

**SIKH-PAKHTUNS CLASHES IN THE
FRONTIER: ASSESSING THE BATTLE
OF PIR SABAQ, NOWSHERA 1823**

¹DR. MUHAMMAD TARIQ

²DR. ALTAF QADIR

¹Senior Subject Specialist in the Department of Elementary &
Secondary Education, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Pakistan.

e-mail: hmtariq2012@gmail.com

²Assistant Professor, Department of History

University of Peshawar Pakistan

e-mail: altafqadir@uop.edu.pk

Over the millenic the Indian Sub-continent., multiple invasions from Persia, Central Asia and Afghanistan, Alexander, the Kushanas and Mahmud of Ghazni, all traversed the Pukhtun border lands during their eras. Less often, these areas were under the influence and control of powers from North India and the Punjab. The Sikh Empire based in Lahore occupied the Peshawar Valley from 1823 to 1890. Sikhs were one of the rare groups who occupied frontier areas and Peshawar valley from the Southeastern side of India. There were important battles between the Sikhs and inhabitants of Peshawar valley and surrounding areas. One was the Battle of Nowshera, fought between Pukhtuns and the Sikh Army of Ranjit Singh in March 1823. Pukhtuns were led by their religious leader Sayed Akbar Shah, a descendant of Pir Baba. The Sikhs were commanded by generals Ventura, Allard and Phula Singh. The Pukhtuns lost five thousand fighters. These massive losses influenced their military history, In the following years, Pukhtuns would not face their enemy in open field collectively. The Sikhs also lost twenty-five hundred men and this changed their policy towards the Pukhtuns.

The present study aims at clarifying to what extent the Pukhtun's motivation was a tribal resistance or Jihad against the Sikhs. It also sheds light on the role of various Pukhtun tribes, their religious leaders and other factors that contributed to their defeat. The study is based local narratives, official records of the Sikh army, colonial records; and personal writings of 'Ulama and Masha'ikh.

Keywords: *Frontier, Sikhs, Ulama, Pukhtuns, Peshawar.*

Peshawar Valley: Historical Background

The North-West Frontier Province of British India.¹ has always held a significant status in greater imperial history. Recently the importance of the region has further increased due to its strategic proximity with China. In the period of recorded history, one finds that the Afghans (inhabitants of Afghanistan and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Province of Pakistan) witnessed the forces of Persians, Greeks, Mauryans, Huns, Mongols, Mughuls, British, Soviets, and most recently Americans.² The region had not been a highway to the Indian subcontinent and provides routes from Indian subcontinent to Central Asia.³

The Peshawar Valley remained part of the “Subah-i-Kabul wa Peshawar” of Mughul India till its occupation by Nadir Shah Afshar of Persia in 1738.⁴ Ahmad Shah Abdali was the first Pashtun/Pukhtun ruler who organized the fragmented Afghan people and established a confederation of tribes in form of loosely termed ‘State’ of Afghanistan in 1747.⁵ After the death of Timur Shah,⁶ the political scene changed and the descendants began to fight among themselves for the throne. In 1799, Zaman Shah⁷ appointed Ranjit Singh as governor of the Punjab.⁸ By dint of his abilities he proved himself as a powerful ruler of the Punjab in the nineteenth century.⁹ From 1793 to 1818, Saddozai¹⁰ brothers were fighting for hegemony in the empire and as a result, the throne of Kabul was taken over by Barakzai brothers.¹¹ On the other side, the treaty of Amritsar in 1809 recognized the river Sutlej as a permanent boundary between the *Khalsa* Sarkar and the British; that had pushed Ranjit Singh to the north of river Sutlej.¹² Due to this incidence Sardar Phula Singh wanted to discard the treaty, although Ranjit Singh convinced him to first subdue the whole of Punjab and then later they could confront the British.¹³ Although he himself remained a collaborator of the Imperial power till his death in 1839. Ranjit Singh expanded his dominion to the western of Sutlej that rose as a strong kingdom by 1813. There are people who were of the opinion that the English made Punjab a buffer state to avoid direct contact with Afghans. Afghani remarked that “British also wanted to support establishment of a strong power in Punjab that would prevent Pukhtun coming to Indian territories for the help of Indians as they were afraid of Afghanistan and Pukhtun people who always used to wage “holy” war against “infidels”.¹⁴ However, such statement may not be accepted without a valid logical argument and historical evidences. The English were right to assume that Ranjit Singh was the better ally who could unify Punjab so that the Company could deal with

one ruler instead of multiple chiefs. The English were well aware that no successor to Ranjit Singh could manage Punjab and they would be able to manage the affairs the way they wanted.

