glory’s the hazard, O man of woman born!
The very name Pakhtun spells honour and glory,
Lacking that honour what is the Afghan story?
In the sword alone lies our deliverance,
The sword wherein is our predominance,
Whereby in days long past we ruled in Hind,
But concord, we know not, and we have sinned.
Ah God! honour, concord, sweet refrain,
And old Khushhal will rise, a youth again!"
The sense of honour and shame is an important feature of the Pakhtun character. Khushhal's national emotions were spurred up on account of this sense. But he was fully conscious of the lack of concord among the tribals. He had to face jealousy and strife from the men of his own kith and kin and his attempt to rope in the Yusufzais in the struggle against the Mughals evoked no response. In the time and under the circumstances that Khushhal lived, there was no question of conceiving either territorial or racial nationalism. The economic demands, as dictated by geography, had created varying interests among the different tribes and each tribe was jealous of preserving its own privileges. How this question affected the Khattaks and Khushhal must be clearly understood in he background of the imperial policy that was laid down by Aurangzeb.

Whatever may be the personal whims and nature of Aurangzeb, his first responsibility was to maintain the integrity of the Mughal empire. With the expansion of the Mughal territory throughout the length and breadth of this subcontinent, it was necessary for him to evolve a new political philosophy that would satisfy the growing demands of the people. We are told that he chose the Islamic path as he himself was deeply moved by the principles of Islam. Whatever may have been his real objective, the result was disastrous to the Mughal empire. In Peshawar valley though his policy could not be said to be a total failure, the local administration did create trouble for him. As Khushhal himself evidences, pouring of wealth and inducements by the Mughals appeased certain tribes and in spite of wars and defeats, Aurangzeb could keep up the imperial life-line in order to hold his possession in Kabul. But it is not clear whether official jealousy among the administrators or the new policy of abolishing the tolls and taxes on the travellers, led to the estrangement between Khushhal Khan Khattak and the Mughal Government. So far Khushhal and his family had been a great supporter of the Mughal cause. Particularly after the receipt of a farman from Shahjahan
Khushhal's status has been raised to that of a mansabdar and under this title he had fought Mughal battles outside his home country and won laurels for himself as well as for the Mughal crown. But soon he fell a victim to the machinations of the Mughal governor Sayyid Amir Khan Khwafi. Whatever may be the reason, the governor manouvred to such an extent that Khushhal was sent to the emperor in chains. Even then the poet had confidence that he would receive justice at the hands of the emperor in view of the long sincere service that his family had rendered to the Mughals. But his confidence was completely shaken when the emperor further imprisoned him. It was during the years of this imprisonment that his poetic emotions were greatly roused:

I know well Aurangzeb's justice, his equity,  
His orthodoxy in the Faith, his fasts and penances;  
His own brothers, time after time, cruelly slain by the sword,  
His father overcome in battle and thrown in prison!  
Though a man strike his head on the ground a thousand times,  
Or by fastings bring his navel and spine together,  
Unless he desire in truth to act with goodness,  
His adorations, his devotions, are all false, and a lie.  
The way of whose tongue is one, and of his heart another,  
Let his very vitals be torn out and lacerated!  
Outwardly the serpent is handsome and well-formed,  
In the inward parts it is unclean and filled with venom.  
The true man's deeds are many, but few his words.  
The recreant's acts are few and ill, his boastings many.  
Since Khushhal's arm cannot reach the tyrant in this world,  
May God Almighty have no mercy on him in the day of doom!
Khushhal's economic interest had been affected. But more than this his sense of social justice was shattered. His honour was touched. For no fault of his he had been sent to the prison. His poetic chord was moved. He poured poem after poem against Aurangzeb. In the true Pakhtun tradition he was fired with a sense of retaliation (*Badal*) and later when he was released from prison on the intercession of Mahabat Khan and even when he was given higher status, he could not be reconciled because the Pakhtun must have his retaliation. It is not clear why Mahabat Khan interceded on his behalf. But when we note that both Mahabat and Khushhal were tactfully removed from the scene of Peshawar valley, it seems that Sayyid Amir Khwafi or the emperor himself was personally interested in sending them away. Khushhal himself blamed the emperor but when we find that Aurangzeb released him on Mahabat's intercession. It seems that the real mover behind was Sayyid Amir Khwafi, the governor, who must have been jealous of Mahabat Khan and of his influence in this region. Whoever was the source of the trouble, the action led to final rupture between Khushhal Khan Khattak and the Mughals and this was a great boon to the cause of Pashto literature. Khushhal's poetry shines above all and reveals the true Pakhtun character.

In the political game that followed Khushhal was not of much success. By inducements and gifts the Mughals won over his uncles and his own son Bahram Khan and foiled the attempt of Khushhal in creating a united Khattak resistance against them. His efforts to win over the Yusufzais did not succeed and he had to go over to the Mohmands and the Afridis to satisfy his sense of retaliation. In his poems the heroism of their leaders Aimal Khan and Darya Khan shines out clearly. Khushhal resigned the chieftainship of his tribe and joined hands with them. The Afridis and Mohmands had once again risen against the Mughals and given a severe defeat to the newly appointed governor Amin Khan in the defiles of Khyber Pass. In 1674 Aurangzeb himself had
to come to Hasan Abdal to direct the imperial forces and make new political offers. It is a combination of both which ultimately succeeded. But the Pakhtun poet Khushhal had his full satisfaction of retaliation and created epics in his poems for the coming generations.

The Mughal rule in Peshawar valley survived the death of Aurangzeb in 1707 and the last Mughal governor Nasir Khan, who was appointed in 1719, surrendered to Nadir Shah in 1741, when he found it difficult to oppose him. Hereafter Peshawar valley was cut off from the Mughal empire and joined to the Persian Subah of Kabul.
CHAPTER V

PESHAWAR OF THE DURRANIS AND THE SIKHS

"He (Ahmad Shah) gave to Lahore and Multan, and of course to Peshawar and the Derajat, that contradiction in terms, a new orientation towards the west. They had this before in pre-Muslim times and under Mahmud Ghazni, but for centuries before Ahmad Shah’s time they had come to look towards Delhi. It is certain that this attitude, below the conscious level of thinking though it be, is one of the emotional bases of the patriotism of West Pakistan today. In other words, in the west at least, the partition of 1947 was not the outcome only of differing attitudes to religion; it had an historical background also. But there was to be a long fight with the Sikhs before the issue was decided. It was a decision rooted in the history of two centuries."

—Sir Olaf Caroe. P. 257.

Introduction: In the beginning of the eighteenth century two great mediaeval empires of Southern Asia were in the decline. The third empire, built by the Ottoman Turks in Western Asia, North Africa and East Europe, was also shrinking. These empires were the end-products of the socio-political forces ushered in by the birth of Islam in the mediaeval world. In the final stage the Turks managed to hold supreme political power. But both the eastern Turks in Afghanistan, Pakistan and India and the western Turks bordering on the European world, and also the Turks in their own home in Central Asia were facing the challenge of the New Age. The West, with its advanced technology, improved means of seafaring and over-seas control and new political ideologies, born out of a changed socio-economic demand, was pushing eastward to knock at the declining societies of Asia. Nearly a hundred years were to pass before the West could assert its domineering influence in the affairs of Asia. In the meanwhile the tottering empires of the Mug-
hals and the Safavids who, between themselves, shared the territories that now lie fragmented into India, Pakistan, Afghanistan and Iran, became a veritable object of plunder and loot by the new individuals and forces that were to rise. The initiative was taken by another Turk Nadir Shah, who, marching from the Safavid capital in Iran, extended his hands to grab the Mughal treasures in Delhi. But both his rise and fall were sudden. His successors in the intervening region between the two empires happened to be another branch of the Afghans who were better known in history as Durranis. And as fate ordained, their first king Ahmad Shah was to forge ahead from Kandahar—a city that had remained a bone of contention between the Mughals and the Safavids. The Durranis, prowling in the wake of Nadir Shah, snatched territories from either side. Having been more Persian in cultural heritage, they were forced to look eastward by their Afghan brethren, and taking advantage of the prevailing political situation in the Mughal empire, they made a bid for a Durrani Kingdom, which, at its widest extent, incorporated modern Afghanistan, West Pakistan and some territory eastward up to Sarhind. But the Afghans in their own home country had no tradition of empire building. Their own social milieu, originating from tribal features, stood in the way of evolving a uni-racial Afghan state. And again they could hardly solve the anarchy that was then raging in the Indus plains. They could win battles and lead victorious forays right up to Delhi, but they could hardly consolidate their conquests. The Sikhs, inspired by their new religion, were forging ahead in the Panjab and they managed to establish a Sikh kingdom extending right up to the very gates of Khyber. The Durranis were pushed back beyond the hills, and Peshawar plain that saw the tussle of these newly-risen stars suffered most at the hands of these marching armies. A belated effort to win back old Muslim glories in the subcontinent, that was started by a new politico-religious force of the Ganges valley with its base in Peshawar hills, met its abortive death as the actors were unaware of the problems in the Frontier. While the main
achievement of the Durranis was the creation of a multi-racial state of Afghanistan, the Sikhs lost before the advancing power of the British.

*Nadir Shah in Peshawar.*

A European contemporary of Nadir Shah records: “Kouli Khan was still encamped near Briesjah-poor, or Pishore, when he received the Mogul’s letter. This City is of no great consequence, nor has it any good fortification, yet was there in it a garrison of 100 Indian horse, and some hundreds of infantry. The Schah sent a summons to the Commander, requiring him to open his gates; assuring him, that in case of compliance neither he nor his garrison should receive the least injury. The governor, having refused to surrender, Kouli Khan ordered the place to be stormed, and it was immediately carried. Some of the garrison, as is customary on such occasions, were put to the sword. But Kouli Khan saved the greatest part of them, who immediately took on his army. The town was abandoned to pillage, and afforded the soldiers a fine booty.”¹ From other sources² we learn that the local Mughal governor Nasir Khan submitted to Nadir Shah who confirmed him as governor of Peshawar and Kabul. He continued to exercise his control until he was ousted by Ahmad Shah in 1748.³

*Peshawar under the Durranis*

Ahmad Shah belonged to the Sarbanri group of the Western Afghans⁴ and traced his descent from Abdal and hence the family name Abdali. Caroe discounts the story⁵ of Ahmad Shah’s election to the throne and concludes: “Whatever the tale, he had himself crowned as Ahmad Shah in Kandahar. He assumed the title Durr-i-Durran, Pearl of Pearls, because, it is said, it pleased him to wear an ear-ring fashioned of pearls. From that time his tribe, the Abdalis, have been known as the Durrani’s”. Elphin-
stone sums up the atmosphere among the tribes and says that Ahmad Shah "had to found a monarchy over a war-like and independent people, by no means attached to that form of government; those most accustomed to be governed by a king had only felt his power in the means which were used to compel them to pay tribute to a foreign state, and had ever regarded him as a powerful enemy rather than a magistrate by whom they were protected, and to whom they owed loyalty and attachment. They had never been united under a native King, and, from the love of quality so conspicuous in their character, they were likely to view the exaltation of one of their own nation with even more jealousy than the tyranny of a foreign master." The policy adopted by him is described by Elphinstone: "His first object was to secure the affections of his own tribe, on whom he depended for permanent support, as well as for immediate assistance. For this purpose he confirmed the Doorauneas in the possession of their lands, requiring no sacrifice from them but the attendance of their contingent of troops as fixed by Naudir. He distributed all the great offices of his new state among the leading Dooraunees, and established those offices in particular families in the same manner in which he fixed the crown on his own. . . . . . . . With the other tribes, except the Ghiljies, his plan was to endeavour to form a spirit of attachment to their native king, which he might hope to accomplish by delivering them from foreign domination, and by a moderate and gradual introduction of his own power." As far as the question of foreign yoke is concerned, there is little that could be appreciated by the local tribes in Peshawar valley because the Mughal rule here was not so much of domination as of their control of the tribes by distribution of wealth and other privileges to secure a passage for the imperial route. Ahmad Shah did not confine himself to the Afghan tribes and had no aim to weld the tribes into a well-knit nation. His primary aim was to build a kingdom for the Durrani out of the chaos created after the fall of the Mughal and Safavid empires. More than seven hundred years ago he had a precursor in Sultan Mahmud, who, starting from
Ghazni in this very region of mediaeval Zabulistan, marched forward to build the Ghaznavid kingdom. As we are told, the Afghan tribes made a solid contribution to the victorious armies of Mahmud. Similarly Ahmad Shah also received support from them, though the Durrani appeared to be in the forefront. Mahmud is said to have undertaken seventeen invasions against the Hindu Shahis and the tottering empire of the Garjara Pratiharas who were then supreme in northern India. Between 1747 and 1773 Ahmad Shah is known to have crossed the Indus eight times. Both built kingdoms more or less equal in extent, with only Kashmir added to the plume of Ahmad Shah. Just as Mahmud broke the Hindu power of the North, Ahmad Shah shattered the great army of the Marathas on the field of Panipat in 1761. Militarily the Hindus could not rise again and aspire to subjugate the Muslim power in the subcontinent. This success of Ahmad Shah created a new outlook of the Muslims, which had a far-reaching political consequence in the centuries to come. But meanwhile Ahmad Shah was plodding through a different ground from that of Mahmud. While Mahmud broke the power of the Hindus in the days of their decline and carried forward the banner of Islam in the Panjab, Ahmad Shah had to contend with a newly-rising political force in the Panjab, which was charged with the religio-military spirit of Sikhism. The Sikhs gradually increased their power and made themselves supreme in the Panjab. While they could advance westward after crossing the Indus into Peshawar Valley, the successors of Ahmad Shah could not succeed in welding a well-knit nation by amalgamating all the Afghan tribes in the Roh Country. They suffered a set-back even here at the hands of the Sikhs and Peshawar Valley was lost by them. The Durrani kingdom was in the long run reduced to what is now Afghanistan and the Sikh heritage passed on to the British with all the historical implications of the Frontier problem. This is a long story of human struggle which brought forward Peshawar valley into the modern world.
The story unfolded gradually with the advance of Ahmad Shah eastward. Caroe sums up his relations with the tribes: "During all these Indian expeditions Ahmad experienced much trouble in and around Peshawar, and his communications through the passes were often subject to interruption, as had been those of Nadir Shah. Elphinstone tells us Ahmad gave all the Eastern tribes the name of 'Berdooraunees,' but this nomenclature, if ever used, is never heard today. In dealing with these tribes he enjoyed certain advantages. The prestige of his Afghan origin, the new Afghan kingdom he had built, above all his enlistment and enrichment of the tribesmen by the grant of service in his army, enabled him to surmount dangers which had threatened to submerge even the armies of Nadir. But even he, the first and most powerful of Afghan kings, never sought to subject to his administrative control the mountain tracts of the Karlanri tribes, or even the valley of Swat. He was fain to adopt Babar's policy of matrimonial alliances with the daughters of tribal maliks. And he continued the payment of tolls to the Afridis and Shinwaris of the Khaibar, and distributed jagirs to many Yusufzai, Orakazi, Khalil and Mohmand leaders."

With the death of Ahmad Shah the true nature of the Afghan kingdom became clearer. The question of a successor led to palace intrigue. When ultimately Timur Shah succeeded to the throne, his Persian upbringing led to new developments. Elphinstone notes the change. "As he knew that a strong party had been formed against him among the Dooranuees, and that the execution of the Vizeer (Shah Wali Khan) had exasperated that tribe, he seems ever after to have regarded them with great distrust. He first showed this in removing the seat of government from Candahar, in the midst of the Dooranuee country, to Caubul, which is inhabited by Taujiks, the most quiet and submissive of all the subjects of the Afghan monarchy. His choice of ministers showed the same disposition. His chief counsellors, during his whole reign, were Cauzy Fyzoollah, a Moollah of the obscure
clan of Dowlut Shahee, and Lootf Ali Khaun, a native of Jaum, in Western Khorassan?.” As a result of this policy, though he retained the Durrani chiefs in his court, he did not keep troops of this tribe at the capital. On the other hand he built up a body-guard of “Gholami Shauhs”, recruited mostly from the Persians and Tajiks. It is these “Gholami Shauhs” who saved him when Faizullah Khan, a chief of the Khalils, forced his entry into the Bala Hisar of Peshawar in 1779. This was in connection with an insurrection, inspired by the Shahzada of Chamkani, a darvesh of great sanctity, with the object of placing his brother prince Sikandar on the throne. This incident brings to light two factors: the importance of the Darvesh of Chamkani, a place seven miles east of Peshawar, who could not be punished because of his following in this region. The second is the reputation of the city of Peshawar, which increased day by day with the Afghan monarchs passing their here. As a result many Afghan nobility settled in this city and a new appearance was given to the whole environment. The gardens and building as we have noted in chapter I, were developed to the greatest extent. Of even greater importance was the marriage of Timur Shah with a Yusufzai lady, whose two sons Shah Zaman and Shah Shuja were to play political roles in opposition to the sons born of Durrani wives of Timur. Caroe estimates Timur as follows:

“Timur Shah was taken ill on his way up to Kabul from Peshawar, and died in the spring of 1793. He had loved Peshawar, but has left there no name of honour, for tribesmen still say of him that he was a Persian and no Pathan. Yet here is no doubt that his establishment of the Durrani winter capital at Peshawar was the beginning of a long story only now coming to an end.”

Timur’s death brought forward the claims of the different princes. The eldest son Humayun was by a mother of the royal Saddozai clan of the Popalzai, and another, Mahmud was also of a Popalzai mother. But both of them were superseded by Shah Zaman, whose reign
gave sanction to a new political role to the Sikhs. The event that led up to this is thus described by Elphinstone: “As soon as Shauh Zamaun had secured himself from his competitors for the throne, he appears to have determined on an invasion of India; a measure to which he was stimulated by Meerza Ashun Bukht, a prince of the royal family of Delhi, who had fled to Caubul in Timour’s reign, as well as by ambassadors who arrived about this time from Tipoo Sooltaun, and who made great pecuniary offers to the King, on condition that he should attack the British.” However, Elphinstone rightly notes the dangers that he had to face within his own kindom from his rivals and also from his northern and western neighbours. The British were there to exploit the situation and whenever Shah Zaman was on the point of success in his Indian expeditions he was drawn to the west to meet the newly created situation.

However, his activities in India showed the course of future Muslim politics in the subcontinent. Elphinstone aptly records: “The advance of the Dooranee army, and the occupation of Lahore, did not fail in creating a strong sensation throughout India. The weakness of the Mahrattas, the whole of whose forces were drawn to the southward by their own dissensions, the feebleness of the government of the Nabob Vizeer, and the disposition of the greater part of his subjects to insurrection and revolt, together with the anxiety of all the Mahommedans for the prevalence of their religion, and for the restoration of the house of Timour, had prepared that country for a scene of disorder and anarchy which would doubtless have opened as soon as the Shauh had advanced to Delhi. This state of affairs was early perceived by the powers whose safety was threatened. The Mahrattas indeed were struck with dismay, and made little preparation to defend themselves, except by soliciting the assistance of their neighbours; but the British government adopted more vigorous measures, and sent a powerful army to Anoopshereher to defend the frontier of its ally the Nabob Vizeer. Nor were the partisans of Shauh Zamaun more inactive;
intrigues were set on foot in many parts of Hindoostaun for the purpose of co-operating with that prince's invasion. The Rohillas had begun to assemble in arms, and every Mussulmaun, even in the remotest regions of the Daccan, waited in anxious expectation for the advance of the champion of Islaum. These hopes and these apprehensions were dispelled for the time by the failure of Shauh Zamaun's expedition, but the impression of his advance was permanent."

This impression was not unusual. After all the Muslim conquerors from Mahmud to Ahmad Shah had sallied forth into India from Afghanistan though all of them were not Afghans. This historical perspective created a notion among the Muslims in India that they could always look to the west for help and deliverance if Islam in the subcontinent was in danger. Afghanistan was a part of their history. In fact it was a starting point in their career of domination in the subcontinent. And further there were many descendants of the Afghans who were settled down in northern India and who always looked to their home country for succour and for inspiration. How far this historical understanding was true in the case of the Pakhtuns in Peshawar valley is difficult to say. They had at least no charm in identifying themselves with imperial Mughal role nor were they directly affected by the Afghan rule of the Lodis and Surs in India. The Pakhtuns in Peshawar valley had their own local problems of survival out of mutual tribal rivalry and bickerings. But the Afghans in the Kandahar-Ghazni region had undelible impressions of imperial marches of the armies. These ideas must have inspired Ahmad Shah and his successors who made a bid to lay the foundation of an Afghan empire. As Elphinstone has noted, Shah Zaman himself was moved by this spirit of conquest. But the internal situation in his own home country and the new political forces that had raised their head in the Indian political scene did not allow him to achieve his aim. He retreated from India to face the troubles at home after recognising the growing power of the Sikhs in the Panjab. Cunningham records the last act of the drama:
“Some restless skirmishing took place, but the designs of Mehmood, who had obtained the support of Persia, again withdrew the ill-fated King to the west, and he quitted Lahore in the beginning of 1799. During this second invasion the character of Ranjeet Singh seems to have impressed itself, not only on the other Sikh leaders, but on the Dooranee Shah. Ranjeet coveted Lahore, which was associated in the minds of men with the possession of power. Zaman, unable to cross his heavy artillery over the flooded Jhelum, made it known to the aspiring chief that their transmission would be an acceptable service. As many pieces of cannon as could be readily extricated were sent after the Shah, and Ranjeet Singh procured what he wanted, a royal investiture of the capital of the Punjab."

Shah Zaman went back to meet his opponent Mahmood, who ultimately managed to crown himself in A.D. 1800. Then followed a tussle between him and Shah Shuja. Further events are thus summed up by Caroe:

“It will be seen that there were four changes of ruler, from Zaman to Mahmud, from Mahmud to Shuja, from Shuja back to Mahmud, and finally a shift of dynasty altogether from the Saddozais to the Barakzais. The Durrani Empire perished, and was succeeded by an Amirate. It was the shattering effect of these four changes in the first quarter of the nineteenth century that, more than anything else, enabled Ranjit Singh to gradually absorb all those portions of Ahmad Shah’s dominion which lay in the plains between the Sulaiman Mountains and the River Indus." The Afghans lost their chance of consolidating even in the Roh country converging on the Indus. Henceforth there were three powers to reckon with—the Amirate of Afghanistan, the Barakzai Sardars of Peshawar and the Sikhs in the plains of the Panjab and Peshawar. The interests kept up the tribes of the Peshawar valley holding fast to their tribal privileges and thus Pakhtun and Afghan amalgam could not be achieved. Afghanistan developed into a multi-racial state.
In the fight between Mahmud and Shah Shuja a second dynasty of the Barakzais, descended from Haji Jamal's son Painda Khan came into prominence. His eldest son, Fateh Khan, commonly known as the Wazir, played a leading part in placing Mahmud on the throne. Elphinstone portrays a graphic picture:

“The government of the state was left entirely to Akram Khan Alizye and Fatteh Khan Baurikzye. The first of these chieftans had all the characteristics of a Douraunee nobleman. He was proud, highspirited, and obstinate; frugal, but not sordid in expense, steady in his attachment to his party, and strict in conforming to the notions of honour which prevail among his countrymen. Fatteh Khan has since become one of the most prominent characters in the Douraunee history, and now holds the office of vizeer, and enjoys the supreme power under the name of his reluctant sovereign. Excepting the short and turbulent period of Mahmood's success, the early part of his life was spent in intrigues and adventures, sometimes supporting a rebel force by plunder, and sometimes living in jealous and precarious friendship with the King. His character is much as such circumstances might be expected to form. As his misfortunes never reduced him to dependence, his spirit remains unbroken, and his activity undiminished. He is acknowledged on all hands to be a man of talents and courage, and by his own adherents he is greatly loved.”

But even such a man was not spared. Court intrigues brought about his downfall and cruel murder. This was a signal for revolt by all the Painda Khel. The kingdom was parcelled out into different hands. Ultimately the old dynasty had to quit. In 1826 Fateh Khan's younger brother, Dost Mohammad consolidated his power in Kabul. Peshawar fell to the four brothers. Sardar Yar Muhammad, Sultan Muhammad, Sayyid Muhammad and Pir Muhammad. The old Gazetteer records:

“Peshawar remained in a constant state of excitement and confusion passing from one ruler to another,
none of whom could exercise much real control over its wild occupants. The hill tribes, always at the disposal of the highest bidder, had been for the most part staunch supporters of Shah Shuja, who was compelled in return to pay largely for their services, in addition to the sum of $1\frac{1}{4}$ lakhs annually paid in the time of his predecessors to the tribes of the Khaibar for keeping open the road. Indeed, all the revenues of Peshawar under the Durranis were absorbed in the payment of such allowances to the hill tribes, and to the chiefs of the plain, who were called on for occasional services with the militia."

The Sardars continued to rule in Peshawar and their other brothers Azim Khan and Dost Mohammad held power in Kabul. With the advance of the Sikhs towards the west the Sardars got alarmed. When Ranjit Singh occupied Attock in 1814 and overran the valley across the Indus in 1818, the position became serious. In 1823 Azim Khan came down from Kabul to have a final encounter with the Sikhs but the Afghan army was defeated by Ranjit Singh, who advanced upon Peshawar and made the Sardars his tributaries. The Sikhs carried sword and fire into Peshawar valley in order to realise tributes but their actual territorial occupation lay east of the Indus. It was under this political condition that the Mujahidins led by Hazrat Sayyid Ahmad Barelvi (see below for detail) reached Peshawar. The Sardars at first made a show of co-operation with them but their own interests led them to a diplomatic deal which ultimately cost the life of Yar Muhammad Khan in a battle with the Mujahidins. It is the antagonism of the Sardars that was partly responsible for persuading Syed Ahmad to leave Peshawar valley. The Sardars managed to keep up their relations with the Sikhs and even when the Sikhs finally occupied Peshawar after their battle with Dost Mohammad in 1835, the Sardars received jagirs from the Sikhs: Sayyid Muhammad received Hashtnagar, Pir Muhammad the Doaba and Sultan Muhammad got Kohat and Hangu. The residence of the late Yar Muhammad Khan still survives in Peshawar.
inside Kohati Gate. In the time of Sir Herbert Edwardes this was converted into a Mission School, known after him.

**Sayyid Ahmad Shahid in Peshawar Region**

Sayyid Ahmad Shahid and his *Mujahidins* played a role in Peshawar valley that is memorable in the Muslim history of this subcontinent. It is a great historic illustration of the *jihad* waged for the establishment of a free atmosphere to practise Islam. This *jihad* movement needs to be told & retold in its proper historical context so as to be an eye-opener for the coming generations. In the earlier pages we have seen how Ahmad Shah led his victorious armies to India and broke the power of the Marathas on the field of Panipat. Later his grandson Shah Zaman was looked up to with hope for the deliverance of Islam from the growing power of the Hindus in India. But Zaman had to retreat and meet the challenge of the rival princes of his own home country. On his way back he left Ranjit Singh in virtual regal occupation of the Panjab. Since then the affairs of the Indian Muslims turned on different lines from the happenings beyond the Indus. In these declining days of the Muslim power in India the teachings of Shah Waliullah paved the way for a new socio-religious movement and opened a new vista of life for the Muslims. With political power weakened, military strength enfeebled, and succour from the west receded far away, the hope for salvation lay in the regeneration of the Muslims by casting away slothful habits and customs and relying wholly on the true religion. The influence of this reformation spread far and wide. Sayyid Ahmad Shahid himself received inspiration from this teaching. Being a man of action, he was goaded to take up some positive steps for the realization of the ultimate aim. India was then practically under the British. Panjab lay in the hands of Ranjit Singh, and the four Sardar brothers ruled Peshawar as Sikh tributaries. The Sayyid decided first to act against the Sikhs presumably to relieve, as Mr. S.M. Ikram points out, the Muslims of the Panjab and Peshawar from the atrocities of the Sikhs and to enable them to follow freely the precepts of
Islam. The story is related of some Afghans approaching the Sayyid with a complaint that the Sikhs had forcibly taken possession of some Afghan women and made them their wives\(^{19}\). This story is said to have instigated the Sayyid to prepare himself for Jihad against the Sikhs. Whatever may be the truth in this story, it is a fact that Sikhs had just then intruded into Peshawar Valley and started their cruel practice of realising taxes forcibly from the people. On the other hand the other Barakzai brothers, Azim Khan and Dost Mohammad in Kabul were preparing to come and have a show-down with the Sikhs for the final occupation of Peshawar. As events followed, the Sayyid decided to fight against the Sikhs and attack their territory, not from the east where lay the home of the original Mujahidins, but from the west — the home of the independent tribes of Peshawar. The reason for this decision must be sought in the persistent historical notion that the west holds the key for the rescue of Islam from the growing Hindu power and influence. This looking to the west persisted as late as the twenties of this century when during the Khilafat movement some Indian Muslims migrated to Afghanistan in the belief that they could thus be away from the un-religious rule of the British. But the second and most important reason in the mind of the Sayyid must have been his calculation to muster strength for the cause of Jihad from the freedom loving tribes of the hills. And in this judgement he was absolutely right. When he came here with a small party of Mujahidins, the people from Kandahar and from among the tribes swelled his ranks in thousands. Even the Sardars of Peshawar and the tribal Maliks, who had their own axe to grind against the Sikhs, came forward to give a united fight to the Sikhs. The call for Jihad had a great appeal to the Afghans. But the Sayyid was not fully aware of the local political situation. As Dr. Mahmud Husain\(^{20}\) admits, “While in Afghanistan, the Sayyid was introduced to the bitter differences which prevailed among the Afghans.” The Sayyid’s thought that his appeal to Islam would patch up the differences, never materialised. As will be seen,
human factors and demands proved stronger than a call to return towards purity of Islam.

