

THE LAST PHASE OF MUSLIM RULE, IN MULTAN  
(1752 - 1818)

Ph.D. Thesis

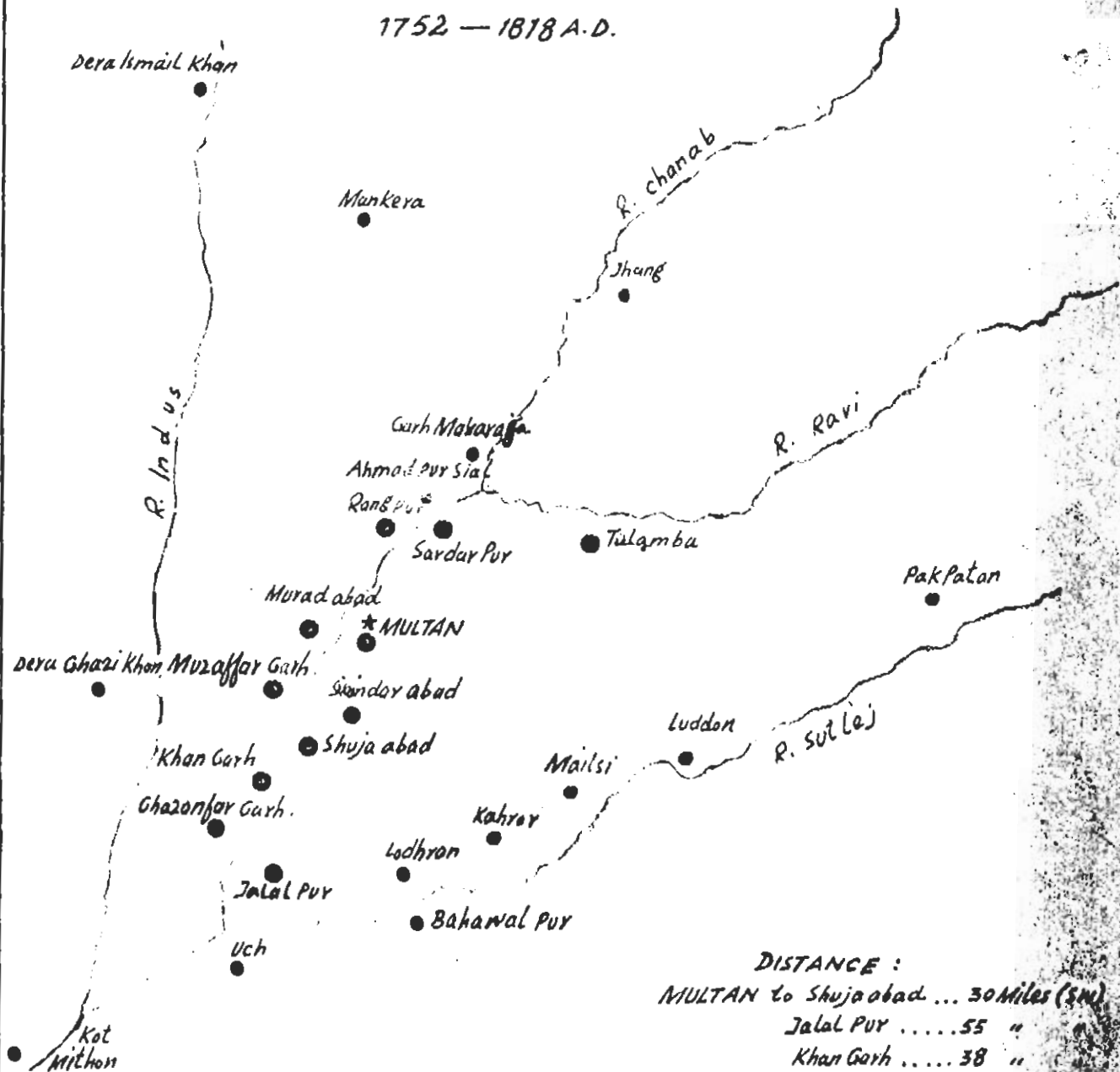
of

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# THE PROVINCE OF MULTAN

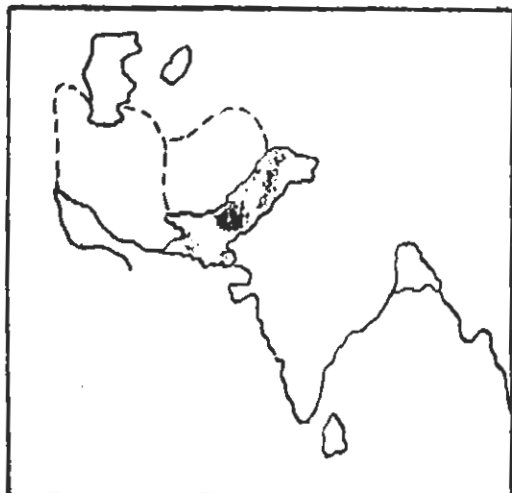
1752 — 1818 A.D.



**DISTANCE :**

MULTAN to Shujaabad	30 Miles (SW)
Jalalpur	55 " (N)
Khan Garh	38 " (N)
Siwandarabad	22 " (N)
Muzaffar Garh	21 " (N)
Kahror	51 " (SW)
Mailsi	49 " (SW)
Muradabad	33 " (NW)
Rangpur	25 " (NW)
Sardarpur	30 " (W)
Tulamba	50 " (W)
Ghaznifar	43 " (SW)
Luddon	75 " (SE)

**SCALE :** 1 Inch to 31.56 Miles  
R.F. 1:2000,000.



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ABBREVIATIONS

A.G.I.	Ancient Geography of India.
A.S.I.	Archaeological Survey of India.
C.F.	Chief and Families of Note in the Panjab (Revised Edition of the Panjab Chiefs), (Multan District, Vol: II.)
D.Z.	Dura-Tuz-Zaman.
E.B.	Encyclopaedia Britannica.
E.H.M.	The Early History of Multan.
G.M.D.	Gazetteer of the Multan District.
H.S.	History of the Sikhs (Gupta).
H.P.	History of the Panjab.
I.G.I.	The Imperial Gazetteer of India.
M.H.P.	The Later Mughal History of the Panjab.
M.I.	Memoirs of Peer Ibrahim Khan.
P.S.G., B.S.	Punjab States Gazetteers, Bahawalpur State.
P.C.	The Panjab Chiefs.
P.D.G., M.D.	Punjab District Gazetteer, Multan District.
M.K.	Muzaffar Khan.
Siyar	Siyar-ul-Mutakherin.
T.A.S.	Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi.
T.M.	Tazkirat-ul-Muluk.
T.K.J.	Tawarikh Khurshid Jahan.
U.T.	Umdat-ul-Tawarikh.
Z.A.	Zubdat-ul-Akhbar.

(iii)

GENEALOGIES OF THE MUSLIM SUBEDARS OF MULTAN

Malik Talut (Saul)

Armia

Barkhia

Malik Afghan

Malik Asif

From Malik Afghan was Qais Abdul Rashid  
(contemporary of the Holy Prophet Peace be upon him)(died 632

Qais Abdul Rashid

Sare(Sarr Bun)

Ghare (Gharghusht)

Batre(Batrin)

Malik Sharkbun (contemporary of Hajjaj bin Yousuf)  
(died 714 . . .)

Tarin

Malik Abdal (contemporary of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna)  
(died 1030 . . .)

Malik Rajjar

Malik Isa

Nur

Khokar

Mako

Malik Zirak (contemporary of Shah Rukh Mirza of Persia)  
(died 1447 . . .)

(iv)

Malik Zarak

Malik Popal  
(descendants are  
known as Popalzai)

Barak  
(descendants are  
known as Barakzai)

Alko  
(descendants  
are known as  
Alkozai)

Malik Habib

Bado  
(descendants  
are known as  
Badozai)

Ayub

Malik Bame (descendants are known as Bamezai)  
contemporary of Sultan Sikandar Lodhi (died 1517 ..)  
& Sultan Ibrahim Lodhi. (died 1526 ..)

Malik Saleh (contemporary of Sher Shah Suri)  
(died 1545 A.D.)

Malik Saddu (Mir-i-Afghan) descendants are known as Saddozai.  
born on 30th September 1558 A.D. (18 Zilhijj 965 A.H.)  
died in April 1626 (1st Rajab 1036 A.H.)

(1)

(2)

Khwaja Khizer Khan  
(descendants are  
known as Khizer Khel)  
born in June 1580 A.D.  
(1st Ramzan 990 A.H.)  
died in October 1626 ...  
(2nd Muharram-ul-Haram  
1037 A.H.)

Khan Maudud  
(descendants are known as  
Maudud Khel and Khan Khel)  
born in July 1582 A.D.  
(15th Shawal 992 A.H.)  
died in 1642  
(1053 A.H.)

(3)

(4)

(5)

Kamran Khan  
(descendants are  
known as Kamran  
Khel)  
died in 1639 A.D.  
(1050 A.H.)

Bahadur Khan  
(descendants  
are known as  
Bahadur Khel)

Zafran Khan  
(descendants are  
known as  
Zafran Khel)

(v)

Khweja Khizer Khan

(1)

(2)

Sultan Khuda-Dad Khan  
alias Sultan Khudakka.  
born in 1612 A.D.  
(1022 A.H.)  
died in 1665 A.D.  
(2nd Safar 1076 A.H.)  
descendants are known  
as Sultan Khel and  
Khudakka Saddozai.

Sarmast Sultan  
born in 1614 A.D.  
(1024 A.H.)

Daulat Khan

Zaman Khan

(1)

(2)

(3)

(1)

(2)

(3)

Qalandar Khan  
(issueless)

Inayat  
Khan  
(issue-  
less)

Hayat Khan  
alias  
Sultan  
Hayat Khan

Zulfiqar  
Khan

Ali Mardan  
Khan

Lugman  
Khan

Ahmad  
Shah  
Dur-i-  
Durrān  
(King  
of  
Afghan-  
istan)

Sultan Hayat Khan Khudakka

(1)

(2)

(3)

(4)

Sultan  
Abdullah  
Khan  
(Ruler of  
Hirat)

Muhammad  
Baqir Khan  
alias  
Sardar Khan

Muhammad Sharif Khan

Din Muhammad Khan

Ali Muhammad Khan (the author of  
Tazkirat-ul-Muluk)

Muqarrab  
Khan  
(issueless)

Nawab Abdul  
Aziz Khan  
(naib Nazim of  
Multan)

(1)

(2)

(3)

(4)

Assadullah  
Khan

Muhammad  
Khan

Allah Yar  
Khan

Ali Yar  
Khan

(vi)

Khan Khel Subedars of Multan

Khan Maudud

(1)

Shah Hussain Khan  
alias  
Wafadar Khan I  
(issueless)

(2)

Allah Dad Khan

(1)

Inayat Khan  
alias  
Wafadar Khan II

(2)

Abid Khan

(3)

Baqir Khan

Nawab Zahid Khan  
(naib Nazim of Multan)

(1)

Nawab Shakir Khan  
(naib Nazim of Multan)

(2)

Nawab Shuja Khan  
Subedar (Governor) of Multan

(1)

Nawab Muhammad  
Muzaffar Khan  
Safdar Jang Bahadur.  
Subedar (Governor) of  
Multan

(2)

Sikandar  
Khan

(3)

Ghazanfar  
Khan

(4)

Sanjar Khan

(1)

Nawab Sarfraz  
Khan

(2)

Zulfiqar  
Khan

(3)

Shah Nawaz  
Khan

(4)

Mumtaz  
Khan

(5)

Shahbaz  
Khan

(6)

Haq Nawaz  
Khan

(7)

Azaz  
Khan

(8)

Amir Baz  
Khan



(vii)

BAHADUR KHEL- SUBEDAR OF MULTAN

Malik Saddu

Bahadur Khan

Ali Khan

Yousuf Khan

Abdul Shakoor Khan alias Shakroo Khan

Nawab Haji Sharif Khan  
(Subedar of Multan and  
Dera Ghazi Khan)

(1)

(2)

Nawab Abdul Rahim Khan  
(Subedar of  
Dera Ghazi Khan)

Qazi Haji Muhammad Khan  
(Qazi of Dera Ghazi Khan)

(viii)

Mohsinzai Khugani Subedar of Multan

Malik Shahpal (contemporary of Akbar the Great)

From him was Siddique Khan

Farooq Khan

Usman Khan

Nawab Ali Muhammad Khan  
Subedar (Governor) of Multan

Mustafa Khan

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.....

## ABSTRACT

The thesis presents the first major attempt to reconstruct one of the important period in the history of Multān. In the past several attempts have been made to write the history with some success. But lack of authentic information left much to be desired. The Tazkirat ul-Muluk of Mir Asadullah Khan Shah Jahan Saddozai has made available to us wealth of information on the role that the Afghans played in the history of Multān. How the small group of the Afghan tribe settled here rose from their tribal grouping to play leading political role in the history of Multān and continue to wield Muslim authority in their hands is a unique phenomenon of history. While becoming a part of the Durrani empire, Multān, under its Afghan Sūbedars, remained a spearhead of Muslim authority in Punjab and continued to prosper. This period of Multān's history has been treated here as 'The Last Days of the Afghans in Multān (1757-1848)'.  
'

As an introductory to the later history Chapter I gives a resume of the early history of Multān under the title of Multān- its historical perspective. But in order to focuss on the tribal nature of the Afghan society Chapter II has been added to outline the traditional origin of the Afghans and the place the Saddozai Afghans - the main actors in the present history - occupy in that system.

Chapter III traces the gradual rise of the Soodas under Maughala until they occupy a position of ascendancy. Chapter IV discusses the main political role of the Afghans under three subsections: (i) their out their bravery and sagacity against heavy odds in maintaining their position. The detail should be given of the Afghan sense of political cohesion against the chaotic group politics and how the Afghans ultimately succumbed to the united Sikh power under Maharaja Ranjit Singh. The Ch V briefly gives the local administrative structure, religion and Culture and some social and economic achievements of the Afghans under three sub-heads. Finally the Conclusion re-emphasizes the role of the Afghans in the later history of Mulān and shows how they were able to keep aloft the torch of the Last Muslim Rule in this part of <sup>The</sup> Panjāb.

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CHAPTER I:

Multan - its Historical Perspective

# MULTAN - ITS HISTORICAL PERIODS

Multān and its surrounding<sup>1</sup> occupy an important place in southern Panjāb above Fāchanad - the confluence of the five rivers of the Panjāb. Standing on the old bed of the river Ṣavī, the city is perched on a high mound<sup>2</sup> giving a panoramic view of the surrounding. The Ṣavī flowed past Multān as late as the time of Ṭīmūr and then it gradually changed its course.<sup>3</sup> The high mound, which today represents the old citadel, is some fifty feet above the surface and conceals within its womb buried treasures of the past.<sup>4</sup> Excavations conducted in 1853 and 1854 by Alexander Cunningham revealed cultural material in the form of pottery and several other articles which take back the history to about 800 B.C.

The city lies on the main east-west highway running from Gomāl and Kurram passes of the western Frontier eastward to the Gangetic plain and served as the main entrepot of trade from the Gangetic valley across southern Panjāb to Gardez, Gannī and Qandahār in southern Afghanistan.