Ranjit Singh's Temporary Control of Peshawar Valley

Ranjit Singh benefitted from the civil war (1819-26) between the Sadozais and Barakzais. He occupied Hazro in 1818 and sent a mission under the command of his trusted representative Bawa Phaddi.¹⁵ Khattak tribal chiefs Feroz Khan Khattak, Najeebullah Khan and Elahi Bakhsh Khan killed the Sikhs, an act that infuriated Ranjit Singh. The Sikh army retaliated, pushed the Khattaks; and took hold of Attock,¹⁶ Khairabad¹⁷ and Jahangira¹⁸ in 1818.¹⁹

Ranjit Singh's commander Sham Singh reported there was no organized army in Peshawar this intelligence facilitated him. Ranjit Singh advanced and annexed Peshawar to Punjab. The Governor of Peshawar Yar Muhammad Khan escaped to Ashnagar before the arrival of the Sikh army.²⁰ Sikh troops destroyed the fort of Bala Hisar²¹ and burnt nearby villages, including Chamkani (locally called Sokano).²²

Sham Singh seized fourteen cannons from Yar Muhammad Khan and twenty-five thousands rupees as tribute from Peshawar Arbabs.²³ After three days stay in Peshawar, Ranjit Singh left for Lahore and appointed Jahandad Khan, ex-*Faujdar* of Attock, as administrator of Peshawar, while Sham Singh was deployed as his subordinate officer.²⁴ Ranjit Singh also left a small garrison in a newly constructed fort at Khairabad (Nowshera).²⁵ He also granted *Jagir* to Barakzai brothers.²⁶ During the next one year, Ranjit Singh was able to take control of Kashmir.

Yar Muhammad Khan recaptured Peshawar with the help of Afghan tribesmen after a short interval but he sent Hafiz Rohullah as his ambassador to Lahore and paid one *lakh* rupees as a token of acceptance as a tributary of the Sikh Durbar.²⁷

Durrani's rejoinder and call for Jihad

The brothers of Yar Muhammad Khan and other Afghan tribal chiefs were distraught at the Sikh ascendancy. Muhammad Azeem Khan condemned Yar Muhammad Khan for paying tribute to the Sikhs. He took back Peshawar in 1822 and made a call for Jihad against the Sikhs then rushed to Nowshera. He sent his elder brother Abdul Samad Khan

to seek cooperation of Yusufzai and Khattaks. He assured the tribesmen that he would bear all expenses of the war and ammunition²⁸ but all his promises were in vain. Muhammad Zaman Khan, nephew of Azeem Khan destroyed the bridge at Attock, to effectively trap Sikh garrison to west of the Indus.

Ranjit Singh was aware of the strategical importance of North West Frontier for defending his territories and had already reinforced his troops in Nowshera.²⁹ There are conflicting narratives about the numbers of troops. Sikh official sources record forty-five thousands Khattak and Yusufzai volunteers under the command of Sayed Akbar Shah³⁰ and Abdul Samad Khan³¹ Twenty five thousands Sikh troops were led by General Ventura.³² However, most sources assert that there were twenty thousand Pukhtuns and twenty five thousands Sikh troops.³³ One can safely estimate that troops that encountered each other in the field were approximately between twenty and twenty-five thousand each.

Role of the tribal chiefs and the religious leaders

The ‘Ulama and common people were encouraged by Muhammad Azeem Khan and Sayed Akbar Shah, one of the descendants of Pir Baba, to join Jihad against Sikhs.³⁴ Pukhtuns under their spiritual leadership had planned a mass movement against the Sikhs before the start of Sayed Ahmad Barelvi’s Jihad movement (1826). Majority of the people, particularly the ‘Ulama were unhappy with *Jagirdars* of Peshawar as they didn’t want to work under the administration of the “infidels”. Muhammad Azeem Khan’s declaration of Jihad and Sayed Akbar Shah attempts culminated in the battle of Pir Sabaq, Nowshera in March 1823. Azeem Khan had declared jihad against Sikhs and circulated a message in Kabul for the Holy war by announcing that “whoever wants to give his life for the sake of God should join our forces for Jihad”.³⁵

Ranjit Singh was with his army on the eastern side of Indus, while on the opposite bank a *Lashkar* of 20,000 was being led by Sayed Akbar Shah.³⁶ Most of the Pukhtun writers believed that the *lashkar* was composed of only the Yusufzai.³⁷ They have ignored the presence of Khattaks and religious leadership. No doubt the number of Yusufzai and Mandar tribal chiefs was prominent as compared to other Pukhtun tribes. For instance, among them were Ismail Khan and Ibrahim Khan of Ismaila, Sarwar Khan Amazai, Anand Khan and Shikar Khan of Shewa, Muqarab Khan³⁸ and Fatih Khan of Zaida, Mansoor Khan of Galyarha, Dalil Khan of Toru, Ibrahim Khan of Kalabat, Amir Khan of Hund, Ashraf Khan

of Zaida, Muhammad Khan and Ahmad Khan of Hoti, Tawus Khan of Jamal Gharay, Hamza Khan of Rustam, Faqir Khan and Ghazi Khan of Totalay were leading their respective clans. The desire for jihad can be imagined by the passion with which a lot of teenagers joined the war with merely a knife or dagger in hands.³⁹ The presence of religious elite and tribes men other than Yusufzai and Mandar can be better assessed from their tombs in Nowshera Kalan who motivated local people for a “holy” war. Almost all religious elites, ‘Ulama and tribal leaders gathered with the spirit of religious passion, as they were informed that previously Sikhs had destroyed mosques in Kashmir in 1818. No doubt, tribal fervor cannot be ignored as Sikhs had killed some Khattaks during their attack on Attock and Jahangira.⁴⁰