We learn from the accounts that the Sayyid traversed all the way by-passing the Sikh territory on the south and came via Kandahar and Kabul to Peshawar. Though he and his party of Mujahidins were received well by the Muslim rulers, whom he met on way, he does not seem to have received any positive military or material support from them. Here in Peshawar valley he fixed his camp at Nowshera and was successful in defeating the Sikhs in 1826 in two encounters at Akora and Hazro. So far the events went in his favour. His fame spread among the tribesmen and they flocked round him. Whether for the motive of Jihad or for the prospect of loot, the following of the Sayyid grew in large number. It is on this occasion, in January 1827, that the Mujahidins pursued the Sayyid to assume authority as Imam and enforce the rule of Islamic Shariat. What was the effect of this assumption of authority? While the Mujahidins insisted on purifying the social morale of the people and realizing tithes in accordance with Islamic laws, the action inevitably led to friction and clash of interests. The first result was the defection of Yar Muhammad Khan in the battle of Shahidu—a place not far from Akora—in which a large number of Muslims were killed. Whatever may be the motive of Yar Muhammad and his partisans, the Sayyid had first of all to deal with them before fighting another battle with the Sikhs. A detailed study of this internal Muslim struggle brings into bold belief the varying interests of the parties concerned. Later we find that Khadi Khan of Hund turned against the Sayyid. This led to the Battle of Hund, in which Khadi Khan was killed in 1829. In another battle fought at Zaida Yar Muhammad Khan received a mortal wound. Thereafter a new administration was installed in Peshawar. Sultan Muhammad Khan, a brother of the deceased, became Sardar while Maulana Sayyid Mazhar Ali of Azimabad was appointed the Qazi of the town. A number of his other associates were given responsible positions. How far was this new administration
popular among the people? The answer is not difficult to give. As long as the call for *Jihad* was there, the tribesmen came in large number but when the working of this new administration started, there was something that pinched. The result was a successful plot leading to a massacre of all these associates of the Sayyid including Mazhar Ali. The Sayyid became dejected but did not lose hope. For a better prospect he moved on to Hazara. But even there he had to meet the opposition of Painda Khan of Amb. All these events would have unnerved an ordinary individual, but the Sayyid, being inspired by an intense religious fervour, kept up the spirit of his men and determined to attack the main enemy, the Sikhs, who had been taking advantage of the local situation and causing rift in the Muslim rank. However, this turn of events should not be solely attributed to the machinations of the Sikhs. There were certain definite human interests which were exploited by the Sikhs to forge ahead their own political ambition. And the Sayyid, being too much absorbed in his zeal for the establishment of the rule of Islam, seems to have hardly taken cognizance of the local factors. This contradiction being unresolved, there came many hindrances in the fulfilment of the main aim of *Jihad*. Undaunted in spirit, he braved all the difficulties and died fighting against the Sikhs at Balakot in 1831 for the cause that was so dear to his heart. He became a Shahid (martyr) to the cause of Islam.

*Sikhs in Peshawar*

The Sikhs organised themselves in the Panjab as a religio-military community towards the later half of the seventeenth century, and, taking advantage of the confusion that prevailed after the invasion of Nadir Shah, they made bold to have political aspirations. We have seen earlier how Ranjit Singh rose to power in Lahore. When Shah Shuja was ousted from Peshawar by his brother Shah Mahmud, Ranjit got further opportunity to fish in the troubled water. When the Barakzai Sardars were supreme in Peshawar, a Sikh army for the first time advanced in 1818 from Attock and ravaged the entire valley as far
as the foot of the hills. In 1823 after the Afghan forces were defeated near Nowshera, "Ranjit Singh, advancing to Peshawar, made the four brothers at that place his tributaries, and after a short stay, withdrew beyond the Indus. His departure was precipitated by the action of the Afridis, who caused an inundation in the Sikh camp by opening the embankments of the Bara river in the hope of plunder during the consequent confusion. The consequence of this Sikh victory is thus noted. "No permanent occupation, however, was at this period attempted. Subject to the payment of a yearly tribute the government remained in the hands of the Barakzai Sardars, Ranjit Singh, for his part, contenting himself with sending an army annually to receive the tribute and to keep up the terror of his name. On these occasions the Sikh armies committed the utmost havoc (see chapter I for detail), burning a great part of Peshawar, and felling the trees of its numerous gardens for firewood."

The next few years of the Sikhs were spent in wooing the Sardars away from Sayyid Ahmad Shahid whose followers were growing strong in Peshawar valley. The most deterrent factor for the Sardars was the appointment of Hari Singh Nalwa in 1824 to the command on the frontier. He took his post at Attock and from there he started on his annual expeditions for the realization of the taxes. The Sikhs succeeded in their aim of winning over the Sardars and by 1830 the Mujahidins had left Peshawar.

Then the third stage was set for the Sikhs to follow. Shah Shuja, who was under their direct influence, had entered into a treaty with Ranjit Singh to cede Peshawar to him on condition that he was helped to regain his throne. That condition could not be fulfilled and Peshawar remained in the hands of the Barakzais. "But the Barakzai Sardars at Peshawar brought their own ruin upon themselves by their intrigues which they set on foot with the Sikhs, for the overthrow of their brother, Dost Muhammad, of whose power at Kabul they had become jealous, and had lately taken into his own hands the pro-
vince of Jalalabad from his nephew, Muhammad Zaman Khan, and had given further grounds of annoyance and alarm by causing himself to be publicly crowned at Kabul. It was in connection with such schemes that Hari Singh crossed the Indus in 1834, and took up a position at Chamkani, with a force of 9,000 men. This advance of Hari Singh precipitated matters and the Sardars in fear fled away from Peshawar. Later in 1835 Dost Mohammad made an unsuccessful attempt to occupy Peshawar but the city remained in the hand of the Sikhs with Hari Singh Nalwa in administrative charge of the plain. In 1836 he advanced further and laid the foundation of Jamrud fort, which again invited Dost Mohammad. Though Hari Singh himself was killed in the battle, the Sikhs were able to consolidate their position in Peshawar plain. Hari Singh was succeeded in his post by Sardar Tej Singh to be followed by General Avitable, whose severe administration from 1838 to 1842 was long remembered. The Sikhs built a series of forts at Bara, Jamrud, Michni, Shabqadar, and Jahangira to cordon off their possession in the Peshawar plain and keep the tribes away in the hills. Thus they continued to hold the district until they surrendered to the British after the Second Sikh War in 1848. Raverty records. “In the month of November 1848, Dost Mohammed, taking advantage of the Seik (Sikh) rebellion, dispatched an army of 12,000 men from Kabul, under his half brother, the Nuwab Jubbar Khan, and took possession of Peshawar. He retained it, however, but a short time, for in March, 1849, the force of Sir Walter Gilbert, G.C.B. arrived at Peshawar without meeting with any opposition on the part of the Afghans, who fled before our victorious troops.”

City of Peshawar in 1850

Raverty, who came here with the occupation forces, has left a detailed account of the city of his time. The following quotation is from his description.

“The city of Peshawur is of an irregular oblong form, surrounded by a substantial wall of unburnt
brick, twenty feet in height and strengthened by round towers or bastions at the angles.

The circumference of the city with the large Suburb of "Sir Assea," which has its own walls and gates, is five thousand five hundred yards, and has thirteen gates, viz. the Kabul, Jehangeerpurah, Assea, Kachowree, Kohaut, Gunj, Wazeerabagh, Lahore, Doabah, Rampurah, Raitee, Chubutrah, and the Balla Hissar gates. At each of these gates there is a guard of the city police, and during our stay at Peshawar, the Kohaut, Kabul, Gunj, and Wazeerabagh gates, were also guarded by our own troops.

The ground on which the city stands is tolerably level, with the exception of the "Bullundee-i-Dakhee" or height of Dakhee, near the Kabul gate to the west, and the height on which the Gorkutree stands to the East.

It was on these two heights or mounds that the principal houses of Bagram stood. The intermediate space where the "Gunj-i-Noh" or "New Grain Market" the "Bazar of the silk sellers," and the "Bazar of the cloth sellers," as also the whole ground extending to the Gorkutree was, in the time of Sooltan Mahmood, a marshy jungle, infested with wild beasts. A rivulet runs through the western side of the city: it enters at the Kabul gate, and after taking a considerable bend, and running through the "Gunj-i-Noh," or "New Grain Market" comes out near the Raitee Gate on the northern side. It is crossed by several stone bridges, and in some places willows grow on its banks, but not to the extent or luxuriance that might be imagined from the descriptions of Burnes and the other travellers.

The appearance of the higher part of the city, with the large and gloomy houses seemingly piled one on top of the other, is at times highly picturesque, particularly from the Grain market and the Silk-sellers' Bazar.

The houses, few of which are worth noticing, although many of them are large, and for the most part built of
burnt bricks (which is difficult to distinguish from unburnt brick, on account of the dusty colour of the buildings, occasioned by the dust storms which greatly prevail in the hot season) are generally erected in wooden frames, on account of the frequent occurrence of earthquakes, which are common in this district, as also in all the northern parts of Afghanistan. Many of the houses are three stories in height, the second and third of which have often fronts of carved wood and open work, which admit both air and light, and, at the same time, prevent their room from being seen into from without. In most of the principal streets the lower parts of the houses are occupied as shops, which are, however, in no way connected with the upper part, the latter being accessible by a stair at the side of the house. The roofs are all flat and plastered with mud, and surrounded by a parapet four or five feet in height.

In the hot weather the people pass a great deal of their time on the house tops, and on which, in this season, they invariably sleep. On this account it is considered a crime to overlook the roof of your neighbour's houses from your own, as you might by doing so see the ladies of the family. The houses of the better sort of the people contain Tahkhanas or Zeerzaminees, rooms under ground, in which the females, when not employed in household matters, spend the whole of the day. The heat of a house in the hot season, which continues for three months, is at times very great, often reaching to 100° of Fahrenheit.

Several streets are as wide as the streets of many of our towns at home, for which General Avitabile, or as he is called by the Peshawurees Abutabile Sahib, must be thanked. During the period that he was Governor of the province, he made many improvements: he, in fact, almost rebuilt many parts of the city, and although he ruled with the “rod of iron” yet still his name is greatly respected. The Peshawurees say he was a just man, and that instead of entrusting its administration to overbearing Hindustanees, he administered justice himself, heard every com-
plaint and was accessible at all times to the meanest per-
son. The door of his residence was not surrounded by
swarms of lazy peons to keep those who cannot afford to
bribe them and the Moonshees from access.

The whole of the principal streets had formerly been
paved with large round stones, similar to the streets of
many of our towns at home, with the exception that they
slope towards the centre, which forms a gutter. In the
streets widened by the Seik (Sikh) Governor, these
stones have been dispensed with, but the old streets,
which are narrow and intricate still retain the stone pave-
ment.

The "Bazar-i-Abreshum Faroosh," or "Bazar of the
silk-seller," is a very pleasant place, octagon in form, and
surrounded by mulberry trees, and the houses round
about are inhabited by the richest merchants. The "Bazar-
i-Bazazan," or "cloth seller", which adjoins it, is also a
fine large open space, planted with trees, but it is oblong
in form, and much larger.

The city of Peshawur has two suburbs, the largest of
which is called the "Sir Assea" or "Mill Head." the other
the suburb or village of Balla Maree, or as it is commonly
called Bana Maree.

The Sir Assea, which is a good sized town in itself, is
merely separated from the city by a wall, built by Avitabile
to prevent the people of Sir Assea from quarrelling with
the inhabitants of the "Gunj-i-Kohnah," or old grain mar-
ket," between whom a jealousy from some cause or other
existed, and party fights were of common occurrence, in
which lives were often lost. On the night of Shab-i-Barat,
(15th of the month of Shaban) they used regularly to
meet and assail each other with fireworks. On one occa-
sion the Seik (Sikh) Governor favoured the rivals with a
meeting outside the city, to enable them to indulge in their
fighting propensities, on which both young and old enga-
ged. On this occasion three persons were burnt to death,
and a great number injured in several places. To the friends of those who lost their lives, Avitabile gave each one hundred rupees, and to those who were wounded, rewards according to the nature of their injuries, but the system was put a stop to.

This suburb is also surrounded by a wall similar both in height and material to that of the city, to which there are six gates. It has several fine house and Musjids, and is inhabited by Hindoos, of the Khutree tribe, and Mahommedans, in about equal numbers. The village or suburb of Bala Maree or Bana Maree is situated close to the Sir Assea on the west, but is entirely separated both from it and from the city. It was once a large place, but has now fallen to decay; it, however, still contains about one hundred good houses, and taking it altogether, it has a very picturesque appearance. Numerous gardens or orchards surround it on all sides for more than a mile, the whole of which are with but few exceptions in a high state of cultivation.

The following is the total number of houses in the city, together with the number and places of residence of the different shopkeepers and artisans, which I obtained with great labour and trouble, and without either assistance or enquiry from any of the Officials of the Province, or any one in any way connected with them. Considering the manner in which I was thus situated, it may be depended on as being very correct.

Naginedabs of various denominations, 4,989 Houses.
Hindus, Seiks (Sikhs) & Khutrees... 2,317 Houses.

Total: 7,306 Houses.

Besides this number in the city, there are, belonging to the Sir Assea and the Gunj-i-Kohnah, 725 houses, inhabited by weavers of Loongies or Scarfs, who are chiefly Kashmirians and Peshawurees. 113 houses inhabited by
the Shalikoban or cleaners of gram as they are termed, who live in Street called the Mahalahl-i-Shalikoban. They are chiefly Kashmirians, and have shops attached to their dwellings. All together give a total of 1088 houses, which, added to the number of houses in the city, give a grand total of 8394, and, at the usual computation of five persons to each house on the average, give the number of the inhabitants of Peshawur at 41,970, which cannot be far wrong; the troops and camp followers amount to about 12,000 more.

The different trades & Co. are divided as follow, into shops each of which employs from six to seven persons, viz. Armourers or Sellers of Arms 11, who are Peshawurees and Kashmirians, and reside chiefly near the "Pul-i-Sungee" or "Stone Bridge," Armourers or cleaners of arms, 9, are Peshawurees who reside in the Bazar-i-Kissah Khoane, and Bazar-i-Kalan; 44 Master Bricklayers, Peshawurees, reside in all parts of the city, but principally in the Mahallah (quarter or street) Ander-Share; 15 Beef Butchers, Peshawurees, who reside in the Bazar-i-Duma Gallie; 63 Sheep Butchers, Peshawurees also, and reside in almost every Street and Bazar; 13 Bookbinders, residence Bazar-i-Musjid-i-Mahabat Khan, Bankers and money-changes 45, who are Hindus of the Khutree tribe and reside in the Street of Mahabat Khan; 33 Bankers, Peshawurees, who are to be found in every Bazar; Barbers 87, who are mostly Kashmirians, with some few Peshawurees, they have no regular shops, but frequent the Baths and Bazars; 24 Master Carpenters, are Peshawurees, and have no separate place of residence; Cook shops 15, chiefly Peshawurees, who reside in different Streets and Bazars; Cookers of Sheep’s Heads 11, Peshawurees, and reside in different parts of the city; Confectioners 56, who are Hindus, and reside in different Streets; Carvers and Painters 18, Peshawurees, scattered about in different streets; Drapers 52 shops, they are kept by Hindus, almost exclusively reside in the "Bazar-i-Bazazan" or Draper Bazar; Dyers 76, all Peshawurees, who reside in different streets; Druggists 57, Hindus, are to be found in
every Bazar; Fishmongers 15, Peshawurees, residence Bazar-i-Kalan; Goldsmith 41, are all either Hindus or Kashmirians, and are to be found in every Bazar; General Dealers and Dealers in small wares 16, who have a row to themselves in the Bazar-i-Kalan and Bazar-i-Gorkutree; Horseshoe makers and shears of Horses 16, are Peshawurees, and reside in the Gunj-i-Noh and Bazar-i-Jehangeerpurah; Mat-weavers 11, Peshawurees, whose residence is in the Chouk; Milk sellers 37, Hindus and Peshawurees, and are to be found in every street; 25 oil merchants, who are Peshawurees, and dwell in the Mahalah-i-Gorkhutree; 11 Plumbers, who are of seven different classes, and are scattered about the different Bazars; Seller of Philudah 10 (this is a sort of porridge made from wheat and milk), Peshawurees, who dwell in the Bazar-i-Kissah Khoane and Bazar-i-Kalan; Paper makers 22, are Peshawurees and Kashmirians, and reside in the Gunj-i-Kohna and a street named after them called the Mahalah-i-Kazir Kalan; Rope makers 11, Peshawurees, four of whom are in the Bazar-i-Kissah Khoane and the remainder live in different streets; Shoemakers 58, are all natives of Peshawur, of whom 23 are makers of women’s shoes only—they principally reside in the Rastah-i-Kafshdoz or Shoe-maker’s Row; Saddlers 15, Peshawurees, residence in the Bazar-i-Bazazan; Snuff-sellers 45, Kashmirians and Peshawurees, who mostly dwell in the Gunj-i-Kohnah; Sugar-refiners 3, Peshawurees, who live in the Bazar-i-Kalan; Smiths 27, who are Peshawurees, and reside in every street and Bazar; 42 Sherbet sellers, Peshawurees, scattered in all parts of the city; Tailors 10, who are Peshawurees and Kashmirians and have no particular place of residence—such a small number of this class appears strange, but the reason is that the women make their own clothes and also the clothes for their husbands and families, therefore tailors are not much required; the women also take in work as in England, and are very industrious. There are also 4 Timber merchants, who are Peshawurees, and reside in the Chouk (market) place-i-Nusseer Khan; and lastly 13 Tent-makers who are Peshawurees also, and have no particular place of residence. The inhabitants of
the city are a mixed race, consisting of the people called Peshawurees, who do not pretend to trace their descent; Hindus of the Kutree and Seik (Sikh) tribes, Kashmirians, Afghans, and Muguls; but the latter are very few in number.

The principal streets and Bazars are as follow:— The "Bazar-i-Kissah Khoane" or "Street of the Story Tellers", immediately inside the Kabul Gate, is the most lively part of the city, more particularly about sunset, when it is crowded with all sorts of people. At this time the din is so great that it is impossible to hear one's self speak. Here may be seen Afghans and English, Kashmirians and Panjabees, and Armenians, Huzaras and Hindoos, and Parsees—old and young, rich and poor, all crowded together and elbowing each other on all sides. Here Officers on Elephants and Horses, there Fakeers on Ponies,—one fellow crying out "Garam Nan" (Hot Bread) and another striking two brass cups together, which produces a vile sound, and crying out "Sard Ab" (cold water), cows, donkeys, camels, dogs, sheep, goats, buffaloes, men, women and children, all mixed up in one great moving mass. The whole of the houses of this street have shops on the ground floor, whilst the "frail fair ones" reside above. The next street is Jehangeerpurah, which is the residence of Muguls, who are few in number, Kashmirians, Peshawurees and Afghans. "Doma Gullie," or the "Street of the Minstrels," now principally occupied by proprietors of Dancing Girl and Prostitutes. Mhowree Mahalah, inhabited by a few Muguls of the Mhowree tribe and Kashmirians, Meerpurah, inhabited by Peshawurees. Gunj-i-Kohnah, old grain market, which is a very large quarter, and is inhabited by Peshawurees, Kashmirians, and a few Muguls, Keerumpurah, in which Hindus chiefly dwell, as also a few Peshawurees. These two latter streets, together with that of Jehangeerpurah before mentioned, have each a Bazar of their own, which is entirely independent of the city Bazar, or as it is called the Bazar-i-Shair, which extends from the Kabul Gate to the Gorkutree. The next street is that of Gorkutree, mostly inhabited by Peshawu-
rees and a goodly number of Hindus. Mahalah-i-Nalban-dan or Street of the Horse Shoers, in which Peshawurees reside, as also a few "Dums" or Singers, who are not considered to be of any tribe or caste. Next is "Ander Shair," or "In the City," in which the Seiks (Sikhs) and Khu-
trees of large property, such as Bankers, Drapers, Silk-
manufacturers, and Merchants, reside.

The principal streets in the suburb Sir Assea are the
the Mahalah of Sir Àssea which has a large Bazar of its
own, also independent of the city Bazar, and inhabited by
Peshawurees. The Mahalah-i-Kaharan, which is inhabited
by Hindus, both Kutrees and Seiks (Sikhs), and is the
only other street of consequence in this suburb."
CHAPTER VI
MODERN PESHAWAR

“Only one who knew the people’s hearts could have heard that voice, and then it might be hard to interpret it. The voice was the voice of Pathan pride — that conscious sense of Pathan identity which transcends the sectional loyalties of the tribe — and the statesman’s task was to give that emotion direction in the interests of the larger state. A focal point was needed. The fact that the creation of the new province provided this focus was its greatest justification, greater even than the outward-seeming needs of defence and foreign policy. For only a people whose aspirations are reasonably free of frustration can provide the conditions in which a confident defence structure may be erected.”

— Sir Olaf Caroe, P. 419.

Introduction: It was Nadir Shah who got the territory west of the Indus from the Mughal emperor Muhammad Shah and made it a part of his Persian empire. But his death signalled the break-up of the empire. No more would the imperial hands of either the Persians or the Mughals reach this disputed historic zone. The Afghans leapt forward under the Durranis to muster together the dying strength of the mediaeval empire. They rose to toe the line of old. Once again the Durrani roped in the fate of the Afghans with that of the Muslims of the subcontinent. Perhaps the voice of Khushhal was still fresh in their memory:

“I hear the story of Bahlol and Sher Shah
That in days gone by Pathans were kings in Hind.”

While the Mughals and the descendants of Bahlol and Sher Shah merged themselves with the Muslims of the subcontinent, the Durrani could not step up and save the empire from disintegration. The Durrani kingdom just managed to annex the territory in the Indus zone. With this extension of the Afghan empire they
inherited the political disturbance created by the Sikhs in the Panjab. The Sikhs increased their strength and chased the Durranis right up to the foot-steps of the Khyber hills. Peshawar tribes remained linked with the politics of the Panjab. When the British advanced with their new imperial design in the wake of the Sikh defeat, they stopped only at the gate of Khyber. This was just a beginning in the imperial game of Asia, when the British had already got a glimpse of the advancing steps of Russia towards the east. All future designs of the British were to create a series of defensive lines against this ominous Russian menace. In the first line of defence they kept intact the Sikh heritage and Peshawar plain continued as a part of the province of the Panjab. In the second line the notion of “tribal area” gradually gained ground and they managed to extend their nominal suzerainty over the people. In the third they defined and delimited their position on the Durand line and suffered to sustain or contain Afghanistan within its present boundary as a sort of buffer state against Russia. But while the Muslims of the subcontinent always looked to Afghanistan for politico-moral support, so clear from the Hijrat and Khilafat movements (see below), the rulers of Afghanistan never forgot their interest in the territory east of the Durand line and particularly among the tribes. In this historical tussle Lord Curzon, the Viceroy of India, introduced a new political factor by creating a province of North West Frontier, which led to a consciousness visualised by Sir Olaf Caroe in the quotation given above. In due course the province was led on to the stage of the modern world with all its implications of modern education, constitutional demands and political struggle for independence. But for the British the nomenclature of the province remained, in fact and in deed, the North West Frontier. By 1947 the people had marched forward to a new consciousness of freedom which sought for a new term to express the rising sentiment of the people. In the country of Pakistan the old name North West Frontier Province was a misnomer. It was on the occasion of Independence that a new term Pathanistan or correctly Pakhtunistan became widely
propagated, but the political trends in the beginning were not favourable to accept this new terminology, probably because there were many other issues involved in it. It is, however, well to remember that Pakhtunistan is a term which at once recalls the old Pashto word Pakhtun-Khwa. Modern political developments in this region have followed so distinctive a pattern from that of Afghanistan that there is a need for new expression. These developments have brought Peshawar to the forefront. By all scale of measure Peshawar is bound to dominate the future in the history of the Pakhtuns as well as of Pakistan. It is probably this calculation which made Sir Olaf write: "For one thing, the Pathans, and not only those in the districts, have now learned to look unmistakably to the east for education, service and all the higher things of life; the social, economic and political ideas of Durranis have become to them an anachronism. For them Kabul irredentism is empty of meaning; political amalgamation, should it ever come, would take a very different shape. Peshawar would absorb Kabul, not Kabul Peshawar." This pre-eminence of Peshawar in modern time has come through various historical stages which need a thorough examination.

The history of modern Peshawar falls into four distinct stages, each leading to different political developments. The first is the formative stage, when, after the coming of the British to the end of the nineteenth century the British were mainly concerned with the evolution of a Frontier policy and their relation with the tribes and the Amir of Afghanistan. The second stage relates to the period from 1901 to the end of the First World War, when, with the formation of the North West Frontier Province, the administration in the province was consolidated. The third stage begins with 1919 and ends in 1947, when the constitutional struggle for national independence took a definite shape ultimately leading to the establishment of Pakistan. The fourth stage is the history from 1947 onwards.
The British started taking interest in the affairs of the Frontier long before they were actually on the scene. This was a by-product of the diplomacy adopted by the European powers towards Asian affairs. Tzarist Russia, being more active and aggressive towards Central Asia, caused a head-ache to the British who read history in the light of successive invading hordes coming from Central Asia and disturbing the peace in the subcontinent. As a result the British thought of by-passing the then Sikh territory on their western frontier and having a direct relation with the Government and people of Peshawar region. With this objective Monstuart Elphinstone was sent at the head of a mission to Peshawar in 1809. His marvellous account of the Kingdom of Kabul was the first authentic information in the hands of the British. This mission set at rest, what is usually called, "The Alarmist Policy" of the British. Several travellers followed in the wake of Elphinstone, and they painted a glorious picture of the possibility of bringing Central Asian trade goods down the Indus to the Arabian sea. Moorcraft puts the question in the following words.

"In times of tranquillity, and under an enlightened government, Peshawar is admirably situated for an entrepot of commerce between the British settlements of India and the countries north of the Hindukush... From the sea to Attock there is no obstruction of any importance, and the water-carriage continues not only along the main stream some way above that fort, but, by means of the river of Kabul, to within five kos of the city of Peshawar, at a place called Sahiba patar, where Afghans going on pilgrimage to Mecca usually embark. They reach Karachi Bandar in a month. The advantageous position of Peshawar for the commerce of Khorasan and Kabul has been noticed by others, but the availability of the upper part of the Indus for this object has been unknown or overlooked, and it seemed, therefore, of importance to ascertain the fact."
It is this commercial enterprise which led to "the Meddling Policy" and as a result Alexander Burnes went on his mission to Kabul in 1832. Commerce led to diplomatic moves in order to take advantage of the rivalry between the Saddozai-Popalzai prince Shah Shuja and the Barakzai ruler Amir Dost Mohammad for the Kabul throne. With Shah Shuja within their pawn, the British proceeded to place him on the throne, which ultimately led to the First Afghan War in 1839-41 with disastrous consequences to their protege and the British army. The chances of the Saddozai branch were doomed for ever.

After the first Sikh War the British managed to appoint directly a political officer in Peshawar. The old Gazetteer records:

"Colonel Lawrence was appointed a Political Assistant to the Resident at Lahore in 1846, and early in 1847 arrived at Peshawar. His duties, as described by himself in his Forty-five Year's Service in India were to act as a friendly adviser to the native officials, but not to interfere directly, except when justice could not otherwise be obtained, and to control a large and efficient garrison not less than one-third of the army of the darbar. During 1847 Mashokhel, Mashogagar, Mohamand villages, and Babozai, a village securely situated in the hills in Tappah Baezai, were coerced and compelled to pay up their revenue. During 1848-49 the Peshawar troops mutinied, and Colonel Lawrence left Peshawar for Kohat, where he was received with every demonstration of friendship by Sultan Muhammad Khan, who, with his habitual duplicity, at once entered into negotiations with the Sikhs, and on the first favourable opportunity handed Colonel Lawrence and his family over to them as prisoners. After the surrender of the Sikh army, Major Lawrence, in April 1849 was appointed Deputy Commissioner of Peshawar under the Government of the Punjab."