1. P.D.G., I.D., pp.4-5. Its importance in ancient geography is discussed by Cunningham in his A.G.I., pp.125-26.
2. Actually there were two mounds according to Cunningham, see Ibid., p.126.
3. Ibid., p.126.
4. Cunningham, A.G.I., Vol. I, pp. 126-30.



is the earliest evidence of this east-west trade relations at Jalilpur, not far from Multān, have produced early Bronze Age material comparable with Kot Digg<sup>5</sup> in Sindh, Gomāl sites in the west and Kalibangan in Rajasthan.<sup>6</sup>

On the evidence of Yātrā Prabhā and Alberuni, Uchaita Alberuni identified as Uchaita in the Uchaita Jahrawar. The identification of Uchaita has been made in detail by Prof. A.H.Dani<sup>10</sup> who has shown that the country around Multān, and even derived the name Sauvirakī from Sauvirakī. This identification takes back the history of Multān to the Indian epic, wherein the ruler is shown to be "Jayadratha, the associate of Kaurava King Duryodhana, and he is reputed to be the villain in the story of Drupadihasana (abduction of Drupadi, the spouse of Pāṇḍava)."<sup>11</sup>

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5. See Dr. L. S. Mehra, 'Early Harappan Culture from Jalilpur', Archaeology, April, 1974, Vol. 27, no. 2, pp. 106-13.
  6. See Dr. F. I. Khan in Pakistan Archaeology, Karachi, 1965, no. 2, pp. 44-85.
  7. See A.H.Dani, Excavations in the Gomāl Valley, Ancient Pakistan, Vol. V, Peshawar, 1970-71, pp. 46-52.
  8. B.V. "Saxena", 'Kalibangan - A Harappan Metropolis beyond the Indus Valley', in Excavation, winter, 1975, pp. 123-32.
  9. E. Sachau, Alberuni's India, Vol. I, pp. 309 and 310.
  10. A.H.Dani, "Sindhu-Sauvirakī" in The Journal of Human and Political Science, Vol. II, no. I, Lahore, pp. 15-25.
  11. Ibid., pp. 15-16.

12  
If ~~Cambyses~~ is to be believed, the earliest recorded history of Multān can be traced to the time of Alexander's campaigns. He identified Multān with the chief city of Malli or Malloi, who are supposed to be the same as <sup>13</sup>Mālava in Sanskrit literature. From this identification Prof. A.H. Dani derives for the correct name of the old city as Mālavi-sthāna, i.e. <sup>14</sup>the city of the Mālava tribe, which in due course was corrupted into Mūlasthāna or Multān. But no trace of this name has been left behind as the Mālavas later moved down to Mālwa in Rājasthān. Only the heroic struggle of the Mallois against Alexander can be read in the accounts of the Greek historians. <sup>15</sup>

Traditional history of Multān gives another version. On the authority of Utphala, a native of Kashmīr, <sup>16</sup>Alberuni records: "Multān was originally called Kāśyapapura, then Hamsapura, then Sāgapura, then Sāmbapura, and then Mūlasthāna, i.e. the original place, for mūla means root, origin, and tāna means place."

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12. A.G.I., pp.200-201.
13. H.C. Raychaudhuri, Political History of Ancient India, 2nd Ed., Calcutta, 1952, pp.254-55.
14. A Short History of Pakistan, Karachi, 1967, p.38.
15. R.C. Majumdar, The Classical Accounts of India, Calcutta, 1960.
16. Sachau, Op.Cit., Vol.I, p.298.

17

Conningham explains these names and goes to the origin of Prahlādapura and Ādysthāna. He adds: "According to the tradition of the people Kāśyapapura was founded by Kāśyapa, who was the father of the twelve Ādityas or Sun-gods, by Aditi, and of the Daityas, or Titans, by Diti. He was succeeded by his eldest son, the Daitya, named Hiranya-kāśipu, who is famous throughout India .....

He was followed by his still more famous son Prahlāda, the ardent worshipper of Vishnu, after whom the city was named Prahlādapura." Conningham identifies Kāśyapapura

with Kaspapuros of Hekataeus, and the Kaspaturos of Apollonius, as well as Kaspeira of Herodotus. But this identification is not definite. He further explains:

"I infer that mūla is only an epithet of the sun, as the God of the rays, and that Mūl-asthāna-pura means simply "the City of the Temple of the Sun.". Bhāga and Hansa well known names of the Sun; and are/therefore Bhāgapura and Hansapura are only synonymous of the name of Maltān."

17. A.G.I., p.196.

18. Ibid., p.198.

19. A.H.Dani, Peshawar, the Historic City of the Frontier, Peshawar, 1959, P.32. He identifies it with Pushkalāvati (modern Charsada): See also Sir Olaf Caroe, The Pathans, London, 1962, pp.28-32.

20. A.G.I., p.197.

On the authority of Shavishya Purāna <sup>21</sup> it is written: "Here Samba, the son of Arishta established himself in the grove of Kitravana and by assiduous devotion to Mitra, or statue of Mitra, or the image of Mitra of his legname. He then erected a golden statue of Mitra in a temple named Advatāna, or the 'First temple', and the word Advatāna has been by Samba has been used to the present day." It is after him that the city got the name of Sambapura.

Thus the traditional history of Multān is all connected with Sun-god and as his worship became popular, the origin of the city was associated with his name. There is no remembrance of Alexander's invasion in popular tradition nor of the heroic struggle of the Mallois. However, the preservation of the name Sauvira, from the root word Savira, literally "the great hero", suggests a faint recollection of the bravery of the local people.

How old was the temple of Sun-god in Multān is hard to say. The following Extract from the Travels of Hiuen Tsang does suggest that it was in existence at the time of his visit in about A.D. 646.

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21. Ibid., p.196.

" NU-LO-SAN-FU-UR ( NOLASHANAUURA )

This country is about 4000 li in circuit; the capital town is some 30 li round. It is thickly populated. The establishments are wealthy. This country is in dependence on the kingdom of Cheka (Tse-hia). The soil is rich and fertile. The climate is soft and agreeable: the customs of the people are simple and honest; they love to work and are industrious. The greater part of the population are spirits; few believe in the law of Buddha. There are about ten sangharamas, mostly in ruins; there are a few priests, who study indeed, but without any wish to teach. There are eight Deva temples, in which sectaries of various classes dwell. There is a temple dedicated to the sun, very magnificent and profusely decorated. The image of the sun-deva is cast in yellow gold and ornamented with rare gems. Its divine insight is mysteriously manifested and its spiritual power made plain to all. Women play their music, light their torches, offer their flowers and perfumes to honour it. This custom has been continued from the very first. The rich and high families of the city, the nobles and lords, their offerings of gold and silver to the sun-deva (the Dava). They have founded a house of refuge (the Sangha), in which they provide food, clothing, and shelter for the poor and sick, afford medical succour and comfort. Men from all countries come here to offer up their prayers; there are always some thousands doing so.

On the four sides of the stable are tanks with "flowing  
groves where one can wander about without restraint."

The above quotation also throws light on the  
political history. According to the pilgrim, "the  
country is in dependence on the kingdom of Jhoka  
(Tse-kia)", i.e. the Taka Kingdom in Panjāb, and on the  
dependency of the kingdom of Hind. On the other hand,  
according to Thachināmah Multān formed one of the four  
provinces of the kingdom of Hind under Rāi Sīharas as  
well as of his son Rāi Sāhī. The same author later<sup>24</sup>  
informs that the Brahmin usurper Chach fought a war  
against the local ruler (correctly governor) Khajurā,  
a relative of Rāi Sāhī, and annexed Multān. Khajurā  
appears to have been very powerful and practically  
independent. At the time of the invasion of Muḥammad bin  
Qasim Multān was governed by Jān Kanda who gave a  
stiff fight to him. At the end Multān was captured and  
was placed under Amīr Daūd bin Isr.<sup>25</sup>

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1. Samuel Beal, China, vol. of India,  
Calcutta, 1890, Vol. I, p. 133.
  2. Ibid., p. 133.
  3. Ibid., pp. 133-134.
  4. Ibid., pp. 133-134.
  5. Ibid., pp. 337-346.
-

The prosperity of Multān is fully attested by the Muslim authors who have given a description of<sup>26</sup> flourishing industry and rich agricultural crops. The treasure that fell into the hands of Muhammad bin Qasim was enormous. Particularly gold and jewell<sup>y</sup>, buried in the temple were all acquired by the conqueror and here in Multān he built Jāmi' Mosque and erected minaret. Al-Biruni notes: "A famous idol of theirs was that of Multān, dedicated to the sun, and therefore called Uttara. It was of wood and covered with red Sorian leather; in its two eyes were two red rubies. It is said to have been made in the 1st Aṭitayuga. Suppose that it was made in the very end of the Kṛitayuga, the time which has since elapsed amounts to 216,432 years. When Muhammad Ibn Al-kāsim ibn Al-qunabbih conquered Multān, he enquired how the town had become so very flourishing and so many treasure<sup>s</sup> had there been accumulated, and then he found out that this idol was the cause, for there came pilgrims from all sides to visit it. Therefore he thought it best to have the idol where it was, but he hung a piece of cow's-flesh on its neck by way of mockery. On the same place a mosque was built." According<sup>27</sup>

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26. See S.N. Ikram, History of Muslim Civilization in India and Pakistan, Lahore, 1962, pp. 16-18.

27. Sachau, Op.Cit., Vol.I, p. 186.

to Ibn Nadīm<sup>33</sup> the temple of Multān was one of the seven important temples. In it there was an idol made of iron and kept in position by magnet.

Al-Masūdī, the Arab geographer, visited Multān in A.D. 915 ( 307 A.H.) and described Multān as one of the 'strongest frontier places of the Musulmans.' The city was always in danger of attack from the Pratihāra rulers of Kanauj. They frequently marched against Multān, and its Muslim ruler secured his safety by playing upon the religious sentiments of the Hindus. He learnt from Al-Masūdī that " when the unbelievers march against Multān and the faithful do not feel themselves strong enough to oppose them, they threaten to break their idol and their enemies immediately withdraw." When Al-Masūdī visited Multān, its ruler was a sovereign, named Abū 'Alī Tabab Al-Humayy, son of Abū 'Alī-Ḥārī. According to him the region was very fertile and it had active commerce with all the parts of the Muslim world. From the idol he concludes that 'proof of being in one of the parts of Hind and Hind travel to it on perilous roads.'<sup>34</sup> Istakhārī visited Multān in A.D. 939 (340 A.H.) and wrote about the city. Ibn Haukal's work is based on that of

33. Al-Mihriq, Urdu Tr. by Muḥammad Muḥammad Ishāq Bhatti, Lahore, 1969, p.799.

34. R.C. Majumdar (ed.), The Age of Imperial Kanauj, Bombay, 1975, p.137.

35. Ṭarīkh-i-Masūdī, Urdu Tr. p.16.

36. Istakhārī, Mithaq-al-Masālik wa'l Mamālik, pp.121-22.

37. Ibn Haukal, Surat - ul - Arz (Arabic) pp. 535-536.



Al-Buhārī. In addition the views expressed by Al-Buhārī. When Istakhārī visited Multān, he found the idol of the sun made of gold, standing on a pedestal of bricks, 'its two eyes were of the red rubies, and its mouth was surrounded by a golden chain.' At this time Multān formed a part of the Khilāfah and Bahā was ruled in the name of the Khilāfah of Baghdad.

Interesting period of the history of Multān was the rule of Qirmathians who owed their allegiance to the Fātimid Khilāfah. Alberuni writes: "When the Karmatians occupied Multān, Jalam ibn Shaibān, the usurper, broke the idol (of the sun) into pieces and killed its priests. He made his mansion, which was a castle built of brick on an elevated place, the mosque instead of the old mosque, which he ordered to be shut from hatred against anything that had been done under the dynasty of the Caliphs of the house of 'Umayyā. When afterwards the blessed caliph Muḥammad swept away their rule from these countries, he made again the old mosque the place of the Friday prayer, and the second one was left to decay. At present it is only a barn-floor, where bunches of ḥinnā are bound together." These rulers of Multān were the descendants of <sup>33</sup>Usāma bin Lawī bin <sup>34</sup>Ghalib. Shahīd Ḥamid Lawī, and not

33. Sachau, On.Cit., Vol.I, pp.116-117.

34. See Nasūdī, Murūz uz-Zahab, pp. 234 and 385.

<sup>32</sup>  
Lodī, had cultivated friendly relations with Amīr Subuktigīn and thus secured his position in Multān. But his grandson Abū al-Fath Daud bin Naṣir gave up his conciliatory policy, and ultimately he was defeated and taken prisoner by Sultān <sup>76</sup> Mahmūd in A.D. 1040. However, with the decline of the power of the successors of Sultān Mahmūd, again the qirmathians seized power and held it till it was conquered by Mu'iz al-Dīn Muḥammad bin Sam.

With the establishment of the Delhi Sultanate Multān became its western frontier. In the beginning it fell to the lot of Naṣir al Dīn Qabāchā, then captured by Jalāl- Al-Dīn Bakharnī, and finally annexed by Shams al-Dīn Iltutmish. When Balban strengthened his frontier guard, he posted his eldest son Sultān Muḥammad Khā-i-shahīd here and made him responsible for the defence. It was under his patronage that Amīr Khusrav and Hasan Dehlavī lived in Multān and composed their poems. But Multān continually suffered from mongol invasions. It was to meet these recurrent dangers that Alayūdh al-Dīn Tughlaq was appointed as a warden of the Frontier Marches. Then Alauddin

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35. Farishtah in his Tārīkh has erroneously written Lodī, and the error has been repeated by Sir John Haig (Cam-bridge History of India, Vol. III, p. 24) and others. See also R.C. Majumdar (ed.), The Delhi Sultanate, Bombay, 1967, p. 227. The mistake was long ago corrected by Major Raverty in this Mihiran of Sind, p. 325 f.n.

36. M. Nazim, The Life and Times of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna, Cambridge, 1931, p. 99.

he rose to be the Sultān of Delhi. Multān remained under the Tughlāqs until it was conquered by Amīr Tīmūr.

During this long period the prosperity of Multān grew unabated. It was at this time that the city was adorned by important monuments that have led to a particular style of Multānī architecture.<sup>37</sup> The tombs of Bahā al-Dīn Zakariyā, Rukn al-Dīn Rukn 'Alam and Shams al-Dīn Tabrezī have given to Multān a place in the Indo-Muslim architecture. And the presence of the dargāhs of these saints has added a religious tone to the city.

Multān became independent under its Lakhānī rulers.<sup>38</sup> Shāhrah, the chief of the Lakhānīs was the ruler of Multān and the surrounding countries. He gained power from a local shāikh Yūsuf Makarīyā Qasabī in A.D. 1445 and began his rule under the title of Qutb al-Dīn. He proved to be an able ruler. Multān remained under his family for four generations until A.D. 1525 when Shāh Husain Arghūn stormed the city and captured it. Soon after Bābar appeared on the scene and Multān became a part of the Mughal empire.

37. Percy Brown, Indian Architecture, Islamic Period, Chapter VII.

38. R.C. Majumdar, (ed.), The Delhi Sultanate, Motilal, 1967, pp. 228-230.

CHAPTER II:

Ancestral History of the Afghan Subedars of Multan

- i Their Origin
- ii The Saddozais

THEIR ORIGIN

1

A number of theories have been advanced as to the origin of Afghans. Ali Muhammad Khan follows the traditional claim of Afghans that Ismael the son of Malik Isa (Saul) King of the Jews had two sons, Armia and Barkia. Armia's son Afghan was the founder of the Afghan nation and gave his name to it. The Afghans, therefore, claim an Israelite descent and call themselves 'Bani Israel'. This claim according to Lepel Griffin is supported by their culture because 'in physiognomy, in

1. Sir Claf Curzon, The Pathans, London, 1908, Pt. 1-10.
2. T.M., PP. 2, 4, 5; Sher Muhammad Nadir, Subhat-ul-Afghan, Lahore, 1882 (1298 A.H.) P. 3; Wahat Afghar, Makhzan-ul-Afghan, vol. i, Lahore, 1910, Pt. 4-32; T.M.J., Lahore, 1894, Pt. 70, 75; Abdul Karim, Turikh-i-Afghan, 1st. ed., 1903, Pt. 1, 2; Wahat, Subhat-ul-Afghan, Pt. 1, Karachi, 1911, P. 1.
3. Lepel Griffin, Pathans and Afghans, 1st. ed., London, 1903, P. 1; Pathans and Afghans, 2nd. ed., London, 1903, P. 1; Pathans and Afghans, 3rd. ed., London, 1903, P. 1.

manners and in their religious ideas, the Afghans and  
resemble the Persians.