Hindi has written that on 25th March 1824/3 *Cheet* 1880⁴¹ (*bikrami*) Maharaja’s troops moved from Attock fort and reached Koh Teri⁴² near the bank of River Kabul,⁴³ one *kos* from Nowshera.⁴⁴ Ranjit Singh achieved a defensive surprise by making a cavalry charge upon the ‘Ghazis’ before their preparation was complete. But this strategy did not achieve the results as the tribesmen were on the peak of the Pir Sabaq hill, from where they could make a very active use of firing and stone throwing.⁴⁵ The *khalsa* army had planned to capture the areas at the bank of the river and continue to progress on the riverside of Kabul seizing all the plane area of Doaba and Ashnagar.⁴⁶

Ranjit Singh had employed several well-trained foreign officers in his military including General Allard and General Ventura.⁴⁷ Following suggestion of General Ventura, he decided to begin the war against the tribesmen at once, because they feared the possibility of attack by Azeem Khan’s troops who had already crossed the Khyber Pass. He had organized an army of several thousand tribesmen and weapons of all kinds. Though most of the Sikhs commanders were hesitant to begin war at once, but had to follow orders by Ranjit Singh. The perfidious General of Sikh Army, Sardar Ji Attary Wala who previously opposed Ranjit Singh and accompanied Azeem Khan, returned back to support the Sikhs. He requested pardon from Ranjit Singh because the war had adopted a religious flavor as he had been listening to anti-Sikhs religious slogans by Azeem Khan troops.⁴⁸ In the afternoon one section of the troops was organized at the right side of Tarakai hillock. General Ventura and General Allard were ordered to reach directly at Nowshera and thwart Muhammad Azeem Khan’s thrust from the Nowshera Chahan side.⁴⁹ Both the Generals reached at once with eight platoons and two guns. Ranjit Singh ordered Sahaye Singh, the commanding officer of the *Khalsa* army, to

climb the mountain. Sahaye Singh along with Mahan Singh moved to the mountainside. When one fourth of the troops had climbed the mountain, the Pukhtun attacked them and a huge firing was carried out. Although the *Akalis* were fighting actively, they were unable to repulse *lakhkar* who later succeeded to the peak. Hindi⁵⁰ remarks that “The Afghan troops immediately fired so many stones that an uncountable number of soldiers were killed.”⁵¹ During the war, the one of the Afghans’ soldiers killed Satgor Sahaye Singh by head shot. Mahan Singh was stabbed by another fighter. Seeing this situation, the *khalsa* army retreated.⁵² In the first phase of the war, the Sikh army retreated and many were killed while Afghans came down the mountain to ground-in their backup. On the other side, Sardar Phula Singh⁵³ was standing ready for a counter attack. He attacked Afghans and intense fighting continued for half an hour. During this fighting many Sikhs commanders like Phula Singh, Gurba Singh Manas, Karam Sing Chahal and Balab Dhar Singh were killed by Pukhtuns along with two hundred men. Therefore, the surviving troops began to run away. The situation was worrisome for Ranjit Singh and he ordered his commanders to stop the fleeing troops and shoot if they did not accept their order. Ranjit Singh personally started commanding and ordered all the four platoons, infantry battalion and reserve troops to attack collectively. At this stage, the *lakhkar* (lashkar) was caught between the Sikhs from two sides and firing killed many of them. Afghans faced the Sikh artillery with swords but soon they started to break up when they realized their inability to stand against the huge Sikh army. The *Khalsa* army picked the *lakhkarian* one by one from the mountains and killed them.⁵⁴ It is said that the Pukhtuns ran from the attackers saying: “*Toba Toba Khuda Khud Khalsa Shud*” (God forbid! it’s as if God Himself has become a *Khalsa*).⁵⁵ Such statement needs confirmation from other independent sources. Mr. Moorcroft commented on the battle of Nowshera that the Pukhtuns would have won the day, had not the disciplined regiments of the Sikhs stood firm.⁵⁶

Capt. Wade, the English resident of Ludhiana has stated that two thousand Sikhs and three thousand Pukhtuns were killed.⁵⁷ The remarkable highlight of the battle was the fight between the two famous religious personalities of both the religions : Sikhism and Islam; Akali Baba Phula Singh, who had memorized the *Guru Garanth*, and the Muslim spiritual figure Shaikh Muhammad Shoaib⁵⁸ popularly known as Todery Baba. Phula Singh was killed in the battle field and Muhammad Shoaib was fatally wounded and died of those wounds on 27 March 1823. Now, shrines have been built on tombs of both the leaders. Shaikh Muhammad