After the annexation the British were face to face with the problems of the Frontier. The British in Pesha-
war inherited not only the Sikh rule over the valley but also their constant hostility with the rulers of Afghanistan. It is here that they learned the difficulties in managing the valley in view of the presence of the war-like tribes in difficult-to-access mountain regions. The fear of the British officers can be read in the Memorials of Herbert Edwardes:

"Peshawar is a large city in that portion of Afghanistan which was annexed to the Punjab by Runjeet Singh, and is one of the most fanatical cities of India. It has a large, and busy, and thriving population of wild and war-like people all armed with knives and daggers, and naturally inclined to think little of pointing their arguments with the sword . . . . . . . On the death of the Commissioner, Colonel Mackeson, the excitement in Peshawar was great, and the place was in a panic, officers sleeping with their boots and their swords by their sides, ready for danger."6

Warburton has many stories in his book on the daring raids of the tribesmen. He notes. "The audacity with which thieves in the Peshawar valley broke into houses and barracks in Cantonments, and carried off property, chiefly rifles, baffles all description . . . . . The more valuable the arm is, the more daring and the more venturesome will the thief be to get hold of the weapon. But the boldness of these thieves is not only practised in the Cantonments of Peshawar and Noushehra; it is exemplified at Taru, Noushehra, Akora Khyrabad, the four marching stages between Peshawar and Attock."

The tone of these contemporary writers makes a great contrast with the one given by Sir Olaf Caroe in his chapter on "The Paladins". He opens with a wishful sentiment: "The arrival of the British in Peshawar in 1849, on the heels of the Dost Cavalry, was hailed with enthusiasm as a deliverance from the hated Sikhashahi." The Sikh rule was, no doubt, hated but there could be hardly any enthusiasm to welcome the British. The free-
dom spirit of the Pathans could not reconcile to the mastery of the British who had come to occupy Peshawar, not by conquering them, but by defeating the Sikhs. As a result the Pathan response can be gauged from the murder of the first British Commissioner Mackeson, who was succeeded by Edwardes. The words of Edwardes are clear enough to show the trends. The part played by John Nicholson as a Deputy Commissioner of Peshawar during the momentous days of the “Mutiny” of 1857 must be judged in the background of the political developments in this region. The tribes had their own game of politics, unaffected by the events then taking place in India.

These tribes must be dealt with first. Besides the geographical difficulties, two other political factors went to keep up the spirit of the tribesmen. The first was the help and support that they could count upon from the rulers of Afghanistan. This question is directly linked up with the British policy towards that country. The second was the spirit of hatred roused by the surviving followers of Sayyid Ahmad Shahid, which led to turmoil in the northern hilly parts. There is a long story culminating in the well-known Ambeyla campaign (see below). But the most important was the character of the tribes themselves whose greatest passion was for freedom. Having little property to defend or lose, they were ever ready to stake their lives for freedom, which was their greatest stake. They were born guerilla soldiers who knew every break in the hills and twist in the valleys. What they needed was economic help to maintain an honourable life within their mountain valleys and fastnesses. The British had to evolve a policy to meet this challenge—a new type of political struggle for freedom which believed in the efficacy of weapon, and not in peaceful constitutional battle to win certain rights and privileges from the Government and their established bureaucracy. This latter type of struggle came much later in the twentieth century after the First World War, when the British had succeeded in evolving, more or less, orderly administration in the Frontier Province. Immediately the British were
anxious to formulate a Frontier policy that would keep away the Russian bear far from their boundary so that their Indian empire was safe to provide the necessary commercial benefits. But before this could materialize they had to face the challenge of the people of India, who rose in 1857 to defend their old values, rights and privileges militarily. This great uprising, which the British historians have described as "The Mutiny of 1857", was a great historical challenge of the then political forces which could unite under the name of the feeble Mughal emperor of Delhi and throw up a mighty force against the British. It was fortunate for them that Panjab and Peshawar had not much experience of British administration. They had just got rid of the atrocities of the Sikhs, and were not yet awakened to the new danger. The so-called "Mutiny" affected most the "Hindustani" soldiers who rose in revolt against the British. A narrative of the events is given in some details in the *Punjab Mutiny Report*, which is quoted in the Gazetteer. Some extracts are given below.

"In the beginning of May 1857 perfect peace reigned in Hazara and Kohat. Their irritable and bigoted, but simple and manly races, had been tamed by easy revenue and kindly rule into chronic contentment which is the nearest approach to loyalty that new conquerors can expect. In Peshawar the same ease and prosperity prevailed, but for one crime or another almost every powerful tribe beyond the border was under a blockade; the Malikdin Afridis for the assassination of a police officer; the Zakkakhel Afridis and the Michni and Pandiali Mohmds for a long course of raids and highway robberies; the Kukkikhel Afridis for the murder of a British officer at the mouth of the Khaibar Pass; and the people of Totye for harbouring escaped criminals. The people of Punjtar, though not actually under ban, were known to be meditating mischief, and to have called in to their assistance a detachment of Hindustani fanatics from Sitana. Thus the valley of Peshawar stood in a ring of repressed hostilities". From all these hostile tribes the British were comparatively safe. They were
not affected by this new uprising. The British fear was from the native troops under their service. "The late lamented Brigadier-General John Nicholson was at the time of the out-break the Deputy Commissioner of this district. The military forces in the valley, consisting of about 2,800 Europeans and 800 native soldiers, of all arms, with 18 field guns and a mountain battery were commanded by Brigadier Sydney Cotton. It was on the night of 11th May that intelligence arrived by telegraph from Delhi that sepoys from Meerut were burning the houses and killing the Europeans . . . . . . . . The news of this revolt did not reach Peshawar until midnight, and it became evident that desperate measures must immediately be resorted to. It was resolved to disarm the native troops early the following morning and to call in the aid of the mountaineers, to keep whom in order these very native troops had been maintained in the valley . . . . . . . . The sepoys were completely taken aback; they were allowed no time to consult; and isolated from each other no regiment was willing to commit itself. The whole laid down their arms . . . . . . . . On the night of the disarming, about 250 of the sepoys of the 51st Native Infantry deserted and fled in every direction. They were promptly seized by the people of the district and the police, and, extraordinary to say, were brought in alive, though loaded with money. The ringleader, the Subadar Major of the regiment, was hanged before the whole garrison on parade, and was the first mutineer executed at Peshawar . . . . . . . . To give a right idea of the way in which the military authorities met the crisis, it may be mentioned that no less than 532 military executions took place for mutiny and desertion, of whom 20 were hanged, 44 blown from guns and 450 shot from musketry." It was on this occasion that soldiers were raised locally to defend the British interest. "Of irregular levies raised in Peshawar during the crisis (irrespective of regiments of disciplined infantry raised by military officers), there were 1,223 horse and 1,101 foot, or a total of 2,324; and if we take into account the levies of the Derajat and Kohat, which were subsequently sent to Peshawar the total
will be raised to 5,667, of whom 1,807 were sent to Hindustan for general service, where they behaved with credit. Perhaps nothing tended more than these levies to keep the frontier quiet. They absorbed all the idlers and adventurers of the Peshawar valley, and made the campaign against the Hindustani mutineers a highly popular service."

The suppression of this uprising was not very difficult in the Frontier as the movement did not arise from the political conditions of this region. But there were other factors which were slowly working to arouse public feelings against the British. One such source was a batch of the followers of Sayyid Ahmad Shahid, now settled under the protection of the sons of Sayyid Akbar Shah of Sitana, of the family of Pir Baba. Sir Olaf Caroe observes. "This colony took to itself the name Mujahidin. Quiescent during the opening years of the new British dominion, the colony was soon stirred by the arrival of the remnants of the mutineers from Nowshera, together with others from around Delhi, bringing the message that the foundations of sovereignty were ill-laid and now was the time for a supreme effort." He continues: "As the aftermath of the mutiny there was a great deal of trouble in the area along the Yusufzai border from Sadhum to the Indus. During July and August 1858 parties of Mujahidin, backed by the local tribesmen, established a stronghold at Narinji, and vigorous action had to be taken by the guides to restore the situation. Later the same year an attack was made on Mubarik Shah's fort at Sitana. . . . . . . . . . . . . . Mubarik with the remnants of his Hindustani followers then moved to a less accessible spot named Malka, situated on a northern spur of the Mahaban mountain where it falls to the Chamla valley. From this refuge the Sayyids, using the Mujahidin as their sword-arm, recommenced the harassment of the Mardan and Swabi border. In their eyes at this time the British power seems to have been regarded as little better than Sikhs: all were unbelievers and should be attacked on any and every opportunity." This led to the famous Ambeyla campaign of 1863 when the
British forces were moved through the pass of this name into Buner to restore order.

The British engagements with one or the other border tribes did not stop during the whole of the latter half of the nineteenth century. These tribes have always been maintaining independence of the rulers of Afghanistan, though the Amirs have been claiming a sort of authority over them as Pashto-speaking Moslem races, who have been looking up to the Amirs in some matters when it suited their interests. They were ever ready to create disturbance to the Government which was trying to establish her new authority in Peshawar. In order to have a free hand in the administrative arrangement it was necessary to humour the Amir of Afghanistan. As a result, in 1855, a treaty of friendship was signed with Amir Dost Mohammad. This lasted well until his death in 1863. A disputed succession to the throne kept the British aloof and when Sher Ali succeeded in making himself Amir, the British maintained a "policy of masterly inactivity." But the succession question was not so simple as the rival princes could look to Russia or Persia if the British were indifferent. "The Russian move towards Khiva in 1864, the occupation of Tashkent in 1865, and the reduction of Bokhara to the position of a vassal state in 1867, and similarly of Khiva in 1873, were believed by the British Government of India to have a political motive . . . . . and to counter-act it, Lord Mayo wanted to form a closer union between Britain and Afghanistan in order to preclude the establishment of Russian influence there."

When Sher Ali received a Russian envoy and refused to have a British resident, the causes belli for the Second Afghan War of 1878 was easy to hand. The end of the War led to the signing of the Treaty of Gandamak in 1880, by which Sher Ali's son and successor Yaqub Khan ceded some territories and was forced to surrender his freedom over the foreign policy to the British in lieu of some monetary subsidy. But this was not the end of the whole question. Nearer at home "the outbreak of War with Afghanistan in 1878 was the signal for increased disturbances throughout the
tribal zone. The Hazara border was in a perpetual ferment; The Khyber was constantly raided by Zakka Khels and Mohmands; Zaimushts harassed the Kohat line of communications; and Mahsuds from the heart of Waziristan raided and laid waste the country in the vicinity of Tank."14 In Kabul the British envoy Sir Louis Cavagnari was murdered. The British forces again moved in. Peace was restored only when Amir Abdur Rahman, nephew of Sher Ali, ascended the throne. But this “forward policy” of the British pushed the frontier far to the west, ultimately forcing the Amir to make the Durand Agreement of 1893, resulting in the delimitation of a boundary, afterwards known as the Durand line, across which neither the Amir nor the Government of India was to interfere in any way. The resulting administrative arrangement is thus summed up. “At first there was no special agency for dealing with the tribal tracts, and relations with the tribesmen were conducted by the Deputy Commissioners of the six districts of Hazara, Peshawar, Kohat, Bannu, Dera Ismail Khan, and Dera Ghazi Khan. In 1876 the three northern districts formed the commissionership of Peshawar, the three southern ones that of the Derajat. The system of political agencies was not adopted until 1878, when a special officer was appointed for the Khyber during the second Afghan War. Kurram became an agency in 1892, while the three remaining agencies of Malakand, Tochi, and Wana were created between 1895 and 1896. The Malakand was placed under the direct control of the Government of India from the outset, all the other agencies remaining under the Panjab Government. This was the arrangement until the creation of the Frontier Province in 1901.”15

These administrative measures were shaken to the foundation with the troubles that were developing in the north. The British motive to see the frontier defined on the Pamir side led them on to Gilgit and finally to Chitral, when the succession to the throne was disputed after the death of the Mehtar of Chitral in 1892. This led to the Chitral campaign. How this ultimately conflagrated
in the Malakand Campaign of 1897 is summed up below in the words of Major Deane:

"About the beginning of May 1897 during the march of the troops in relief to Chitral, rumours began to reach the Political Agent that persistent efforts were being made by Mullah to arouse fanatical recitement in Swat, Bajaur and Dir. The Nawab of Dir expressed his fears of a fanatical combination, and to protect himself moved against the Palam Mullah and against the clans on the right bank of the Swat river. His movement was successful and carried out with very little trouble, and matters to all appearances had settled down quietly. However, about the 18th of July reports were received of a fakir who had suddenly appeared at Landakai, six miles above Thana, who a few days later began giving out that he was endowed with miraculous powers, and with the aid of hosts of angels intended to raise a jehad to turn the British troops out of the country.

He was regarded as a lunatic by the people. But on the afternoon of the 26th July the fakir made the bold move of starting from Landakai to attack the Malakand, his sole following being a few small boys with flags in their hands. His arrival at Thana created the greatest excitement and some 400 men joined him, and the party moved off towards the Malakand, being augmented en route by contingents from Alladand, Batkhela and the hamlets of Pir round the Malakand. Troops had been warned by Major Deane, the Political Officer, to be ready to turn out the next morning to clear out the fakir, but the attack which began at about 9-30 P.M. was delivered so suddenly that the troops had hardly got under arms before they were hotly engaged, and numbers of tribesmen were sweeping through the bazar and commissariat godown. Hand to hand fighting continued the whole night, and the losses on both sides were heavy.

Chakdarra was attacked the same night, and from this date till the morning of the 2nd of August fanatical
attacks by relays of tribesmen were made on both positions.

On the 2nd of August reinforcements with General Sir Bindon Blood having arrived, the troops moved out to the relief of Chakdarra, inflicting heavy loss on the enemy.

The Yusufzai, Bajaur, and Utman Khel tribes were generally represented in the attacks on Malakand and Chakdarra, and they were joined by considerable numbers of British subjects from the Peshawar District, the Utman Khel villages in Baizai and Tangi in Hashtnagar sending the largest contingents.16

The reasons for the large-scale movement of 1897 are not far to seek, C.C. Davies sums up: "The main factors underlying the 1897 risings were the active forward policy pursued in the nineties and the influence of fanaticism. There can be no doubt that this policy of intervention in tribal affairs had thoroughly alarmed and annoyed the amir ....................... contemporary opinion, especially that of officers and officials in the war zone, favoured fanaticism as the chief cause of outbreak, but they have ever been ready to confuse fanaticism with the natural desire of the tribesmen for independence."17

What was the net result of the British occupation of this region? Mr. Obhrai writes, "From the historian's point of view, the first noticeable feature of the extension of British Dominion in N.W. Frontier Province, as the heirs and successors of the Sikh Kingdom, is the undeniable enjoyment of the blessings of peace and complete political tranquillity for the latter half of the nineteenth century, of a type not experienced in this province for more than seven centuries past."18 This judgement of a Hindu pleader may be true in the case of the Hindus who managed to augment their trade prospects under the protection of the British but for the local Pakhtuns there was hardly any peace. The British period of this nineteenth century was a series of, what is termed as,
“punitive expeditions” against the tribes in order to curb their freedom spirit but in spite of victories and doling of huge subsidies even to the Amir of Afghanistan, the spirit could not be crushed. The uprising of 1897 is a great testimony of this abiding spirit of freedom in the Pakhtuns. With the turn of the century new methods were adopted to make the British position secure in this region.

SECOND STAGE

The beginning of the stage is thus summed up by C.C. Davies. “When Lord Curzon arrived in India, in January 1899, the Government of India had successfully brought to a conclusion a series of punitive expeditions against widespread and violent tribal risings. The new Viceroy found more than 10,000 troops cantoned across the administrative border, in the Khyber, on the Samana range, in Waziristan, and in the Malakand area. The lesson of 1897 seemed to have had no effect upon the authorities in India, for, not only were they still persisting in a policy of dispersion instead of concentration of forces, but proposals were also being brought forward for the construction of fresh and costly fortifications in tribal territory. Fortunately, wiser counsels prevailed under Lord Curzon, whose policy can be described as one of withdrawal and concentration.” This policy consummated in the creation of the North-West Frontier Province.

“The North-West Frontier Province, therefore came into being on the King’s birthday, 9 November 1901. The formal inauguration of the Province took place five and a half months later, on 2 April 1902, when Curzon held a durbar (reception) of three thousand dignitaries of the area in the Shahi Bagh at Peshawar. Curzon’s address to the assembly was a full statement of his frontier policy. He told his audience that the Viceroy’s presence in person on the occasion was proof of his interest in the new province and his sympathy with the new work. He hoped that the creation of the province would lead to “the
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peace and tranquillity and contentment of the Frontier." Its control by the Government of India "instead of somebody else", the Viceroy asserted, would be advantageous both for the Government and the frontier people.

The Viceroy called upon the leading men of the Province to co-operate with the local administration especially in the detection and punishment of violent crimes to help the Government attain their object of establishing peace and order in the province. Curzon assured the durbaries that he would watch the new administration "with a fond and parental eye," see to it that the 'local pride and local patriotism" were "jealously guarded" and that the province showed itself ever more and more deserving of the interest that has secured for it a separate existence and an independent name."20

The net result of the creation of this new province was that it was separated from the administrative control of Panjab and brought directly under the Government of India. "Politically, the new province was divided into two parts; the settled districts of Hazara, Peshawar, Kohat, Bannu and Dera Ismail Khan: and the trans-border tracts which lay between the administrative and Durand boundaries. It should be remembered that the transborder area, in addition to the five political agencies of the Malakand, Khyber, Kurram, Tochi, and Wana, also contained tribal tracts under the political control of the deputy-commissioners of the adjoining settled districts. The cis-Indus tract of Hazara was not included in the scheme as originally drafted by Lord Curzon. It is interesting to note that between Dera Ismail Khan and Hazara there was only one trans-Indus tract which was not taken away from the Panjab, the trans-riverain tahsil of Isa Khel, the inhabitants of which were non-Pashtu-speaking Pathans, remained within the limits of the Panjab. The head of the new unit was to be a Chief Commissioner and agent to the governor-general, to be appointed by and responsible to the Government of India. In addition, there was to be both a revenue and a judicial
commissioner.”21 In his capacity as the Agent to the Governor-General, he controlled the political relations with the border tribes, while as the Chief Commissioner he exercised the same powers in the civil administration of the province as the heads of other provinces did in their charge.22 The tribal question was so much uppermost in the mind that political considerations became the prime motive in this province. The second question was the relation with Afghanistan. It is because of these factors that the province came under the jurisdiction of the Foreign and Political Department of the Government of India and “the higher posts of Chief Commissioners, Deputy Commissioners and Political Agents in the Province were mainly manned by officers in the Political Department and by men who had political experience and training.”23

The province came under the personal rule of the Chief Commissioner. Only two persons filled the post in this period. Colonel (Later Sir) Harold Deane remained in office until June 1908 and Lt. Col. G. Roos-Keppel was in charge until 1919. They ruled the province with an iron hand with the help of the Frontier Crimes Regulation—a legacy of the earlier period, but to which a new clause was added in 1901—“a regulation further to provide for suppression of crime in certain Frontier districts—provided for powers of courts and officers: the civil references to Council of elders; penalties in shape of blockade of tribes, or fines on communities; with power to prohibit erection of new villages, or to direct removal of villages, regulation of hujras chauks, demolition of buildings used by robbers; power to arrest, security and surveillance, and imprisonment with a view to prevent crimes, etc., giving no right of appeal, but a restricted power of civil or criminal revision by the chief commissioner.”24 With all these changes better type of administration was, no doubt, introduced in this province but politically the province was not quiet. There was no end to the troubles created by the border tribes25 even though subsidies to them were increased and there was improvement in the Border Military Police. In fact the tribes had also bettered their military equipment be-
cause of the arms traffic from the Persian Gulf to the tribal area. The only good prospect was a comparatively better relation with Amir Habibullah of Afghanistan, whose neutrality during the First World War, in spite of vigorous opposition in his country, somehow passed away the War years. But people of Afghanistan were pressing upon the Amir to take steps in favour of Turkey and Khilafat. Ultimately it was probably this opposition which precipitated in the murder of the Amir and led to the rise to power of King Amanullah—a ruler who was sympathetic with the Indian national movement. Whatever may be the ultimate motive, the situation in Afghanistan led to Third Afghan War in 1919, which caused a stir in the city of Peshawar. Though the War was brought to an end soon, the greatest benefit to Afghanistan was that she became master of her foreign policy with mere loss of the British subsidy. Modern Afghanistan thus became free from all diplomatic pressures. There was also a gain for the British. They also got a comparative freedom to develop the Frontier Province in their own light—the fruits of which are seen in the next stage.

However, it must be admitted to the credit of the British that three new lines of development are markedly seen in this stage. The first relates to the means of communication—a question that was directly linked with the strategic importance of this region. Their main objective was to lead their communications towards the approaches from the Afghan cities of Kabul, Ghazni and Kandahar. The railway was brought from Rawalpindi onward—to Peshawar in 1883 and in 1881 to Khushalgarh. In 1902 and 1903 the line was taken from Khushalgarh to Kohat and onward to Hangu. Later the Peshawar railway was taken right through the Khyber Pass. Similarly new roads were built for military purposes. The second line of development relates to the opening of new irrigation channels in order to increase the food production. Three important canals are worth noting: The Lower Swat Canal, The Kabul River Canal and the Upper Swat Canal (opened in 1914). With the opening of
the last canal "Peshawar has become essentially a canal-irrigated district."26

The last line of development concerns education, which had a far-reaching effect in the Frontier society. The missionaries are the pioneers of modern education in this province. The first Christian Mission was established in 1853. It was Sir Herbert Edwardes who gave support to the missionary work. This ultimately led to Edwardes Memorial School (1855) and then to Edwardes Mission College 1901. But owing to the influence of the orthodox Muslim section these Mission educational institutions were not very popular among the Muslims. For the Muslims old Maktabs and Madrassahs continued to attract larger students. It was Roos-Keppel who made sincere attempt to develop education in this province but again with a political motive. Roos-Keppel himself said. "I believe that the effect on the peace of the border will be very great eventually, as I shall try to get in all sons of the tribal maliks, the chiefs of the next generation, to attend the school and to learn that the Firingi and his administration are not so black as they are painted".27 With this aim in view Roos-Keppel went forward with a movement that led to the foundation of Darul-ulum and the associated Islamia School and Islamia College. Quite in keeping with the Government desire the Islamia College Committee set out the object of the Oriental faculty thus:

"Our chief aim in this faculty will ......... be to turn out mullahs not of the ignorant and fanatical type that we have got at present but gentlemen imbued with enlightened and civilised ideas, their fanaticism eradicated, and their minds filled with rational, humane and sound religious principles, with their whole nature permeated with devotion and loyalty to the British crown, a duty which is ordained by our religion in its true spirit and light, and which should be the marked characteristic of every true and sincere follower of Islam."28
In this object the British achieved their aim and Roos-Keppel had the satisfaction of his ideas of loyalty planted in the mind of at least a section of the Muslim intelligentsia.

The other object was a far deeper conspiracy on the part of the British. They aimed at “keeping the Frontier Muslims away from the Aligarh influence.” Lal Baha, in her thesis, has worked the secret minutes on this issue.

They are quoted below:

“In April 1913 Butler wrote to Hardinge in clearer terms: ‘There is a tendency to isolate Aligarh, and I think we should be wise to foster this tendency ......... If we strongly support the Islamia College, Peshawar, the Islamia College, Lahore, the projected colleges at Bombay and at Dacca, and perhaps also at Calcutta, Aligarh will cease to hold the position it has got now.’” Hardinge cordially approved of the suggestion. The members of the Islamia College Committee, all influential local men and all loyal supporters of the British Government, were equally anxious to keep the frontier people away from political movements in India and Abdul Qaiyum in particular acted in close collaboration with Roos-Keppel in achieving this object. The Muslim University scheme launched by the Aligarh Muslims had little support in the Frontier Province, and the Islamia College Committee saw to it that no subscriptions were sent to Aligarh in support of the University scheme. The Committee refused to entertain deputations from Aligarh for collection of subscriptions, and Abdul Qaiyum did not even accept the invitation of the Raja of Mahmudabad. President of the Aligarh Muslim University Constitution Committee to provide a president for the forthcoming Muslim Educational Conference from among the Frontier Nawabs and chiefs and to send many delegates from the province to the Conference. The Islamia College Committee showed no favourable reaction to the proposal, and Abdul Qaiyum, when approached by the
Safir (messenger) of the Muslim Educational Conference to be its President, evaded the suggestion."

This opposition to the Muslim Educational Conference and the cold behaviour towards Aligarh University scheme were due to the Government. In 1913 when it was desired to hold the Educational Conference at Peshawar, the Government did not give permission. At the end the Conference was held at Rawalpindi in 1914. The delegates to this Conference included Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum from Peshawar.

Roos-Keppel was happy and convinced that "the pushing on of the work of the Islamia College will widen the breach between Peshawar and Aligarh." This hope of Roos-Keppel never materialised as we find the students from the Islamia College proceeded to Aligarh Muslim University for higher studies. On the other hand the press reaction was widely diverging because of the different interests that they represented. "The Hindu Press in the Panjab denounced the Islamia College scheme while the Muslim Press of the Panjab and North-West Frontier Province welcomed it."

The foundation of the Darul ulum Islamia was laid in 1913 by Haji Saheb of Turangzai but no sooner had he completed this ceremony, he fled away to his village and then to Buner and finally to Mohmand hills to carry on his struggle against the British. It is reported that a warrant of arrest had already been issued to Haji Saheb for the work that he had been doing in the province. Since 1910 Haji Saheb was working for the amelioration of the lot of the people and he had made a beginning in opening Islamia madrassahs for imparting education and giving a sense of political awareness to the Pashtun mass of the villages. This could not be tolerated by the British and Haji Saheb had to carry on his mission away from the reach of the British hands. However, his influence had reached far and wide and the seeds, that he planted, were to bear fruit in the next stage.
The creation of the North-West Frontier Province hardly led to any noticeable political evolution though British administration became better organised and directed. Strategic considerations were so paramount in the mind of the administrators that “personal administration of the Chief Commissioner” with no principle of responsibility on the part of the people was greatly valued. Even the idea of “some form of advisory council” was rejected. Roos-Keppel “doubted if these ‘confidential advisers’ would be able to give him as frank and honest’ advice in a ‘semi-public Council’ as they had hitherto done. All important questions, in his opinion, in the province were political, stemming from the British Government’s relation with Afghanistan and the Frontier tribes or from the effect of events in Central Asia and Persia on the tribes. These matters were treated as secret and could not be discussed’ in a semi-public manner. And by the elimination of these subjects from discussion in the Council, only ‘parish politics’ would remain which in Roos-Keppel’s opinion could well be settled in consultation with the leaders of different communities. In short, the overwhelmingly political character of the administration required that its decisions should remain quite outside the purview of a local council. Roos-Keppel’s conclusion was: “we ............... are practically unaffected by the domestic politics of India.”