Malik Jalut ( Saad ) of the Sijistan, who was  
opposed an infidel Djalut, announced that whoever would  
kill Djalut, he would not only inherit his property but  
successor but also marry his daughter to him. He  
killed Djalut and became his successor as well as his  
son-in-law. Subsequently, the successor of Djalut, appointed  
Malik Afghan son of Armia as his successor-in-law  
and Asif son of Farukh as his successor.

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4. Al-Jurrah, Para 2, Surah 2 - Jurrah

وَقَاتِلْ دَاوُدَ وَجَارُوتَ

5. T.N., P. 1, T.N. 2., P. 40.

Al-Jurrah, Para 2, Surah 2 - Jurrah

وَقَاتِلْ دَاوُدَ وَجَارُوتَ

6. T.N., P. 1, T.N. 2., P. 40.

\*

Once Sulaiman passed over a beautiful place 'Rodah or Roh'

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situated on the 'Kaseghar mountain'. He liked the place very much and there he held his court. The place is known 'Takht-i-Sulaiman'<sup>c</sup>till this day. Before leaving the place, Sulaiman gave it to Malik Afghan, who settled there alongwith his tribesmen. Malik Afghan and his tribesmen entered into matrimonial alliances with the local people of village 'Pasht'<sup>cc</sup> and with the passage of time their descendants adopted their mother tongue that is 'Pashtu' and left their ancestral language 'Hebrew'. The descendants of Malik Afghan are better known as 'Pakhtun' because of the village 'Pasht'.<sup>9</sup>

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- \* Rodah or Roh is the same word, a Pashtu word meaning mountain.
  - \*\* Kaseghar: situated in the Sulaiman range.
  - <sup>c</sup> Takht-i-Sulaiman: situated in the Sulaiman range.
  - 8. I.M., , PP.5,6; Fraser Tytler, Afghanistan, London,1953, P.49., says that 'the original habitat of the Pathan was the country lying round the Sulaiman range'.
  - <sup>cc</sup> 'Pasht: In Tajik persian signifying the back of a mountain range. Hence came the word Pashtan, with its plural Pashtana. From this was derived the hard Pakhtun of the northern Afghans and the general appellation Pathan'; Fraser Tytler, op.cit., PP.49,50.
  - 9. I.M., , PP.6,7; Caroe,op.cit., P.252, says 'the Abdalis are a people Persian in language and in dress half Persian, half Pakhtun'; Tate, The Kingdom of Afghanistan,Karachi, 1973, P.15., writes that 'the Afghans call themselves Pakhtan(Pakhtana), from which the change to Paktana and again to Pathan is easy'.

سليمان عليه السلام ناگاه گور انجناب برولايت روده برکوه کسيغر که مابين پشاور و قندهار و کابل و ملتان قريب فاصه در اين بطرف غرب دريا سنده واقع است افتاد حضور نبوي را آب و هوا و سبزه زار آن موضع دلربا و مقام بهشت --- پس در آنجا فرود آمدند ديوان را بساختن --- ملک افغان را کسيغر و نواحی آن در اقطاع داده --- زبان افغانی را که پشتو و قوم افغان را پشتون ميگویند بقریه پشت که در آن توطن داشتند نسبت کردند -

( ص ۲۰۵ ) تذکره

Qais Abdur-Rashid, a descendant of Malik Afghan, embraced Islam and was conferred the title of 'Batan' by the Holy Prophet, because the former displayed great valour in a battle against the infidels. The word 'Batan' was changed<sup>10</sup> into 'Pathan', therefore, his descendants are called 'Pathans'.

The Abdali tribe to which Ahmad Shah Dur-i-Durran and the last rulers of Multan belonged, traces its origin from 'Malik Abdal' the fifth in descent from 'Qais Abdur Rashid'. Malik Abdal son of Tarin was the grandson of Malik Sharkbun whose grandson was Malik Rajjar. Malik Rajjar had four sons, Malik Isa, Nur, Khukar and Mako. Malik Isa's son was Zirak and his son was Malik Popal, Malik Popal's son Malik Habib was the father of Malik Bame whose son 'Malik Saleh' was the<sup>11</sup> father of 'Malik Saddu'.

10. T.M., PP.7,8; T.K.J., PP.58-64; Tate, op.cit., PP.10,15, writes, 'Bahtan' - the rudder, or the mast or both of a ship'; Bellow, op.cit., PP.15,16., writes, 'Bahtan the rudder of a ship'. All the above mentioned authors have mentioned this, but it could not be verified from the early Islamic sources. Also See: T.K.J., PP.50,51,53,55,175,176.

11. T.M., PP.9-19.  
The following authors give a different account which cannot be given the credence deserved by TAZKIRAT-UL-MULUK. Tate, op.cit., P.33., 'Saddo's father was Umar'; Ganda Singh, op.cit., P.1., 'Umar's second son was Saddo', Tariekh-i-Ahmad Shahi, PP.3,4., 'Saddo was son of Bame and Saleh was his brother'; Atta Muhammad, Taza-Nawai-Muarak, Shikarpur, ed. Karachi, 1959, (1271 A.H.), P.769., 'Saleh was elder brother of Saddu'.; Azizuddin Fafalzai, Timur Shah Durrani, Kabul, 1333, P.46., 'Umar Khan Fafalzai was father of Asadullah alias Saddu'; Caroe, op.cit., P.12., confirms that 'Abdal was son of Tarin and grandson of Sharkbun'. Also See: T.K.J., PP.170,171,182; Rahmat, Khulasat-ul-Ansab, MS, PP.4-30; Faiz Muhammad, Tuhfatul-Habib, MS, 1770 A.D. (1184 A.H.), PP.20-60.  
بتان در عربيه چوبي را گویند که مدار کشتی بر آن میباشد



THE ANCESTOR

Malik Gulich the father of Malik Gaddu was the chief of his tribe. His importance was not only recognized in his own country but also by the rulers of India. He was invited to his court by the Emperor of Delhi. He had two wives, one of whom was his chief. She gave him a son, on the night of Sunday 20th September 1139 (1139 Zil Hijd 965 A.H.), who was named 'Gaddu'. Malik Gulich was the ancestor of the 'Gaddozai tribe' of the Afghans, the last Subedars of Multan and Ahmad Shah Dur-i-Darraz. He has been wrongly called Gardar Khan or Gardulla or Gardullu by some historians. His real name was 'Gaddu'. His father

1. T.H., P.46.

2. Ibid., P.42,49.

3. Ibid., P.42,49; The authors named below have all stated that Malik Gaddu's name was Asadullah or Asad. They have not given any authentic reference. Don., P.6; Gand Singh, Q.H., P.4; 1890, Q.H., P.33; Isa-Mawzi-Munara, P.42; Imam Shah Durraz, P.46.

died during his infancy. Malik Saddu and four other sons  
 from another wife but he loved 'Saddu' very much. Saddu  
 was brave and had the ability to lead all the people  
 while judging his capability and realizing his ability,  
 Malik Saddu appointed him as his successor. After the  
 death of his father, Malik Saddu became chief of his tribe  
 Malik Saddu being the chief of Alus Hasibzai played an  
 played an important role in uniting the tribes of Afghanistan.  
 First of all he united all the Afghan tribes living in the  
 surroundings of Qandahar and within a very short period, he  
 became the chief of 'Safa' and Alus Abdali on 16th July  
 1598 (22nd Zil-Hijja 1006 A.H.). Being the chief of Alus-  
Abdali, he had to deal with three potentates: the Mughal  
 Emperor Akbar (1542-1605), the Emperor Jahangir (1569-1627)  
 and the Safavide Emperor Shah Abbas (1587-1629). In the  
 meantime, Qandahar became a bone of contention between the  
 Mughals and the Safavides and due to this rivalry between  
 Malik Saddu allied himself with Shah Abbas against the  
 Mughal Emperor Jahangir. Malik Saddu died in 1621  
Qandahar in 1621 (1031 A.H.). Shah Abbas, therefore,  
 realizing his importance in the territory of Qandahar,  
 acknowledged his chieftain and bestowed upon him the  
 government of 'Safa' alongwith the title of Mir-i-Afghan.  
 He also exempted Alus Abdali and Malik Saddu from paying  
 annual tribute to the Safavide Emperor.

4. T.H., P.30; E.A., P.7.

\* Alus: A Turkish word meaning tribe.  
 \*\* Hasibzai: The descendants of Malik Hasib.  
 \*\*\* Abdali: The descendants of Malik Abdal.  
 § Safa: 40 miles north-east of Qandahar.  
 5. T.H., P.27; E.A., P.7.  
 6. T.H., P.28,29; E.A., P.9.

Malik Saddu was a great warrior, a politician and a pious man. His descendants are called SADDUZAIS and command great respect till this day. Their rule in Hirat (Afghanistan) and Multan lasted till 1818. Malik Saddu died on Thursday, April 1626 <sup>7</sup> (1st Rajab 1036 A.H.) at an advanced age of 71. He left five sons, Khwaja Khizer Khan (born on 1st Ramzan <sup>8</sup> 990 A.H.) June 1580, Khan Maudud born in July 1582 (15th Shawwal 992 A.H.), Kamran Khan born in April 1584 (Rajab 994 A.H.), Bahadur Khan (born in 1588 (998 A.H.) and Zafran Khan born in 1600 (1010 A.H.). Malik Saddu was succeeded by his eldest son <sup>9</sup> Khwaja Khizer Khan. He was a very pious man. He had no interest in wordly affairs and after three months of his succession, he abdicated in favour of his younger brother Khan Maudud. Khwaja Khizer Khan died after a short time in <sup>10</sup> October 1626 (2nd Muharramul Haram 1037 A.H.). The descendants of Khwaja Khizer Khan are called Khizer Khel. Ahmad Shah Durrani, the founder of Afghanistan was his direct descendant. 'Khwaja Khizer Khan was a godly man and is still worshipped by the Afghans as a favourite saint to whom offers of 'Nazar-o-Niaz', presents and prayers, are made on all solemn occasions. The devotion and awe, inspired by this holy personage, lent a sense of sanctity to the whole clan of Saddozais and its

7. I.M., P.31; P.C., P.476.

8. I.M., PP.29,30; Z.A., P.9; Ganda Singh, op.cit. II.1,2; P.C., P.476; Taza Nawai-Muarak, P.769; Timur Shah Durrani, P.46; T.K.J., P.171.

جناب سدورا پنج سعادت پیوند بودند۔ تذکرہ (ص ۲۹، ۳۰)  
پنج پسر نیکو سیر آن گرامی قدر بر منصف ہستی جلوہ گر بودند۔ زبدہ (ص ۹)

members enjoyed peculiar privileges. Their persons were sacred, no punishment could be inflicted on them, except by one of their own family; nor could even the head of the Abdalees himself pass sentence of death upon a Saddo<sup>11</sup>zye'.

Khan Maudud was an exceptionally brave man and fought several battles. He maintained good relations with the Safavide Emperor and his Governor of Kandhar, Ali Hardan Khan. The Safavide Emperor bestowed upon him the title of 'Khan', therefore, his descendants are called 'Khan Khel' and the last Muslim rulers of Multan were his direct descendants. After an effective rule of 17 years over Safa and its surrounding, he laid down his life in 1642 (1053 A.H.) fighting against Mir Yahya Diwan, in the civil war of Kabul.<sup>12</sup>

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9. I.M., P.32; Tate, op.cit., P.33; P.C., P.476; Ganda Singh, op.cit., P.2., He writes that Khwaja Khizer was the second son of Malik Saddu which is incorrect.
  10. I.M., P.33; P.C., P.476; Taza Nawai-Muarak, op.cit. P.769.
  11. I.M., P.33; Ganda Singh, op.cit., P.2; Saulat-i-Afghani, PP.336,337; Hayat Khan, Hayat-i-Afghani, Lahore, PP.115,122,123.

(Note): This Khwaja Khizer Khan should not be confused with the Prophet Hazrat Khwaja Khizer of Ab-i-Hayat fame. He was so named after him.

ایام ماتم همه الوس جمع شده خواجه خضر که فرزند رشید و ولی عهدی بود برمسند سرداری  
نشانیده سلام کردند - تذکره ( ص ۳۲ )

ناگاه شب دوم محرم بتاریخ یکم هزار و سی و هفت بموت مفاجات خواجه خضر وفات یافت -  
تذکره ( ص ۳۲ )

During the time of Khan Maudud, a custom developed amongst Aloose Abdali which still exists that the Nikah ceremony would take place in the house of bridegroom. This custom started as the son of Kamran Khan, the younger brother of Khan Maudud, was betrothed to the daughter of an Afghan chief but he later on refused to give the hand of his daughter. When Khan Maudud was told about this refusal, he ordered to take the girl by force to the house of the bridegroom and the Nikah ceremony was performed there. Khan Maudud left two sons, Shah Hussain Khan and Allah Dad Khan. He was succeeded by his elder son Shah Hussain Khan with the help of the Mughal Governor Khawas Khan.

12. T.M., PP.34,36.

The authors named below have wrongly stated that the title of 'Sultan' was conferred upon Khan Maudud by the Safavide Emperor. They are also mistaken that Khwaja Khizer was succeeded by his eldest son Khudadad Khan or Khudhai Sultan. The correct position is that the Safavide Emperor bestowed upon Maudud Khan the title of 'Khan', therefore, his descendants are called 'Khan Khel'. It was Khudadad Khan alias Khudakka who styled himself 'Sultan' and he was the first amongst Aloose Abdali. Ganda Singh, op.cit., P.2; Tate, op.cit., P.33; Atta Muhammad (Taza Nawai Muarak), P.769; Sher Muhammad Nadir (Z.A.), PP.10,13., because their references are weak comparing to Tazkiratul-Muluk whose author was the direct descendant of Malik Saddu, and his research is correct.

وبا علی مردان خان ولد گنج علی خان حاکم قندهار بسیار صحبت داری بود : ---

13. T.M., op.cit., P.35.

همه الوس افغانه از بهیت او ترسان و لوزان بودند و از

دربار دارائی ایران به تشریف خاص بخواستاب خاص معزز شد --- خان مودود در سال هزار

پنجه و سه به کابل درخانه جنگی میریحی دیوان کابل شربت شهادت نوشیدند --- عروس

را پس داماد سوار کرده عازم شهر صفا شدند و در خانه خود آمده نکاح کردند از آن روز

تذکره (ص ۳۲ تا ۳۶)

رسم نکاح در خانه داماد شد -

Khan Khudakhan was the brother of Khizr Khan who was the  
the eldest son at the time of his death, Sultan Khizr Khan was  
the eldest, after Sultan Khudakhan as his tribesman and  
and eldest son the great-grandfather of Alfred Khan Dur-ud  
Durran, the founder of Afghanistan.

At the time of assassination of Khan Khizr, both  
the sons of Khizr Khan were capable enough to govern the  
destiny of their people, therefore, Khudakhan Khizr Khan  
Sultan Khudakhan challenged the succession of his cousin  
Musain Khan. Alas Abdali was divided into two groups.

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35. T.M., P.36.

36. Ibid, 1.3; Volunt Gardani, Shahinshah-al-Mulk,  
Multan, 1824 (1378 A.H.); T.M., Op.Cit., P.27.  
The following authors have not given any reference,  
reference, therefore, they have wrongly stated that  
Sher Khan was the younger brother of Khudakhan Khan,  
and he abdicated in his favour, Ganda Singh, Op.Cit.,  
PP.2,3; Tate, Op.Cit., P.34.