Shoaib shrine is located in Tordher village⁵⁹ Swabi and the Akali Baba Pula Singh tomb is situated at Pir Sabaq, Nowshera.⁶⁰ Sons⁶¹ and followers of Shaikh Muhammad Shoaib like Akhund Abdul Ghafoor (1794-1877) popularly known as Saidu Baba had also participated in the battle. One of the poets of that time named Moeze,⁶² a participant of the war has given the details of the battle in a long epic, which became very popular in Pukhtun literature. He praised the gallant and courageous role of different Pukhtun tribes and clans like Akozai, Salarzai, Khudu Khel, Ghadaizai, Norezai, Ashezai, Ismailzai, Akhund Khel and Yusafzai.⁶³

Sir Olaf Caroe suggests that tribal losses can be estimated by anyone visiting the vast graveyard in south of Tarakai hillocks near Nowshera. One can find ample evidences of the tribal sacrifice that is still remembered.⁶⁴ The losses of Khattak tribe, who lived near the war zone, lost their chiefs like Feroz Khan Khattak and Noroz Khan Khattak along with other numerous people of his tribe. The graves of killed people situated near the river Kabul and both sides of G.T road reveal the extent of this battle. Most of them are visited by people until this day to pay respect to their great honor. These include five brothers i.e. Faiz Talab, Altaf Khan, Sherdad, Muhibullah and Pir Khan sons of Sarwar Khan, are commonly known as *pinzapiran*—five pirs.⁶⁵

In this war, three thousand Muslims and two thousand five hundred troops of Ranjit Singh including Sikhs, Muslim and Hindus were killed at the marble rock of Nowshera.⁶⁶ The enthusiastic participation and sacrifices are evidence of the spirit of Jihad, there are a lot of tombs recorded by historians like Afzal Raza who in Akhora Khattak in which those are belong to this battle whose tombs are near to the bank of river Kabul. Moreover, in Nowshera Kalan there are a lot of tombs known as '*chihalgazi*'. It is a Persian word meaning forty meter long, so it is the tombs of those martyrs who were not known at that time and people buried them collectively in a single tomb.

Role of Durrani Sardars during the Battle

The local people and the Afghan *lakhkar* were waiting for Azeem Khan's troops to come to their assistance. Azeem Khan sent five boats for their help but those were hit by General Ventura and were drowned in the river. Azeem Khan, for unknown reasons did not cross the Kabul River to link up with the tribesmen.

Olaf Caroe remarked on the role of Azim Khan:

“In the meantime Azim Khan on the other bank had been inactive. He did not seek to cross the river or even to neutralize the effect of the Sikh Artillery, operated from the southern bank, where his Army stood. That evening he retreated. He had scarcely even been engaged in the battle, and no valid excuse has been offered for his behavior. Nine years later, Alexander Burnes heard in Peshawar that he feared for his treasure, or alternatively that his men were overcome by the shouts of the Akalis on the northern bank. Their exclamations were attributed to the arrival of fresh reinforcements”.⁶⁷

According to some sources, Ranjit Singh spread the rumor that the Sikhs had captured the *harem* and treasury of Azeem Khan at Mechani,⁶⁸ therefore, the former was shocked and wanted to reach there immediately. Ranjit Singh realizing the situation concentrated his artillery and infantry on the *lakhkar* and left a small detachment under General Ventura to prevent any crossing by Azeem Khan. Finally, after the fourth attack led personally by Ranjit Singh and his personal bodyguards in the evening, the *lakhkar* realized that Azeem Khan had withdrawn from the battle and abandoned his allies. This, coupled with the withering attacks by the Sikh artillery broke the *lakhkar's* resolve to rally again under their Pir Sayed Akbar Shah. They dispersed in disarray, the Sikh victory was complete. The battle went on for two days and one night. The main reason for failure of *lakhkarian* was the lack of training against the well-trained Sikh troops. Afghani has commented on Azeem Khan's role that he could have reached the field on the second day of the fight, had he adopted the way from Pir Pai and crossed the river Kabul by Momen Khan Dheray.⁶⁹ That way, he could have never been blocked by the Sikh army and could have assisted the *lakhkar*.⁷⁰ One may suggest that this option was possible before Azeem Khan's arrival in Nowshera since during battle it would have been impossible to leave and come back to the war spot in one day. However, it should be understood that adopting it could be better option as compared to the wait and see defeat of Pukhtuns. Azeem Khan's withdrawal from the battlefield has never been explained fully: some say he believed his brother had returned to recapture Peshawar at the behest of the Sikhs, others attribute his retreat to cowardice or fear of being cut off by the ferocious Sikh attack. It seems

that despite his call for Jihad against the Sikhs he was neither prepared nor had planned any strategy for the upcoming battle.