However, as an informal adviser one man had come out boldly forward ahead of all others in this province. This man was Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum from Topi, who is generally regarded as “Sir Syed of Sarhad’ for the part that he played in establishing the Islamia College. For over two decades he had been a close associate of Roos-Keppel and his hand and advice were invariably of great strength to the British. Hailing from Topi in Mardan district he matriculated from the Mission High School in Peshawar and entered Government service. From the position of a Munshi, later a translator and then an interpreter to the Durand Mission he rose to be a political officer,
then a political agent, first minister in the newly constituted North-West Frontier Council in 1932, and finally first, Chief Minister N.W.F.P. in 1937. He was the only member from the Frontier at the Round Table Conference in London. As a Government Servant he rendered great service in bringing the people and the British Government to closer terms of understanding. He believed in the gradual constitutional developments. When the political reforms were given to the Province,

"their Excellencies the Viceroy and Lady Willingdon arrived at Peshawar by air on the 16th April, 1932, and Sir Ralph Griffith was installed as Governor on the 18th April. On the 28th April, 1932, His Excellency the Viceroy (Lord Willingdon) inaugurated the Frontier Legislative Council: and the first meeting for purposes of oath, and hearing His Excellency the Viceroy’s address was held, on 19th April. 1932, in the Victoria Memorial Hall, in the presence of officers—civil and military, Darbaris, Reises, and the notables of the Province.”35

"Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum Khan was appointed the sole Minister-in-charge of the Transferred Department of the N.W.F. Province. Khan Bahadur Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Khan of Zaida, a nominated member, was appointed the first President of the Council, and subsequently Khan Bahadur Abdul Rahim Khan, an elected member, was unanimously elected as Deputy President. Sheikh Abdul Hamid (later Justice, Law Secretary of the Government of Pakistan, and Principal, Law College, Peshawar), a member of the Provincial Civil Service, was appointed Secretary of the Council”36

These political reforms did not come as a matter of course. In spite of stricter rules in the Province the British administration had brought Peshawar in touch with the political movements in India. It was this contact which persuaded some residents of Peshawar to side with the national movements in India. The first to carry some influence was the Indian National Congress when it started the agitation for the popularisation of Swade-
shi (home-made) goods. When Amir Chand Bamwal was returning home after attending a meeting of the Congress held on 15th May 1907, he was arrested along with two of his associates. He was also suspected in connection with the “terrorist activity” in India. With this latter was associated Maulvi Abdullah Jan, who procured arms for them from the tribal area. But these individual activities did not lead to any political organisation in the Province. Allah Bakhsh Yusufi traces the beginning of a political group in Peshawar city to a small informal meeting of interested persons, among whom Maulvi Abdullah Jan was in the forefront. Later some members of the group fled away to America, when pursued by the British. But the real impetus to the political activity came from extreme sympathy felt by the Muslims for Turkey during the Balkan War. Among those who went to Turkey on this occasion the names of Ghazi Abdul Rahman and Ghazi Amir Mohammad Khan are worth mentioning. After the Muslim Educational Conference in Rawalpindi when Mohammad Ali Jauhar came to Frontier, the political spirit ran high. In 1912 for the first time Muslim League was founded in Peshawar with Mian Abdul Aziz as President and Qazi Mir Ahmad Khan as General Secretary. But it seems that League was not allowed to be maintained on a permanent footing. During the First World War there were some secret activities going on in Bajaur area, the purpose of which was to free India from the clutches of the British by force. However, it was only after the War that a momentum was received by the political activities in Peshawar. Public sentiment against the passing of Rowlatt Act in 1919 followed by the Khilafat movement brought a new political consciousness to the people. It was during this movement against the Rowlatt Act that Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, the first among the Khans, organised a meeting in his village at Utmanzai. Later he actively participated in Hijrat agitation and Khilafat movement. These political activities of Peshawar once again dragged this region into the political arena of All-India. The people of Peshawar who, as Allah Bakhsh Yusufi points out, were so far more interested in the politics of Afghanistan, be-
came deeply engrossed in the Muslim politics of India. But Afghanistan was not forgotten completely. During the trouble that led to the overthrow of king Amanullah, the people of Peshawar were greatly perturbed. They first prepared to send a medical mission to Kabul under the leadership of Dr. Khan Saheb, but when that was not allowed, a delegation consisting of Mian Jafar Shah, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and Allah Bakhsh Yusufi proceeded to Quetta to meet the king but the British Government would not allow them to go ahead. Later when General Nadir Khan (who crowned himself as King Nadir Shah) came to retrieve Afghanistan from the hands of Bachcha-i-Saqqa, some of the people of this region helped him with money. This was, no doubt, out of sympathy for their brethren in Afghanistan. The Muslims of British India had always had a deep sense of feeling for the Muslims of the world. It was this sense which pervaded the spirit under the Khilafat movement. However, personal jealousies sometimes came in the way of united action. One such rift is seen in the Khilafat Committee of Peshawar. The official Indian biographer, D.G. Tendulkar, writes. “Abdul Ghaffar was approached to accept the Presidentship of the Khilafat Committee of Peshawar by the dissident group within the organization, because he was acceptable to all. There was constant quarrel and no solid work was being done.” Unfortunately, the reason of the “quarrel” is nowhere stated. But the rift, once started, could not be bridged. However, it is not difficult to surmise the cause which must be sought in the perpetual struggle of the Peshawaris with men from the rural area.

Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan:— The conflict of personalities is not unusual in human affairs. Where interests clash, groups or parties are bound to originate. In this province of the “Frontier” we have seen how during earlier historical periods rivalries in the different Pakhtun tribes and clans, mainly on economic grounds, have perpetuated disunity among them. Such a difference is not difficult to perceive in the case of the urban population of Peshawar and the rural mass, though it must be under-
stood that racially there is not much difference. Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan rose from the mass of the rural population and built for himself a personality that no historian of this region can fail to record. Unfortunately there is no critical assessment of his work available from the viewpoint of the people with whom he worked and for whom he dedicated his whole life. The first book, *Two Servants of God*, by Mahadeva Desai is just an introduction to the life of “Khan Brothers” written at the request of M.K. Gandhi who desired Desai “to note all he could from them of their lives and prepare for the public a sketch introducing them as men.” This was necessary for the Indian (particularly Hindu) public who knew the Pathans as ferocious and the British propaganda had made them appear almost “barbarous”. The second book *Bacha Khan* of Farig Bokhari suffers from want of detailed information. The latest book by Tendulkar has all the materials at the disposal of the author but he is more interested in the achievement of the Congress and the part that Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan played to further the cause of the Congress. How far Ghaffar Khan was successful in awakening a political consciousness among the Pakhtuns does not receive full treatment. It is in this particular field that Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan achieved the highest aim of his life. The Pakhtuns, who knew only one method of fighting for freedom by sword, were geared on to the new technique of willful resistance against the unjust laws of the foreign British Government. In this new struggle for freedom they were drawn to the All-India arena of battle against the British and this struggle linked the fate of the Pakhtuns with the events that were then taking place in British India. How this transformation took place and how far the voice of the Khan brothers reached the tribal area are questions that future historians will have to consider in detail.

In the meanwhile a summary is given here of the main trends. The beginning is noted in the words of Abdul Qaiyum Khan: “Abdul Ghaffar wanted to join the Army, but gave up the idea when he saw a British officer behaving very rudely to an Indian Officer who was his sen-
ior in years. The blood feuds, illiteracy and wasteful social customs at marriages and funerals among the Pathans oppressed him. He began a literacy campaign in rural areas, in conjunction with Haji Abdul Wahid Sahib, who later acquired fame and was known as the Haji Sahib of Turangzai. Turangzai was a village about a mile or so from Utmanzai. This campaign soon attracted the attention of the authorities, and the Haji had to quit the area and take up residence in Mohamand territory. There he offered the most determined and implacable opposition to the British. The British led several expeditions against him, but did not succeed in their object. During the martial law disturbances in the Punjab, and the Khilafat agitation, Abdul Ghaffar was arrested. He was again arrested in 1921 and had to undergo three years' rigorous imprisonment.”

This was long before Abdul Ghaffar had any connection with the Congress. Tendulkar gives more explicit information. “Under the patronage of Haji Saheb, Abdul Ghaffar and his colleagues founded ‘Dar-ul-Ulum,’ of which Maulvi Taj Mohamed was the supervisor, Maulvi Fazle Rabi and Maulvi Fazle Mohammad Makhfi became his colleagues. Its function was to popularize education and to open schools in the villages. Abdul Ghaffar and Maulvi Abdul Aziz opened a school in 1910 at Utmanzai.” It was in 1913 that Abdul Ghaffar attended the first political meeting — the annual session of the Muslim League at Agra. But as has been pointed out earlier it was the agitation against the Rowlatt Bill and the Khilafat movement that brought him to the front. At the beginning of 1920 he went to Delhi to participate in the Khilafat Conference and the same year he attended the Congress session held at Nagpur. Being influenced by the Boycott movement in India and in imitation of the Jami Milia at Delhi Abdul Ghaffar laid the foundation of an Azad High School in 1921 in his village with Pakhtu as medium of instruction. Soon he formed an association called Anjuman Islah-ul-Ataghina. It was after the foundation of this association that a rift is seen between him and the other group of the Khilafat Committee
of Peshawar. After release from jail in 1924 when Abdul Ghaffar came back and attended the annual gathering of the Azad School, he was "honoured with a medal of distinction and the title Fakhr-e-Afghan". In 1928 he started a political journal called Pakhtun in order to reach the Pakhtun community throughout the world and especially the literates in the North-West Frontier Province. The under-tone of Pakhtun was freedom — freedom from British yoke, as can be gathered from the following quotation from its title-page:

"If I a slave, lie buried in a grave, under a resplendent tomb-stone. 
Respect it not, spit on it,
When I die, and not lie bathed in martyr's blood,
None should this tongue pollute, offering prayers for me,
O mother, with what face will you wail for me,
If I am not torn to pieces by British guns?
Either I turn this wretched land of mine into a garden of Eden
Or I wipe out the lanes and homes of Pakhtuns."55
— Abdul Ghani Khan

Freedom from British rule was the clarion call of this paper and Abdul Ghaffar wanted to infuse a new sense of political awareness among the Pakhtuns. In December 1928 he went to Calcutta to attend a Khilafat Conference. This was a momentous occasion in Calcutta when Congress session was held there and at about the same time the Muslim League also met for its annual session. An All-Parties convention was called on December 28 to consider the "Nehru report."56 Tendulkar in his biography gives no detail about these momentous meetings and far reaching decisions that led to "parting of ways." It is difficult to know what interest Abdul Ghaffar had in these political discussions? Tendulkar refers only to personal relations as if personal questions were more fundamental than momentous political decisions. He writes, "In his presidential address at the Khilafat Conference Mahomed Ali had attacked the Hindus, ridi-
culing their civilization, culture, customs and manners. It was an unpleasant experience for Abdul Ghaffar and he decided to attend the Congress session.” And again he quotes Abdul Ghaffar: “Some of us had a discussion with Mahomed Ali. I narrated to him how Gandhiji, in spite of the interruptions and criticism, delivered his speech in good humour, unperturbed. ‘You are our leader’, I said to Mahomed Ali, ‘and we wish you to grow in stature. How nice it would be if you cultivate some tolerance and self-restraint!’ He flared up and said: ‘Oh wild Pathans have come to teach Mahomed Ali.’ He left the place in a huff. We were hurt at this behaviour. I did not attend the Khilafat session any more and went back to my village.”

Were these personal questions responsible for the “parting of ways?” A historian would like to know more about the differences rather than believe in the reconstruction made by Tendulkar on personal grounds. Allah Bakhsh Yusufi notes how the consideration of the “Nehru Report” created differences among the members of the Khilafat Committee in Peshawar. Later in 1929 Abdul Ghaffar for the first time met Gandhi and Jawahar Lal Nehru at Lucknow, where a Congress meeting was being held. This was the time when in Afghanistan, after a revolution over the question of King Amanullah, circumstances moved fast and favoured Nadir Khan to crown himself as Nadir Shah. According to Abdul Ghaffar the conquest of Kabul by Nadir was celebrated at Utmanzai. We are told: “the following day a young man visited me and said that he wanted to found an organization to serve the Pakhtun community and bring about reforms. We held discussions and consultations over it. We already had an organization, “Anjuman-Islah-ul-Afaghina.” It was working for the spread of education and we decided that it should continue to do this very important work. To remove the other social drawbacks from our backward community, we founded another organization, ‘Khundai Khidmatgar, the “servant of God.” According to Alhaj Mohammad Khan Mir Hilali on 29 September 1929 when the celebration was held at Utmanzai Afghan Youth League was formed with Khan Akbar khan as
president. It was Mian Ahmad Shah Kakakhel of Charsadda who proposed the name of Khudai Khidmatgar. Later in the year when Lahore became the venue of the Congress session an important delegation of volunteers from Peshawar participated in the meeting. The leader was Agha Sayyid Lal Badshah. Abdul Ghaffar attended the Congress session in his private capacity. Tendulkar informs that “Abdul Ghaffar resigned from the Khilafat Committee, because that body had become anti-Congress.” But he did not join the Congress at this stage. We are further told: “It was after the Lahore Congress that Abdul Ghaffar decided to turn the small body of workers into a full-fledged organization to carry out the programme of the Congress. Up till April 1930, the Khudai Khidmatgars did not number more than 500. But then within six months they numbered over 50,000. The movement rapidly spread and reached the tribal territory.” The organization is thus described in the Gazetteer; “Mounting on the wave of disaffection which surged over the whole of India in 1929-30, he finally conceived the idea of forming a great body of rural volunteers, uniformed and organized by Tappas and villages nominally in the interests of social reform, but in reality to over-throw not only the Government but the existing social order. The directors of the movement in each tappa and subordinate village were Pathans and were known as the Local jirga, all subordinated in various degrees to the Central Jirga at Utmanzai. As the executive force to carry out their order they enrolled villagers, many of whom were either landless or kamins of the menial classes, under commanders who were given various ranks from “Commander-in-Chief” to “Captain.” These wore shirts died a dark plum colour, and later came to be known as red-shirts. To this uniform they added badges of rank and various accoutrement such as Same Browne belts, and drill was even carried out with dummy rifles and words of command.”

This organization of Khudai Khidmatgar, which became a powerful force of the Pakhtuns, was ominous
to the eyes of the British Government. Though it proposed to be a social organization, its activities were indicative of its future line of action. In the Civil disobedience days of 1930 when Congress workers started the movement in Peshawar City, we are informed: “The first official meeting of the Khudai Khidmatgars was convened at Utmanzai on the 18th and 19th of April 1930. About 200 Red Shirts attended the meeting. On April 23 Abdul Ghaffar addressed a mass meeting at Utmanzai, exhorting people to participate in Civil disobedience. Before he could reach Peshawar by car for organizing the movement, he was arrested at Naki Police Thana.”

This participation in the Civil disobedience movement, started by the Congress, was a clear indication of the direction in which the Khudai Khidmatgar movement was drifting. Here was an organization, not affiliated to the Congress but actively taking part in the programme of the Congress. Quite naturally the members received the same treatment as other Congress men. Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan along with other participants were arrested. Tendulkar further quotes from Abdul Ghaffar:

“While we were kept in jail, the tyrannical Government indulged in inhuman oppression. Mian Jafar Shah and Abdullah Shah who had come for an interview and had acquainted us with the situation in the Frontier Province, were requested to visit Lahore, Delhi and Simla, to inform the Muslim League leaders about the people’s plight and seek their help in, at least, acquainting the outside world with the situation in the Frontier. In a couple of months they again came for an interview with us. They told us that the Muslim League leaders did not want to help us because we resisted the Britishers. They were not prepared to oppose the Britishers, they wanted to fight the Hindus. We had not joined the Congress till then. As a drowning man tries to catch hold of any straw, being thwarted by the Muslim League, we requested the two colleagues to seek help from the National Congress. When they met the Congress leaders they readily agreed to help us in every way, provided we joined them in the struggle for India’s freedom. We
asked them to convene the provincial jirga of the Khudai Khidmatgars to consider the Congress proposal. The jirga unanimously decided to stand by the Congress and publicly announced that they had decided to join the Congress."  

This statement of Abdul Ghaffar is repeated again and again in the book by Tendulkar but it seems difficult for a historian to understand why the representatives of the Khudai Khidmatgars approached first the Muslim League when they had launched a struggle in accordance with the programme of the Congress, with which Muslim League had nothing to do. The Muslim view-point is summed up by Dr. Wahiduz-Zaman thus: “In general, however, the Muslim Community not only refused to take part in it but strongly condemned the campaign. Their views were represented by the popular leader Maulana Muhammad Ali, at one time an admirer and close ally of Mr. Gandhi. Speaking at a meeting on the All India Muslim Conference at Bombay in April 1930, he said, ‘We refuse to join Mr. Gandhi, because his movement is not a movement for the complete independence of India but for making the seventy millions of Indian Muslims dependents of the Hindu Mahasabha.’”  

Under this circumstance the question of support to the Khudai Khidmatgars on this campaign from the Muslim League does not arise at all. It was but natural that the Khudai Khidmatgars should join the Congress.  

This was a beginning, in the words of Abdul Ghaffar, of the “united front of the Pakhtuns with the Congress.” The stage was now set. At Karachi Congress “Abdul Ghaffar accompanied by a hundred Khudai Khidmatgars in their impressive uniforms and band attended the annual session for the first time as invitees. They were allotted a separate camp in the Congress Nagar.” Abdul Ghaffar identified himself with the policies of the Congress and proceeded to Bombay to preach for Hindu-Muslim unity. He declared. “My non-violence has almost become a matter of faith with me. I believed in Gandhiji’s ahimsa long before. But the unparalleled
success of the experiment in my province has made me a confirmed champion of non-violence. We know only too well the bitter results of violence from the blood feuds which spoil our fair name. We indeed have an abundance of violence in our nature. It is good, in our own interests, to take training in non-violence." It is for the future historians to judge how far this creed of non-violence has changed the nature of the Pakhtuns. In the meanwhile "On 9th August 1931 Abdul Ghaffar Khan made an agreement with the Congress at Bombay that the Frontier Afghan Jirga would become the Frontier Congress Committee, that the Khudai Khidmatgars would become the Congress volunteers, and that the black (possibly a mistake for red) flag of the Afghans would be replaced by the Congress flag." This merger was not liked by some. Abdul Ghaffar himself says: "Later on the members of the Peshawar Congress Committee began to raise objections. We had a discussion with them. Khan Abdul Akbar Khan and Mian Ahmed Shah were prepared to accept that the Jirgas of the Peshawaris should be called Congress Committee and that the villagers should retain their old name of the jirga and that their headquarters should be Utmanzai. But the Peshawaris did not accept the proposal. The dispute was prolonged and both the parties had to go to Bombay. Abdul Akbar Khan and Mian Ahmed Shah entreated me to get rid of the Peshawaris, and further requested me to try my best with the Congress to let the name of the jirga remain as it is. At last we went to Bombay. Mian Ahmed Shah returned from Bombay. When Mian Saheb came back, I was forced to make whatever agreement I considered advantageous to the nation. How much harm can be done by the Mian Saheb's secret propaganda and his whispering into the ears of each individual member that the agreement is wrong! In spite of these differences the influence of Abdul Ghaffar in the Frontier increased day by day. It is because of his fame that Amir Chand Bamwal in his paper, gave him the name of "Frontier Gandhi" though he himself used to say: "I request you not to call me Frontier Gandhi, because there should be only one
Gandhi.' He led the Congress battle in Frontier all through the thirties and forties and it was due to him alone that the Congress could win the elections in the Frontier. He brought Nehru and Gandhi in 1938 to the Frontier where they were received very warmly. They were impressed with the organisational work of the Khudai Khidmatgars, who had brought about a revolutionary change in the outlook of the people. Abdul Ghaffar was the inspiring spirit behind this movement.

Then came the Second World War, the Individual Satyagraha and the "Quit India Movement" of the Congress. Events moved faster after the war. The British were forced by the circumstances to make constitutional changes. In 1940 the Muslim League had adopted the Pakistan Resolution. Politics after the War was clear-cut. As the days of independence were approaching the question arose as to who should succeed the British if they quit India. Abdul Ghaffar was a staunch supporter of the Congress. He continued to give his weight to the demands of the Congress in full faith. But the Muslims had consolidated their ranks behind the leadership of Quaid-i-Azam M.A. Jinnah. Some Congressmen had also lately joined him. One famous convert from Peshawar was Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan, who was earlier Deputy Leader of the Congress party in the Central Assembly. The change in the Frontier may be noted from the way Nehru was received during his second visit to Peshawar in October 1946. Tendulkar records: "Nehru arrived in Peshawar by air in the noon of October 16 and drove to the Premier's house, where he was received by Abdul Ghaffar. Some five thousand Muslim League volunteers wearing green uniforms and carrying long lances, spears and staves, headed by Abdul Qaiyum who had recently resigned from the Congress, lined the road leading to the entrance of the aerodrome and shouted slogans. As Nehru emerged, slogans were raised against him. . . . . . . Two hostile demonstrations in one day from the tribal jirgas held at Miranshah and Razmak brought from Pandit Nehru the remark that these were poor represen-
tatives of the people of the Frontier . . . . . when we reached Jamrud, Afridis, sitting a little away from the road, waved shoes at us. After taking tea at Torkham we reached Landi Kotal where the people seated on the road began to throw stones at us.”73 In Malakand the reception was still worse. Abdul Ghaffar “charged the Political Department with engineering the anti-Nehru demonstration during the day.” On the other hand Abdul Qaiyum remarked. “The hostile mass demonstrations against Nehru should have convinced him that the Pathan is wide awake and will have nothing to do with Akhand Hindustan.”

These statements may be compared with what Abul Kalam Azad writes: “The actual position in 1946 was that the Khan brothers did not enjoy as much support in the Frontier as we in Delhi thought. When Jawaharlal reached Peshawar, this discovery came to him with an unpleasant shock. Dr. Khan Saheb was then the Chief Minister of the province and the Ministry was a Congress Ministry. I have already said that the British officers were against Congress and had aroused public feeling against the Ministry. When Jawaharlal landed at the airport, he found thousands of Pathans massed there carrying black flags and shouting anti-slogans. Dr. Khan Saheb and other Ministers who had come to receive Jawaharlal were themselves under police protection and proved completely ineffective. As Jawaharlal emerged, slogans were raised against him and some people in the mob tried to attack his car. Dr. Khan Saheb was so worried that he took out his revolver and threatened to shoot. Only under this threat did the crowd give way. The cars had to proceed under police escort.”75 This change of attitude on the part of the people was well-known to Abdul Ghaffar. He himself remarked “Many a time while travelling in train I have to hear such things. I tell them that I am always with the Muslims, never separate myself for one moment from them. However, I am not with the Muslim League. It is a political party and it is not necessary that one should be with it.”76

Abdul Ghaffar’s faith in the Congress was unflinching. He never led himself into controversies but believed
in solid work. The following remarks are educative. Commenting on the Bardoli resolution, Abdul Ghaffar said: "I must own that I am no politician, I do not understand legalities, I know nothing of diplomacy. I am in the Working Committee because friends want me in it. I want the freedom of India, and with me non-violence is not a policy but a permanent creed." And again when requested to comment on the move initiated by Rajagopalachari, Abdul Ghaffar told a correspondent, "You know I have resigned from the Congress. I am a soldier. I mind my work. I have always tried to keep myself out of all controversies, because I consider such controversies useless in the present circumstances." "He said it was the press which was responsible for the importance which the Pakistan issue has gained. We have been enjoying the right of self-determination in the Frontier since a long time, he added, and I think there could be no harm if others enjoy the same. There is no need, however, to assume that my support of the recognition of the right of self-determination means an abrupt change of our attitude."77

Abdul Ghaffar had infallible faith in Gandhi. When once the question of partition was discussed, Tendulkar notes: "Abdul Ghaffar was feeling very sad and heavy at heart. He and his Khudai Khidmatgars had cast their lot with the Congress. And now it seemed as if they would no more belong to India. Nor, owing to their ideological differences with the Muslim League, would they have any place in Pakistan. 'We shall be outcasts in the eyes of both', he sadly remarked, 'But I do not worry so long as Mahatmaji is there.'"79 When the Congress decided to accept partition, Tendulkar notes: "Abdul Ghaffar was stunned and for several minutes he could hardly utter a word. He then reminded the Committee that he had always supported the Congress. If the Congress deserted him, the reaction on the Frontier people would be terrible and his enemies would laugh at him and even his friends would say that so long as the Congress needed the Frontier, they supported the Khudai Khidmatgars. When, however, the Congress wished to come to terms with the Muslim Lea-
gue, it gave up its opposition to partition without even consulting the Frontier and its leaders. Abdul Ghaffar repeatedly said that the Frontier would regard it as an act of treachery if the Congress now threw the Khudai Khidmatgars to the wolves. Both Sardar Patel and Rajagopalachari strongly favoured holding referendum in the Frontier Province. Ultimately, when the Working Committee accepted the partition and the referendum in the Frontier Province, Abdul Ghaffar told Gandhi and the Working Committee: ‘We Pakhtuns stood by you and had undergone great sacrifices for attaining freedom, but you have now deserted us and thrown us to the wolves. We shall not agree to hold referendum because we have decisively won the elections (see below) on the issue on the Hindustan versus Pakistan and proclaimed the Pakhtun view on it to the world. Now as India has disowned us, why should we have a referendum on Hindustan and Pakistan? Let it be on Pakhtunistan or Pakistan. Abdul Ghaffar emerged from the Committee meeting numbed and dejected. It was a death-warrant to the Pakhtuns. He sat on the steps, uttering ‘Toba, Toba.’

In the opinion of Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad the actual political position in the Frontier had changed. He writes: “The fact was that the Khan brothers were not as strong in the Frontier as Congress had thought. Their influence had waned after the beginning of the agitation for partition. Now that Pakistan was in sight and the Muslim majority Provinces had been promised the opportunity of forming an independent state, an emotional upheaval swept throughout the Frontier. Dr. Khan Saheb saw that his only chance of retaining the leadership of the Frontier was to raise the demand for Pakhtoonistan. When they (Khan brothers) found that the Congress was now committed to partition they did not know what to do. They could not possibly refuse the plebiscite. It would be an admission that they did not enjoy the support of their people. They returned to Peshawar and after consulting their friends, they raised the slogan of independence for the Frontier. The Khan
brothers then declared that their party could take no part in the plebiscite and called on the Pathans to boycott it. But their opposition was of no avail. The plebiscite was held and a large proportion of the people voted in favour of Pakistan. "81

In view of the new political situation in the country Maulana Azad told Abdul Ghaffar "You should now join the Muslim League."82 But was it possible for him to do so? He represented a definite party in the Frontier and that party could not brook the failure when freedom was in sight. They had fought for a whole generation for this freedom and now their enemies were going to reap its benefit. Could the two parties join? We find that they could not. Abdul Ghaffar had to remain true to his party. In a letter to Gandhi from Peshawar on June 8, 1947, Abdul Ghaffar wrote: "I have consulted all my important workers and we all are of the considered opinion that we cannot agree to the holding of the referendum . . . . . . . . . . . . . the holding of the referendum will lead to serious violence. We are also against Pakistan and we would like to have a free Pathan state within India."83 For the realisation of his aim Abdul Ghaffar followed the next move suggested by Gandhi. Tendulkar informs: "On June 18 Abdul Ghaffar accompanied by Gandhi met Jinnah at the Viceroy's house, and later again he met Jinnah at his residence. Now that the division of India was accepted by the Congress, Abdul Ghaffar told Jinnah that the Pathans were quite agreeable to joining Pakistan, provided (1) it was on honourable terms, (2) in case Pakistan, after independence, decided to stay under the British domination, the Pathans in the settled districts or in the tribal areas should have the power to opt out of such a dominion and form a separate independent state, and (3) all matters concerning tribal people should be settled by the Pathans themselves without the interference or domination of the non-Pathans — a right which had been conceded even by the existing Constituent Assembly. The talks lasted over an hour in friendly atmosphere, although the attempt at compromise failed. Jinnah accompanied Abdul Ghaffar to the waiting car to bid him farewell."84 The meeting was
bound to fail as it went contrary to the prospects of Pakistan. This was clear from what Gandhi spoke at a prayer meeting. “He would advise the Congress to make its position clear and would ask the Muslim League also to do likewise. Let both honour the Pathan sentiment and let the Pathans have their own constitution for internal affairs and administration. It would promote Pathan solidarity, avoid internal conflict, retain Pakhtu culture and the Pakhtu language. If they could do that, they would be better able unitedly to federate with Pakistan or the Union of India.” This reference to India must have been dangerous in the eyes of Jinnah. For the last time Abdul Ghaffar met Gandhi in New Delhi where he came for consultation on July 27, 1947. “They had prolonged talks. Gandhi left for Kashmir on July 30 and Abdul Ghaffar returned to his province. Gandhi told him his duty lay there ‘to make Pakistan really Pak, pure.’ They never met again.”

This was the end of the united action of the Khudai Khidmatgars and the Congress in the Frontier. The hero of many non-violent battles, awakener of a new political consciousness among the Pakhtuns, and leader of the new political movement that had worked to oust the British, Abdul Ghaffar found himself in a new situation—in a new world—when the British had left. History will no doubt remember him as a great self-less fighter. It will be for the future historians to judge how such a leader was led by the circumstances to this situation.