37. T.M., P.34.

During the same period the Safavide Emperor, Shah Abbas II, wanted to capture Kandhar . When Khudadad Khan met him in Isfahan, both agreed to cooperate. The Emperor attacked Kandhar in 1648 . .(1058 A.H.) and captured it with the help of Khudadad Khan in 1649 . .(1059 A.H.). Now Khudadad Khan attacked Safa and captured it. Shah Hussain Khan in spite of the help of Khawas Khan, Mughal Governor of Kandhar was defeated and he alongwith the Mughal Governor fled to India. Shah Hussain Khan was the first Saddozai chief to arrive in Multan in 1649 . . (1059 A.H.) alongwith his younger brother Allah Dad Khan. He was elevated to the rank of seven hundred, alongwith a Jagir in Rangpur (Muzaffargarh District) by the Emperor Shah Jahan. He settled down in Multan and built his Kiri there. In his Kiri, he built a very beautiful palace known as Shish Mahal and a mosque which is still there. He was also conferred the title of Wafadar Khan by the Mughal Emperor.

18. T.M., PP.37,38; P.C., P.477.
19. T.H., PP.36,38; P.C., P.477.
20. T.M., PP.181-184; Z.A., P.18; Ganda Singh  
op.cit., P.3; Saulat-i-Afghani, P.338;  
Hayat-i-Afghani P.123,124; Tate, P.35; P.C.,  
P.478.

\* Kiri: In Pashto it means a place of residence meant particularly for the Chief of a tribe and his tribesmen.

¢ Shish Mahal: It was destroyed by the Sikhs in 1818 . . .  
Later on Commissioner's residence was constructed  
on its site. . .

رفا شد... می... خوار جمعه برادر و خانمان و اقربا و خود و پیش را گذاشته روانه هندوستان گرد

He commanded great respect during the reign of Aurangzeb. His younger brother Allah Dad Khan died during his life time. Shah Hussain Khan was issueless. After his death in 1659 . . (1069 A.H.) he was succeeded by his nephew Inayat Khan son of Allah Dad Khan, as the chief of Multani Pathans. He was given the rank of five hundred and the Jagir of his uncle with the title of Wafadar Khan II by the Emperor Aurangzeb. After his death, his younger brother Abid Khan<sup>21</sup> became the chief of Maudud Khel Khan Khel Pathans of Multan. From Abid Khan descended the ancestors of Nawab Muhammad Muzaffar Khan Saddozai, the last Muslim ruler of Multan, who fell fighting alongwith his five sons and one daughter in his struggle against Maharaja Ranjit Singh in June 1818<sup>22</sup>.

After defeating Shah Hussain Khan near Safa and rendering valuable services to the Safavide Emperor, Shah Abbas II during the siege of Kandhar in 1648-49 .(1058-1059 A) Khudadad Khan established his rule in Safe. His territory included the area extending from Kaseghar to Kandhar including Argistan. Only Kandhar Fort was left for the Safavide Emperor to satisfy his greed. He ruled independently and did not pay the annual tribute either to the Safavide Emperor or to the Mughals. He was the first amongst the Saddozais<sup>23</sup> who styled himself as 'Sultan'. Sultan Khudadad Khan alias Sultan Khudakka ruled for more than 16 years and died at the age of 54 in November 1665 . . (on 2nd Safar 1076 A.H.),

برگنه رنگ پور از مضافات صوبه ملتان کہ بلطافت آب و ہوا سر آمد سائیر برگنه ہا است از تبدیل  
انطاع مذکور (سیالکوٹ) بجایگیر ایشان اختصاص پذیرخت --- بخطاب مستطاب وفادار خان بنواخت۔  
زبدۃ ( ص ۱۸، ۱۹ )



leaving behind three sons, Qalandar Khan, Inayat Khan and Hayat Khan.<sup>24</sup> The descendants of Sultan Khudakka are called Khudakka Saddozais. The celebrated author of Tazkirat-ul-Muluk, Ali Muhammad Khan Khudakka Saddozai was the direct descendant of Sultan Khudakka. Sultan Khudakka was succeeded by his eldest son Sultan Qalandar Khan who was an ambitious man. He wanted to capture Kandhar and hence he attacked it with a large force but was killed in the battle during the siege of Kandhar fort. His rule lasted only for two months and 23 days.<sup>25</sup> Sultan Qalandar Khan had no male issue. He was succeeded by his younger brother Sultan Inayat Khan. His uncle Sarmast Sultan challenged his succession and a civil war broke out amongst Aloose Abdali. Ultimately Sarmast Sultan was defeated and killed and Sultan Inayat Khan was recognised as chief of Aloose Abdali.<sup>26</sup> He maintained friendly relations with the Iranian Governor of Kandhar. His younger

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21. T.M., PP.186-189; Z.A., P.23; Taza Nawai-Muarak, P.769.

22. T.M., P.256; Z.A., PP.84-86; Ganda Singh, op.cit., P.3; Saulat-i-Afghani, P.338; Hayat-i-Afghani, op.cit., P.125; P.C., op.cit., P.487; P.D.G., M.D., P.56.

\* Argistan: The territory around Safa was known as Argistan.

اورنگ زیب عالمگیر عنایت خان را خطاب م وفادار خان داده پانصدی منصب صدر سوار و به

عابد خان و لشکر خان در خور هر ایک منصب مقرر ساخته رخصت ملتان فرمودند۔۔۔ تذکوه (ص ۱۸۸)

چون قلندر خان در گذشت عنایت خان برادرش بجای او نشست و به سلطانی مخاطب گردید۔۔۔

سر مست سلطان برادر سلطان خدکه که عمن بود ادعای سلطانی کرد۔۔۔ سر مست سلطان در

آن جنگ کشته شد۔

تذکوه (ص ۲۱)

brother Hayat Khan who was 19 at the time of his father's death, was very ambitious. When once his brother Sultan Inayat Khan was on a hunting excursion, he availed of this opportunity and got him assassinated in January 1667 (on 23rd Rabi-<sup>27</sup> Us-Sani 1078 A.H.). As Sultan Inayat Khan had no male issue, his younger brother Hayat Khan was declared as the chief of Aloose Abdali. In spite of the fact that he got his elder brother killed treacherously and besides the opposition of his brave mother Murad Bibi, he could succeed as the chief<sup>28</sup> of his tribe and styled himself as the Sultan. He was a very brave man. He fought several battles with the Iranians and maintained his independence. He became a terror not only for his enemies but also for his own people. Several important

23. T.M., PP.38,39; Ganda Singh,op.cit., P.2, the author is mistaken that 'the title 'Sultan' was given to Khudadad Khan by the Emperor Aurangzeb', as he practically helped the Safavide Emperor during the siege of Kandhar in 1648-49 (1058-59 A.H.) and never maintained good relations with the Mughals.

24. T.M., P.40.

25. Ibid. PP.40,41. The authors mentioned below have not given any authentic reference, therefore, they are mistaken that 'Sultan Khudakka resigned his office in favour of his younger brother Sher Khan', firstly Sultan Khudakka never resigned and secondly his younger brother was not Sher Khan. His name was Sarmast Sultan who was great-grand-father of Ahmad Shah Dur-i-Durran and lastly Sultan Khudakka was succeeded by his eldest son Sultan Qalandar Khan; Ganda Singh, op.cit., P.2; Tate,op.cit., PP.34,35.

میت و سیاست او از آباء اجداد او دو چندان در قلوب همگان افتاد --- و در وقت او جلال خان  
ابن ایدن خان ابن زعفران خان ابن حضرت سدو میر افغان که خواهرزاده شاه حسین خان بود  
از آنجا برخوایسته بملتان نزد خالو خود شتافت و اکثر سدوزش از ترس او شهر صفارا گذاشته بطرف  
ملتان آمدند -  
تذکره ( ص ۲۲ )

persons of Aloose Abdali left Safa for Multan due to his fear. One of these Saddozais was Jalal Khan (maternal uncle of Zaman Khan, the father of Ahmad Shah Dur-i-Durran) son of Aidai Khan son of Zafran Khan son of Malik Saddu, who got refuge in Kiri Shah Hussain Khan with his maternal<sup>29</sup> uncle Shah Hussain Khan the chief of Khan Khel Saddozais. His rule lasted from 1667 (1078 A.H.) to 1680 (1091 A.H.), Sultan Hayat Khan fought 32 battles during his short period of about 13 years against his enemies including the Iranian rulers of Kandhar and Hirat. He was defeated near Kandhar in 1680 (1091 A.H.) and fled to India via Kohistan\*. Before leaving his ancestral land, he nominated his cousin Jaffar Sultan as chief of Aloose Abdali with the instructions to sign a peace treaty with the Iranian Emperor. Sultan Hayat Khan reached Multan on 16th October 1682 (14th Shawwal 1093 A.H.) via Dera Ghazi Khan alongwith his family including his eldest son Abdullah Khan aged 12, his nephew Zaman Khan (father of Ahmad Shah Dur-i-Durran) and several other notable Saddozais. He settled

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26. T.M., P.41.

27. Ibid. PP.41,42.

28. Ibid. P.43., the correct name was Sultan Hayat Khan and not Hayat Sultan, as stated by Tate, op.cit., P.35.

29. T.M., P.43.

\*: The territory above the present Dera Ismail Khan was known as Kohistan.

down permanently in Multan and was granted a perpetual grant of rupees 10 thousand per month and revenue-free 500 acres of agricultural land in Multan by the Mughal Emperor,<sup>30</sup> Aurangzeb. He built his Kiri near a site where the present Deputy Commissioner's house is located. He also built a palace; a fruit garden and a mosque.<sup>c</sup> He died at an advanced age of 84 on 15<sup>th</sup> April 1729 (27<sup>th</sup> Ram<sup>a</sup>zan 1141 A.H.) and<sup>31</sup> was buried in his own garden.

Jaffar Sultan the chief of Aloose Abdali met the Iranian Emperor in Hirat and accepted his overlordship. The Emperor bestowed upon him the title of Sultan. He maintained good relations with the Iranian Governor of Kandhar. He died in 1695 . . (1106<sup>32</sup> A.H.). When the news of the death of Jaffar Sultan reached Multan; Abdullah Khan, the eldest son of Sultan Hayat Khan Khudakka Saddozai alongwith his cousin and brother-in-law Zaman Khan(father of Ahmad Shah Dur-i-Durran) and with several other Saddozais

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30. T.M., PP.45,46,48,323,325,338,339; Tate., op.cit., PP.35,36., writes 'Hayat Khan the cause of this trouble migrated to India and settled in Multan, Hayat Sultan had resigned his authority to his young kinsman Daulat Khan', but according to Tazkirat-ul-Muluk it is incorrect as stated above Jaffar Sultan had been nominated as his successor.

c: This mosque still exists in the compound of Deputy Commissioner's bungalow but his palace was destroyed by the Sikhs during their first raid on Multan in 1764

of note left Multan and soon reached Safa. He was welcomed by Aloose Abdali and succeeded to the chieftainship of his tribe in Safa. He also adopted the title of Sultan. After establishing his rule, he appointed his brother-in-law Zaman Khan as his Deputy (Naib) and left Safa for Multan in 1704 (1116 A.H.) to pay respects to his father Sultan Hayat Khan who was very happy over his success in their ancestral territory. On his return journey he was accompanied by his eldest son Asadullah Khan who was not only very handsome but was also an exceptionally brave youth of 18. In Safa he met Mir Wais Ghilzai, Chief of Hotak, who had recently come back from Pilgrimage. He requested Sultan Abdullah Khan to unite against the Iranians. Both the chiefs attacked Kandhar and during the siege, Gurgin Khan, the Georgian chief and the Iranian Governor of Kandhar was killed.

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31. T.M., PP.338, 339.

32. Ibid. PP.48,49.

33. T.M., P.49; Tate and Ganda Singh are not correct in saying that 'Sultan Abdullah Khan with his son Asadullah came from Multan and joined Kai Khasrau Khan and received the office of chieftain of the Abdalis'. See: Tate, op.cit., P.43; Ganda Singh, op.cit., PP.7,8. The actual position is that this chieftainship he inherited from his father Sultan Hayat Khan and it was not bestowed or given by Kai Khasrau Khan nor was he ever appointed by any Emperor. Also See: T.K.J., PP.136, 137.

چون خبر وفات جعفر سلطان در ملتان رسید عبدالله خان ولد سلطان حیات خان --- بدون اجازت خان با رفقاء پند و زمان خان ولد دولت خان خسر پوره از ملتان بسوی قندهار شتاء در شهر صفا رفته بر مسند ریاست مریخ نشست --- تذکره ( ص ۲۹ )

When the Iranian army advanced, Mir Wais Ghilzai requested Sultan Abdullah Khan to check its advance. The Abdali chief rushed towards the Iranian army and after a pitched battle near Farah, defeated it. The news of Afghan victory reached Kandhar and the Iranians surrendered the Fort. The fort was captured by Mir Wais Ghilzai in 1708 .(1120 A.H.). When Sultan Abdullah Khan returned to Kandhar after defeating the Iranian army, Mir Wais Ghilzai closed the doors of the Fort. On his enquiry, Mir Wais Ghilzai sent a message to him to take over all the lands outside Kandhar excluding the Fort. Sultan Abdullah Khan frustrated with the treacherous role of Mir Wais Ghilzai went back to Safa. Then 'Mir Wais proclaimed the independance of the Afghans at Qandhar'.

Sultan Abdullah Khan fought several battles not only against Ghilzais but also against the Iranians. He alongwith his brave son Asadullah Khan marched towards

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\* Farah: a town 170 miles west of Kandhar.

34. T.M., PP.42-52; Tate. op.cit., PP.36,37,41-43.

35. Ganda Singh, op.cit., P.7; Lockhart, Nadir Shah, London, 1938, P.3; Malleeson, History of Afghanistan, London, 1879, PP.226; Ferrier, History of the Afghans, London, 1858, PP.28, 29; Sultan Mahmud, Tarikh-i-Sultani, Bombay, 1881 (1298 A.H.), PP.68,69.

چون خبر شکست سردار بقندهار رسید محصورین دل از دست داده طالبان امان شدند در سال الف و مائه و عشرون قلعه قندهار را حواله نموده بیرون رفتند حاجی میر ویس داخل قلعه شده -

Khurasan and captured many forts and towns. Asadullah Khan defeated the Iranian army and conquered Hirat in August 1712<sup>36</sup>. (15th Ramzan 1124 A.H.). On hearing this good news, Sultan Abdullah Khan reached Hirat, enthroned himself as 'Shah' and thus he became the acknowledged head of the Abdalis.<sup>37</sup> He was the first amongst the Saddozais who became master of Hirat, declared independence and styled himself as 'Shah'. He struck coins and read Khutba in the name of his old father Sultan Hayat Khan living in Multan.<sup>38</sup> A loose Abdali migrated to Hirat from Safa. His star was on its zenith in 1719<sup>39</sup>. When his able and brave son Asadullah Khan defeated a powerful Iranian army, numbering thirty thousand strong, under the command of Safi Quli Khan. A pitched battle between A loose Abdali and the Ghilzais was fought in October 1720<sup>40</sup>. (Ziqad 1132 A.H.) at Dil-Aram on the right bank of river Kash Rud in which Asadullah Khan lost his life at the age of 26.<sup>41</sup> It was a great shock for Sultan Abdullah Khan.

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36. I.M., PP.53-56., the dates of the capture of Hirat given by Tate. op.cit., P.43 as 25th July 1717 and Ganda Singh, op.cit., P.8 as 26 July 1717 (26th of Shaban 1129 A.H.), are <sup>not</sup> incorrect, because while stating the dates they have given the reference of any original source. See: T.K.J., P.137.