Azeem Khan died shortly after the battle of Nowshera. Das writes that he could not face the 'Ulama and masses and committed suicide by poison in Kabul.⁷¹ However Qazi Ataullah Khan remarked that he was very stressed due to his role in the war and died at Lata Band village on the way to Kabul due to excessive drinking.⁷² His cowardice resulted in an untrustworthy outcome on the tribal culture of the frontier and none would believe in Muhammadzai Durrani as a leader, as Sir Olaf Caroe remarked, "No Yusufzai, Afridi, or Khattak is anxious to rely in the word of a Muhammadzai Sardar for it is doubtful if he will be there on the day".⁷³ However, Azeem Khan was not the only cause of such untrustworthy outlook, his brothers were equally responsible because they were opposed to the call of Jihad and had refused to help him in the campaign.⁷⁴ Moreover, *lakhkarian* were enthusiastic enough but lacked training, resources to continue a long war and above all visionary leadership. Furthermore, Ranjit Singh's success was possible by creating differences among the Barakzai brothers.⁷⁵ He had made good relations with Yar Muhammad Khan and Sultan Muhammad Khan before the war of Nowshera and Yar Muhammad Khan had accepted his over-lordship. This led to differences among the Barakzai brothers which resulted in the Pukhtun's failure.⁷⁶ After the victory of Sikhs, the four Barakzai brothers who acknowledged the over-lordship of Ranjit Singh, i.e. Yar Muhammad Khan, Sultan Muhammad Khan, Pir Muhammad Khan and Said Muhammad Khan paid him an annual tribute. The Sikh became the ruler of frontier and their rule lasted until 1849, of course with an interval during the presence of Sayyid Ahmad Barelvi during 1826-1831.

Consequences of the Sikh Victory

After securing Nowshera, Ranjit Singh's forces captured Peshawar and adjoining areas including Jamrud. The Khattaks and the Yusufzai suffered enormous casualties due to the Sikh artillery and the seeming betrayal by the Muhammadzai Sardaran leading to a lack of trust in the Durrani's word from then onwards. Sikh troops captured ammunition from recently acquired area including 14 large and 18 small guns that added to their cavalry. Ranjit Singh's victory was to mark the high point of his campaigns. His empire now stretched from the Khyber

Pass in the west, to Kashmir in the north and to Multan in the south. With this victory, he planned to eventually push further west and take the Afghan capital of Kabul itself.

The war had a brutal impact on the remains of Durrani power. They reduced Peshawar to ruins and secured the Khyber Pass, so no Durrani reinforcements could threaten them again.

In the subsequent years, Ranjit Singh's troops crushed the local small scale resistance and destroyed Nowshera Kalan, Pabbi, and Jalozai.⁷⁷ The Sikh troops reduced to rubble all buildings and Gardens of Mughuls and Pukhtun memorials including Qilla Bala Hisar. One of the major reasons for non-existence of the Mughul and Pukhtun buildings in Peshawar is the defeat of Pukhtun tribes in this battle in 1823.

Conclusion

This battle made it clear to the frontier Pukhtuns that the Khalsa troops of Lahore Darbar were more organized and trained. The troops having had the artillery and associated with an organized government of the Lahore Darbar was difficult to contest on the traditional weaponries and strategies, as were used by Pukhtuns. The battle was a decisive victory for the Sikhs and led to their occupation of the Peshawar valley that sealed the further prospects of Durrani and other Pukhtun tribes. The inhabitants of the Trans-Indus region are one of the most emotionally religious communities in Asia. Those who fought with religious zest always conquered this land. The Muslim versus Sikh equation caused both communities to fight with religious passion. Although the Muslim spiritual leaders were "not inferior in performing the principles of Islam", the fact remained that the Pukhtun leaders and Durrani were not of the level of Sikh trained and experienced leadership. The conquest of frontier was the first attempt from Trans-Jhelum after 800 years since Raja Jay Pala and Ananda Pal. On one side this success united major part of the Punjab and on the other side divided the Pukhtun territories. The division was further strengthened by the British Colonial authorities in second half of 19th century. This victory also shatters self or Colonially constructed Martial Race theory about Pukhtuns, which were later on adopted by Pukhtun 'nationalists'. Furthermore, it also indicates that more research remains to look into the image of Pukhtun as a nation or '*lar aw bar yao Afghan*' the Afghans in high ups and plain are one. At least, the

battle of Pir Sabaq and subsequent history of the area during the 19th century do not provide trust-worthy historical evidence to support such claims.