Reforms in the Frontier: Abdul Ghaffar had, no doubt, made definite contribution by his struggle to bring about reforms in this province—a province which was called Sar Zamin-i-Be-ain (سرازمینی بی‌آئین) by Maulana Mohammad Ali for the unjust laws that were in force. Tendulkar informs: “When Abdul Ghaffar reached Lahore, Nawab Sahibzada Sir Abdul Qayyum sent a messenger from the Frontier to convey to him the message that in no case he should leave the Congress, because if he did, the British would not grant any reforms to the Frontier Province.” However, on
the question of reforms the Muslim opinion was unanimous. As early as 1928 the Muslim League had advocated the cause of the Frontier in the amendments to the Nehru Report. M.A. Jinnah had categorically stated: "He proposed that the raising of the North-West Frontier Province to the status of a Governor's Province and the separation of Sind from Bombay should not be made contingent on the establishment of the Nehru Constitution but should be taken up at once. There was general agreement on the desirability of constitutional changes in the North-West Frontier Province. What Jinnah insisted upon was that these changes should be carried out at once without reference to whether the Nehru Report was adopted or not." On the other hand the Hindus were opposed to the Reforms. Prof. M. Timur, in his article on *Frontier Reforms*, writes: "The fact that a question like that of the extension of the Reforms to the North-West Frontier Province should divide Hindus and Mussalmans into hostile camps does not augur well for the future of India. A student of Indian politics may overlook their quarrels about lopping off a branch of the peepal tree, or playing music before mosques and regard them as childish emanation from the mind of the ignorant mob. He may even read bitter and rancorous controversies of different religions without being perturbed. But that a large section of one community should deliberately make up their minds to deprive more than twenty lac souls of the other community of even the elementary rights of citizenship paralyses his power of vision and the future of the country appears absolutely dark to him." Who were these Hindus? Prof. Timur answers: "The Hindus of the other provinces of India are not so much to blame for their campaign against the Mussalmans of the North West Frontier as the Hindus of the Frontier itself, who form no more than 6 percent of the total population of the country and most of whom are immigrants from the Panjab." What did the Hindus want? Prof. Timur says: "Even those Hindu politicians who bring forward all the above arguments against the introduction of Reforms in the Province are in favour of its amalgamation
with the Panjab." However, the demand for Reforms went so much ahead that the British could no longer refuse. On 25th January, 1932. Lord Willingdon observed that, "In the new constitution, the N.W.F.Province will find a place, as Governor's Province of the same status as other Governor's Provinces with due regard to the necessary requirements of the Frontier." As we have noted earlier, the decision was implemented in April, 1932. When the new constitution was introduced in accordance with the Government of India Act, 1935, the North-West Frontier Province gained an equal status with other provinces. As a result of the elections held under this Act the first Assembly consisted of 50 members with following divisions:

1. The Congress Party, 19, led by Dr. Khan Saheb.
2. United Muslim Nationalist Party, 16, led by Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum Khan.
3. Hindu-Sikh Nationalist Party, 8, led by Rai Bahadur Mehr Chand Khanna.
5. Independents 3, which included Malik Khuda Bakhsh, Mr. Pir Bakhsh and Mr. Abdur Rab Nishtar.

The first coalition ministry was formed by Nawab Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum. But this ministry was overthrown in September 1937 and another coalition, formed by the Congress, came into existence with Dr. Khan Saheb as Chief Minister. This ministry remained in power until 1939 when, owing to the general decision of the Congress after the break-up of the Second World War, it tendered its resignation. The province came under the rule of the Governor. In September 1943 for the first time Muslim League succeeded in forming a ministry under the premiership of Sardar Aurangzeb Khan. The Muslim League had been reconstituted in the Province in 1936 but in the elections the League did not send its nominees. Later when the party of Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum broke up, the Lea-
gue came into prominence. After the War when the Congress members came out of jail, the League ministry fell in March 1945 and once again Congress came into power and maintained its majority position right till 1947.

FOURTH STAGE

The Khilafat Days were the last occasion when the Muslims in general, and the members of the Khilafat Committee in particular, joined hands with the Hindus and the members of All India Congress Committee to achieve their aim and fight for the independence of the country. Soon the question of Hindu-Muslim representation brought about a rift in their ranks, and, as we have seen before, the discussion over the "Nehru Report" led to the "Parting of Ways." Those Muslims who differed from the Congress view in due course followed the line of the Muslim League, whose programme was to gain independence by constitutional means. Others who remained with the Congress followed the Congress programme of non-co-operation and civil disobedience. In the Frontier where the Khudai Khidmatgars were well organised and Abdul Ghaffar had awakened a new political consciousness to fight for Pakhtun freedom, the movement of civil disobedience burst out to the utter dismay of the British. Because of this active programme the Khudai Khidmatgars, as we have seen before, joined hands with the Congress. Until the return of M.A. Jinnah from England in 1934, the Muslim League had lost its vigour of action. With the passing of Government of India Act in 1935 the issues were better defined. The League came forward to champion the cause of the Muslims and began to organise itself to infuse unity among the Muslims. But there were a good number of Muslims in the Congress and there were others who were known as Nationalists. In the Frontier the Congress with the support of the Khudai Khidmatgars was the only strong organisation.

During the Second World War when the British were forced to compromise with the Indian demand, the Muslim League also sharpened its line of action and in 1940
passed the famous Lahore Resolution\(^9\) to make a bid for the establishment of a separate Muslim homeland. With this new goal finally defined, the Muslim League, under the leadership of Quaid-e-Azam M.A. Jinnah went forward to chalk out its programme. The League could not succeed in its aim unless it could prove that it represented the main desire of the Muslims. This goal of a separate Muslim homeland became very alluring and gradually larger and larger number of Muslims came round to the view of the League. In the Frontier where the Pakhtuns were deadly opposed to the British the fight had been going on under the banner of the Congress. Here the Hindu-Muslim question was not of such a great consequence as in other parts of British India though it must be admitted that the Hindus in the Frontier had their own separate view.\(^9\)

After the War when the prospects of independence were absolutely clear, attempts were made to bring about a compromise between the Congress and the Muslim League. Several Nationalist Muslims\(^9\) came forward to bridge the gulf between the two parties, but Quaid-e-Azam was adamant in his demand for Pakistan. The League had carried weight in the Muslim mind, and the Congress as well as the British had come to realise that the League's viewpoint was the dominating opinion of the Muslims of the sub-continent. It is this realisation and further to stop civil war between the Muslims and the Hindus that the British, while deciding to quit India, conceded to the partition of the sub-continent. The Congress agreed to this partition. By accepting this the Congress had neglected the many Muslims who were still its members. While it was possible for Indian Muslims like Maulana Azad to accept the Congress decision and remain in India, the position of Abdul Ghaffar Khan and his party of Khudai Khidmatgars was entirely different. He had fought for the freedom of the Pakhtuns and now when freedom was in sight what would be his position when the Congress left him to his own fate?

The Pakistan movement in the Frontier started after the War and as this was the demand for a free Muslim
A terracotta cupid with bird in hand. (Shaikhan Dheri) 2nd century B.C.
Model Stupa of Crystal with harmika and umbrellas of gold
Bronze reliquary casket from Shah Ji ki Dheri
Zarrai Hill of Shahbazgarhi

Rock inscription (Shahbazgarhi)
Old Kabuli Darwaza (no longer in existence) (1920)

Old Qissa Khwani Bazar (1920)
Panoramic view of the old city (1920)
Old Peshawar Cantonment (1857)

Khajur trees at Panj Tirath
Mughal gate of the Serai at Gor Khuttrre
Gate of Kotla Mohsin Khan
Tomb at Kotla Mohsin Khan

Tomb at Kotla Mohsin Khan
Tomb of Shaikh Imamuddin at Palosi

Panoramic view of Chakdara
Inside Decoration Mahabat Khan's Mosque (Peshawar)
Main Mihrab, Mahabat Khan's Mosque (Peshawar)
Mughal Mosque at Palosi
Islamia College, Peshawar
Pak-Afghan border in Khyber
homeland away from the British and away from the Hindus, no Muslim could possibly oppose it. It was to be a home of the Muslims where Islamic ways of life were to prevail and Islam was to be the dominating factor. It was not difficult to win over the Pakhtuns for this cause. But the Congress was a well organised body in the Frontier with Congress ministry at the head of the Province. The fight started in right earnest. It was a mass movement led by the Pir of Manki Sharif who got support from other Muslim workers for this cause. They had to start a civil disobedience movement against the Congress ministry. A large number of workers were arrested. The momentum grew day by day. The students came out to participate in the movement. When the referendum was held people voted for Pakistan.

The decision for Pakistan was well known even before the referendum as the Pakhtuns could not possibly vote for Hindustan. It was therefore wise on the part of the Khudai Khidmatgars not to participate in the plebiscite. But they had raised the question of Pakhtunistan—a question which was not under discussion between the British and the then Indian political parties. The word Pakhtunistan or Pathanistan had been earlier used by several persons but no clear-cut demand had been put forward before this time. When Abdul Ghaffar fought for Pakhtun freedom before he joined the Congress, it is difficult to say what was in his mind. But now he came forward with a demand for Pakhtunistan where the Pakhtuns could have the right to lead a free life according to the Pakhtun code of behaviour. After the establishment of Pakistan, Abdul Ghaffar swore allegiance to Pakistan in the Constituent Assembly at Karachi but continued to press for his demand of Pakhtunistan. The exact concept of this word is difficult to define. Mr. Mohammad Said Khan, in his article has attempted to give different meanings and in the present context when the whole of West Pakistan is today (15 March 1969) united under one unit, the demand has crystallised into an autonomous province of the Frontier
with its name of Pakhtunistan. It is for the future to see what shape it ultimately takes. At the end it is pertinent to emphasize on the geographic factors of the Frontier and also on the Pakhtun code of behaviour which has received a unifying factor in the Pakhtu language. While the Pakhtuns are Muslims and they have been good fighters for the defence of Pakistan, the future alone will say how their natural desires will be fulfilled in the free country of Pakistan.
CHAPTER VII

PESHAWAR MONUMENTS

"Oh Peshawar! If I could visit you again!"

Introduction: Peshawar is a city of historic romance. Its two thousand years' story is full of old traditions and tales that are told and retold in the Kahve-Khana of the famous Qissa-Khwani Bazar, aptly translated as Story-tellers' Bazar. It has been a rendezvous of several invading hordes and conquerors who pushed down the Khyber pass to try their luck for the alluring treasures of India of yore. These hordes have all left behind an unbroken tale of thrilling adventures that echo and re-echo against the ranging hills around, where dwell the historic tribes in their mountain fastnesses, guarding resolutely their own freedom and the freedom of the Peshawar plain that stretches beneath their feet. The marauding hordes stopped and passed on to the east leaving behind memorials of their own over the ruins of the earlier occupant. Those people who remained sat on the debris of old and mingled with the new-comers to continue the story of romance. It is this amalgam of varying races of men that today stalk the streets of the city of Peshawar. You can hear some of them still speak the old Persian as their mother tongue. Pashto-speakers have flocked from the surrounding villages to profit by the urban facilities of the city. But the older language still survives in its modern form of Hindko — a medium of interesting gossip in the Kahve-Khana. It is only through this speech that you enter into the real life of the city. But the old glamour of Peshawar is fast decaying with its old life. The monuments that survive the ravages of time give a glimpse of its later glory. It is unfortunate that none of them is preserved under the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act by the Department of Archaeology, which has shown a stepmotherly treatment to the rich archaeological wealth of Peshawar. However, the buildings stand out to proclaim
OLD CITY OF PESHAWAR

PESHAWAR MONUMENTS
their demand and attract the tourists for a glimpse of the rugged hills around that conceal within their bosom not only the freedom-loving tribes but also the story of old romance.

*City Wall of Peshawar*

The older portion of Peshawar is a walled city, to which the British added their own Cantonment guarded by barbed wires. As has been explained in charter I, the old city answers to a traditional Central Asian concept of a high citadel dominating the widely-scattered houses of the generality of people. The city wall surrounded the habitation of common men. The extent of the city must have varied in historic times. But the citadel is most certainly marked by Bala Hisar (see below) that still crowns the highest spot of the city. During the Sikh period its extent was delimited by General Avitabile, the Sikh Governor, who built a mud wall\(^1\) surrounding the city. Its description has been given above (see pp. 110-111). Under the British “nearly the whole of the enclosure wall has recently been built of pucca bricks.”\(^2\)

The walls are still standing in many places (see pl. 7 b) though modern houses have either incorporated portions of the walls or are sitting tight over them. The best preserved part is to the south of the city and can be approached from the Dabgari Gardens. Many of the old gates are rebuilt in recent years and some of them bear date on them. Outside the gates old Mughal watch towers still stand (see map No. 2). Gopal Das\(^3\) speaks of *Burj* (watch tower) Sayid Khan which can be seen outside Ganj Gate.

Starting from Darwaza Yekkatut, which was rebuilt in March 1944, we proceed eastwards and come across some shops facing the wall. Further ahead we note the repair to the wall and then a break. In section the wall shows *Pucca* bricks as its outer facing and *Kachcha* bricks forming the core. A bastion shows a house on its top. A corner bastion is turned into a shop with a residential
quarter on its top. We come to the arched gateway of Ganj, which was rebuilt in 1909. A road from this gate leads to the old graveyard and Hazarkhani. Onwards the wall continues with some breaks. Outside the wall is the locality of Shaikhabad, where stands the famous Ziarat of Shaikh Junaid. In between is an old (now dried-up) Mughal well near a watch-tower. We reach Lahori Darwaza, which, in the mediaeval time, gave way to the main road leading eastwards. Further the wall continues but is now encumbered with many modern structures. Outside the corner, where the wall turns, there was originally Makari Godam where Jhando ka Mela and ‘Id fair were held but now we have there the colony of Nishtarakab. Then we come to Hasht Nagari Darwaza but the gate is no longer in existence. The city wall is now incorporated into a number of houses and shops till we reach Rampura Darwaza, also known as Nawe Darwaza. Outside the gate is the new Rampura area full of houses. The wall ahead is not traceable till we meet Reti Darwaza, named after ironworks. Onwards the shops lead to Tangsali or Kachehri Darwaza, which faces Chowk Yadgar. We follow the broken wall at places and come to Asamai or Andar Shahr Darwaza. Outside this gate is the Lady Reading Hospital. The wall now climbs up Dhakki Nalbandi and goes down to Kabuli Darwaza, which was renamed Edwardes Gate (see Pl. 8 a) in the last century. The gate is now gone. Onwards is a cinema lane which leads to Bajori Gate, the structure is now finished. The wall continues and shows two octagonal towers until we reach Dabgari Gate, today marked by a single pillar. Further ahead the broken wall continues upto Ramdas Gate. The wall turns ahead towards Sar Asia Gate, which is an arched gateway. Further there is an octagonal corner bastion and we reach Sard Chah Gate, built in 1903. Next is the Saraki Darwaza and finally we come to Kohati Darwaza, which was rebuilt in 1941. This gate leads to the old house of Sultan Yar Muhammad Khan, which is now turned into a Mission High School.

_Bala Hisar_ (Pl. 7 a)

_Bala Hisar_ is the High Fort of Peshawar. There are
several others of this name— one is at Charsadda about twenty miles away from Peshawar and another at Kabul. It has had very chequered history. Several times it was destroyed and rebuilt. Earlier, on pages 35 and 36, we have traced its ancient history. Babar strengthened the fort of Peshawar (see above p. 78) but there is no evidence to prove that Babar founded this fort. Under the Mughals it saw several ups and downs until it came into the possession of the Durranis. Bala Hisar, before it was destroyed by the Sikhs, was seen by Elphinstone when he came to meet Shah Shuja in 1809. His description is quoted below:

"At length we reached an open space under the palace, or castle, in which the king resides; this space was filled with people, who covered the side of the hill on which the castle stands, like the audience at a theatre. When we reached the gate, over which the king's band was playing, we were requested to leave the greater part of our attendants behind, and here our drums and trumpets were required to cease playing. Some time after we entered the gateway, we dismounted, and, after walking about one hundred yards, we ascended a flight of steps, and entered a long narrow room, where about one hundred and fifty persons were seated in great order along the walls. This was called the Kishki Khauneh, or guard room. . . . . . . . . The Chaos Baushee came to us . . . . . . He then conducted us up the sloping passage, and through a gate, after which we passed behind a sort of screen, and suddenly issued into a large court, at the upper end of which we saw the king in an elevated building. The court was oblong, and had high walls, painted with the figures of cypresses. In the middle was a pond and fountains. The walls on each side were lined with king's guards three deep, and at various places in the court, stood the offices of state, at different distances from the king, according to their degree. At the end of the court was a high building, the lower storey of which was solid wall, ornamented with false arches, but without doors or windows; over this was another storey, the roof
of which was supported by pillars and Moorish arches highly ornamented. In the centre arch sat the king, on a very large throne of gold or gilding. His appearance was magnificent and royal, his crown and all his dress were one blaze of jewels. He was elevated above the heads of the eunuchs who surrounded his throne, and who were the only persons in the large hall where he sat; all was silent and motionless.\textsuperscript{15} "The throne was covered with a cloth adorned with pearls, on which lay a sword and a small mace, set with jewels. The room was open all round. The centre was supported by four high pillars, in the midst of which was a marble fountain. The floor was covered with the richest carpets, and round the edges were slips of silk, emroidered with gold, for the Khauns to stand on. The view from the hall was beautiful. Immediately below was an extensive garden, full of cypresses and other trees, and beyond was a plain of the richest verdure; here and there were pieces of water and shining streams; and the whole was bounded by mountains, some dark, and others covered with snow."\textsuperscript{16}

This old magnificent Bala Hisar along with its Shalimar garden was destroyed by the Sikhs, as is recorded by Moorcraft (see above P. 14). It was rebuilt, according to the Gazetteer,\textsuperscript{7} by Hari Singh after the Battle of Nowshera while Burnes notes that it was rebuilt in the time of Sardar Khurruck Singh (see above P. 15). Raverty records. "The present Fort was erected by Sher Singh, the son of Ranjeet, at his father's order, and in consequence, whatever remained of the old Balla Hisar was razed to the ground. It was built mostly of unburnt bricks, and is rather imposing in appearance, but of no great strength."\textsuperscript{8} The British later replaced the mud walls with brick masonry. The inscription over the inner gate of the fort reads as follows:

\begin{verbatim}
ورکھ ج
بفضل سری اکال
سرکار فیض اثر میراجہ رنجیت سنگھ بهادر بلده پشاور درسمت
یک هزار و پتیت صد و نو و پتی راجہ بکر ماجیت تسخیر کرد و ایس
سمندر گلگھ بنا نمود
\end{verbatim}
TRANSATION

Victory to Porakh. Through the grace of Sri Akal. Under the liberal Government of Maharaja Ranjeet Singh Bahadur over the region of Peshawar, in the year 1891 (vikram Samrat) (= A.D. 1834) this was built by Raja Bikramajit and was named Samir (correctly Samar)-garh.

The fort stands on a high mound with the main entrance on the north facing the Jinnah Park (formerly called Cunningham Park. It is surrounded by a double line of fortification wall in two different stages and makes an irregular quadrilateral with circular or octagonal bastions at intervals. One of the bastion retains the Kanguras in the old style. In the same old fashion the approach is bent and we reach the interior through several entrances. It is on the inner entrance that the marble inscription of the Sikhs is fixed.

From the top of Bala Hisar a very good view of the surrounding can be had. “On a clear day a magnificent panorama of the successive ranges of hills can be seen — from Cherat in the south-east, the Kohat Pass, the Safed Koh, Khyber Pass with the three-toothed mountain of Tartara, the sentinel emblem of the Frontier Province, the low hills of the Mohammand and Bajaur Border, the distant peaks of Chitral merging into the snowy heights of Manbial at the top of the Swat Valley, till the rugged line loses itself in the browny green hills of the Buner border and the distant course of the Kabul River, which wanders down the rich and narrow trough of the Peshawar vale towards the distant plains of the Punjab.”

It would be of great attraction if the building is brought under protection and open to the tourists.

GOR KHUTTREE

Gor Khuttree is another important monument in the old city of Peshawar. It can be approached either from Chowk Yadgar or from Hashtnagari gate. It occupies the
centre of a high spot in the city and has had a varying history. Earlier on P. 36 we have identified the place with the Buddhist establishment relating to “the tower of Buddha’s bowl” and not with Kanishka vihara, as was proposed by Cunningham. It would be a mistake to maintain that right from the beginning the site was Hindu in character. The earliest account of the site is given by Babar (see above p. 77). Both Akbar and Jahangir regard it as a place of the Jogis (Hindu saints who believe in quiet meditation). It had become a place of Hindu pilgrimage and its fame had reached far and wide. From the description of Babar Jaffar concludes that the Hindus came here “to perform the Sradha or funeral sacrifices in honour of their ancestors.” This conclusion is based on the fact that Babar found large quantity of hair deposited in the cells, the hair obviously fallen from shaving the head — a practice common among the Hindus at the time of funeral ceremony. But it is equally common among the Jogis to shave off their hair at the holy places before being initiated. The shaven-headed monks are well known both among the Buddhists and the Hindus. Shah Jahan does not appear to have paid a visit to the place. But during his reign in the year 1050/AD 1640 his daughter Jahan Ara Begum converted the site into Serai Jahanabad and built also a Jami Masjid and a Hammam. During the days of the Sikhs the mosque was destroyed and a temple of Gorakhnath was built on its site. Raverty describes the building of his time in 1850:

“The most considerable public building is the Gorkhuttree, formerly the residence of the Seikh (Sikh) Governor. It was formerly a Caravenserai, erected at the orders of Nurjahan Begam, wife of Jehangeer (a mistake for Jahanara Begam). It is in the form of a square, 700 feet in length, and the same in breadth. One side is occupied by buildings, containing large and spacious rooms, which during the time of the Seikhs (Sikhs) were the residence of the Governor of the Province; and contained numerous offices for the use of the different departments of the Government, built by General Avitabile
in the Hindu style. It is ornamented; both inside and out, with grotesque figures, painted in the most brilliant colours, in a similar manner to the embellishments of most Hindu temples. It was at first called "Serai-i-du-dar," or "The Jun of the Two Gates", and after the death of its founder was allowed to go to ruin, in which state it remained, when a jogee or hermit took up his residence there close to the well. This Jogee in a short time became so famous for sanctity that votaries flocked to him from all parts... Hindus, both Khuttrees and Seikhs (Sikhs), in great numbers visit this place on Sundays and Wednesdays, more particularly on the former day, when they go there to pray, and bring back some of the water for their children to drink."16 Raverty further informs that Sayyid Ahmad Shahid, when in Peshawar, took up his residence in the Serai.

The building, as it exists today, keeps up the main design of the Mughal serai with a magnificent gateway (Pl. 11) on the east. The entrance opens under a high archway and has a provision for guardrooms on the sides and for subsidiary office accommodation. It leads into an open quadrangle surrounded on all the four sides with rooms, now converted for reoccupation. The temple of Gorakhnath, which is a tall spired structure with a covered passage leading to the subsidiary Nandi shrine, stands in the south-eastern part. The top of the main gateway presents a very good idea of the life of the city. Today the building is occupied by the offices of the Tehsil-dar. If the place is restored to its original condition, it will be of great attraction to the tourists.

CHOWK YADGAR (Pl. 6 a)

The old Kotwali Darwaza led into an open square court, in the centre of which stood a memorial building commemorating the death of Colonel E.C. Hastings, who died on 2nd December, 1884. Originally it had three inscriptions in English, Persian and Pashto.17 The English text reads. "Erected to the memory of Colonel E.C. Hastings, C.B., died on the 2nd December, 1884 by one
thousand friends and admirers of whom eight hundred are residents of the Peshawar district."

The memorial consisted of a domed pavilion raised on high podium, to which a flight of steps gave access. On its one side there was originally a fountain. The whole of this building has now been removed and a new one is being erected to commemorate the heroes of the Indo-Pakistani War (September, 1965). The open space around has been generally used for political meetings.

**MOSQUE OF MAHABAT KHAN (Pls. 16-19)**

Mahabat Khan is a well-known figure in the Mughal history of this region in the time of Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb (see above P. 87). He was twice posted governor of this region, once during the last years of the reign of Shah Jahan and second time in the reign of Aurangzeb. Tradition associates his name with the construction of the biggest mosque in the city of Peshawar. It is not certain when actually he built this mosque. S.M. Jaffar says that "in design and detail this sacred structure follows the usual form of a Muslim place of prayer and closely resembles the *Badshahi Masjid* of Lahore and the *Jami Masjid* of Lucknow". If this were true, we could have easily dated the mosque after the construction of the *Badshahi Masjid* at Lahore. But as the following detail will show, this is far from truth. Mr. Jaffar also gives the name of the builder as Zamana Beg alias Mahabat Khan but this Mahabat Khan died in 1634. This man was well known in the time of Jahangir.

The mosque stands in the locality of Andarshahr and can be approached from Chowk Yadgar. Many of its present decorative features were renewed in this century. We are told, "the mosque was nearly destroyed by the fire which burnt down the Andarshahr in June 1898 and was only saved by the unremitting efforts of the faithful." The old Gazetteer records that its two high minarets were "used frequently in Avitabile's time as a substitute for the gallows." Despite these calamities and renovations, the
mosque elegantly represents the main style of the Mughal period and there is hardly any truth in the theory that it was left incomplete by the builder.\textsuperscript{22}

The mosque stands on a raised terrace to which entrances on three sides, north, south and east, give an access. Today only southern and eastern entrances are generally used. In plan the mosque follows the orthodox design with a central open courtyard, having an ablution pond in the middle, a single row of rooms on the sides answering the typical \textit{Iwans}, and a prayer hall on the west. Unlike the \textit{Badshahi Masjid} at Lahore the present mosque has its prayer hall covering the entire western part. And again here we have only two minarets, one at either end of the eastern side of the prayer hall. Unlike \textit{Badshahi Masjid} here the roof is covered by three fluted domes while the interior of the prayer hall, which is lavishly decorated, consists of a single hall with no verandah in front. The mosque, which measures 185 by 163 feet, is much smaller in dimension than its counterpart at Lahore. But in its decorative beauty, proportion of its different parts and majestic height of its Minarets, the mosque is an elegant product of the Shah Jahani period and a real ornament of the city of Peshawar.

\textbf{TOMB OF NAWAB KHAN (Pl. 14)}

Nawab Sayid Khan was a well-known Mughal governor of the Subah of Kabul during the reign of Shah Jahan. It was due to his diplomacy that the Safavid governor Ali Mardan Khan surrendered himself and Kandhar to the Mughals. According to the author of \textit{Maasirul Umara}\textsuperscript{23} he is known to have strengthened the fortification in Peshawar and Kohat and tradition rightly associates many watch-towers, now existing in Peshawar, to him. He passed number of years in the city of Peshawar and tradition associates his name with the construction of a garden at Dabgari, now converted into an Afghan Mission Hospital. He died in 1062/1651 A.D. while he was a governor of Kabul and though nothing is said in the contemporary record about the place he is buried, tradition attributes a
domed building within the Afghan Mission Hospital as his tomb.

This building is definitely not a watch-tower, as is recorded by Mr. Jaffar. The watch-towers, that now stand outside the city of Peshawar, are just domed pavilions. Jaffar writes: "From its design and details it appears to have been built during the Mughal period when the Mughal architecture was at its early stages or when it was on the way to decline, for though structurally sound it had none of the architectural charms of Shah Jahan's reign when the art had reached the pinnacle of perfection." This statement is not borne out by an examination of the monument. Similar tombs of the time of Shah Jahan are existing in this region, as at Palosi Piran (see below) and there is no reason to dispute the date of its erection. It was the usual practice of the Mughals — a custom ultimately traceable to Central Asia — to build garden-tomb (Rauzah) during the life time. The tomb of Sayid Khan is of one such type. It stands in the middle of a quadrangle, enclosed by a wall with corner turrets. The space within the walled enclosure must have turned into a charbagh garden with fountains in the middle. The tomb proper stands on a raised terrace, as was the practice at this time. It is an octagonal building with four high-arched entrances on four sides and the corner sides, which are smaller in length, have deep alcoves in two storeys. In the thickness of the wall, which is 14 feet wide, there were originally two stair-cases that led up to the roof but these have now been closed. The plaster of the outer face of the wall has vanished, though arched and square panels still relieve the bare face. The parapet with its merlons has long changed its character. The double dome is raised on a high-shouldered octagonal drum. But the interior has been completely modified to suit originally the need of General Sir Harry Lumsden, the founder of the Corps of Guides, who lived here for some time. An inscription tablet reads as follows:

"This tablet was erected by the officers of the Q.V.O, Corps of Guides to commemorate the fact that the
Corps was raised on the 14th December 1846 at Peshawar by Lt. H.B. Lumsden, who used this Burj as his headquarters both in his military and civil capacity during the years 1849-1851."

Before the Mission Hospital came into existence in 1904, the local people held the place with respect and burned lamps as they do in the case of other tombs. In 1926 this building was turned into a church. Today the interior consists of two storeys, the upper one is made by a make-shift arrangement with wooden planks. A new staircase has been provided to go up inside. The grave is no more traceable. The interior decorations have all gone. The ground floor room is now used for playing indoor games and the church is located upstairs. This is the end of the splendid garden tomb of Nawab Sayid Khan, the only Mughal governor who probably lies buried in Peshawar. The domed building is still attractive in its antique appearance and will be greatly rewarding in the interest of the visitors if it is restored to its original purpose.

PALATIAL RESIDENCE OF THE SETHIS

The Sethis are the traditional business community of Peshawar. The word Sethi is derived from the Sanskrit word Sreshthin, which, in ancient time, denoted head of the business class. In Peshawar this community transacted international commerce and trade that passed from India to Afghanistan and Central Asia. They also issued hundis for exchange in Afghanistan, particularly to the British employees. Such a trade brought huge profits in their hands. The present Sethi family migrated from Chamkani about six generations ago. Their present residence was built in 1300 A.H./A.D. 1882 by Haji Ahmad Gul.