37. Ganda Singh, op.cit., P.8.

38. Ibid. P.8.

بتاریخ پانز دهم شهر رمضان سال هزار و صد و بیست و چهار فتح دارالسلطنت هرات -

The Ghilzais and the Iranians decided to take revenge of their previous defeats at the hands of Alooose Abdali and Mahmud Ghilzai agreed to assist the Iranians<sup>42</sup> in any military move against the Abdalis. A large army was collected by the Iranian Emperor under Ismail Khan to march on Hirat. Sultan Abdullah Khan got the news and marched with a strong army towards Mashhad to take the battle field in December 1720 . (Jamadi-ul-Awwal 1133 A.H.). Before leaving Hirat, he appointed his brother-in-law Zaman Khan (father of Ahmad Shah Dur-i-Durran) as his deputy in Hirat. When he reached Mashhad, he got the news that Zaman Khan had declared his independence and had closed the<sup>\*\*</sup> doors of the fort Hirat. Zaman Khan was supported by Khalu Khan father of Ghani Khan Alkozai. Sultan Abdullah Khan at once rushed back to Hirat and forcibly took it. Zaman Khan, Khalu Khan and several other Abdalis were captured and put to death. This incident took place in the month of July<sup>43</sup> 1721 . . (Shaban 1133 A.H.). It divided Alooose Abdali into two groups which led to a civil war and which resulted in

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39. I.M., P.57.

40. Ibid. PP.57,58; Ganda Singh, op.cit., P.9; Tarikh-i-Sultani, PP.5,6,97,98; Saulat-i-Afghani, P.340.

در شهر داخل شد سکه و خطبه بنام سلطان حیان خان کرده لقب شاهى برخود نهاد اول  
کسى ازین خانواده که ملقب به شاهى شد شاه عبداللہ خان بود --- چون دارالسلطنت هرات  
بتسخیر آمد تمام الس ابدالی بد انجا توطن اختیار کردند و قندهار را گذاشتند - تذکره (ص ۵۷)  
که در آن حین خبر از هرات رسید که زمان خان ولد دولت خان که به نیابت گذاشته بودند با پدر  
غنى خان الکوزى مخالفت افراخته بغي - تذکره (ص ۶۲)



the triumph of Sultan Abdulrah Khan. Zaman Khan left the  
area, Sulfigar Khan and Ali Mardan Khan. His young son, Ali  
was pregnant. When the disaffection had started in Herat,  
he had sent his wife Zarghuna (known to Herat as his  
maternal uncle, <sup>considering Herat as a city</sup> Abul Khayr. Zaman Khan's mother was living with  
her brother Abul Khan in Herat. Zarghuna gave birth to  
Abul Shah Durr-i-Duran in Herat. Abul Shah was born in  
Herat in 1793 (1210 A.H.). The Abul Shah was  
born at up in Herat.

1. Abul Shah, 1793, 1210 A.H., Abul Shah, Abul Shah.

the age of 7. Soon afterwards he was carried to his ancestral land to join his elder brother Zulfiqar Khan. After the revolt of Zaman Khan in 1721 (1133 A.H.), Sultan Abdullah Khan wrote to his father Sultan Hayat Khan to send his (Abdullah Khan's) second son Muhammad Khan from Multan to Hirat. In the meantime, Sultan Abdullah Khan was treacherously killed by Qasim Khan son of Said Khan son of Jalal Khan Zafran Khel Saddozai in Rauza Bagh at Hirat in August 1721 (23rd Muharram-ul-Haram 1134 A.H.). Sultan Abdullah Khan ruled over Hirat for 9 years 4 months and 7 days and was 53 at the time of death. He left 3 sons, Muhammad Khan (from the sister of Zaman Khan), Allah Yar Khan and Ali Yar Khan. Qasim Khan succeeded as the chief of Aloose Abdali at Hirat. When the news of the assassination

44. I.M., PP.65,201,202; Ganda Singh, op.cit., P.15; Taza Nawai Muarak, op.cit., P.769; Yousuf Gardezi, op.cit., P.56; E.B., P.984.

45. Taza Nawai Muarak, P.769.

46. I.M., P.65.

Qasim Khan: His grant father Jalal Khan was brother of the grant-mother of Ahmad Shah Dur-i-Durran.

47. Ibid. P.67.

48. Ibid. PP.67,68.

زمان خان را سه پسر بودند یکی ذوالفقار خان دوم طیبی مردان خان سیوم احمد خان که در دران باشد --- ناگاه شمشیر از دنبال بر گردن شاه عبداللہ خان زد کہ از پادر آمد این مقدمہ درست سیوم محرم الحرام می سنتہ الف و مائتہ و اربع و ثلثون بوقوع آمد -

of Sultan Abdullah Khan reached Multan, his son Muhammad Khan had already left for Hirat. His old father Sultan Hayat Khan was very much shocked and to take revenge, he at once despatched his third son Muqarrab Khan who 'reached Kandhar from Multan, on a riding camel, very easily in <sup>49</sup> eight days'. On reaching Farah all Aloose Abdali gathered round him and he marched on Hirat which was captured without any resistance in March 1722 (Shaban 1134 A.H.). The tyrant Qasim Khan was killed after a rule of 7 months. In the meantime, Muhammad Khan also reached Hirat. Muqarrab Khan offered him the government of Hirat which he hesitantly accepted. Muhammad Khan succeeded as the chief of Aloose Abdali at Hirat in April 1722 (<sup>50</sup> Ramzan 1134 A.H.), with all privileges. Muqarrab Khan then left for Multan.

Mahmud Ghilzal conquered Isfahan in 1723 (1135 A.H.), and the Safavide Emperor, Shah Hussain, was made prisoner. Encouraged by the weakness of the Iranians, Muhammad Khan attacked Khurasan and after conquering <sup>51</sup> several towns like Turbat and Bustam, he besieged Mashhad.

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49. Raverty, Notes on Afghanistan and Baluchistan, Quetta, 1976, P. 12.

50. T.M., PP. 69-73; Tate. op.cit., P. 44; Ganda Singh. op.cit., P. 10; Tarikh-i-Sultani, P. 100; Lockhart, op.cit., P. 31.

غروب خان پسر سیوم سلطان حیات خان . . . بوستر مهرا سوار شده و یک نفر خدمتکار و نیاں خود سوار کرده مریه بیکه وادی سنو رات گردید القصه روز هشتم وارد قندهار شد . . . چون بغواه رسید در کلیفات ابدالی خود را حاضر نمود از هر طرف ابدالیان جمع شدن - تذکره ( ۲۰ )

In his absence Shah Nawaz Khan Khugani<sup>c</sup> instigated Zulfikar Khan (elder brother of Ahmad Shah Dur-i-Durran) to take revenge of the murder of his father from Muhammad Khan. Zulfikar Khan revolted and many Abdalis gathered round him. The result was that the Alose Abdali was divided into two groups once again. They fought with each other. Ultimately after blood-shed, the elders decided that neither Zulfikar Khan nor Muhammad Khan deserved the chieftainship of Alose Abdali. Allah Yar Khan was to be invited from Multan to succeed as the chief of Alose Abdali. Zulfikar Khan was asked to go to Pamarz Wa Chaman<sup>cc</sup> and Muhammad Khan was requested to abdicate in favour of his younger brother Allah Yar Khan. In the meantime, Allah Yar Khan reached Hirat from Multan in/ July 1724 (Zilhijj 1136 A.H.), and succeeded as the chief of Alose Abdali. Muhammad Khan went

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\* Turbat: 100 miles west of Hirat.

\*\* Bustam: Near Turbat.

51. T.M., PP.73,74; Tate, op.cit., P.55.

c: Shah Nawaz Khan Khugani: He was chief of his tribe.

cc: Pamarz Wa Chaman: A valley east of Hirat.

52. T.M., PP.74,75., it is incorrect that 'Allah Yar Khan was elected the chief of the tribe in 1725-26 A.D.(1138 A.H.) as stated by the following authors, Ganda Singh, op.cit., P.10; Tate. op.cit., P.55. They have not given any original source.

آخر الامر مین جائز شد که ریاست توجانزندانیم برادر خود الله یار خان را از ملتان بیار که  
فرمانروا گردد بنا بران ذوالفقار خان ولد زمان خان بصوب پامرز و چمن خان محمد شاه بطرف فراه

back to Multan. The peaceful rule of Allah Yar Khan was<sup>\*</sup> disturbed in 1727 . (1139 A.H.) by Abdul Ghani Alkozi whose father Khalu Khan was murdered alongwith Zaman Khan by the order of Sultan Abdullah Khan. He instigated and supported Zulfikar Khan to revolt against Allah Yar Khan. The result was once again a division of Alose Abdali who went at war with each other and the Ghilzais availed the opportunity and captured their lands in Kandhar. This led to a series of battles against each other. Zulfikar Khan went back to his stronghold 'Farah'. In the meantime, Nadir Quli Afshar, later came to be known as Nadir Shah, who was Commander-in-Chief of the army of Shah Tahmasp II Safavide, invaded Khurasan. He encouraged the division of Alose Abdali. Zulfikar Khan was recognised as the chief of 'Farah', and<sup>53</sup> Allah Yar Khan was accepted as the chief of Hirat. Alose Abdali were divided into two groups with two chiefs Allah Yar Khan at Hirat and Zulfikar Khan at Farah. Both fought with each other as well as with the Ghilzais and the Iranians.

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⊕ : Abdul Ghani Khan Alkozi: He was maternal uncle of Ahmad Shah Dur-i-Durran.

53. I.M., PP.76,77; Tate, op.cit., P.55; Ganda Singh, op.cit., P.11; I.K.J., P.138.

عبدالغنی الکوزی کہ پدرانی در عهد سلطنت شاه عبداللہ خان بسبب رفاقت زمان خان در ہرات بقتل رسیدہ بود از اللہ یار خان ترحم داشت بعد از چندے پردہ از رؤے برکار داشتہ ندوالفقار خان را اواخر سال ۱۱۳۹ و صد و سی و نہ از باخروز طلبیدہ رایت نغانی افراشت و شیش ماہ فیما بین نادرہ قتال و جدان انروختند -

Nadir Shah attacked Hirat in June 1729 . . (Shawwal 1141 A.H.) but could not conquer it. Nadir Shah was satisfied with the nominal submission of Allah Yar Khan and both agreed to help each other against the common enemy, the Ghilzais. In the meantime, Zulfikar Khan got the opportunity and captured Hirat in June 1730 (3rd Shawwal 1142 A.H.) and Allah Yar Khan went to Maruchaak. Now Zulfikar Khan advanced towards Mashhad and besieged it on 30th July 1730 (13th Muharram-ul-Haram 1143 A.H.) but could not conquer the fort. The moment he heard the news of Nadir Shah coming to the help of his brother Ibrahim Khan, Zulfikar Khan went back to Hirat. Now it was the turn of Nadir Shah. He advanced towards Hirat in March 1731 (Ramzan 1143 A.H.). On hearing this news Zulfikar Khan requested the Ghilzai chief for help. \*\* Saidal Khan was despatched to Hirat from Kandhar with a strong army of 3000, to help him against Nadir Shah. Nadir Shah attacked Hirat in (Muharram-ul-Haram 1144 A.H.), July 1731. Zulfikar Khan, even with the help of Saidal Khan, could not repulse the attack of Nadir Shah who was assisted by

54. T.M., PP.70-80; Tate, op.cit., P.56; Ganda Singh, op.cit., P.11.

\* Maruchaak: A valley east of Hirat.

55. T.M., op.cit., PP.81-84; Tate, op.cit., PP.56,57; Ganda Singh, op.cit., P.12.

ذوالفقار خان خبر رسید که در پانزدهم شهر صیام در سال هزار و صد و چهل و سه والی ایران  
باعتان الله یار خان بزم هرات از مشهور بیرون آمد -

Allah Yar Khan. In the meantime, Saidal Khan fled to Kandhar. Now Nadir Shah forced Zulfikar Khan to hand over Hirat to Allah Yar Khan, and it was done with the help of the elders of Aloose Abdali on 24<sup>th</sup> July 1731 (18<sup>th</sup> Safar 1144 A.H.)<sup>56</sup> Zulfikar Khan alongwith his younger brother Ahmad Khan (Ahmad Shah Dur-i-Durran, the founder of Afghanistan) left Hirat for Farah. When he reached Farah, he found Saidal Khan there. Saidal Khan took Zulfikar Khan and his younger brothers Ali Mardan Khan and Ahmad Khan to Kandhar with an assurance to get help from the Ghilzai chief. But on their arrival at Kandhar, Hussain Ghilzai, the ruler of Kandhar, treacherously confined them in the fort. They remained in the Kandhar fort till it was captured by Nadir Shah on 22<sup>nd</sup> March 1738 (2<sup>nd</sup> Zilhijj 1150 A.H.), and then they were set free. Nadir Shah had fought several battles against Allah Yar Khan and Zulfikar Khan. He realized their importance and was impressed by the bravery of Aloose Abdali. He gave Zulfikar Khan and his brothers lands in Mazandaran and settled them there. Soon Ahmad Khan Saddozi son of Zaman Khan joined the army of Nadir Shah and within a very short

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56. I.M., , PP.87-95; Tate, op.cit., P.57;  
Ganda Singh, op.cit., P.12; I.A.S., P.7.

\* Mazandaran: a mountainous range in Iran near the Caspian Sea.

period became chief of the contingent consisting of Alooose Abdali. He accompanied Nadir Shah to almost all expeditions. He enjoyed the confidence of Nadir Shah. It is said that 'once Nadir Shah humbly said to him, remember Ahmad Khan Abdali, that after me the kingship shall pass on to you. But you should treat the descendants of Nadir Shah with kindness'. The kingdom

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57. T.M., PP.96,104,105; Ganda Singh, op.cit., PP.16,17; Tate. op.cit., PP.59,62,63,65; Taza Nawai-Bharak, P.769; Latif, History of the Panjab, Lahore, 1891, P.198; Sykes, op.cit., PP.337,338; T.A.S., P.7.
58. Ganda Singh, op.cit., P.17; Sykes, op.cit., P.352; T.A.S., PP.9,10.

ذوالفقار خان و برادران احمد خان یعنی احمد شاه در دران مرخص بوده روانه نرواه شده اقامت گرین زاویه اعتدال باشد - - - چون ذوالفقار خان سدوزش بهمه برادران از نرواه به سیدان عازم قندهار گردیده حسین خان غلزئی او نثارند و قید نموده بود علی مردان خان برادران در آنجا و یغده حیاته سپرد و یار پسر او نظام خان نامی نامدو در روز تسخیر قندهار یعنی احمد خان برادر خورون خون بمناجات نادر شاه مشرف گردید او را ماژندران وجه معیشت مقرر کرده روان ساخت - - - در میان هزار و صد پنجاه قندهار از حسین خان غلزئی مسخر نمودند -

تذکره ( ص ۹۶، ۱۰۲، ۱۰۵ )



passed on to 'Ahmad Khan Abdali', soon after Nadir Shah was assassinated on the night of Saturday 8-9 June 1747<sup>59</sup> (11th Jamadi-u-Sani 1160 A.H.) 'Ahmad Shah Abdali' ascended the Afghan throne in the month of July 1747<sup>60</sup> and styled himself as Ahmad Shah Dur-i-Durran.

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59. T.M., P.107; Tate, op.cit., P.68; Lockhart, op.cit., P.261; Caroe, op.cit., P.254; H.P., P.209; Gupta, M.H.P., Calcutta, 1944, P.159; Raverty, op.cit., P.615, gives the date of assassination 15 Jamadi-us-Sani, 1060 A.H., and Ganda Singh, op.cit., P.21., writes 'on the night of the 19-20 June 1747'.
60. T.M., op.cit., P.109; Ganda Singh, op.cit., P.31; Tate, op.cit., PP.68,69; Caroe, op.cit., PP.255,256; Fraser Tytler, op.cit., P.47.