Notes and References

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5. Ghanda Singh, *Ahmad Shah Abdali* (Lahore: Mushtaq Book Corner, n.d), p. 61.
6. The son and successor of Ahmad Shah Abdali.
7. He was the grandson of Ahmad Shah Abdali. By killing his own minister Payenda Khan a civil war broke out in Afghanistan and he was deprived of his rule.
8. During invasion of Lahore in 1798, Ranjit Singh saved some ammunition (cannons) of Zaman Shah in the river Chenab. Zaman Shah appointed Ranjit Singh the governor of Lahore. Khwaja Muhammad Sayil, *Punjab aw Pukhtana*. Peshawar: Bahadur Kaley, 2000), p. 41. Henceforth Sayil, *Punjab aw Pukhtana*.
9. S. M. Ikram, *Mauj-i-Kawthar* vol.III, Lahore: Feroz Sons Ltd. 1973, p. 73.
10. The tribe of Ahmad Shah Abdali was Sadduzai, in the later years, differences arose and after the killing of Payinda Khan Barakzai, his numerous brothers took over different cities of Afghanistan and ended Sadduzai rule.
11. At the end of the Sadduzai rule, Barakzai became the ruler of different areas of the then Afghan kingdom. Muhammad Azeem Khan took Kabul, Dost Muhammad Khan took Ghazni, Pordal Khan took Qandahar, Jabbar Khan took Kashmir and Yar Muhammad Khan took Peshawar.Sayil, *Punjab aw Pukhtana*, p. 65.
12. The treaty of Amritsar dated 25 April 1809 runs as follow: WHEREAS certain differences which had arisen between the British Government and the Raja of Lahore have been happily and amicably adjusted; and both parties being anxious to maintain relations of perfect amity and concord, the following articles of treaty, which shall be binding on the heirs and successors of the two parties, have been concluded by the Raja Runjit Singh in person, and by the agency of C. T. Metcalfe, Esquire, on the part of the British Government.
Article 1: Perpetual friendship shall submit between the British Government and the State of Lahore: the latter shall be considered, with respect to the former, to be on the footing of the most favored powers, and the British Government will have no concern with the territories and subjects of the Raja to the northward

of the river Sutlej.

Article 2: The Raja will never maintain in the territory which he occupies on the left bank of the river Sutlej more troops than are necessary for the internal duties of that territory, nor commit or suffer any encroachments on the possession or rights of the Chiefs in its vicinity.

Article 3: In the event of a violation of any of the preceding articles, or of a departure from the rules of friendship, this treaty shall be considered null and void.

Article 4: This treaty, consisting of four articles, having been settled and concluded at Amritsar, on the 25th day of April, 1809 Mr. C. T. Metcalfe has delivered to the Raja of Lahore a copy of the same in English and Persian, under his seal and signature; and the Raja has delivered another copy of the same under his seal and signature, and Mr. C. T. Metcalfe engages to procure within the space of two months a copy of the same, duly ratified by the Right Honorable the Governor General in Council, on the receipt of which by the Raja, the present treaty shall be deemed complete and binding on both parties, and the copy of it now delivered to the Raja shall be returned. J. D. Cunningham, *History of Sikhs*, reprint. Delhi: S. Chand and Co., 1955, pp. 406-407.

13. http://www.sikhiwiki.org/index.php/Alkali_phula_Singh
14. Abdul Haleem Asar Afghani, *Zamung Mujahedeen*. Mardan: 1968, p. 7. Henceforth Afghani, *Zmung Mujahideen*.
15. He was a trusted general of Ranjit Singh and fought many battles with the *Khalsa* army.
16. The last district of Punjab to the north-western side on the bank of Indus River.
17. A small town on the bank of Indus River.
18. Jahangir built a small fort in the Mughul period. Nooruddin Muhammad Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, Autobiography of the Mughul Emperor Jahangir*. Trans. Ajaz-ul-Haq Quddussi. Lahore: Majlis Taraqi-i-Adab, 1968, p. 195. Henceforth Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*.
19. Sayed Muhammad Latif, *Tarikh-i-Punjab*. Lahore: Gohar Publications, n.d., p. 198. Henceforth Latif, *Tarikh-i-Punjab*.
20. Ikram Ali Malik, *A Book of Reading on the History of the Punjab 1799-1947*. Lahore: Research Society of Pakistan, 1970. p. 44. Henceforth Malik, *History of the Punjab*.
21. Literally means the 'upper fort'. The exact date of its construction is controversial but Babur repaired it in the sixteenth century.
22. Latif, *Tarikh-i-Punjab*, p. 141.
23. They were the landlords of Peshawar.
24. Sayil, *Punjab aw Pukhtana*, p. 67.
25. Nowshera was the name of a fort made by Mughul General Zain Khan Kokah during the North West Frontier expedition from 1585-1595. He made a fort with fifty thousand rupees at the right bank of river Kabul and named Nowshera. In this Fort, Mughuls kept the prisoners of war. Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, p. 200.
26. Rai Bahadur Diwan Chand Obhrai, *The Evolution of North West Frontier Province*. Peshawar: Saeed Book Bank, 1983, p. 27. Henceforth Obhrai, *North West Frontier Province*.