The house is situated in Mahalla Sethian behind Bazar Kalan and can be approached from Chowk Yadgar by the road which leads to Gor Khuttree. It is a highly embellished building in a typical style of the domestic architecture of a rich man, presenting highly carved wooden doors, and balconies, mirrored and painted recep-
tion room with open upper storeys to catch the fresh breeze and under-ground rooms in two stages for protection from the heat of summer. A highly-carved wooden doorway leads into a court where business was transacted. A bent passage gives access into the interior. The main house forms round an open court, 32' x 30', and is paved with brick-on-edge. The surrounding rooms show highly carved wooden arches resting on pillars with panels showing variegated motifs. On the north, east and west sides of the court there is only one hall with niches in the wall. The southern complex makes the real gem of the house. It has two-staged tahkhana (under-ground rooms) and two-storeyed bala-khana (upper storeys) with a dalan (Hall) opening through a triple-arched entrance. It has a painted ceiling and carved wooden pillars. The second storey consists of Shah Nasim with painted designs and cut glasses fixed on the walls. Panels embellished with flower-vases add to the beauty. The whole building gives an appropriate idea of the old type of house. It would be of great attraction if it is open to the tourists.

**WAZIR BAGH**

Wazir Bagh was laid between 1802-3 by Fatteh Khan, Wazir25 of the Durrani ruler Shah Mahmud (see above pp. 103-4). It was a beautiful garden in the first half of the nineteenth century, where Alexander Burnes passed some time (see above p. 10). The garden stands at some distance from the Sard Chah Gate. It is now maintained by the Municipality but its old look has changed and the resting house is also dilapidated. However, the old alignment of the garden is still preserved.

The garden consists of four arms of a cross enclosing within the arms four grassy plots, now used for playground. In the north-south axis of the arm there are two oblong cisterns with only one fountain in the northern cistern. On this axis, which has a double row of footpaths, we have three circular platforms, now showing tall trees. This is cut by two east-west cross avenues. The
central avenue still maintains rows of trees and garden plots.

**DURRANI GRAVEYARD**

To the west of the Wazir Bagh can be seen a brick-built walled enclosure, where lie buried several nobilities connected with the old Sardars of Peshawar. As we approach the graveyard, we first come to a square tomb raised on a high plinth. The tomb, known as *Bijo di Qabar,*\(^{26}\) which has a single grave in the middle, opens on all the four sides. The sides show a high arch-way, underneath which is a small entrance with a window above. The face is relieved with arched panels and in the thickness of the wall at the north-west corner there is a staircase leading to the roof. The dome rests on a high octagonal drum. Nothing definite is known about the person buried inside.

A plastered domed gateway leads into the main grave enclosure. On the wall surface can be seen impressions of hand with open fingers. The main attraction within the enclosure is the grave of Shaikh Habib, at the head of which is a *chiragh-dan*. By its side is a stone tablet recording *Ayat-al-Kursi*. To its north-east there are three marble graves, one of which belongs to Sardar Mohammad Ayub Khan, son of Amir Sher Ali Khan, who died in 1914. The second is of Sardar Mohammad Ibrahim Khan and the third of Sardar Jalaluddin Khan.

Gopal\(^{27}\) Das informs that Shaikh Habib was an Arab of great renown. The date of his death is given in *Abjad year* \(= 1093\) *A.H.* The full inscription of the tomb stone reads as follows.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{حضرت شیخ ما حبیب الله انکہ تحقیق فرد کامل بود} \\
\text{بندہ خلفائی حضرت نبیو ز وہا زمانہ افضل بود} \\
\text{نتشبدی طریق عالی بود} \\
\text{قدرة المرسلین موصل بود} \\
\text{چون ز حق ارجعی شید ندا رب لیبک گنتہ راهل بود} \\
\text{سال تاریخ رحلت از هجرت گنتہ ام "شیخ ما مکمل بود"}
\end{align*}
\]
There are two brick-built mosques within the grave enclosure. The mosque near Shaikh Habib's grave was built by Hafiz Muhammad Murad in 1138 A.H./A.D. 1725. It is an oblong building with octagonal corner towers. It consists of a three-domed prayer-hall with a vaulted verandah on the east. Another mosque was built in 1206 A.H./A.D. 1796 by Shaikh 'I was, a saint of some renown during the Durrani period (see above p. 10). It is a small brick-built mosque with low flat roof, the interior walls of which are plastered and further painted. They also bear several inscriptions. In the court there lie two graves.

**KOTLA MOHSIN KHAN**

This is an important group of buildings near Bhanamari and can be approached from Kohat Road by a side street taking off near the Government quarters. Definite information about Mohsin Khan is lacking. Khyal Bokhari has collected all available materials in his edition of *Diwan-i-Ma'zullah Khan*. According to him his father Muhibullah Khan received a grant from the Mughal emperor Shah Jahan. The present Kotla (i.e. fortified residence) is known after Mohsin Khan. The latter was a cousin brother of Ma'zullah Khan, a Pashto Poet, who was contemporary of Abdul Qadir Khan Khattak (1062 A.H.-1114 A.H./A.D. 1651-1702).

The Kotla has still preserved a highly embellished arched gateway (Pl. 12) which opens between two octagonal towers. The main entrance is within a high cusped arch. Its upper story has some rooms. The face of the gateway is plastered and bears some paintings. It leads into a wide open space where can be seen some graves. Among them can be seen two monumental domed tombs (Pl. 13). It is not definitely known who are buried inside. These buildings are worth preserving.

**SHAH JI KI DHERI.**

The site represents the ruins of the famous Kanishka vihara (for description see above pp. 37-39) in Peshawar.
SHAH-JI-KI-DHERI
MAIN STUPA
It is situated about a mile to the south-east of the Ganj Gate and can be approached from the Hazarkhani road. But unfortunately today it is a heap of dust and earth — the debris left over by the excavators, near which are brick kilns. The site was excavated thrice — first by Lt. Crompton in 1875, second time by Dr. Spooner and third time by Mr. Hargreave. But all these excavations could not recover the magnificent Buddhist monastery that once stood here. The excavator’s report reads a sorry description of what was once the most famous vihara in this region. While Hargreave concentrated his efforts to trace the remnants of the monastery, Dr. Spooner put all his energies to discover the main stupa. His attempt proved to be of greater success. The stupa (see plan p. 181) "was identified as a square of 182 feet with oblong projections, presumably for stairs, on each side and with circular projections, possibly for small stupas, at the corners. The walls were of stone ‘diaper’ masonry, and retained traces of stucco decoration consisting of standing Buddhas between pilasters.” In the centre of the stupa there was a roughly-built relic chamber, in which was discovered a bronze relic casket, now well-known as Kanishka reliquary casket (Pl. 4). It is the discovery of this casket which led to the identification of the site with Kanishka Vihar. The casket is unique of its kind, cylindrical in shape, with garland-bearing cupids on the sides of the lower box, showing also standing burly figure of the Kushana emperor in typical Central Asian dress; the upper lid has a frieze of geeze on the sides with a seated Buddha in the centre flanked by the Hindu gods, Brahma and Indra in adoring posture. The casket is inscribed in the Kharoshthi script and gives the name of the king Kanishka and the artisan Agesilos. The relic casket and other materials found here are now preserved in the Peshawar Museum.

**TOMB OF AKHUND DARWEZA**

Not far from the ruins of Shah Ji Ki Dheri is the tomb of Akhund Darweza, a learned Sufi of the Mughal
period (see above pp. 83-84). He was born in 956 A.H./A.D. 1549 and died in 1048 A.H./A.D. 1638. The tomb was built by Sarwar Shah in 1310 A.H./A.D. 1890. It consists of a walled enclosure with an arched doorway. On the southern side of the enclosure we have an entrance hall, divided by a passage in the middle, into two pillared rooms. At the north-west corner is a sheltered cloister for reading the holy scripture. In the middle of the court stands a masonry cenotaph with an inscription tablet at the head. The inscription records some Quranic verses and some Persian verses and a date 1310 A.H. According to a local belief a dull child is first brought here for initiating into Quran and then sent to a teacher for study.

**TOMB OF RAHMAN BABA**

Rahman Baba is a Pashto poet of great renown. He was born in 1042 A.H./A.D. 1632 and died in 1118 A.H./A.D. 1706. The modern grave of the poet was built by the Pakhto To~lna of Kabul in A.D. 1956. An inscription tablet in Pashto has been put at the head. The grave was made by Bashi Muhammad Husain Sangtarash of Afghanistan.

**OLD PANCH TIRATH**

Panch Tirath (correctly *Pancha Tirtha*, or Five Holy Places), was a famous place of the Hindus before 1947. Now there is a fisheries centre. It stands by the side of the Grand Trunk Road and is marked by a number of masonry tanks and a cluster of date trees (Pl. 10 b). Both Cunningham and Foucher identified the site with the place of Buddha's Alms Bowl but sufficient evidence has been given above (pp. 36-37) to locate it at Pipalmandi, which then stood right on a bend of the Bara river. The Gazetteer notes: "As the name would indicate, there are five holy bathing places or *tirthas*, shaded by some sacred pital trees of great age. The Brahmans of today trace its origin to the five sons of Pandu—the heroes of the Mahabharata. The site is a place of great veneration to the Hindu community; it is used for cremation purposes." Gopal Das also narrates the story of the
Pandava brothers — a story which is not confirmed in other sources. It is stated that during the Mughal period Rajumal Khattri discovered the old tank while digging a well, and rebuilt it, which is known after him. The other tanks are known after Sahid Sanyasi and Ganeshnath Jogi. The Hindus came here for bathing during the festivals. In the month of Karttik they held celebrations under the trees for two days.

**VICTORIA MEMORIAL HALL AND PESHAWAR MUSEUM**

The Victoria Memorial Hall was built in 1905 and is situated close to the old Secretariat buildings just by the side of the main road that comes from the Cantonment Railway station. The Memorial building stands on a grassy terrace, and behind it is the Abasin Art Council. The brick-red building with its crowning kiosks at the four corners gives a noble appearance in the background of the green trees and lawns. The architectural style is typically Curzonian, which has tried to amalgamate oriental features of the Mughals with a European Church plan. The interior consists of a long hall with side galleries in two stories and four office rooms at the corners. The far end has a high platform. The building is now under repairs.

It houses the relics of the Peshawar Museum, which was opened in the year 1901 and had the famous archaeologist Sir Aurel Stein as its curator. The museum has the finest collection of Gandhara sculptures collected from different sites in this region.

**ALL SAINTS CHURCH**

The Church is situated at the Kohati Gate. It was built in 1883 and was opened on 19th December. It is cruciform in plan. Jukes writes: "Its architecture is a successful adaptation of Mosque (correctly oriental) architecture to the purposes of Christian worship. The symmetry and proportions of the columns and arches are almost perfect. At the end of the Chancel is an exquisite
painted window, the gift of Lady Herbert Edwardes, in memory of her late husband. Above the Chancel arch is another small painted window. On its either side are the words of Jehovah Elohim. The transepts are separated from the nave by two carved screen. There is also a carved pulpit. The Communion Tablet is of Peshawar carved wood-work. The floor of the Chancel is of Peshawar pottery in different patterns."

ST JOHN'S CHURCH

This Church is situated near the Peshawar club in the Cantonment area. It is the oldest Church in Peshawar. As early as 1851 Dr. Kemp, one of the founders of the Peshawar Mission, raised funds for its construction. On 23rd March 1851 the Archdeacon Pratt laid the foundation. The building was completed in 1860 and it was consecrated by Bishop Cotton of Calcutta. The building with its tall spires gives a monumental effect to the Cantonment from a great distance (See Pl. 10 a).

ISLAMIA COLLEGE AND PESHAWAR UNIVERSITY

Dar-ul-Ulum-i-Islamia — the Peshawar Islamia College and the Collegiate School — was founded in 1913. The circumstances that led to the development of these institutions have been discussed above (pp. 137-39). The final site for these institutions, that was selected, was “a parched, barren and uneven tract interspersed by ancient mounds (for description see above pp. 24-25) and cut by water courses, lying almost in the mouth of the historic Khyber Pass and on the extreme edge of the Peshawar plain”. The foundation stones of the College mosque and the Collegiate School were laid on an auspicious day in the spring of 1911, by Haji Saheb of Turangzai of revered memory. The foundation of the College was laid by Sir George Roos-Keppel. The School started functioning in March 1913, while the College classes opened six months later on 1st October, 1913.

The demand for developing the Islamia College into a University started from early thirties. On 20th January
1935 Mr. Pir Bakhsh referred in the Frontier Council to the demand of the Khyber University made for the last two years. Mr. W.R. Jones wrote an article on Islamia College, originally published in the *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society*, 1933, and was reprinted in *Khyber Mail* on 4th, 10th and 11th December 1938, in which the demand for the University was made. The *Khyber Mail*, in its issue of 21st Feb. 1947, reports that the Congress ministry formulated the Khyber University bill. It was to be presented in the coming budget session but it never materialised. In April 1948 Qaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah visited Islamia College and expressed: “Let me tell you that nothing is dearer to my heart than to have a University in the North West Frontier Province from where rays of learning and culture will spread throughout Central Asia; and provided you go the right way about it, you will get your University sooner than you can imagine.” The following year, in 1949, Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan, the then Chief Minister of the Province, made up his mind to establish the University. The foundation stone was laid on 30th October 1950 by the late Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, the then Prime Minister of Pakistan and the University started functioning in the domed building of the Agriculture Department just by the side of the Jamrud road.

Islamia College building (Pl. 21) stands by the side of the Jamrud road in the western part of the University Campus. It has a magnificent frontage towards the road with its domes, kiosks and pinnacles rising above the green trees, which contrast sharply with the brick-red colour of the building. The architectural taste is peculiarly Curzonian with a touch of Mughal appeal in the different elements adapted nobly to suit the modern concept of a College. The horizon is varied and it gradually soars in the middle where the domed *chhatri* crowns above all its companions. The back also recedes in tiers till it opens a beautiful panorama in the symmetrical garden laid in front. The symmetry, which is the soul of Muslim art, is carried further right into the centre of Hardinge Hostel, which is aligned on the same axis as the main College
building. This symmetrical plan is the key to the understanding of the lay-out of the Islamia College buildings. To the east of the College building stands the white-plastered three-domed mosque, which attracts from a distance. Further ahead is the old building of the Collegiate School. However, when one enters through the main Islamia College gate from the Jamrud road, one notices the long avenue of orange and Sisu trees. The College building lies to its right just in front. On the left side and onwards even on the right the residential quarters of the teachers follow one after the other. The hostel buildings cut at right angles to these residential quarters. In the old plan the Khyber House was the main bazar with a post office and a bank and to its south lay the hospital.

To this original plan of the College the new University buildings were added in the fifties and sixties but it is unfortunate that the main symmetrical idea of the old buildings could not be preserved in the later constructions. The main University buildings face road No. 1, opposite which is the establishment of Council for Scientific and Industrial Research, quite independent from the University. Today the main approach to the University teaching departments is from road No. 2, which goes straight to Pakistan Forest Institute, the main building of which again faces road No. 1. The main road No. 2 has on its left first Medical College then the Engineering College, and next we get Hostel No. 1, No. 2, International Hostel, Vice-Chancellor’s residence, College of Home Economics and Women’s Hostel and University Women’s College. On its right we have Administrative Block, Science Block, Humanity’s Block, Teacher-Student Centre, Law College and finally an orchard for oranges. Beyond this point start the residential quarters of the University teachers. College of Education faces the Jamrud road while behind Medical College is the Quid-e-Azam College of Commerce. More residential hostels have been built behind Khyber House. On the other hand the main University Mosque has been built far away near the residential quarters of the Pakistan Forest Institute, beyond which is the Agriculture College building, and two hostels attached to it.
Ayub Teaching Hospital is now being built opposite Medical College by the side of the Jamrud road. When this building comes up, those of the Rural Academy, which have a fine soaring tower and other constructions built with a taste for decoration and balance in their different parts will recede behind and remain hidden from the main Jamrud road. Further ahead on this road we have English Medium High School and its attached buildings.

**MUGHAL MONUMENTS AT PALOSI PIRAN**

Palosi is a small village about a mile from the Agricultural College of the University of Peshawar. It lies on the old Michni road, which was the main thoroughfare, during the Mughal period, from Peshawar to Khyber. It is on this road that the Mughal monuments are situated. The high dome attracts the eye from a great distance. The dome belongs to a *Rauzah* (Garden tomb) of Shaikh Imamuddin, who is recorded in a marble inscription to have died in A.H. 1060/A.D. 1650. The Shaikh was a saint of great renown and it is because of him that the attached village is remembered with reverence as Palosi Piran. The construction of the tomb was started in 1063 A.H./A.D. 1652 by the Shaikh's disciples, Shaikh Abdul Razzaq, Shaikh Abdul Haq and another Shaikh whose name is rubbed out. It was built under the superintendence of Haji Iskandar Khadim and Ustad Fateh Mohammad and completed in the Year 1069 A.H./A.D.1658. The inscription reads as follows:

الله أكبر

بعلوم جميع سرودان و متونان . . . . . مان سلسله عليه قونية قادرية بطريقه مستقيمه قاسمية بوده باشد اتاريغ بست وسويوم شهر محرم الحرام شب

چهارشبته وقت سحر عطار وشست بود که حضرت امام (الحق والدين) وسراج المعقدين امام الملته والدين نبازمند جناب كبرنا الى حضرت

شيخ امام الدين . . . . حضرت شيخ . . . بود . . نازدنا بدارالبنا رحات نعود و اتاريغ سنھ پزار وشست وسھ بود
By the side of the Chora or Narai Khwar there now stands a group of three monuments, and it is further remembered that in the middle of the Khwar there used to be a large stone where the Shaikh sat for meditation. The whole flat area, which is now given to agriculture, once had a beautiful garden in the Charbagh style, remnants of which can even now be recognised. The tomb (Pl. 15 a) stands on a raised platform, which has vaulted rooms underneath. The main entrance is on the south, which leads directly into the tahkhana. A staircase on the left leads up to the terrace. At the entrance is kept a loose marble tablet bearing the inscription. It is on this terrace that the square tomb stands majestically with high arches on all the four sides. Underneath the arches is a rectangular entrance with a window above. The parapet is ornamented with plastered merlons. The dome rests on an octagonal drum. A flight of twentyfive steps in the thickness of the wall on the eastern side gives access to the top of the roof. The interior of the tomb is also square with high arches on all the four sides. The square sides are carried to great heights and then they have squinch arches to support the dome. The whole building is plastered. The interior is painted in red colour. The painting is applied along the line of the arches and on the ceiling. At the spandrels scroll work is seen. The squinches show net pattern and in the same level is the cypress-tree motif at the arched panel. In the middle of the room is the Kachcha grave of the Shaikh along with others by his side.
To the west of the tomb stands a three-domed plastered mosque (Pl. 20), faced with an open paved verandah on the east. The mosque is rectangular in plan with three doorways opening under high arches. The parapet is slightly raised high at the central doorway. The corners were originally topped with pinnacles. The interior of the mosque as well as the central doorway is highly painted in the same style as observable in the tomb, suggesting that the mosque was probably built at the same time as the tomb. The interior wall of the mosque has several inscriptions written by the later visitors.

A little away from the mosque and near the Khwar stands a rectangular plastered tomb with Indian-style pavilion type of domical roof. It has square door openings on all the four sides. There is only one grave inside.

**TOMB OF SHAIKH SULTAN BABA**

This is a similar tomb, as described above, in the village of Tira Bala on an ancient mound strewn over with Muslim graves. The village can be approached directly about four miles from the city and one mile away from the *pucca* road. It is also approachable from the Warsak road from the village of Dar Mangi. One has to walk to the tomb from the Budni *nala* that comes on way. The high dome is visible from the main road.

The tomb is a plastered, brick-built, square building, which originally had turrets at the four corners. The main entrance is on the east while the other sides show double window opening. The facade is relieved with rectangular panels. The dome rests on a high octagonal drum. The interior is an exact replica of the Palosi tomb.

**ZIARAT OF AS‘HAB BABA**

Onward to Chagarmitti the road goes on in a winding fashion and passes many old mounds on way. At the tenth mile the *pucca* road ends. Two miles further ahead is the Ziarat of As‘hab Baba, better known as Jabir As‘habi. His long grave is on a high mound not far from the Shah Alam river. Every Thursday a mela is held here.
CHAPTER VIII
MONUMENTS OF PESHAWAR NEIGHBOURHOOD

Introduction: Peshawar valley, which represents *par excellence* ancient Gandhara, is a veritable home of archaeological treasures, equalled, if at all, by few ancient countries of the world. Who has not heard of Gandhara sculptures? — those beautiful works of art in imperishable blue or green schist stone or in pliable whitish stucco — the wonder creation of Buddhist fantasies, which called to its production the techniques of the western classical art and gave new life to the concepts of oriental myths and mythology connected with Buddhism in a style of forms that is typical of Gandhara. Visitors have often gone to Taxila of ancient fame for having a glimpse of this ancient art, but Taxila has been a capital city far to the east of the Indus. There, no doubt, the sculptured materials were taken to soothe the taste of the urban population but it is the schistose rocks of the main Gandhara that pulsate with the eternal life of this art: those tumbled down pieces, gazing at every nook and corner of the hills, and waiting for a real lover of art to whisper into his ears the true story of its birth and decay. Indeed in Gandhara you can dig at every stage and find a piece for yourself, or pause a while, look at the hill in front and discover the smiling Buddha standing in a pose of benediction. From Attock to Khyber and from Peshawar to Swat and Bajaur the whole region is replete with the treasures that no one can miss to see in his journey. Yet all these noble creations are in a land where today dwell the ferocious Pathan tribes who have engaged in times past with several adventurers and invaders that pushed down the western gates to try their luck in the east. It is these thrilling stories of numerous engagements that make Khyber a pass of world fame. And there you observe the romance of Alexander far to the north in the hills where he encountered in battles the tribes of his time in Bajaur, Dir
and Swat. And many more materials of history still await underground for you to discover and get renown.

**KHYBER PASS**

Fantastic stories are generally associated with the Khyber Pass that need to be understood in their true historical perspective. Mr. S.M. Jaffar has a vague reference: “With it are intimately associated the names of a number of great kings and conquerors. It has been the scene of the activities and exploits of the Persian, Buddhist, Greek, Afghan, Mughal, Sikh and British adventurers. It has witnessed the influx of the Aryan and other waves of migration forced by foes, famines and freaks of fortune”. We know for certain that the Sikhs never crossed the Khyber Pass. No remains of the Persians and Greeks have been found there. The Aryan migration through this pass has not been attested at all. This pass is neither mentioned in the Sanskrit literature nor is any Chinese pilgrim known to have journeyed through it. The very name Khyber is of Arabic derivation and its namesake is very well known in Arabia. According to Farishtah (see above P. 66) when the Afghans finally settled in Peshawar valley in the eighth century A.D., they first built the fort in Khyber. The importance of Khyber started from the day when the city of Kabul became a deciding factor in the onward march of the invaders from Central Asia towards the Indo-Gangetic plains. It was the Turki Shahi rulers of the mediaeval period who are called in Arabic literature the Kabul Shah (see above PP. 54-56) as they had their capital in that city. It is of this time that we have a fort, known as Kafirkot, in the western part of the Khyber Pass. Is this the fort referred to by Farishtah? However, in the succeeding centuries it was the city of Ghazni that came into prominence in Afghanistan. And from Ghazni the natural route to the Indus plains was along the Kurram or Tochi rivers. It was only in the time of Mirza Abu Said of the Timurid family (See above P. 75) that Kabul once again gained importance. And when Babar finally occupied Kabul, he investigated into the routes that led towards India. He is the first in-
vader known to have definitely crossed the Khyber Pass (See above P. 77). His grandson Akbar got the road through the pass built for the first time by the engineer Qasim Khan in 1586 (See above P. 77). However, prior to the Mughal period Khyber route was in use by the local people, who went from Peshawar. The existence of the Buddhist relics and the close connection of these relics with the materials of Peshawar valley suggest that there was a local traffic between Peshawar and the Khyber area in the ancient time. The Sikhs tried to close the Khyber Pass by building a fort at Jamrud in 1836 but they lost their famous general Hari Singh Nalwa in the battle of Jamrud in 1837. It is in his memory that later Burj Hari Singh was built at a place not far from the Islamia College. During the early British period there was an aerial rope to help cross the high cliffs of the pass. Later pucca motorable road was constructed. In 1925 railway was opened that ran through several tunnels right upto Landi-Khana.

Though the present Khyber route was defined only during the Mughal period, the passage from Peshawar to Afghanistan through several gaps in the western ridge was all along in use. It is for this reason that this western area, which includes long valleys, has been known as Tira derived from Sanskrit Tri and Pashto Teredal = to cross). In the thirteenth century Abul Fida calls the people of this area Tirahu (See above P. 63). Khyber is a part of this historical Tira, though today the two have kept their separate identity.

On Pakistan side Khyber “extends from Jamrud to Torkham. Strictly speaking the term applies to the defile between Landi Kotal and Bagiari. To the north stands the lofty peaks of Rohtas and Tartara mountains, stretching like a chain towards Landi Kotal. On the south the pass is bounded by broken ridges, at places rising to great heights traversed by several paths. Beyond Ali Masjid, a lofty mountain, called Alacha Gar or Aspo Gar, separates the pass from the Bazar Valley. Beyond Landi Kotal the road falls rapidly in a zigzag path to Landi Khana, whence
following the course of a nullah, it reaches Torkham, and continuing further it emerges on the plain on the right bank of the Kabul river, where Dhakka, an Afghan fort, is situated.

"Geographically the country included within the name 'Khaiber' is divided in several parts. The following are the main geographic divisions:

1) The country on the right bank of the Kabul river, situated between the river and the chain of 'Laka,’ Haideri Kandao, Tor Tsapar and Spina Tsoka peaks.

2) The pass between Torkham and Jamrud.

2) The Bazar Valley, bounded by Sur Gar, Mangal Bagh Kandao and the chain of mountains between Sasobi Kandao and Alacha Gar.

4) The Bara valley or the country on both banks of the "Bara" stream between Mamanai and Dawa Toi (in Tirah).

5) The Rajgal valley, which extends from Dawa Toi, along the nulla on both sides of the stream as far as Mittu Gar (11420 ft.), one of the high peaks of Safed Koh Range.

6) The Maidan valley, is situated beyond Dawa Toi as far as the Chamkani country. It is bounded by Rajgal in the north, Chamkani country on the west, the Tor Gar range on the south and the Bara Valley or Takhtakai peak on the east."

Generally three routes are mentioned between Peshawar and Afghanistan (1) The Khyber Pass: (2) The Shilman route or the Dabar route passing through Kam Dakka, Shilman Ghakhi, the Shilman valley, the Dabar hills and Shahgai, and (3) The Bazar route through Sasobi Kandao, the Bazar valley, Barg, Karmna and Alach or through Bazar valley, Chona and Lala Cheena. The tribes
in the Khyber valleys are Afridis, Shinwaris, Mullagorts and Shilmanis — a branch of the Mohmand tribe.

**Burj Hari Singh:** According to Gopal Das³ this *Burj* was built by Sardar Hari Singh for defensive purposes. It marks the place where the Sikh general Hari Singh fell fighting against the Afghan forces led by Prince Muhammad Akbar Khan⁴. It is a defensive garrison built around a square open court, enclosed by a wall of *Kachcha* bricks and strengthened by bastions at the four corners. To its north side is a police post on a low ancient mound.

**Jamrud Fort:** The village of Jam is recorded by Babar (see above P. 77) to have been situated near a *rud* (river) and is generally connected with the legendary Persian king Jamshed of *Shahnama* fame. Very often, as in the time of Akbar, Mughal army was posted here but we have no information of any Mughal fort ever built here. However, as the present mud fort stands on a high mound, it seems that some sort of a construction was in existence here. Moorcraft, who came here before the construction of the modern fort, writes: "The plain terminated at the foot of the Khyber range. It appeared to have been formerly a place of importance, from the number of broken stone walls scattered about, and some large tanks, one of which was sixty yards square."⁵ The foundation of the present fort was laid by Hari Singh on 6th of Poh 1893 *Vikram Samrat* (1836) and was named *Fattehgarh*.⁶ It was the building of this fort that brought the Afghan forces. The Sikh general was killed but the Sikhs maintained their hold in Peshawar and over the fort. After the death of the Sikh general a memorial (*Samadhi*) was built inside by Gajju Mall of Peshawar in 1902. There used to be a well and a Sikh *Gurudwara*. The fort is of rough stone work, faced with mud plaster, and in three tiers — a lower fort, an upper fort and a keep. The lower fort has a square terrace with a circular bastion at each corner. The ramparts used to have some barracks. The upper fort has an octagonal terrace. By its side Bab-i-
Khyber (Pl. 6a) was built in 1964. We pass through this gate and on our left is the village, where there is a Ziarat of Wali Baba.