چون در شب شنبه یازدهم جمادی الآخر در سال هزار و صد و شصت در خبوشان  
محمد قاجار ایرانی و موسی بیگ افشار کشکچیان که پاسپان سرا پرده بودند نیم شب  
داخل سرا پرده گشته نادر شاه را مقتول -

تذکوه ( ص ۱۰۷ )

قوم ابدالی را درانی خطاب داد و خود را در دران و نگین مهر مثل دم طاوس بنا  
کود و نقش نگین احمد شاه در دران بود -

تذکوه ( ص ۱۰۹ )

CHAPTER III:

- i Multan under the Mughals (1739 - 1752)
- ii Ascendancy of the Saddozais. In Multan

Multan under the Mughals (1739 - 1752)

From the earliest times to the advent of Mughal rule in India, Multan had all along been an important centre of political and cultural activity. It was the seat of Qazi-ul-Quzzat and also had a silver and copper mint. Its importance can be easily judged from the appointment of its Subedars. Most of the time princes of the royal blood were appointed as its Subedars and they lived here, if not, their visits were frequent. Militarily it worked as a base during the siege of Kandhar in the reign of Emperor Shah Jahan. There is no denying the fact that 'Multan was one of the largest provinces of the Mughal Empire'. It was so large that 'on the east it adjoined the Sarkar of Sirhind, on the north Peshawar, on the south the Subah of Ajmer and on the west Kach and Mukran, which tract of country, in the early times formed part of, or was included in <sup>1,</sup> Sind. The Geo-political sub-divisions of this province have been described as comprising of 'three Sarkars, Multan (proper), Dipalpur and Bhakkar, containing eighty eight parganahs... Thattah now forms the fourth Sarkar

of the Multan Subah, but, formerly, for a long period of time, it was a separate country<sup>2</sup>. Proper Multan was the headquarter of this important and large 'Subah' of the Mughal Empire<sup>3</sup>. But in due course of time it was decided that 'on account of the great distance between the northern and the southern routes', it should have 'two seats of Government at Lahore and Multan'<sup>4</sup>. Its importance can be judged from the fact that 'Multan commanded an equally important position in the southern part of the province. It controlled the waters of the Panjab rivers and also the roads leading to Delhi via Marot, to Lahore and Sirhind via Dipalpur and to Jaisalmir via Derawar, including the routes from the Tochi, the Gomal and the Bolan Passes. Besides, it was connected with all the

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1. Raverty, op.cit., PP.557, 558.

2. Ibid. PP.557, 558.

3. I.G.I., P.27.

\* Marot: a fort situated in the desert 50 miles south east of Bahawalpur.

\*\* Derawar: a fort situated in the desert 30 miles south of Ahmadpur East.

4. M.H.P., P.11.

important places in the doabs of the province through the rivers. Its geographical position, therefore, made it the most important centre of trade in the south where Panjab goods were brought through the rivers, and where they were exchanged by caravans for the commodities of Afghanistan, Baluchistan and Iran'.<sup>5</sup>

The Mughal Empire started declining soon after the death of Emperor Aurangzeb. The weak, incapable and corrupt successors of Emperor Aurangzeb contributed nothing thereby encouraging the centrifugal forces to destroy everything. The ambitious Subedars of the Mughal Empire became independent in their internal affairs. They only paid nominal tribute to the Mughals and enjoyed all the powers. The weakness of the Mughal rule was exposed by Nadir Shah and Ahmad Shah Dur-i-Durran, when both of them not only defeated the Mughals but also annexed a vast territory of the Mughal Empire.<sup>6</sup>

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5. Ibid. PP.11,12.

6. Ibid. P.14.

Multan and Lahore enjoyed peace during the Subedari of Nawab Abdus-Samad Khan, Dalairjang, Saifud-Doula<sup>7</sup> and his noble son Khan Bahadur Zakaria Khan. Nawab Abdus Samad Khan died in Multan in June 1737 .(1150 A.H.). During his rule, he built the Eid-gah of Multan in 1735 (1148 A.H.) which still exhibits the craftsmanship of Multani artisans. He was succeeded to the Government of Multan by his eldest son Zakaria Khan who was already the Governor of Lahore since 1726 . with a title of Khan Bahadur from the Mughal court. During his Viceroyalty, his second son Hayatullah Khan (Shahnawaz Khan) held charge of the province of Multan. Zakaria Khan enjoyed absolute authority and remained 'an indifferent spectator' during the 'rise of the Marathas'.<sup>8</sup> The corrupt and careless Mughal rule neglected the 'most important Frontier Province' of Afghanistan. Its Governor, since 1720 , was Nasir Khan who was incapable to manage the affairs. His Government was always in deficit due to shortage of revenues. The

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7. I.M., P.196; Ganda Singh, op.cit., P.40;  
H.P., P.193; Shah Nawaz Khan, Samsamud-Daulah,  
Ma'asirul-Umra (Urdu translation), vol.ii., Calcutta,  
 1888 P.514-517.

حروف کده بر لوح دیوار

بتوفیقات سبحانی و تأییدات ربانی باین نیت حق طویت نواب معلی القاب سیف الدوله  
 عبدالصمد خان بهادر دلیر جنگ احرارے این عید گاه عالی در سنه یکم زار و یک صد و چهل  
 و هشت هجری با تمام رسید -

در سال هزار و صد و پنجاه که نواب مذکور در ملتان رخت زندگانی بطالم جاویدانی کشید -

administration of this strategically important province suffered because, 'Nasir Khan's army had been in arrears of pay for five years (1733-38<sup>9</sup>) and the soldiers poorly fed, poorly armed and poorly equipped clamoured for even one year's dues in order to pay their creditors, but no attention was ever paid to the repeated applications of the Governor'. The result was that when Nadir Shah advanced towards India, there was no strong army to oppose him. He reached Lahore and 'defeated Zakaria Khan on the Ravi, on the 21st January 1739<sup>10</sup>'. After levying 'a fine of twenty lakhs of rupees from him', Nadir Shah reinstated him. Then he reached Karnal, defeated the Mughal army and marched on Delhi which he occupied without much resistance. It exposed the military weakness of the Mughals. The Mughals ceded all the territories north west of the Indus, alongwith Sindh and Thatta. The districts of

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8. H.P., P.193; Irvine, Later Mughals, vol.ii (1719-39), Calcutta, 1922, P.325; Ma'asirul Umra, op.cit., PP.103,520; Aulad Ali, Muraqqa-i-Multan, Lahore, 1938, P.115.

9. M.H.P., P.29.

10. Ibid. P.31.

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Gujrat, Sialkot, Aurangabad and Pasrur known as Chahar Mahal, were placed under the charge of Zakaria Khan on the condition of 'payment' of a certain sum as annual<sup>11</sup> tribute' to the invader. Nadir Shah, before leaving Larkana (Sindh) in February 1740 ... appointed Zakaria Khan's second son Hayatullah Khan as the Governor of Multan and bestowed upon him the title of Shahnawaz Khan. When Zakaria Khan died on July 1, 1745 ... (12th of Jamadi-us-Sani 1158 A.H.) his eldest son Yahya Khan succeeded his father with the blessings of a royal farman. But he was opposed by Shahnawaz Khan, the Governor of Multan. He marched on Lahore and after defeating Yahya Khan entered Lahore on 21st March 1747 ... Now he was the Viceroy of Multan and Lahore. He appointed Kaura Mal his Diwan, but he could not get a royal decree of confirmation in this respect from the Mughal court. Advised by Adina Beg Khan, he, therefore, invited Ahmad Shah Dur-i-Durran who after the assassination of Nadir Shah had established himself as the King of Afghanistan in July 1747 ... Shah Nawaz Khan sent his ambassador to Ahmad Shah Dur-i-Durran 'with the message, Crown to Ahmad Shah and Wazirship to<sup>12</sup> Shahnawaz'.

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\* Aurangabad: situated near Sialkot.



During the Mughal rule, sometimes one Subedar was appointed to run the Governments of both Multan and Lahore and sometimes two different persons were there to head both the provinces separately. Whenever there was

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11. Ibid. PP.31,32; Irvine, op.cit., P.337; H.P., P.207; Gupta, mentions that twenty lacks were fixed as revenue of Chahar Mahal, M.H.P., op.cit., PP.31,32; Percy Sykes, mentions fourteen lacs were fixed as revenue of Chahar Mahal, op.cit., P.355.
12. T.M., P.111; M.H.P., PP.64-68; H.P., PP.213,214; P.D.G., M.D., P.45; Joseph Davey Cunningham, A History of the Sikhs, London, 1918, PP.93,94; Shahamat Ali, The History of Bahawalpur, London, 1848, P.38; Ganda Singh, op.cit., PP.39-42; U.I., Lahore, 1885, vol.i., PP.114,115; Ali-ud-Din, Ibrat Namah, vol.i., Lahore, 1961, P.233; Ghulam Hussain Khan, Siyar, Calcutta, 1789, vol.iii., P.254; Ma'asirul Uumra, op.cit., P.104; Gupta, H.S. (1739-68), Calcutta, 1936 P.39.

چون یحیی خان برادر کلان شاه نواز خان صوبیدار پنجاب و لاہور از درگاہ بادشاہ  
والا جاہ محمد شاہ فرمانروائے ہندوستان صوبہ داری پنجاب پنہام خود حاصلات ساخت  
لہذا شاہ نواز خان ملتجی بہ شاہنشاہ ظاں اللہ گشتہ عرصہ بمقتلایں پایہ سریر عرش  
نظیر نوشت کہ شاہ توجہ فرما بطرف لاہور شود و بندہ مشرف خطور شدہ تسخیر  
ہندوستان پیش نہاد باید ساخت -

تذکرہ ( ص ۱۱۱ )

one man to look after the administration of both the  
13  
provinces, it was a custom to have a naib Nazim or naib  
Diwan in Multan because the Subedar used to live at  
Lahore.

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13. Gupta mentions 'Nazim was the Governor of a  
province. He was a military man who commanded  
the troops and administered the country. The  
Diwan, who was the superintendent of finances,  
was quite independent of him and was a check on  
him. But when both these offices were combined  
in one person, he was called Subedar or Viceroy',  
M.H.P., P.60.

Ascendancy of the Saddozais in Multan

Nawab Zahid Khan Maudud Khel Khan Khel Saddozai  
as naib Nazim of Multan (1738-49)

Nawab Zahid Khan was the son of Abid Khan son of Allah Dad Khan, the younger brother of Shah Hussain Khan. Abid Khan commanded great respect in the Mughal court at Delhi as well as in the court of Muhammad Baqir Khan, the Nazim of Multan. Being the chief of Maudud Khel Khan Khel Saddozai Pathans of Multan, he used to hold the court and decided the cases of his tribe independently. When he died, he left three sons and one daughter, Zahid Khan, the eldest, Arif Khan and Khadija alias Khan Khur were from one mother who was daughter of Jalal Khan Saddozai son of Aidal Khan Zafran Khel. Wasil Khan, the youngest son was from another wife. On the death of Abid Khan, the descendants of Allah Dad Khan quarrelled with each other over the issue of succession. On one side Lashkar Khan, the brother of Abid Khan was a claimant and on the other side Asghar Khan son of Inayat Khan alias Wafadar Khan II was aspiring

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1. T.M.,

P.188,189; Z.A.,

PP.24-27.

to become the chief of the tribe while the third claimant was Abdul Aziz Khan (a very ambitious young man who became Governor of Multan after a few years) son of Sultan Hayat Khan and lastly Zahid Khan the eldest son of Abid Khan also claimed the chiefdom of Maudud Khel Khan Khel Pathans of Multan. After a long discussion, the elders decided to offer the chiefdom of not only Maudud Khel Khan Khel Pathans, but also the chieftainship of all the Pathans of Multan to the great Khan, Sultan Hayat Khan Khizer Khel Khudakka Saddozai, a former ruler of 'Safa' (Afghanistan). But the Great Khan turned down the offer with the remarks that it was not his own country where he could rule independently. Now the elders requested him again to give his decision in favour of any one of the claimants. After hearing all the parties, Sultan Hayat Khan dispassionately

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چون از اولاد الله داد خان موحوم عابد خان رشید و صاحب منصب بود و در دربار  
رشد و رتبه داشت لهذا کاربار افغانستان بواسطه او سربراه میشد - چون سرداری آنجا  
برویت دربار است بدین سبب هم افغانان مطیع و منقاد او بودند - کسی از اولاد الله  
داد خان موحوم مساوات و همسرین باو نکودین - چون عابد خان وفات یافت سه پسر و یک  
دختر گذاشت یکی زاهد خان دوم عارف خان و دختر خدیجه نام و در عرفه عام خان  
خور مشهور مادر این سه دختر جلال خان سدوزی زغوان خیل بود -

تذکره ( ۱۸۸۰، ۱۸۹۰ )

decided the issue in favour of Zahid Khan, in spite of the fact that his own son Abdul Aziz Khan was one of the claimants. His decision was accepted by all and he installed Zahid Khan, not only as the chief of Maudud Khel Khan Khel Pathans but also as the chief of all the Pathans of Multan in his own garden with the ceremony of placing the Turban of chiefhood on his head. Since then, it became a custom that the installation ceremony of the chiefdom was always performed in the garden of Sultan Hayat Khan and the turban of chiefhood was always placed on the head of the chief of Maudud Khel Khan Khel Saddozai Pathans of Multan by the eldest descendant of Sultan Hayat Khan. Zahid Khan then approached the Imperial court at

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2. T.M., PP.189-192; Z.A., P.29;  
P.C., P.478.

همان برقرار است که بخان کمال سلطان حیات خان ملتجی شویم۔۔۔ الحال شہر در میان  
سدوزی و اتوینی و پندر بد تو سردار تمامی التوس افغانه و توهم خانی و سردارین  
ما مردم نبودن کنین خان باشندید و نمود که صبح و شام یک میکشم نان میخورم و بدون حق  
تعالی که از ما باز پرسش نمیی بود اگر درینجا یک نفر شما بکشتی و هم بر همه فریادی پید  
حکام روید تمامی مردم بودند که بر پند نو بکنین از ما کسی فریاد نراود کرد خان باز  
نمود که اگر شما فریاد نداشتند حکام خود باز خواستند ساخت۔۔۔ درین ملک  
نه خانی و نه سردار است که کوتوالین دجات و مترین کسبات است این ملک هند  
است نه ما و نباید۔۔۔ رزر دیگر خان تمامی تن داران و مشیران افغانه را طلبیده۔۔۔  
همه که چینی بودند و ستار را آورده راه د خان را پیدی خود طلبیده بدست خود بر سر  
او بستند۔۔۔ تذکره ( ص ۱۸۹-۱۹۲ )  
که سلطان حیات خان خواجه خضر خین۔۔۔ دستار شگون و فیون عهد بیعت که بنا بر  
تقرر ایشان نموده۔

Delhi with a letter of recommendation from Sultan Hayat Khan and got a Mansab of five hundred Zat and fifty Sawar. After the death of Sultan Hayat Khan, he proved to be a very influential person and commanded great respect in Multan. On the death of Abdus Samad Khan, the Subedar of Multan, his son Zakaria Khan took his dead-body from Multan to Lahore, leaving his second son Hayatullah Khan (Shahnawaz Khan) as in<sup>1</sup>charge of Multan. It was Hayatullah Khan who with the approval of his father Zakaria Khan, the Viceroy of Lahore and Multan, appointed Nawab Zahid Khan as naib Nazim of Multan in 1738. His role as naib Nazim of Multan was very successful. He was holding this office when Nadir Shah<sup>3</sup> invaded India.

3. T.M., pp. 196, 197.

Latif mentions that 'during the invasion of Nadir Shah (1738-39) Zahid Khan, a Saddozai Afghan, was appointed Viceroy of Multan through the influence of his friend Kamruddin Khan, the Minister of the Delhi Emperor Muhammad Shah' but the author is confused because Nawab Zahid Khan became naib Nazim with his help in 1746  
E.H.M., P.27.