27. Sayil, *Punjab aw Pukhtana*, p. 80.
28. The poem of Moezi described the assurance that was proclaimed by Azeem Khan to local people and Sayed Akbar Shah of Sithana.
29. Latif, *Tarikh-i-Punjab*, p. 203.
30. He was the son of Sayed Zamin Shah, one of the descendants of Sayed Ali Tirmizi alias Peer Baba of Buner. He was one of the most respectable persons and highly regarded by the Pukhtuns. Later on, he was elected ruler of Swat and Buner in 1850 which he continued till his death in May 1857. Either as a companion of Sayyid Ahmad Barailvi or independently, he fought against the Sikhs on multiple occasions like the battle of Nowshera 1823, Battles of Seri Kot, Shaido, Tarbela, Hazara Hari Kishan Gharh 1827.
31. He was the elder brother of Sardar Azeem Khan. Azeem Khan sent him along the '*Ulama* and *Masha'ikh* to organize the tribesmen against the Sikhs. His name has been mentioned by different sources as Nawab Samad Khan by Qazi Attaullah, *Da Pukhtanu Tarikh, Vol.1*. Bannu: Da Marwato Adabi Jirga Sarai-Naurang, n.dp. 244; Samad Khan by Muhammad Shafi Sabir, *Tazkira Sarfaroshani Suba Sarhad*, Peshawar: University Book Agency, 1986, p. 101; and Samund Khan by Javed, Aziz, *Sarhad ka Ayeeni Irtiqa*, Peshawar: Azeem Publishing House, 1975, p. 21. http://sikh-history.com/sikhhis/events/battle_of_naushera.html (accessed. dated 15-12-2017.)
33. Muhammad Shafi Sabir, Abdul Halim Asar Afghani, Qazi Attaullah and Olaf Caro estimated twenty thousand *lakhkar* of Yusufzai and Khattak tribes while the Sikhs sources like Kanhaiya Lal Hindi and Shahamat Ali mentioned forty thousand *Lakhkar* of the Pukhtun tribes collectively. It seems they included Azeem Khan's troops that was standing on the right bank of River Kabul near Nowshera Khurd.
34. His actual name was Sayed Ali Ghawas Tirmizi (908-991), the son of Sayed Qanbar Ali. He was the famous Sufi saint of Pukhtunkhwa and his tomb is in district Buner.
35. Kanhaiya Lal Hindi, *Tarikh-i-Punjab*, Lahore: Majlis Taraqi-i-Adab, 1981, p. 294. Henceforth Hindi, *Tarikh-i-Punjab*.
36. Olaf Caroe, *The Pathans, 550 B.C.-A.D.1957*. London: Macmillan & Co Ltd, 1962, p. 295. Henceforth Caroe, *The Pathans*.
37. Qazi Attaullah, *Da Pukhtanu Tarikh*, vol.1, p. 240; Roshan Khan, *Yusafzai Qaum ki Sarguzishti*, Karachi: Roshan Khan & Company, 1986, p. 235.
38. He was very brave and known in the circle of Sikh army as the son of lion (*Sher ka Bacha*). Allah Bakhsh Yusafi, *Yusafzai Afghan*, Karachi: Muhammad Ali Educational Society, 1976. p. 443.
39. Muhammad Ismail Rehan, *Tarikh-i-Afghanistan*, Vol.1, Karachi: Al-Minhal, 2013, p. 197.
40. Afghani, *Zamung Mujahideen*, p. 31.
41. Hindi, *Tarikh-i-Punjab*, p. 296. There are others including Caroe, Attaullah, Sayil and Khan suggest that war started on 23rd March 1823.
42. Presently known as *Pir Sabaq* of district Nowshera, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Pakistan.
43. This river also called '*landai*' or '*daryakama*' the short river. It is called the river between Charsadda and Attock where it meets with Indus.