The actual pass (Pl. 24) begins near the village of Qadam (probably a place of Buddha's foot-print), where we have a water spring. Onwards a Khwar (torrent) breaks through the hills and opens the pass. W.S. Caine describes the route further. "The mountains close in, and in less than half a mile, the pass narrows to 150 yards, and a mile further to about thirty yards, the rocks rising in sheer precipice of 60 or 100 feet, then sloping back. Six and a half miles from Jamrud, Ali Masjid is reached, and here the width is fifteen yards only, the mountains on either side rising 1000 to 1300 feet sheer from the floor of the pass. The pass rises altogether about 1700 feet to the summit of the pass at Landikotal." On way to Ali Masjid we pass Shahgai fort, which was built by the British to defend the opening at Ali Masjid after a narrow gorge, at the eastern entrance of which is a water spring. It is near this water source that the Buddhists in ancient times built stupas (see above P. 40) now no longer traceable. This place is traditionally associated with the name of Hazart Ali of revered memory. Down in the valley there is a modern mosque and in the narrow gorge there is an upright standing stone with the impression of the palm. Just before Landi Kotal we see from a distance the Sphola Stupa (Pl. 25) standing on the top of a hillock opposite the modern village of Zarai. The stupa is much spoiled now and the monastic area to its north has all been dug up. The spherical dome of the Stupa, which has been restored on the road side, stands on three tiered platforms, the middle one of which shows some pilasters. Several tourists have given a description of the Stupa. However, the greatest attraction in the pass is the market at Landikotal, which has rapidly developed within the last fifteen years. Here the modern goods from far and near pass hands from the tribal merchants into the hands of the elite from urban areas of Pakistan. Beyond Landi Kotal on our left can
be seen the Kafirkot at a distance. Then we reach the Pak-Afghan border at Torkham (Pl. 26).

**ATTOCK**

While Khyber opens the western gate into Peshawar Valley, Attock marks the exit gate into the plains of the Panjab. Attock stands on the eastern bank of the Indus, just below the point where the Kabul river debouches into the main stream. The combined water of the two makes a vast expanse and flows rapidly through a narrow gorge. It was at this narrow point that the Mughals established a crossing and in order to defend it the Attock fort was ordered to be built by Emperor Akbar in A.D. 1581. Later in 1883 the British built the iron bridge further down stream. Babar is known to have crossed the river near about this point but then Attock was not in existence. Since the foundation of this fort by Akbar Attock has played a dominant part in exercising military control over the Frontier. This position changed only when the British established their biggest cantonment in Rawalpindi for the same purpose. From this time onwards the importance of Attock has dwindled and remained mainly to defend the Indus crossing. The Sikhs built a fort at Khairabad on the opposite side of the river but there is now no trace of this fort.

In ancient time the Indus was crossed at several points. The most famous crossing was at Hund (See below). About a mile and half north of the Attock fort just near the water edge there lie huge boulders rolled down the bed of the river in prehistoric times. Similar boulders can also be seen near the village of Mandori about six and half miles down stream on the right bank of the river. On these boulders several figures have been engraved in a primitive style depicting elephant, bull, cart, men with bows and arrows and others. These engravings belong to about 1st-2nd century B.C. as two Kharoshthi inscriptions included among them suggest.
Akbar not only built the fort but also established a ferry and a mint and settled a colony of boatmen from Hindustan, the descendants of whom still live at Mallahitola. Soon the place became important for transit trade. To meet the needs of the traders a serai was also built. On the road side as well as up on the hill near a water spring there grew up several places for Ziarat, Mosques and temples came up to meet the religious demand of the people. All these buildings are now fallen in bad days but they remind us of one-time glory that attached to the Indus crossing at this point.

**Attok Fort**: Badauni says that Akbar ordered a fort to be built here in 989 A.H./A.D. 1581. A marble slab inscription set above the inner north gateway gives the date 991 A.H. (A.D. 1583) for completion. The work was supervised by Shamsuddin Khawafi. The fort is a purely military post designed to hold the river-crossing and guard the bridge of boats. "The fortifications are over a vaulted roof, but in one stretch thick flat roofing-wards of eighteen bastions, all circular except one, which is rectangular. They are built mostly of a local shaly rock set in thick lime mortar, but for arches, vaulting, domes, and external string-course small lakhauri brick is used, and for the original gateways a sandstone resembling that found at Taraki in the Jhelum district. An interesting feature of the fortification is a narrow gallery contrived high up in the wall to give the defenders head and back cover. The greater part of the gallery has a vaulted roof, but in one stretch thick flat roofing-slabs replace the brick vaulting. The battlements, loopholes and machicoulis bear evidence of changes to meet new needs arising from changing armament . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . There are no old buildings in the interior except some underground chambers in the upper part near the modern Delhi Gate. At present these are inaccessible. but traces of water-channels and reservoirs have been observed in one of them and they appear to have been cool chambers for use in summer. In the lower fort area the small road from the Clyde Battery to the modern Lahori
Gate at many places cuts through old walls and ruined vaulted chambers built in small bricks."

*The Begum Serai*: The caravan serai is situated about a furlong from the Fort's Water Gate upwards below the main road. The date of its construction is not known. Some attribute it to Nur Jahan, the wife of Jahangir, and others to a wife of Akbar. The court of the Serai is 331 feet square and contains in the middle a small three-arched building. Round the sides of the court are the usual compartments, and polygonal stone towers project from the four corners. The building in the middle stands on a platform and has a three-arched opening on the east, the central one larger than its companions. The interior is a long hall covered by low domes. This is generally described as a mosque because it follows the usual plan of a mosque. But Lt. Col. Rashid takes it for a *baradari* as it has no mihrab on the western side. It is likely that the mihrab is now gone. Col. Rashid thinks that this building was erected earlier than the Serai. Its interior walls have several scribblings by visitors, as we have noted earlier also in Peshawar in the mosque at Palosi and also in the Durrani graveyard. One of the inscriptions gives the date 1010 A.H./A.D. 1601. But this is no proof that it was built earlier than the serai.

*Boat bridge*: There are pillars built by Akbar on either side of the river for binding the boat bridge. The distance between the two pillars is approximately 150 yards. The bridge is located between the villages of Mallahi Tola on the proximal side of the fort and Khairabad on its distal side.

*Domed Tomb*: In the middle of the Grand Trunk Road there stands a single domed square building on a raised platform. A staircase on a side leads up to the roof. Nothing is known about the person buried. But it is traditionally known to be a tomb of a prostitute.
HUND

Hund is mediaeval Wailhind and ancient Udbhand or Udak-bhanda-pura (literally meaning a city on the river-crossing done by the help of pots) and stands on the western bank of the river Indus, about fifteen miles north of Attock. Here came Alexander the Great, the Scythians and the Kushanas, the Chinese pilgrims, Mahmud of Ghazni, Shihabuddin Ghori, Timur on his return march, Babar and many other invaders who wished to cross the Indus through Peshawar valley into the plains of the Panjab. The Mongol conqueror Chinghiz came here in pursuit of the Khwarizm Shah, Jalaluddin Mankbarni, and stopped on the bank to gaze at the vast expanse of the Indus where the fugitive emperor had flung himself to save his life. It was at this place that in the 9th century A.D. the Hindu Shahi rulers established their capital after the Turki Shahis were defeated in Kabul (see above PP. 54-56). A contemporary Muslim traveller Muqaddasi gives an eyewitness account of the city in the 10th Century A.D.

"It is a capital city of great glory and is bigger than Mansura. Situated on a square open plain, it has many gardens clean and attractive. The river (Indus) is full of water. We also get rains. The fruits of both summer and winter seasons are plentifully available. Around the city are the gardens full of walnut, almond, banana, and date. The prices are low. Three maunds of honey could be bought in one dirham. Bread and milk are very cheap. Pestilent insects (like mosquitoes, bugs) are absent. People are free from incurable diseases. But the weather is comparatively humid and hot. The houses are built of timber covered with dry grass. It is therefore open to fire. Short of these dangers it could match with the best cities of Iran."

The ruins of the old city stretch for miles on the right bank of the river. On the river side high standing fortification walls built of stone diaper are clearly traceable in the thickness of the jungle. To the south of the
village tradition speaks of a Salimgarh, which appears to be a foundation of a Hindu temple. Several Hindu images Sanskrit inscriptions, and old coins have been found at Hund. Some of them are preserved in the Peshawar Museum. Much later in A.D. 1586 under the reign of Emperor Akbar a fort was built here with small bricks (see above p. 82). This fort which is still in existence, though dilapidated, is much reduced in dimension and has a beautiful frontage on the river side. Within this Mughal fortification wall there now stands a modern village. Outside this fortified area there is an old Muslim graveyard. One of the graves bears an inscription which can be dated to the late Mughal period.

The site is well worth preserving for the tourists who can enjoy a beautiful view of the river and experience the warmth of the traditional old crossing.14

GALA FORT OPPOSITE TARBELA

There was another crossing of the Indus at a point where Tarbela is situated on the eastern bank. On the western bank from the place, where Pehur pumping station is located, a high ridge goes southward. Standing on the top of the ridge one can see the opening of the Swabi plain westward. In order to check the advancing enemy from the west this fort was built on the ridge by the Hindu Shahi rulers. On the slope of the ridge on the north and west potsherds are strewn all over the place and in the gullies they are traceable to a depth of 7 to 9 feet. A new village is now coming up on this ancient settlement. The fortification wall that follows the contour of the ridge is built of stone and is standing to a height of 4' 6" at places. At intervals there are square bastions on the north and west sides. On the steep side of the ridge the walls are not very high but in the depressions strong defensive wall has been built to protect the residents within. A second line of defence fenced off small outposts on the river side. Round bastions are also observable at places. Within the fortified area no structure is now preserved. However, in
the wall arrow slits are well worth noticing. The whole area is beautifully located

**RANG MAHAL AT VALAI**

Between Attock and Peshawar there are very few Mughal monuments of importance now existing. Near Nowshera one tourist retreat is worth recording. About two miles east of Nowshera there is a small village called Vatan Suryakhel on the Grand Trunk Road. South of this village a *Kachcha* road goes under an iron bridge towards the village of Valai, where in ancient time there was some sort of Buddhist settlement. Away from the main Grand Trunk Road we have an old water spring just at the foot of a ridge in a small closed valley. This spring was taken advantage of by the Mughals and they built here a garden (now no longer in existence). In the middle of this garden a temporary resting place was built of brick and plaster. It consists of a hall in the middle and two side rooms, built on an arched terrace, underneath which flows the spring water. A staircase from the side gives access to the roof. The interior of the main hall is full of painting in the late Mughal style as is well-known from this area. The date of this building is not definitely known. But the site is very attractive.

**MUGHAL TOMB AT DILAZAK**

On the old Peshawar—Charsadda road there is a village called Dilazak just close to the river Shah Alam, where a boat bridge leads you on to the other side. About a mile short of Dilazak is a group of hamlets, locally known as *Gumbad Kile*, from the fact that a domed tomb marks the place. From the records of the Government Department of Archaeology, it is learnt that the tomb is protected and that it "was built by one Shah Qutb (Zainul Abedin) during the reign of the Mughal emperor Akbar." But it is now in a conspicuously neglected condition, no action apparently undertaken to preserve the monument. As we go along the road, ancient mounds are seen on our right and left.
The tomb, which is a plastered brick-built edifice stands alone on a raised ground, which had originally brick facing. The tomb has a great likeness with that of Nawab Sayid Khan in Peshawar but there are differences in detail. While the Sayid Khan’s tomb has a high-shouldered drum with a dome having an outer and inner shell, the Dilazak tomb has a comparatively lower shoulder with a single dome. It is, however, in the detail of the interior decoration that we visualise the taste of the time. Like its counter-part in Peshawar, the tomb is octagonal with four entrances on the four sides, which are wider in dimension than the other four sides of the octagon. The entrance facades are beautifully relieved with arched panels, each showing multi-cusps, flat arch and trefoil design. The entrance opens under a high arch, underneath which is an arched doorway with a window above. The corner sides are divided into two zones, each with an arched alcove with an additional horizontal panel overhead. At the corners remnants of pilasters can be seen but their top pinnacles are gone. The parapet is also damaged. The drum is sixteen-sided with a low dome above but the finial is missing with the result that a hole is created at the apex of the dome. On the western side a staircase is provided in the thickness of the wall to go to the roof but it is now closed and is encumbered with a modern hut. The interior makes a square hall, each side being relieved with a tall arched panel, topped by a horizontal line of moulding. Above this line we have squinches at the corners and additional arches in the middle. It is from this horizontal line upward that paintings are now preserved. The tympanum of the arches is divided into different zones by lines and each sub-divided area has a floral pattern—a poppy, lilly or others. Other geometric patterns make the interior lively. On the floor is a grave but is now bereft of its stone. The painted designs make a difference from those seen in the buildings at Palosi.

CHARSADDA15 (PUSHKALAVATI)

Pushkalavati or Pukhalavadi in the Prakrit language, or Peukela as the Greeks pronounced, is the old capital
city of Gandhara — the country denoting, par excellence, the Peshawar valley in West Pakistan. In hoary antiquity Gandhara was known for its “fine sheep wool”, and later in the historical period it gave rise to the fine stone and stucco sculpture belonging to the famous Gandhara school of art. Throughout the centuries Gandhara evolved a culture of its own based on the economy of its main resource — the river Kabul and its tributaries. Pushkalavati embodies the first flowering of this culture. In the history of Pushkalavati alone can be traced those elements of the culture that underlie the very bases of the Gandharan life.

Pushkalavati is a name long forgotten in history, the last reference being recorded in the account of the Chinese pilgrim, Hiuen Tsang, in 7th century A.D. It was left to the British archaeologist, General Cunningham, to rediscover the traces of this lost city in the scattered ruins that now lie between the different distributaries of the river Swat near the point where it joins the river Kabul. The tallest and most dominating of the mounds was long remembered by the local villagers as Hisar (meaning fort) probably because it was used as a fort in the 18th and 19th centuries, and that is how we find it mentioned in the geographical notes of Major Raverty in 1880. But the villagers seem to have preserved a still older form in the name of another mound, which they call Rajar, correctly Rajagarh, or Rajagriha, meaning royal palace. Though the palace still remains to be identified, it is certain that the villagers have no definite memory about the old city, a conclusion which follows from the name of another mound, popularly known as Shahr-i-Napursan, literally meaning ‘a neglected city.’ It is probably a fitting honour to this dead relic that the surrounding area today embraces an enormous graveyard, a permanent resting place of the dead for many centuries, perhaps as ancient as Pushkalavati itself.

On its ruins now stands the new town of Charsadda, 20 miles north-east of Peshawar. It is the head-quarters of
a tehsil (sub-division), long known as Ash-nagar (correctly Ashta-nagara), or the modern Persianised form Hasht-Nagar, meaning “eight towns” chosen as such for its commanding the four (char) routes (Sadda) that emerge from this town to four different directions. Tradition is not certain whether the term, Ash-Nagar, refers to eight (or more) older mounds of ruined cities in this area, or the newly founded towns that cluster round the old ruins. However, human memory is short though old survivals sometimes do give us a clue. In the name Ash-Nagar it may not be fanciful to recognise the city of Ash or Ashtakas, the people who lived in this part at the time of Alexander’s invasion; whose king was hence referred to as “Astes”, correctly Ashtaka-raja. Still earlier Ashtakas are mentioned in this region by Panini, the world famous grammarian, who lived at Salature, modern Lahur in the Swabi Tehsil of Mardan district. But their stories are no more heard from the mouths of the villagers today. What we learn is just the tradition recorded in 1874 by a local writer, Munshi Gopaldas, in Tawarikh-i-Peshawar. There it is said that the new name Charsadda is due to the Afghan conqueror Ilyas Khan Muhammadzai, who some thirteen generations ago made new settlements in this area. Charsadda preserves the name of one of his four sons. Whether this tradition is true or not, Charsadda is definitely a new addition which hardly preserves any memory of Pushkalavati or Ashtanagara.

First to attract the attention is the Bala-Hisar mound. Actually there are two mounds, approachable by a pathway from the main Peshawar road just where it makes a sharp bend towards the river Jinde (a branch of the Swat river) immediately before the bridge that acts as a gateway to the modern town of Charsadda. Twice this mound was excavated — first by Sir John Marshall in 1902-3, when he discovered some materials of the late historical period, and second by Sir Mortimer Wheeler in 1958, when he laid a vertical trench to find out the depth of the cultural deposit. Sir Mortimer traces the material of the western mound to the iron age and dates its beginning to
about the 6th century B.C., but his excavation did not reveal any earlier strata. According to him this was the city invested by Alexander’s generals. In the 3rd-2nd century B.C. the eastern mound, which was separated from the western at this time by a river (now dried up) assumed importance, but not for long. Though the Buddhist remains, and even traces of Muslim and Sikh occupations are seen on the top, it is suggested that the main centre of activity had shifted by or before the 1st century B.C. to another site at Shaikhan Dheri, north of the river Sambor, now a marshy channel, which separates Bala-Hisar from Shaikhan Dheri.

Shaikhan Dheri cannot be approached from this side. The visitor must return to the main road, cross the river Jinde and have a view of the vast accumulation of the graves in the plain beyond the bridge. Then going north-eastwards through the market town on the road that leads to Tangi, the visitor turns on to a Kacha road towards the village of Rajar, recrosses the river Jinde and finally comes to the low mound of Shaikhan Dheri, one part of which is again occupied by modern graves and another ruined by the villagers for the profit of some building materials or a lucky chance of gold jewellery or coins. Fortunately it is this demolition of the villagers which showed so clearly in the aerial photograph and led Sir Mortimer Wheeler to recognise the Indo-Greek pattern of the buried city in this mound. An earlier discovery of a hoard of coins belonging to the Indo-Greek rulers had already hinted at this identification. But this mound is caught up between two rivers, Sambor on the south and Jinde on the east. The consequent changes in these rivers did not allow the city to flourish long. The site was excavated by the University of Peshawar in 1963. The remains of the city founded by the Greeks in 2nd century B.C. was discovered. A beautiful terracotta figure (Pl. 2.) is illustrated here. The city was destroyed by the river in the time of the Kushana emperor Vasudeva.

Rajar itself on the opposite side of the river Jinde is a tolerably conspicuous mound but it is today almost
wholly covered by the modern village. The area, which is unoccupied, is being fast levelled by the villagers in order to obtain some soil of the quality of an imperfect fertiliser, little realising how much historical evidence of their own cultural heritage they are themselves destroying. Further away to the north the mounds of Mir Ziarat and Shahr-i-Napur san still defy the ravages of time and also of the human hand for they too are covered by modern graves: this last custom again stands in the way of their exploration and excavation. In Sir John Marshall's excavation at Mir Ziarat in 1902-3 the coins of the Indo-Greeks, the Scythians and also of the early Kushana rulers were found. Another find at Rajar of a hoard of coins belonging to the Indo-Greeks, Scythians, and the Kushanas suggests that the city survived here longer than at Shaikhan Dheri.

On his way back from these mounds the visitor can turn on to Takht-i-bahi road and stop after about a mile to see the ruins of two Buddhist stupa mounds - Palatu Dheri on the left and Ghaz Dheri on the right. The latter was partially excavated by Sir John Marshall. The grandeur of the old stupas is described by Huen Tsang. Beautiful Buddhist sculptures have been obtained from this site. Several sculptures come from this place. Such Buddhist stupas of the Kushana period are scattered widely in this part.

There still remains one last place to be seen, hidden behind these graves but even now standing aloft, at the village of Prang about a mile to the east of the main road. The modern village is perched on a part of the mound. The evidence here is clear, that the main mound was dissected by an intruding river which has left behind deposits of sand in its old track. The northern part of the mound is intact because it is covered by graves, but the southern one is being gradually denuded of its earth to serve as manure in the fields. Standing on the top of the mound, the visitor can see the vast expanse of the river that must have once flowed beneath the ramparts of this city. Here once met the two mighty rivers, Kabul and
Swat, and the confluence gave rise to the old sacred spot known today as Prang, an obvious corruption of the word Pravag (Prag—Prang), which at once recalls its namesake at the confluence of the Ganges and Jamuna near Allahabad in north India. What kind of sacredness was attached to it in the past, is little known today, but the huge mound bears witness to its continuous occupation from of old. And the name itself is very significant.

**TAKHT-I-Bahi (Pl. 22)**

Sir Mortimer Wheeler comments: “Today probably the best known monument in the Peshawar district (correctly valley) is the Buddhist monastery of Takht-i-Bahi, on a rocky ridge about 10 miles north-east of Mardan. It stands 500 feet above the plain and is approached by steep and winding path, but the visitor is repaid for his climb by the architectural diversity of the ruins and by their romantic mountain—setting.”

Takht-i-Bahi literally means a spring on a flat (terrace) and derives its name from the original water spring on the top of the ridge that facilitated the growth of this monastic settlement. It now lies on the main road from Mardan to Malakand and onwards to Swat. But the actual ridge, on which the monastery is located, is removed about two miles from the main road and is hidden behind the towering cliff in front. It is because of this sequestered position that the monastery is well preserved. But what invader’s hands spared, man, in his greed for grabbing sculptures, has removed the best specimens of Buddhist art. A few of them are preserved in the Peshawar Museum. The monastic establishment was not far from an ancient city, now represented by the ruins at Sahr-i-Bahlol, a village about two miles south-east of Takht-i-Bahi. The main monastic area can be approached from two sides. From Sahr-i-Bahlol one could undertake a long walk up the hill on the eastern side, get at the water-spring first and then reach down the Buddhist establishment. This is rather a long journey. For an easy approach we proceed via Sugar Mill and park our car just at the foot of the ridge, wherefrom we could have a distant view of the standing walls, now almost
become a part of the bare rocks of the Takht-i-Bahi ridge. When we go up and up the winding path, the beautiful panorama of the Baizai plain presents before us until our eyes catch the emerging peaks of the Malakand hill, and far at a distance we can have a glimpse of the snowy peaks of the Chitral hills.

As we go up, we see, on our right, a suit of monastic cells and to our left on the farther ridge more groups of buildings crop up. In between the centuries of rain water have cut deep chasm. Today we enter by a back-door and step directly into the court of the many stupas. In the ancient time the main approach was from the east through two vaulted corridors, which led up through three stages into this court. The court, which is rectangular, is further enlarged on the east side by several revetments on the slope. The eastern portion is empty but at the far end we have an assembly hall. The western part is full of small votive stupas. Originally there was only one stupa (the biggest in size) at the eastern end. The basement of these stupas has Corinthian pillars, in between which were plastered sculptures, now all gone. These stupas are generally square in plan but we have one octagonal and another circular stupa. Later the biggest stupa had an additional superstructure of two niches obviously to give shelter to two Buddha figures. It appears that at this stage the niches, seen on the three sides of this court, were added. They have been arranged in such a fashion that a north-south passage runs through the middle of the court. To the north is the main monastery on a higher level and to the south is a well planned monastic shrine on a high terrace. The shrine is unique of its kind. It has a stupa in the middle and niches on the sides. The niches are covered with domes built on corbelled system with copings on the intermediate stage. The monastery has an open court in the middle with lustral bathroom in a corner and living cells on the sides. It was double storeyed. There is only one double-roomed cell. All others are single. A passage on the east leads to the refectory and also shows the steps for the second storey.
In order to have a glance of the most attractive object at the site we have to climb down and pass along a wooden passage to another stupa complex of a much later date. Two votive stupas are also lying by the side of a main stupa. All of them have preserved fine stucco sculptures. Right in front along the wall can be seen six pairs of large size feet and some broken head of Buddhas all in stucco. Nearby are other stone sculptures. One of them is an unfinished figure.

We now return to the original stupa court and step down into a new complex of underground cells on either side of a barrel vaulted corridor. The cells, which are seven in number, are dark and are obviously meant for austere practices, which Buddhism developed latest in its existence.

Unfortunately the excavators have not given us a definite clue to the proper dating of the constructions. One inscription of the time of the Parthian ruler, Gondophares is said to have been found here. It is dated in the year 103, probably equivalent to A.D. 45. If this date could be taken as a near proximity to the beginning of the monastic settlement here, the main development phase must be placed in the peak period of the Great Kushanas, 1st-2nd centuries A.D. The third stage must be placed in the later Kushana period, 3rd-4th centuries A.D. Finally the underground monastic cell complex should probably belong to 5th-6th centuries A.D.

**SHAHBAZGARHI**

Shahbazgarhi, the hill fortress of Shahbaz, is today known to the local people more for its weekly bazar than for any of its past glory. Even the memory of the mediaeval saint, Shahbaz Qalandar, has faded away. It is only in the *Memoirs of Babar* that he is recorded as an “impious unbeliever, who, in the course of the last thirty or forty years, had perverted the faith of numbers of the Yusufzais and Dilazaks”.

Very few indeed have ever thought of the fact that here once flourished one of the most important cities of Gandhara which lay at the crossing of ancient trade routes. What was its ancient name? That is now completely forgotten. It was through the efforts of the British archaeologist General Cunningham and the French antiquarian Foucher that the old name of the place has been traced in the Chinese travellers' account. Sung-Yun, who came here in A.D. 520, calls it Fo-Sha-Fu, and Hiuen Tsang, who passed in about A.D. 630, records the name as Po-Lou-Sha. These Chinese names are obviously corruptions of some local Sanskrit word. The original is very often restored as Varusha or Varushapura. Of all the places on this side of the river Indus, it is only at Shahbazgarhi that the royal edicts of king Asoka are found. These edicts were definitely not engraved in wilderness. They were meant for propaganda among the people to proclaim to them the great commandments and message that the king desired to convey. Hence it is obvious that the site is on the frequented route of traders, merchants, soldiers and missionaries.

This route is to-day hardly understood by the visitors who travel by the modern road south of the river Kabul from Rawalpindi to Peshawar. This modern road became popular after the Attock ferry was installed by the Mughal emperor Akbar in A.D. 1581 and much more used after the Attock bridge was built by the British. Prior to this the main Indus crossing was at Hund (ancient Udbhandapura), fifteen miles north of Attock, and the old road ran north of the river Kabul almost parallel to it. Shahbazgarhi lies on this old route which is fully described by the Chinese travellers. It is at a distance of about 33 miles from Hund and 23 fromCharsadda (ancient Pushkalavati). From this place two roads led northward to Swat: One through the north gate of the city to Rustam, 11 miles away, over the Karakar pass to Swat; and the other across the Makam river to Jamalgarhi, 13 miles away, and over the Shahkot pass to the lower valley of Swat and beyond to Dir and Bajaur.
Shahbazgarhi stands at the south-western point of an open plain, which is skirted on the north by the Paja Hill, on the east by the Rustam Hill, on the south by Karamar and on the west by the Makam river. This area is called Makam plain by Babar—a mediaeval name which is probably associated with the abode (Maqam) of Shahbaz Qalandar. But to-day the popular name among the local people is Sudama plain—an ancient name which has survived from old legends. Sudma recalls the name of the prince Sudana (of noble charity), Sudanta (of pure white teeth) or Sudamta (self-controlled), whose story is so well narrated by the Chinese travellers. The Buddhist remains near Shahbazgarhi are associated with the different scenes from this story.

The survival of the name Sudama has helped in the location of the sites associated with these scenes and so fully described by the Chinese travellers. With the site of But-Sahri, which lies outside the Eastern Gate, is identified the Convent of the Gift of the Two Children. The site of the monastery of the legendary white elephant is located at Chanak-dheri, north of the city. Foucher goes further and corrects Chanak-dheri as Kanaka-Chaitya, giving the meaning as “golden sanctuary” and recalls “the dazzling spectacle for human eyes” as narrated by Sung-Yun. The hill of Mekha-Sanda, which means “the female and male buffalo”, in its Sanskrit form Mahishi-shandau, is supposed to be the mount Tan-to-kia (probably Dantaloka) of Hiuen Tsang. Foucher goes further and takes Mahishi to stand for the queen Madri, and identifies the hill with the Vanaprastha (third stage of married life when the husband lives away from wife) life led by the prince Sudana and his queen on this hill. The name Mekha-Sanda, according to Foucher, recalls this traditional story of the sojourn of this couple in seclusion. He further locates two rock-cut caves on this hill and takes them for the actual place of their respective shelters. Here on the hill a stupa has been located. It is now being excavated. Further ahead
on way to Hund stands the lofty hillock of Karamar (the standing snake) where once could be seen the carved figure of Bhima Devi, the wife of Siva, high up on the hill, where even now there is a water spring and also a reservoir. It seems here stood a figure of Siva who generally has a serpent rising behind his matted hair. It is likely that the presence of this carved figure of serpent gave rise to the modern name of Karamar, meaning standing snake, though to-day no such figure is to be seen at the spot.

To-day the Sudama (or Makam) plain is an extensively cultivated area bereft of its trees and denuded of the beautiful scenery that commended admiration from the Chinese travellers. The hills rise free from the traditions of old. The Makam river, though dwindled in size, still drains the sluggish water that oozes from the spring, and bubbles in intensity during the rains as if to remind Shahbazgarhi that it had once seen the great glory. The river divided the modern hamlets into two groups — those lying on the western bank bear the name of Bala-garhi and those on the eastern are properly called Shahbazgarhi. The hamlets stand immediately at the foot of the hill of Zarrai (Pl. 5a) that abruptly ends at this point but on the other side it curves to join the Bulbul-ghundai so as to form a definite arc of a circle. Within this sector stands the main city of old. At the western end of Bulbul-ghundai, overlooking the city, stand the famous rock edicts (Pl. 5b). Modern roads pass through two of its gates. The northern road to Rustam goes through the inner and outer gates of the city. To the left side of this road lies the site of Chanak-dheri, recently excavated by the Japanese Archaeological Team.