امیر خان احمد دربار پیدا کرد و از حضور پر نور بادشاهن بستانار خان بلند مکان سلطان حیات خان پانچویں منصب و پندہ سوار منصب حاصل کرد۔ و از منصب پدر بزرگ دار خوین یاد شد و با نواب عبدالسمند خان مویدار ملتان صحبت داری زیادہ از ہمہ سدوزی ہا حاصل شد در سال ہزار و ہشت و پنجاہ کہ نواب مذکور در ملتان رخت زند کانیی بحالم جاوید انس کشید و فریا خان بہادر تاقی نامہ و زندہ نیابت ملتان بخان دادہ روانہ نامہ فر کردید۔

تذکرہ ( ۱۶۲، ۱۶۳ )

Shahnawaz Khan was confirmed as Governor of Multan<sup>\*</sup> by Nadir Shah. Nawab Zahid Khan was allowed to continue as naib Nazim. Nawab Abdul Aziz Khan son of Sultan Hayat Khan, who was a very ambitious man also coveted this office and offered Shahnawaz Khan fifty thousand rupees. Nawab Zahid Khan, having come to know of this bargain, approached Shahnawaz Khan, managed to pay the required amount and<sup>4</sup> retained the naib Nizamat.

On the death of Zakaria Khan on July 1, 1745. Shahnawaz Khan was confirmed as the Governor of Multan by the Mughal court. As he was very ambitious, he left for Lahore, leaving Khwaja Ishaq Khan as his naib Nazim in Multan and reached Lahore on November 21, 1746/(18th Ziqada<sup>5</sup>, 1159 A.H.) and 'demanded a formal division of the property of his father. Being anxious to obtain the royal sanad for his naib Nizamat Zahid Khan went to the Mughal court at Delhi and 'through Ali Muhammad Khan Ruhila'<sup>6</sup> requested

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\* Nawab Zahid Khan: He was naib Nazim of Multan in 1743-44 . (1156 A.H.) as it is evident from an original Farman issued by Nawab Zahid Khan in 1156 A.H., which grants a certain amount to Mukhdum Shaikh Muhammad Raju Gardezi.

4. T.M., P.197.

5. Ganda Singh, op.cit., PP.41,78; Siyar, op.cit., P.254.

6. Ganda Singh, op.cit., P.78.

Qamarud Din Khan, the Delhi Wazir for a royal farman of the naib Nizamat of Multan, which was soon granted alongwith the title of Nawab. He at once sent a messenger to Multan to convey the good news to his sons and other Pathans of Multan. With the royal forman received from the Delhi Wazir, Nawab Zahid Khan marched back to Multan. Khwaja Ishaq Khan opposed him but he was defeated. Nawab Zahid Khan entered the city in early 1747<sup>7</sup>, not only with a royal decree but also with the help of a Pathan force. He was

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7. T.M., PP.198-200; Ganda Singh, op.cit., PP.78,79; Z.A., PP.29-31.

خان فرمان صوبداری حاصل کرده از دربار بادشاهی بمرافق اری تمام رخصت یافت و از راه مارواژ روانه ملتان شد و پیش از آمدن خود به پسران و برادران خود اطلاع فرستاد خواجه اسحاق خان ناظم سابق ملتان استحکام پذیرفت و عمل بر فرمان اطمینانی کرد --- افغانه را جمع کرده --- خواجه اسحاق مغلوب گشت و ایشان شهر را متصرف گردیده -

تذکره ( ص ۱۹۸-۲۰۰ )

وزیر صاحب تدبیر نواب قمرالدین خان حکومت صوبه ملتان را بآن والا شان --- ملتان را بدست اختیار ایشان سپرد --- خواجه اسحاق خان را دران وقت مقصدی مهمات صوبه بود --- قریه متیان کوی بلده صفوف جنگ و جدل بر آراست --- خان با اجتماع جماعه افغانه --- فتح و نصرت مراجعت کرده --- بخطاب نواب مستطاب مستوجب زیب و زینت -

زبدۃ ( ص ۲۹-۳۱ )



accept  
prudent enough to/ the overlordship of Shahnawaz Khan and as well as of the Delhi Wazir, hence he ruled for several years successfully. During the Subedari of Shahnawaz Khan and the naib Nizamat of Nawab Zahid Khan, an incident took place in Multan. On the occasion of Baisakhi, Jaspat Rai, the Diwan of Multan, who was the younger brother of Lakhpat Rai (Diwan of Lahore) alongwith his followers and a Mughal force started from Bohar gate (one of the gates of the walled city) on their way to the River Chenab for Ashnan (religious bath in the river). When they reached the Kiri Afghana, one of the soldiers misbehaved with an Afghan boy. They were attacked by the Pathans and approximately two to three hundred persons including Hindus and Mughal soldiers were killed. Jaspat Rai was seriously wounded. It raised a great hue and cry in the Lahore court. Shahnawaz Khan asked Nawab Zahid Khan to produce the culprits, but it was very difficult for Nawab Zahid Khan to comply with the orders, as they were Pathans belonging to his own tribe. He sent his eldest son Shakir Khan who had been married a day earlier, alongwith the sons of Muhammad Baqir Khan and Abdul Aziz Khan sons of Sultan Hayat Khan with an apology for the unpleasant incident. In the beginning Shahnawaz Khan was very much annoyed and placed them under

guard, but later on released them and pardoned them. They were allowed to go back to Multan, but he did not hand over the real culprits. Zahid Khan thereupon sent his own son along with the sons of other chiefs in order to persuade Shahnawaz Khan to pardon everybody involved in the incident. It was because of this kind and considerate attitude towards his people that he was very popular amongst the Pathans of Multan.

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8. T.M., PP-197, 198, *Sher Muhammad Nadir* does not place the events chronologically; *Z-A PP-33, 34, P-C P.479.*, has wrongly stated that certain soldiers misbehaved with an Afghan woman. He is also confused while stating that Mir Manu was Viceroy of Lahore.

جسپت را جنگیدند و بسیار آدمان دیوان کشته شدند - - - زاهد خان لاچار شده پسر خود شاکر خان را که همان روز شوق شادیی که خدائیی او بود - - - دو خان کلان هستند یکی سردار خان و دیگر عبدالعزیز خان ابنائیی سلطان حیات خان مرحوم اوهم پسران خود بد هند که هر سه را بخدمت نواب خان بهادر در لاهور فرستاد - - - شش ماه در آنجا نظربند بوده آخر خلاص شدند -

تذکره ( ص ۱۹۸، ۱۹۷ )

دیوان جسپت رائے که مدارالمهام صوبہ بود روز بیسداکھی - - - رسوم غسل که مردم ہندوان - - - از دروازه بومر کہ یکی از دروازہائی قلعہ شہر پناہ بلدہ است برآمدہ رو براہ دریائے رفت و معتبر ایشان شان عام بود کہ متصل بقریات انڈمان است - - - کس از گروہ سپاہ و رعیت بود سپاہی را باغظان بچہ آویزہ دست داد این مہر شور و فہو غا برخاست - - - آخر کار منازعہ بجنگ تیغ و تفنگ انجامید - - - سدہا مردم از سپاہی عامہ و مغول در آن نبرد گاہ مقتول - - - نواب شاہ نواز خان از دید این سرگزشت بدن برتہید - - - ناگزیر نواب مستطاب شاکر خان پسر کلان خوارا کہ در آن ایام شادان کہ شیدائیی ایشان مسرت بخش دلہالی خاص و عام بود ، ہمراہ جماعتہ - - - اد شواہ بلہور فرستاد -

زبدۃ ( ص ۳۲، ۳۳ )

After the death of Sultan Hayat Khan, an incident took place which created bitterness between the Khudakkas and the Khan Khels. During the naib Nizamat of Nawab Zahid Khan, Langee Khan Khugani built a beautiful garden near the Khar Afghanan. It was a big garden having all kinds of fruit trees. As he was issueless, he decided to sell it. Muhammad Khan son of Sultan Abdullah Khan (ruler of Hirat) purchased it in 1740 (1152 A.H.) on a payment of twelve thousand rupees. The garden was a picnic spot for the Pathans and had developed into a public place. Muhammad Khan was a brave, emotional and hot-tempered man. The people knew that he would not allow anybody to enter the garden. They approached Nawab Zahid Khan with the request to purchase the garden because they knew that Nawab Zahid Khan being a kind-hearted and broad-minded person would accede to their request. In spite of the fact that Muhammad Khan made the payment, Nawab Zahid Khan called Langee Khan Khugani to his place and asked him to cancel the deal. When Langee Khan informed Muhammad Khan about the new development, he found him firm. This garden became a bone of contention between the two Khans. When Muhammad Khan failed to take its possession, he approached the Delhi court. The Mughal Emperor Muhammad Shah having come to know

that a former ruler of Hirat was in need of help, bestowed upon Muhammad Khan the 'title of Wafadar Khan with a mansab of Haft Hazari and Jagirs in Shahjahan-Abad, Lahore and Multan and further ordered Nawab Zahid Khan to hand over the possession of the Bagh (garden) 'Langee Khan' to the purchaser. Muhammad Khan came to Multan with flying colours and took possession of the garden. Nawab Zahid Khan felt humiliated. When Muhammad Khan went to Lahore to take charge of his new Jagir, Nawab Zahid Khan manoeuvred through Hayatullah Khan (Shahnawaz Khan) to get Muhammad Khan arrested by Zakaria Khan, the Viceroy of Lahore and Multan, on his arrival at Lahore. His son Abdul Rahim Khan approached Nadir Shah Afshar for help because Nadir Shah had recently returned victorious from India and he held the family of the Khudakkas in high esteem for their valour in the Khurasan campaigns. It was Allah Yar Khan, the younger brother of Muhammad Khan who fought several battles with Nadir Shah before the fall of Hirat. Nadir Shah, therefore, not only gave him 'release order addressed to Zakaria Khan but also conferred upon him a Jagir in Dera Ghazi Khan'. When Zakaria Khan heard of it, 'he at once released Muhammad Khan'.<sup>9</sup> On the arrival of Abdul Rahim Khan in Multan his father was already there. This development created a gulf between these two branches of the Saddozais.

# The Rise Of Ahmad Shah Dur-i-Durran(1747 - 1772)

Ahmad Shah Dur-i-Durran, 'was born of Zarghuna Alikozai in 1722<sup>1</sup> at Multan'. He joined the army of Nadir Shah and soon became chief of Nadir Shah's Afghan contingent. Nadir Shah often remarked in open court, 'I have not found in Iran, Turan or Hind any man equal to Ahmad Abdali in capacity and character'<sup>2</sup>. After the assassination of Nadir Shah, Ahmad Shah Dur-i-Durran became king and founder of modern Afghanistan. Considering himself as successor of Nadir Shah he captured at Kandhar<sup>3</sup> 'a treasure of two Crores of rupees in money, diamonds and Shawls', 'carried by three hundred camels' from India to Iran in the form of annual revenues under the escort of an Afghan guard. He at once distributed it amongst his people, which strengthened his hands<sup>4</sup>. After becoming

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1. Ganda Singh, op.cit., P.15.

2. M.H.P., P.158; Ganda Singh, op.cit., P.18;  
T.A.S., PP.9,10.

3. Ganda Singh, op.cit., P.29.

4. T.M., P.110; Ganda Singh, op.cit., P.30; M.H.P., P.160; Tate, op.cit., P.69; Siyar, vol.iii, PP.252,253; T.A.S., P.13.

خزانہ از ولایت سندھ برائے نادر شاہ میسر دند چون خبر کشته شدن منتشر

شد در چند ہزار متوقف شدند در دران ہمہ را متصرف گردید -

تذکرہ ( ص ۱۱۰ )

the King of Afghanistan, Ahmad Khan styled himself Dur-i-Durran with the title of Shah, gave the title of Durrani to his tribe - the Abdalis, and struck a coin with the following inscription:

حکم شد از قادر بیچون به احمد بادشاه

نکه زن برسیم وزر از اوج ماهی تاباه

( گنڈا سنگھ )

'Command came from God, the Inscutable, to Ahmad the King, strike coin on silver and gold from the bottom of the sea to the moon. The official seal for his royal farmans was, 'By the command of God, the Bestower of Victory: Ahmad Shah, the Pearl of Pearls'. At the end, 'the picture of a peacock was carved on it'.

5. T.M., P.109; Ganda Singh, op.cit., P.27; Caroe, op.cit., P.256; Taza Nawai Muarak, P.770; Yousuf Gardezi, op.cit., PP.56,57; Percy Sykes, op.cit., P.353; Malleeson, op.cit., P.276.
6. T.M., P.109; T.A.S., P.13; Ganda Singh, op.cit., PP.31,32; M.H.P., PP.160,161; H.P., P.215; Azizud Din Fofalzai, D.T.Z., Kabul, 1337, P.267.
7. Ganda Singh, op.cit., PP.31,32; T.A.S., P.14.
8. T.M., P.109; Ganda Singh, op.cit., PP.31,32; M.H.P., PP.160,161; H.P., P.215; T.A.S., P.14.

قوم ابدالی را درانی خطاب داد و خود را در دران و نگین مهر شد دم طاس بنا کو و  
نقش نگین احمد شاه در دران بود -

تذکره ( ص ۱۰۹ )

الحکم لله یا فتاح احمد شاه در دران -

( گنڈا سنگھ )

Now Ahmad Shah Dur-i-Durran marched on Kabul and after annexing it, advanced to Peshawar. He was welcomed by the Afghan tribes of that area. In the meantime, he was invited by Shahnawaz Khan. Adina Beg Khan played a double role and informed the Delhi Wazir about the secret correspondence of Shahnawaz Khan with Ahmad Shah Dur-i-Durran. The result was that Wazir Qamarud Din Khan managed to send him a royal farman conferring upon him the Government of the Panjab, with the request to oppose the king of Afghanistan, which he agreed. Shahnawaz Khan did not welcome

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9. T.M., P.111; Ganda Singh, op.cit., PP.37,38;  
M.H.P., PP.161,162; Tate, op.cit., P.70.
10. T.M., P.111; Ganda Singh, op.cit., PP.42-44;  
M.H.P., PP.68,162,163; Tate, op.cit., P.70;  
Siyar, PP.254,255; Ibrat Namah, P.233;  
Anandram Mukhlis, Tazkirat-i-Anandram, MS.ends in  
1748 (India), P.235; H.S., P.39.

آنجا ببارفت. پشاور توبه نمودند و التور و ایلات آنجا ملتی و شاد حکم شدند.

تذکره ( ص ۱۱۱ )

لم اذا شاه نواز خان ملتی بد شاه هند شاه خان الله گشته عرصه بختگان بایه سریر عری  
تأثیر نواند که شاه تیرجه نورما ببارفت لاهور شود و بنده مشرف خطور شده تسخیر هندوستان  
پیش نهاد باید ساخت شاه بمیورد رسیدن عرصه او باپست هزار سوار پیاده عازم هندوستان  
گردیدند -- -- کوان یحیی خان مقان داشته یرلخ و خلعت سرانوازی عویبه دارن لاهور بنام  
شاهنواز خان از والد شاه شاه نواز خان از نزارن که بشاه هند شاه نبود برگشته ابراب  
بخالفت داده بر سر آثار کرد.

تذکره ( ص ۱۱۱ )

11. T.M., PP.111,112; T.A.S., P.14;  
Ganda Singh, op.cit., PP.44-46; Ibrat Hamah,  
PP.202,233,234; H.P., PP.216,217; Siyar,  
PP.255,259; Tazkiyat-i-Anandram,  
P.256; M.H.P., PP.66,70; H.S., P.40.

12. T.M., PP.112,113; T.A.S., P.17;  
Ganda Singh, op.cit., PP.48-51; M.H.P.,  
PP.66,71; Tazkiyat-i-Anandram, PP.257,258;  
Jate, op.cit., P.70; H.P., P.217; H.S.,  
PP.39,40; Taza Nawaj Warak, P.771;  
Siyar, P.259; Ibrat Hamah, P.204.

[illegible]



13  
became master of the two provinces, Lahore and Multan.  
After occupying Lahore he struck a coin bearing the  
14  
following inscription: 'King, Ahmad Shah Dur-i-Durran  
Mint, at the capital of Lahore, Auspicious years of the  
Reign, one'.