44. Hindi, *Tarikh-i-Punjab*, p. 296.
45. Fauja Singh Bajwa, *Military System of the Sikh During the Period 1799-1849*, Delhi: Motilala Banarsidass, 1964, p. 264. Henceforth Bajwa, *Military System*.
46. Afghani, *Zamung Mujahideen*, p. 45.
47. Jean-François Allard (1785 - 1839), a French soldier and adventurer was born in Saint Tropez, served in Napoleon's army and was awarded the Légion d'Honneur, and promoted to Captain of the 7th Hussars. After Waterloo, he served in Persia and joined Ranjit Singh's troops in 1822. He continued to serve the Maharaja until his death in 1839 and was awarded the Bright Star of the Punjab by the latter. Jean-Baptiste (Giovanni Battista) Ventura (1794-1858) was born in Modena and received conventional Jewish education. He served under Napoleon and returned to his home town after his fall. Having developed differences with local authorities in 1817, he went to Trieste; Constantinople and Persia where he served the Shah till 1822, when he was dismissed the Shah who was appointing British troops to modernize his troops. He was appointed by Ranjit Singh. He along with other European mercenaries organized Sikh army on modern lines and was able to form a special battalion, known as *fauj i khas*, comprised of multiple ethnic groups. Ventura was appointed General, Governor of Peshawar (1835-39) and was also sent on diplomatic missions to London and Paris. He left service and Punjab after the assassination of Sher Singh in 1843. http://sikh-history.com/sikhhis/events/battle_of_naushera.html accessed on 15-12-2017.
48. Latif, *Tarikh-i-Punjab*, p. 203.
49. 'Chaaahan' is a Persian word means 'wells'. Irrigation in the area was done by wells before the introduction of modern canal system in present Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. Therefore, the big wells were dug in different areas and this village was known as Nowshera *Chahan*. Gopal Das, *Tarikh-i-Peshawar*. Lahore: Koh-i-Noor Publisher, p. 199. Henceforth Das, *Tarikh-i-Peshawar*.
50. During colonial period, Hindi (1830-88) was appointed Executive Engineer of Lahore and designed many remarkable buildings during his service like the Railway Station, Lahore Bridge, Mayo Hospital and the like.
51. Hindi, *Tarikh-i-Punjab*, p. 297.
52. *Ibid*.
53. He was born on January 14, 1761 in the village of *Sarin* district Sangur Punjab. His father's name was Baba Ishar Singh and he belonged to a Jatt family. Phula Singh started his deeply religious life with the true Gurmat principles and he held the principle and never married. (http://www.sikhiwiki.org/index.php/Alkali_phula_Singh) Phula Singh shrine (*Samadhi*) was built at the village of Pir Sabaq and a Gurdwara was built on the site. While he settled down in Amritsar and a temple still stands in his memory. Das, *Tarikh-i- Peshawar*, p. 369.
54. *Ibid*, p. 298.
55. http://sikh-history.com/sikhhis/events/battle_of_naushera.html accessed. dated 15-12-2017.
56. Bajwa, *Military System*, p. 266.
57. *Ibid.*, 299.
58. He belonged to Durrani clan of Muhammadzai. His father Maulana Rafi ul Qadar alia Hafiz Gul Baba accompanied Ahmad Shah Abdali to Panipat in 1761 and

stayed at Kunda, a village in present day Swabi, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Pakistan where Muhammad Shoaib was born. His grandfather was known as Maulana Akhun Muhammad Rafiq Qandahari. Hafiz Ghulam Farid, *Ahwal-ul-Aarifin*. Lahore: Nazeer Sons Publishers, 1979. pp. 82-86. Henceforth Farid, *Ahwal-ul-Aarifin*.

59. The shrine of Shaikh Gul Muhammad, a disciple of Shaikh Rahamkar, popularly known as Kaka Sahib is also located in the village.
60. Pir Sabaq is a village 4 kilometers away from Nowshera Cantonment and Tordher is a small village at a distance of about 10 kilometer from Jahangiraon Jahangira-Swabi road.
61. Farid, *Ahwal-ul-Aarifin*, pp. 90-91.
62. Based on the poem, Ataullah, *Da Pukhtano Tarikh* has provided complete details of tribes and their people killed in the battle.
63. Afghani, *Zmung Mujahidin*, p. 48.
64. Caroe, *The Pathans*, p. 297.
65. Ataullah, *Da Pukhtano Tarikh*, p.264
66. Hindi, *Tarikh-i-Punjab*, p. 297.
67. Caroe, *The Pathans*, p. 297.
68. A small town near Shabqadar where Azeem Khan's family and treasure was kept.
69. A place near present day Khweshgi, district Nowshera, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.
70. Afghani, *Zmung Mujahidin*, p. 47.
71. Das, *Tarikh-i-Peshawar*, p. 308.
72. Ataullah, *Da Pukhtano Tarikh*, p. 265.
73. *Ibid.*, p. 297.
74. Gulshan Lal Chopra, *The Punjab as a Sovereign State (1799-1839)*, Lahore: Al-Beruni, 1977), p. 29. Henceforth Chopra, *The Punjab*.
75. They were 18 brothers namely Fateh Khan, Muhammad Azeem Khan, Taimor Khan, Pordil Khan, Sherdil Khan, Kundal Khan, Rahamdil Khan, Mirdil Khan, Dost Muhammad Khan, Amir Muhammad Khan, Jamal Khan, Sultan Muhammad Khan, Yar Muhammad Khan, Pir Muhammad Khan, Sayed Muhammad Khan, Nawab Asad Khan, Nawab Samad Khan, Nawab Jabbar Khan and Juma Khan.
76. *Ibid.*
77. Nowshera, Pabbi, and Jalozei were burnt and a Gurdwara was built in Nowshera as a monument of their victory in battle of Nowshera.