The excavation has exposed mainly three complexes of structures — the first is a large rectangular tank built of diaper masonry, the bottom of which is laid with flat schist slabs. On the western side of the tank steps have been provided to lead down to the water. Still beyond on this side is preserved a large rectangular base built
of diaper masonry, on one side of which can still be traced the foundation of a circular stupa. This stupa structure makes the second complex. But still more important is the third one which lies to the south of the tank. It is a huge structure of two different periods standing on a terraced platform of about the same length as the tank. It is divided into two parts — the smaller stupa court which has six circular stupa bases in two rows with a double entrance from the west and the south, and the other a series of monastic cells on the side of the tank. Obviously this was the main sanctuary area, but no sculpture was found in the excavation. The tank definitely served the purpose of ablution, as is known from the Buddhist literature. But it is strange that nothing so far has been found that would support the hypothetical identification of this site with the stupa of the white elephant so well described by the Chinese travellers.

**JAMALGARHI**

Jamalgarhi lies on an ancient route from Shahbazgarhi northward over the Shahkot pass into Swat. The great Paja hill has a break in the middle about twelve miles north of Mardan on Mardan-Katlang-Sanghao road. This break is at Jamalgarhi, where a small stream carries down the water from the north. On the left hand side there is a cave which has yielded microlithic tools. On the northern side the slope has some bronze and iron age graves buried deep under the earth. The Buddhist settlement is about two miles away near the village of the same name up on the hill. The approach is from the eastern side. There are several groups of monastic complex, which show different arrangements of living cells around an open court. Later additions have carried further the constructions on lower ranges. The buildings are not as attractive as the ruins at Takht-i-Bahi.

**SANGHAO**

Beyond Jamalgarhi the road leads to an insignificant village called Sanghao, about eighteen miles north
of Mardan. The name at once recalls the Buddhist word Sangha, meaning monastic organization. While the village is situated at the foot of the Buner hill, there are many monastic establishments in the different glens and slopes of the hills. Wherever spring water was available, monastic settlements grew. At Babuzai, Natthu and in the valley of Sanghao several monastic buildings are still standing. Far up on the hill at Kashmir-smast can be seen the rock-cut cave of the Buddhists. The presence of many Buddhist ruins in the neighbourhood of Sanghao at once recalls the old glory of the place. It lay on the main route that passed from Jamalgarhi onwards to Swat. The route passed over the Shahkot pass. It is likely that this route was followed by Alexander the Great in his march from Swat to the main valley of Peshawar.

The importance of Sanghao is much more than these Buddhist ruins. At several places quartz flakes are scattered in the fields. If you pick up these flakes and follow their direction, you are led to Parkho-dara, where a large cave is still standing in a dilapidated condition. There in the cave fifteen feet thick deposit of habitation soil has for the first time yielded the first stratified cave materials in Pakistan. The excavation conducted by the University of Peshawar has produced three periods of stone tools, which appertain to the Middle Stone Age. We have found several varieties of scrapers, points, burins and core tools, made in white crystalline quartz. The materials are preserved in the Departmental museum of the University of Peshawar.

CHAKDARA (Pl. 15b)

As we go down the Malakand pass, we pause for a while at a lunching station, significatly named today Alexander's Point, and view the unparalleled greenery down below in the valley where flows placidly the river Swat. On either side the hill ranges tower high to give protection to the peaceful, lovable life of men who dwell in the sequestered corner of the world. Here at the
tribal market centre of Batkhela the roads converge from the source of the Swat river on the east, from the snowy heights of Chitral on the north and from the unending hill ranges of the west where the river Swat disappears from view. It was in this valley that the famous Malakand Campaign of the British in 1897 was fought. Some three hundred years ago when the Mughal emperor Akbar decided to subdue the Yusufzais, his generals were moving up and down this valley to exercise their intelligence (See above PP. 80-83). Some six hundred years still earlier Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni is now attested by archaeology to have fought a decisive battle with the survivors of the Hindu Shahi rulers. Four to five centuries further in time we hear of the Chinese pilgrims trekking on their arduous journey in search of knowledge and truth. It was here that in the early centuries of the Christian era Buddhism had planted numerous monastic settlements. Of all the events the most romantic is the heroic adventure of Alexander the Great who sped through this valley (see map No. 3) in the thirties of the fourth century B.C. and grappled in battles with the tribes. Earlier still history merges with prehistory and we hear the Vedic chants of the Aryans who are now being identified in large number of graves spread out in the whole valley. It is in their literature that we hear, for the first time, the word Suvastu, meaning ‘fair-dwellings’ and indeed the valley has attraction for such a homely atmosphere. As we motor down the winding road, the paddy fields present a onerous spectacle and send a note of fragrance that is worth enjoying.

There are several places where one can stop on way. forget about the human indignity, and take inspiration from nature's beauty. There at a distance, where the river Swat is spanned by a modern iron bridge, a strong fort stands alone over a cliff like a sentinel at the opening to the north. This is the fort of Chakdara built in 1896 by the British in order to keep open the route to Chitral. The fort occupies a site, traditionally known as Shahdheri, and in the Mughal period here stood another
fort (See above P. 82) which is now completely assimilated in the modern building. Chakdara is a Mughal revenue term, which included the whole of the Dara, the pass, that opens the way to Dir and Chitral. To the west of the fort on a great height there stands a picket, known today as Churchill point after the name of Sir Winston Churchill, who, as a young captain, came here to participate in the Malakand Campaign. The point was a signalling station used to mirror the signals from Chakdara to Malakand, and hence remembered as Shisho (mirror) guard by the local people.

That guard room was not built on virgin soil. The top of the range, where it stands, is known as Damkot (fort of Dam or correctly Dhamma). It was only last year that the original fort was discovered and excavated by the University of Peshawar. The fortification wall built of diaper stone runs all round the range and gives to the defenders a safe height to watch the advancing enemies from a distance and fling a deadly aim at them when they approach. This fortification wall belongs to the Hindu Shahis and can be dated between the 8th and 10th centuries A.D. Earlier than this there was no fortification but the whole space was occupied by the Buddhists. Remnants of their monastic establishment and a beautiful platform of a stupa have been found on this height. But of still greater interest is the rock engraving lower down on isolated rocks at the bank of the river. These engravings depict in high relief figures of Buddha and the Bodhisattva Padmapani in a style much different from the Gandhara art. The flowing rhythm in Padmapani reminds us of the Indian classical art of the Guptas. However, the Buddhists were not the first to come here. The earliest dwellers on this hill top were poor people who have left behind a few burnished potsherds that can be safely dated between 6th and 4th centuries B.C. Between 4th century B.C. and 1st century B.C. we note here a gap. What happened to the settlement? Archaeology is silent. But history has put forward the story of Alexander the Great. Let us climb up the hill and witness the march of his armies.
The arduous assent is really rewarding. Sitting on the top of the guard room we view the marvellous panorama of the river Swat. Far to the east stands alone in the middle the rock of Barikot (ancient Bazira). Nearer stands the village of Thana on a hill slope, which gives way to Shahkot pass. On our right is the village of Aladand. On our back is the view of Batkhela which we have seen before. Towards the north we see the open plain, which was the approach road of Alexander from Bajaur and Dir. He advanced up the river Swat towards Udegram (ancient Ora). Before we follow the path of Alexander, we note the ruins in the neighbourhood of Chakdara.

Right at the foot of Damkot range on the north we have an ancient grave-yard, where the old covering stones, lying in the field, remind us of the graves of the bronze and iron ages. Across the northerly range we walk up to the village of Chatpat and come to the corner of a glen, where lie several stupas with beautiful sculptures, far away from the road but a calm place giving a noble view of the river. On this way we can go over several ranges and discover Buddhist settlements one after the other. On the roadside, about four miles from Chakdara, there stands a group of buildings at Andan Dheri:— a tall stupa built of ashlar stone with numerous stepped votive stupas and a monastic quadrangle. On getting to the top of the stupa we have a glimpse of the Katgala pass on the north, wherefrom Alexander came down with his forces. If we have time, we can go nearer to the pass and at the ninth mile, on our left, we witness the ruined standing walls on the hill top all by themselves with none to look-after. It is this settlement site which is taken by Sir Olaf Caroe for the city of Massaga, where Alexander fought a severe battle with the queen of Gourais. We leave the earlier story of Alexander here and follow him in his Swat Campaigns.

**SWAT (Pl. 27)**

Beyond Thana where the bumpy road comes to an end and where you feel the smooth drive through a long avenue of poplar trees, you can be sure that you are in
real Swat. Your road follows the winding river up and up. You may have a glimpse of the snowy peaks at a distance. Even if you fail to see that, the company of the river with its beautiful charm is never lost. Both man and nature have combined to give that unique taste and pleasure to this tract of land which you can hardly find anywhere else in the world. People have compared this land with Switzerland. The Chinese pilgrims are zealous in their praise of the scenery. But the beauty of Swat is its own, only to be witnessed and enjoyed — a fitting tribute to the gift of nature and to the appreciating effort of the Wali of Swat to preserve this gift for the coming generations.

As you wind your way through the customs post at Landakai, on your right you see the ruined standing houses on a height — the remnants of the by-gone settlement no longer in occupation. Many more such deserted houses will be seen on way all on hill tops. As you pass through a gap and descend towards Barikot, on our left a high cliff shoots up by the side of the river. It is on this cliff that the ruined walls of old are still standing. These walls, which are built of stone, appertain to a fort of the Hindu Shahi period but there are earlier foundations, which were explored by Sir Aurel Stein. On the basis of the materials discovered by him be identified the site with Bazira — the strong fort which was captured by Alexander the Great. The enemies fled from this place but they could not go to the east as Alexander’s forces were already in possession of Ora (See below). The only escape from this place is towards the south. As we proceed towards Barikot, we will observe a road going southward over the Karakar pass to Buner. It is in that direction that the last battle of Alexander at Aornos must be located. The historians have, however, identified this last place with Pirsar on the suggestion of Sir Aurel Stein far to the east on the bank of the Indus, where the enemies could hardly escape.

At the village Shankardara you can see the tall standing Buddhist stupa all alone in its ruined glory. By the road side just near the village of Ghaligai we
pause a while and see the huge figure of Buddha carved on a rock. Buddha, whose face is defaced, is seated in a dhyani pose. A staircase leads up to an upper cave where there are some more figures. Onwards we arrive at Ghog-dara and see the primitive rock engravings just by the side of an early historic settlement. Further ahead we reach the village of Udegram where the Italians have excavated the ruined bazar of old. Up on the hill there is a well preserved fort, which has yielded materials of the time of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni. This fort belongs to the Hindu Shahi period. It was invested by the forces of the Sultan. This was probably the last point reached by the Sultan's army. This was also the last place occupied by Alexander the Great in Swat. The place is identified with ancient Ora. It seems that near about this place Alexander's forces must have crossed the river and attacked. Alexander's forces must have crossed the river and attacked enemies at Ora.

Beyond this point we reach Saidu Sharif where the archaeological wealth recovered by the Italians have been preserved in the Swat Museum. It is in and around Saidu Sharif that the Italians have devoted their energies to recover the buried treasures. At several places they have uncovered bronze and iron age graves but the sites are all levelled to the ground. However, the Buddhist ruins are well worth a visit. The most famous is the monastic establishment at Butkara. Here on the bank of a small stream is a cluster of stupas within a half exposed monastery. The central attraction is the main round stupa, which was rebuilt several times in different periods. At the base of the latest stupa we can see the plastered sculptures, to which paint has also been applied. All round the main stupa there are numerous votive stupas erected by the pilgrims in memory of their visit. It is from these stupas that stone sculptures of different periods have been obtained and now exhibited in the Swat Museum.

Beyond Saidu Sharif we pass through the Mingora Bazar onwards to Madyan, Bahrein, Kalam and the snowy heights of Kohistan. In the hill the pine forest is a
great attraction but in the places named above specimens of old work are worth observing. In all these places old mosques are still standing with their fine wood carving in a setting that is most attractive.

**TIMARGARHA**

From Chakdara we proceed northwards in pursuit of Alexander's track. On way we meet the ruins, identified with Massaga (see above), and then we come to Ziarat where ancient graves have been traced. As we go ahead we climb up the Kamrani pass—a new road built by the British during the Chitral Campaign. As we reach the top, our eyes fall on the flashing water of Panchkora down at the foot of the hill. The old road ran along the Panchkora but this was given up by the British as it lay within the sniping range of the ferocious tribes now occupying the hill on the other side. Here on the top of the hill there is a formidable fort at a place called *Gour Doba*, which may have been the original Massaga invested by Alexander the Great. However, this is to be verified in future. As we reach the other side of the summit, right in front opens the beautiful valley of Panchkora, where among cluster of trees is situated the settlement of Timargarha. On a bend of the river the village lies low in the valley and there is nothing of importance except two state forts and a mosque of about a hundred years old. Its main importance lay in the fact that from its northern extremity the roads diverge—one leading northwards to Dir and Chitral and the other across the river to Jandul valley and Bajaur. A mile down stream the Jandul river meets with Panchkora and at the confluence there are old ruins. Just beyond the confluence there was an old crossing. It is here that Alexander must have crossed the river Panchkora and gone forward to fight with the Gourais at Massaga. It is here that Babar came in his campaign against the Yusufzais but stopped at the western bank when an agreement was reached.

Today the antiquity of Panchkora is attested not only by the Buddhist ruins that have been found in its
neighbourhood but also by a large number of graves of the bronze and iron ages. The graves are still open on the north of the village just by the road side. These stone built graves are spread over a wide area and also lie underneath the modern hutments. On the other side of the river where a fort stands at Balambat a settlement site of these people has been unearthed. This settlement survived in the Achaemenian period. The ruined walls can be seen at the slope of the high mound. In one place there is a fire altar made of mud.

North of Timargarha the road winds up the rocky hills and proceeds to Dir. Beyond this place is the Lohari top, about 12000 feet high, which gives way to Chitral (correctly Chitralaya), Picturesque Land. It is in the closed valleys of Chitral that the Red Kafirs even now dwell. They are survivals of the old people fittingly called Kalasa, probably derivable from Kailasa of Sanskrit legends.
NOTES

CHAPTER I

1) Babar-nama, Tr. by A.S. Beveridge, Vol. II. P. 393.
2) Gazetteer of the Peshawar District, 1897-98, P. 44.
3) Munshi Gopal Das in Tarikh-i-Peshawar, P. 141. He gives two other meanings — (1) Peshah war, i.e. full of artisans, and (2) Pashah war, i.e. full of creeping insects.


5) A. Cunningham. The Ancient Geography of India, P. 79. Cunningham’s statement is not corroborated in the original.

6) In the Ain-i-Akbari (Naval Kishore and Asiatic Society editions) there is only one spelling, Parashawar (پرشاوار) In the Akbarnamah, for Parashapur (پرشاپور) see Naval Kishore ed. Vol. II. P. 215; for Parashawar (پرشاوار) see Ibid, Vol. III. PP. 216, 308 and 343; for Peshawar (پیشاور) see Asiatic Society edition, Vol. II P. 215; and for Pishawar (پیشاور) see Asiatic Society edition Vol. III. P. 515.

7) Babar-nama, P. 490, P. 393.
8) Al-Kamil al-Ibnal-Asir, Pt. XII., P. 99. This spelling is due to the use of the Arabic language, in which the letter P (پ) is absent.

10) Ibid., P. 453. This spelling is also given by the Pashto poet Akhund Darweza, who “interprets the name as full of turbulence.” see Gazetteer of the Peshawar District, P. 44.
11) Chinese Accounts of India, Tr. by Samuel Beal, Vol. II. P. 150.
NOTES

13) *Gazetteer of the Peshawar District*, P. 44.
16) We have other instances of Indian Capital cities called by such a name; e.g. Pataliputra as *Kusumapura* and Kanauj as *Pushpapura*.
17) See above note 4.
20) Gopal Das, *op. cit*; P. 141.
22) *The Ancient Geography of India*, P. 29.
23) The present practice in this region is to use simply *Khar* (i.e. *Shahr* = city), e.g. *Khar* in Bajaur; *Pekhaur*; or *Naw-Khar* for *Nowshehra*, a town 27 miles east of *Peshawar*.
27) V. S. Agravala: *India as known to Panini*, Lucknow, 1953, P. 47.
33) Mohan Lal, *op. cit.*, P. 52.
35) *Baharnama*, P. 451 speaks of “a bit of jungle near Bigram” where rhinoceros was hunted; also P. 490.
NOTES

38) Gopal Das, op. cit., P. 144.
40) See Mohan Lal, op. cit. P. 58 for this road.
41) N.W.F.P. Gazetteers, Peshawar District, 1931, P. 301.
42) Elphinstone, op. cit. P. 89.
43) Mohan Lal, op. cit. P. 42.
44) Gazetteer of the Peshawar District, 1897-98, P. 361.
49) Ibid, P. 94.
50) Elphinstone, op. cit. P. 89.
51) Mohan Lal. op. cit., P. 42.
52) Gazetteer of Peshawar District, 1897—98, P. 369.
53) Babar-nama, P. 230. Hiuen Tsang also describes the Pipal tree but the direction is different. see Samuel Beal, op. cit. Vol. II, P.151. The old Gazetteer is wrong when it records that this tree was dead when Abul Fazl wrote his Akbarnama.
54) Gopal Das, op. cit. PP. 142—43.
56) N. W. F. P. Gazetteers, Peshawar District, 1931, P. 300.
57) Elphinstone. op. cit. PP. 91—92.
58) Ibid. P. 97.
59) Mohan Lal, op. cit, P. 41.
60) W. Jukes — Reminiscences of Missionary Work in Amritsar, 1872-73 and on the Afghan Frontier in Peshawar (1873-90), Ms. PP. 17—18.
61) Elphinstone — op. cit., PP. 97—98.
62) Gazetteer of the Peshawar District, 1897—98, P. 365, followed by S. M. Jaffar, Peshawar Past and Present, P. 131 footnote, maintains that he was a Durrani Chief. But
Elphinstone, Burnes and Mohan Lal speak of him as the famous governor of the time of Shah Jahan. See also Dr. Abdullah Chaghatai, *Taj Mahal*, P. 164.


65) S. M. Jaffar, *op. cit.*, P. 130.

66) W. Jukes: *op. cit.*, P. 41.

67) Moorcroft: *op. cit.*, Vol. II. P. 347.


69) For raids in the Cantonment see Warburton: *op. cit.*, P. 41.

70) Gopal Das, *op. cit.*, PP. 171—78.


72) Major Raverty calls the whole area Tahkal, “the name and site of an ancient city; and it is said that this city was the capital and chief place of the district before the founding of Peshawar”. *Notes an Afghanistan and part of Baluchistan*, London 1880, P. 36. There is no truth in what Raverty writes. Tahkal site apparently belongs to the Kushan period.

CHAPTER II

1) Reading of the text:

```
Maharajasa rajatirajasa devaputrasa kaisarasas Vajhe-
shkaputrasa Kanishkasa Sambatsarae ekachapari Sai Sam
20 20 1 jethasa masasa di 20 4 1 ise divasa-

Kupe Dashavharena Poshapuriaputrana matarapitarana

atmanasa sabharyasa saputrasa anugrabharthae sarvasapan
jatishu hitae imo cha likhiya me dhama ...
```

2) Text and translation as published by Sten Konow in *C. I. I. Kharoshthi Inscriptions*, P. 165.


4) The excavation and exploration conducted by the Department of Archaeology, University of Peshawar see *Ancient Pakistan*, Vol. III.

5) See A. H. Dani in *A short History of Pakistan*, Chapter III.


9) A. T. Olmstead, *History of the Persian empire*, Chicago, 1948, PP. 48—49. The other variants are Upairisaena, meaning “higher than the eagle”. In the Sanskrit literature they are called Parvatiya Sreni, “the hilly tribe” (see Agrawala, *India as known to Panini*, P. 41.)


11) Olaf Caroe has taken great pains to argue that Paktuike is the same as Gandhara but the contention can hardly stand.


16) Olaf Caroe, *op. Cit.*, P. 33. See other references given in his footnotes.


20) Sten Konow: *Op Cit.*, Introduction, P. LXXVI.

21) The travellers are: Shih Fa-Hian, who started on his journey in A.D. 400; the second is Sung-Yun, who came out in A.D. 518, and the third is Hiuen Tsang, who began his pilgrimage in A.D. 629. All the references to their works are made from the new edition of *Chinese Accounts of India*, by Samuel Beal, published by Susil Gupta, Calcutta 1963.
NOTES

22) Ibid, P. 17.
24) Ibid, P. 150.
25a) S.M. Jaffar (in Peshawar Past and Present, P. 16) following Cunningham, locates the Patra of Buddha at Panch Tirath, but no mound is to be seen there.
27) Ibid, P. 151.
37) R.K. Mookerji. Chandragupta Maurya and his times, Madras, 1943., P. 27.
38) Dr. Buddha Prakash, Political and Social Movements in the Ancient Panjab, Delhi, 1964, Chapter V.
39) V.A. Smith: History of Fine Arts in India & Ceylon, Chapter II.
43) See Bajaur Casket Inscription in Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XXIV, PP. 1—8.
45) *Ibid*, Plate XV and XVI.


47) See A.H. Dani in *A Short History of Pakistan*.


49) e.g. Coins of Huvishka. *Ibid.* pl. XVII.


52) Sir Mortimer Wheeler — *Rome beyond the Imperial Frontiers*. P. 133.


54) For old canals see *Peshawar District Gazetteer*.

55) See footnote No. 1 above.

56) Introduced by the captive Chinese princes.

57) The most important study from this angle is made by A. Foucher in his monumental work, *L'art greco-boudhique du Gandhara*, Paris, 1905-1923.


61) *The Pathans*, plate facing page 43.


NOTES

67) Ghirshman — Iran, 291-92.
73) Ibid. P. 22.
74) A Cunningham — Later Indo-Scythians, reprinted in Banaras, 1962, Plate VI.
81) Ibid, P. 418.
82) Ibid, P. 416.
86) See for its palaeography A.H. Dani, Indian Palaeography, Oxford 1963. PP. 142—44.
89) Ibid P. 117.
NOTES

90a) Baladhuri, for example, calls Hayatila Turks See Futub al-Buldan Urdu Tr. Nafis Academy, Karachi, P. 580.
91a) From the time of the Chinese pilgrim right through in all Muslim accounts Turks are noted in Tukharistan with their important seat of Balkh, while Baladhuri speaks of Hayatila in Kohistan within the province of Khorasan probably somewhere in Hazarajat. see Futuh al-Buldan, Urdu Tr. PP. 580—86.
92) On the history of this dynasty see Dr. M. Nazim, The Life and Times of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni, Cambridge, 1931, PP. 194-96., Elliot and Dowson: History of India, Vol. II Appendix Note A.
94) For a detailed history see R.C. Majumdar, The Arab Invasion of India, reprinted from Vol. X Pt. I of the Journal of Indian History as Dacca University Supplement. 1931. Chapter III.
96) Dr. Nazim: Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni, P. 194.

CHAPTER III

2) Briggs Translation gives the names as “Kirman, Shivaran and Peshawar,” cited by Cunningham — Ancient Geography of India, P.88.
3) The Pathans, P. 59.
4) Ibid, P. 60.
5) In the cursive Greek version of the Tochi valley inscriptions (see Ancient Pakistan, Vol. 1, 1964) some words from the Waziri Pashto have been recognized. This information was conveyed to me by Sayyid Tanzimul Haq Halimi in his letter dated 23rd March, 1966.
6) The Pathans, PP. 55—56.
7) See V.S. Agrawala, India as known to Panini, P. 454.
8) The Pathans, P. 120
11) See *Tarikh-i-Baihaki*, extracts in Elliot and Dowson, *History of India as told by its own historians* Vol. II P. 141.
13) See *The Pathans*, PP. 171—72 I do not agree with the authors who maintain that the city of Kandhara was founded by the migrants from ancient Gandhara. There is no proof of such a migration. (See next chapter)
14) The new fortune is thus summed up by Caroe: “...in his (Mahmud’s) success in setting up a standard under which the Afghan tribes could rally, embrace Islam, and embark as mercenaries on conquests far afield.” *The Pathans*, P. 120.
20) A. H. Dani: *A Short History of Pakistan*, P. 86
21) *Tarikh-i-Farishtah*, P. 17.
23) H.G. Raverty: *Notes on Afghanistan*, P. 5; see also Farishtah, P. 18 for the boundary of Roh country.
26) *Ancient Geography of India*, P. 87.
31) H.G. Raverty; *Notes on Afghanistan*, P. 82.
32) *The Pathans*, P. 120.
34) *Tarikh-i-Farishtah*, PP. 16—17.


37) *The Pathans*, P.97.


41) *Tarikh-i-Farishtah*, PP. 17—18.

42) *Gazetteer of the Peshawar District*, 1897-98, P. 50.


45) *Ibid*, P. 149


50) These accounts have been quoted by several authors beginning from Elphinstone to Sir Olaf Caroe. For detail see their works.

**CHAPTER IV**

1) Dr. Bellew. — *Races of Afghanistan*, see under Yusufzai.

2) *The Pathans*, PP. 170—171.

3) H.C. Raychaudhury — *Political History of Ancient India*,


5) Brief reports have been published by the Italian Archaeological Mission in their journal — *East and West*. Old contem-
temporary material can be gleaned from Fa. Hien, who visited this area before the Hun invasion.


16) *Ibid*, P. 733


18) Sir Olaf Caroe: *The Pathans*, P. 211. *Akbarnamah* on P. 706 records that “Afghans came in tribes to make their submission.”

19) *Akbarnamah*, P. 715.


21) *Ibid*, PP. 732—33


30) *Muntakkb ut-Tawarikh*, P. 256.
31) **Dabistan-i-Madhahib**, P. 308.


33) **Akbarnamah**, PP. 777-78.


38) The account is based on Sir Olaf Caroe, *The Pathans*; Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *Aurangzeb*; Dr. Syed Anwarul Huq, *Khusshal Khan Khattak*, (Urdu) Peshawar, and an Urdu Ms. entitled *Aurangzeb Alamgir and Khusshal Khan Khattak* by Mohammad Sarfaraz Khattak (unpublished). They have all utilized *Tarikh-i-Murassa* of Afzal Khan and works of Khusshal Khan. But it must be admitted that Khusshal has not yet received a proper historical treatment in these works. I have not been able to consult a Ph. D. thesis of Panjab University on *Life and Works of Khusshal Khan Khattak*.

**CHAPTER V**


7) *The Pathans*, P. 256.

8) Ibid, P. 258.


11) *The Pathans*, P. 263.


13) Ibid, P. 316.
CHAPTER VI

1. Khyber Mail, 18th July 1947 and on other dates for the use of this term.
2. The Pathans, P. 437.
5. Gazetteer of the Peshawar District, 1897-98, P. 78.
10. Ibid. P. 364.
11. For detail see Peshawar District Gazetteer, 1931, PP 71-75.
25. For detail see Lal Baha *Op. Cit.* chapter II.
43. *Ibid.*, P. 191
46. Information from Khan Akbar Khan of Spinwadi (Umarzai).
55. As quoted by Tendulkar, P. 51.
56. For detail see Dr. Wahiduz-Zaman, *Towards Pakistan*, Lahore, 1964, Chapter 2.
NOTES

83. Ibid, P. 433.
84. Ibid, PP. 436-37.
85. Ibid, P. 437 see also P. 442.
86. Ibid, P. 448.
90. Ibid, P. 48.
94. Dr. Wahiduz-Zaman, Op. Cit, Chap. VII.
95. See Obhrai as quoted in No. 92 above.
96. Dr. Wahiduz-Zaman, Op. Cit, Chap. VI.
98. e.g. for Bertrand Russel in his report, entitled Condition of India on behalf of the India League delegation sent out to India in 1932. — quoted by Tendulkar, Op. Cit, P. 153.

CHAPTER VII

2. N.W.F. Province Gazetteers, Peshawar District, 1931 (abbreviated as (New Gazetteer), P. 299.
3. Gopal Das, Tarikh-i-Peshawar, P. 144.
4. Raverty, 'Account of the City of Peshawar', Op. Cit. P. 7 The common mistake is due to wrong conclusion by S.M.


12. See S.M. Jaffar, *Op. Cit.*, PP. 74-86 for his argument. He opines that because of the name Gor Khuttrree it was probably associated with the Hindus right from the beginning.


29. *Punjab Government Gazette*, Supplement 18th November,
NOTES


33. Tarikh-i-Peshawar, PP. 151-52.
35. New Gazetteer, P. 143.
37. New Gazetteer, P. 144.

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