احمد شاه درانی  
پادشاه افغان  
( سکه )

Ahmad Shah Dur-i-Durran then wrote a letter to Nawab  
\*  
Zahid Khan, naib Nazim of Multan, asking him to forget

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13. Siyar, P.259.

14. Ganda Singh, op.cit., PP.52,53; H.P., P.215.

\* The instructions issued by Qamarud Din Khan to all the Governors and Mansabdars including Nawab Zahid Khan to join the Imperial army against the Afghan King confirmed the bonafide status of the Nawab; Ganda Singh, op.cit., P.55.

کئی کرده منزل بمنز آمده غریب ناهور --- ناه نوار چمن آوری لشکر از اطراف  
و جوانب کرده با سوار سوار پیاده و ترخانان از حد زیاده غریب بان ناه مار  
--- چناب عظیم در پیوست --- شاه نواز خان بدین آنکه کسی را خبر کند از  
میان باویخت --- سردار از معرکه رزم گاه بدر رفت -  
تذکره ( ۱۱۷۱ )

the old rivalry between Khizer Khel and Maudud Khel groups of Saddomal tribe and cooperate with him for the establishment of an Afghan State in India. Nawab Zahid Khan not only spurned his offer but also used derogatory remarks against him. He decided to remain loyal to the Delhi Empire. The Afghan King was<sup>15</sup> indignant over his attitude. The Afghan King advanced against Sirhind and the battle of Manupur was fought on Friday, March 11, 1748 . (22nd of Rabi-ul-Awwal 1161 A.H.) in which the Delhi Wazir - Qamarud Din Khan was killed. Ahmad Shah Dur-i-Durran lost the battle and went back to<sup>16</sup> Kandhar via Lahore, Peshawar and Khyber Pass. The Mughal victory at Manupur elevated Mir Mannu son of the late Wazir Qamarud Din Khan to the Viceroyalty of Lahore and Multan with the title of Mir Muinul-Mulk from Prince Ahmad

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15. T.M., PP.200,201; *Latif incorrectly* . writes that Ahmazd Shah Dur-i-Durran confirmed Nawab Zahid Khan in the government of Multan which is incorrect.

پہلے نام بار اوس پر پنجاب لکھنؤ کشید و آمدہ لاء ورا تصرف دینا رغب مبارک  
 بزآمد خان نوشتند کہ پارس مقدمہ خیر و پور در میان عالیہ خوابہ خضر خید و  
 خانواده مودودیہ است ۔۔۔ نواب زامد خان چون بر مضمون رغب مبارک مطلع  
 شد بر در مہذرت نیا مدی خود نوشت ۔ و بجائیں خویشی باین کلمات لا طائل کو  
 باشد "خدا تبار خوارشہ چو از غونہ زدیں ہم بار شدت بکوی این خبریں کم کاست  
 بشاہ در دران رسید تخم کینہ او در سینہ گشت ۔

تذکرہ ( ص ۲۰۰، ۲۰۱ )

17

on 11th April 1748 .(23rd Rabi-us-Sani 1161 A.H.) ,  
 In the meantime, the Mughal Emperor Mahammad Shah died  
 on 14th April 1748 . and was succeeded by his son  
 18  
 Prince Ahmad. Mir Muinul-Mulk appointed Kaura Mal as  
 19  
 Nazim of Multan with the title of Maharaja.

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16. T.M., PP.113-115; T.A.S., PP.18-20:  
Ibrat Namah, PP.204,205.
17. T.M., P.115; Ganda Singh, op.cit., P.72; H.P.,  
 P.219; M.H.P., PP.73,165; Chulam Ali Azad,  
Khazana-i-Amira, PP.97,98; Joseph Cunningham, op.cit.,  
 P.94; Ibrat Namah, PP.205,206.
18. T.M., P.115; Ganda Singh, op.cit., P.73; Siyar,  
 P.263; H.P., op.cit., PP.219,220.
19. T.M., P.201; Ganda Singh, op.cit., P.79; M.H.P.,  
 PP.66,73,75; Z.A., P.34; Ashraf Gurgani,  
Sadiq-at-Tawarikh, Bahawalpur, 1899 . (1317 A.H.) P.272;  
Ibrat Namah, P.206.

صوبہ داروں پنجاہ، مہین الملک، وزیر خزانہ خان دادہ بود -

تذکرہ ( ۱۱۵ )

محمد شاہ بادشاہ - دادہ بود و وزیر از احمد شاہ بر تخت نشست دادہ بود -

تذکرہ ( ۱۱۵ )

دون نواب مہین الملک و وزیر خزانہ خان بنویداری شاہ و ملتان از دارالخلافہ  
 احمد شاہ ابن محمد شاہ - بنویداری سرانوار محمد نواب مہین الملک - در شاہ و آمدہ  
 نشست و مازار - دیوان کورا مہین الملک بنویداری ملتان دادہ -

تذکرہ ( ۱۰۱ )

Maharaja Diwan Kaura Mal as the  
Subedar of Multan (1748-1749.)

Nawab Zahid Khan was a close friend of Shahnawaz Khan and at the same time he was also loyal to the Delhi Court. The Delhi Wazir Safdar Jang was against Mir Muinul-Mulk who dismissed Nawab Zahid Khan and sent Maharaja Kaura Mal to take charge of Multan<sup>4</sup>. In spite of the opposition of his own sons Shakir Khan, Shuja Khan and other prominent members of the Saddozais, Nawab Zahid Khan, who was ruler of Multan for more than nine years decided to give fight to the Lahore army which was supported by Zahid Khan's great enemy, Nawab Abdul Aziz Khan. Nawab Zahid Khan did not like to bow down before the son of Waloo Mal and Nawab Abdul Aziz Khan. He along with his small force stopped the Lahore army outside Multan near village Mattital. A battle was fought in 1748 . (1161 A.H.) in which Nawab Zahid Khan was defeated and he ran away to Seitpur after having crossed the river Chenab. Multan was captured but

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4. T.M., , P.201; Ibrat Namah, P.206; Ganda Singh, op.cit., P.79; Z.A., P.34. He is confused and writes that Maharaja Kaura Mal endorsed the naib Nizamat of Nawab Zahid Khan, which is incorrect.

\* Mattital: 15 miles from Multan on way to Lahore.

\*\* Seitpur: 40 miles south of Khangarh (Muzaffargarh).

5. T.M., PP.201,202; Ibrat Namah, P.206; Ganda Singh, op.cit., P. 79; Bal Kiran Batra, Tawarikh-i-Multan, Publisher N.A., 1926, PP.48-50; MacLagan, G.H.D., Lahore, 1902, P.49., he is also confused because Nawab Zahid Khan never acted as naib Nazim under Kaura Mal; Muraqqa-i-Multan, P.116., does not describe the events chronologically.

نواب ضحید خان شہنشاہ دہلی کا قریبی دوست و رفیق اور اراکین دیوان کوڑاس پر اندر ملتانس را  
 - ویدان ملتان داندہ ترائی را دہ خاں را مریوں کوڈ او بنیں وریژدہ تمیہ دند  
 ( تذکرہ ) ( ۱۰۱ )

with no monetary gain, because all the family members of Nawab Zahid Khan took refuge in the palace of Muhammad Baqir Khan alias Sardar Khan. Maharaja Kaura Mal appointed Nawab Abdul Aziz Khan as his naib Nazim of <sup>6</sup>Multan. Maharaja Kaura Mal at his instance ordered his troops to besiege the palace of Muhammad Baqir Khan in order to arrest the family members of Nawab Zahid Khan. Actually, Nawab Abdul Aziz Khan with the consent of Maharaja Kaura Mal demanded nineteen lacs of rupees from Nawab Zahid Khan's family which he claimed to be the revenues of Multan collected by the former naib Nazim. Nawab Abdul Aziz Khan advanced to the palace of his elder step-brother, Muhammad Baqir Khan with his retinue.

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6. I.M., PP.408,409; Ganda Singh,op.cit., P.79.

در فریه من من تلانی عسکریں والی گردید --- فتح و نصرت مہ اراجہ بہادر گردید -  
نواب زاہد خان بمقامت ازبک گاہ --- از دریایی چناب و سندھ عبور نموده وارد  
سیت پور ہلال گردید -  
تذکرہ ( ۲۰۱، ۲۰۲ )

پہلے مہ اراجہ گورامہ از خانم نواب معین الملک صوبہ دار دارالامان ملتان ہمد وزاہد خان  
مکملت خیرودہ بیرون رخت عبدالعزیز خان راہم اراجہ پینہ آمد بسیار شد مہ اراجہ خلعت و  
نیل و مسند صوبہ دار ملتان از نواب بنام عبدالعزیز خان حاصل کرد -  
تذکرہ ( ۲۰۸، ۲۰۹ )

When Muhammad Baqir Khan was told about his arrival, he was not only cold in his behaviour but <sup>was</sup> also annoyed with Nawab Abdul Aziz Khan for his violation of family traditions. As a last resort he decided to go to Maharaja Kaura Mal in order to settle the affairs directly with him. Muhammad Baqir Khan who was fairly advanced in age sent a message to Maharaja Kaura Mal seeking his audience as he had not met him since long. The next moment Muhammad Baqir Khan reached his palace. Maharaja Kaura Mal at once came out of his palace bare-footed and keeping in view the status of the aged KHAN apologised for all of his misconduct. He ordered the withdrawal<sup>۱</sup> of his troops and dropped the idea

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7. T.M.

PP.350-354.

مہاراجہ در ملتان آمدہ مسند شد و عبدالعزیز خان کہ دشمن جانی زاهد خان بود ہمراہ ملتان شدہ گفت کہ قبائلی زاهد خان در خانہ سردار خان آمدہ اند و تمامی خزانہ او ہمراہ او مانست خانرا تکلیف بازویں نمود پس در چہ خواہید گفت ہمہاں نیویں خواہند کرد مہاراجہ کہ بخان رابطہ بندگی داشت گفت کہ حاشا وکلا من بخان شدہ جانی تمام اقوچہ کوور روپیہ من ضائع شود این نہ خواہد شد عبدالعزیز خان گفت --- نوزہ لہذا روپیہ مالیہ بادشاہی نزد او باقیست زاهد خان در راہ برداشت روپیہ است درینجا است ( ۳۵۱، ۳۵۲ ) تذکرہ





Nawab Abdul Aziz Khan Khudakka Saddozai  
as naib Nazim of Multan (1748-49)

Sultan Hayat Khan Khizer Khel Khudakka Saddozai had four sons. The eldest son Sultan Abdullah Khan became ruler of Hirat in 1712<sup>1</sup> . (1124 A.H.). After a successful rule of nine years and four months he was murdered in 1722<sup>2</sup> . (23rd Muharram-ul-Haram 1134 A.H.) in Rowza Bagh near Hirat by his cousin Qasim Khan during the life time of his father. Sultan Hayat Khan had three other sons, Muhammad Baqir Khan (the 2nd eldest), Muqarrab Khan and Nawab Abdul-Aziz Khan, the youngest from his second wife. Sultan Hayat Khan the ruler of Safa (Afghanistan) after his defeat at the hands of the Safavide Emperor in 1680<sup>3</sup> . (1091 A.H.)<sup>4</sup> migrated to India and settled down in Multan in 1682<sup>5</sup> . (1093 A.H.). He was a man of rich resources. He died on

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1. I.M., PP.56,57.

2. Ibid. P.67.

3. Ibid. PP.339,340.

4. Ibid. P.45.

5. Ibid. P.323.

15th April 1729 ..(27th Ram<sup>4</sup>zan 1141 A.H.). His youngest wife was an Indian singing girl who was mother of Nawab Abdul Aziz Khan. She was very dear to the Khan and consequently the Khan loved his youngest son very much. Nawab Abdul Aziz Khan was born in 1695<sup>7</sup> ..(1107 A.H.). He was an extremely intelligent, clever and a very ambitious person. As he was very close to his father, he mis-<sup>8</sup>appropriated a major portion of his wealth after his death. Since the very life time of his father, he was trying to get the Nizamat of Multan. He maintained extremely good relations with all the Mansabdars and was respected in the

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6. Ibid. P.338.

7. Ibid. PP.340,341,406,407.

8. Ibid. P.340.

Note:- The grave of Sultan Hayat Khan Khudakka Saddozai still exists alongwith the graves of his sons and descendants near the Road Crossing adjacent to the residence of Superintendent of Police. His son Muhammad Baqir Khan alias Sardar Khan had constructed a grand edifice over the grave of his father which was also destroyed by the Sikhs during their invasion in 1764. His Kiri and garden are still called as Bagh Khudakka and Chah Khudakka in the Revenue records. His family played a very important role in the politics of Khurasan and Multan. The Multani Saddozais are called Khudakka Saddozais and are direct descendants of Sultan Hayat Khan.

Mughal court. He spent his wealth lavishly in order to secure the Nizamat of Multan. As stated earlier, even the payment of a handsome amount of money could not help him in achieving his object and Nawab Zahid Khan proved too clever for him as he could retain the naib Nizamat of Multan on the basis of his good relations with Shahnawaz Khan and Nawab Qamarud Din Khan, the Delhi Wazir. Nawab Abdul Aziz Khan though capable was unscrupulous and an opportunist. In order to achieve his object, he could go to any extent. After the death of his father when litigation started among his brothers, he prolonged the litigation by using money. To his great disappointment Muhammad Baqir Khan was recognized as the chief of the family and was granted the title of Sardar Khan with a mansab. It was during the regime of Kaura Mal that Abdul Aziz Khan could at last secure the coveted naib Nizamat.

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9. Z.A., P.28.  
10. T.M., P.344.  
11. Ibid. PP.408, 409.

خان را خلعت و پالکی امداد شد و سردار خان خطاب گردید۔

تذکرہ ( ص ۲۲۲ )

The Mughal Emperor bestowed upon him the mansab alongwith a Jagir in Multan and the title of Nawab. Nawab Abdul Aziz Khan ruled over Multan for about six months. He did his best to reduce the influence of Nawab Zahid Khan. He disgraced his friends and even placed them under servillence.<sup>12</sup> In the meantime, Ahmad Shah invaded India for the second time and crossing Indus in December 1748 . (Muharram-ul-Haram 1162 A.H.) approached Shahdra near Lahore in the beginning of 1749 . He asked Mir Muinul-Hulk to hand over the revenues of Chahar Mahal, which were ceded to Nadir Shah in 1739 by Muhammad Shah, the then Mughal Emperor. Mir Muinul-Hulk procrastinated and ultimately with the permission of the Delhi court concluded a treaty accordingly in 1749 .<sup>13</sup> (1162 A.H.), Ahmad Shah retired to Kandhar via Dera Ghazi Khan and Kalat. On his way back to Kandhar, Ahmad Shah stopped on the western bank of Indus in March-April 1749 . (Rabi-us-Sani 1162 A.H.) and ordered all the Pathans of Saddozai tribe of Multan to meet him. He met his aunt-wife

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12. Ibid. P.402.

13. Ibid. P.115; U.T., vol.i., PP.126,129; Ganda Singh, op.cit., PP.73-73; Elphinstone, An Account of the Kingdom of Caubul, vol.ii., Karachi, 1972., PP.286,287; H.S., PP.63-65; M.H.P., P.166; H.P., P.221; Taza Nawai Muarak, P.772; Percy Sykes, op.cit., P.355; Elliot and Dowson, The History of India as told by its own Historians, vol.VIII, London, 1877; Muhammad Aslam, Barha-un-Nazirin, P.166; Saulat-i-Afghani, P.245; Joseph Cunningham, op.cit., P.102; Siyar, op.cit., p.289.

of Sultan Abdullah Khan and mother of Muhammad Khan alongwith several other ladies of Saddozai tribe. He requested his aunt to ask Muhammad Khan to remain in India and avoid coming to Afghanistan as there was danger to his life due to the rivalry between the two families of Khizer Khel branch of Saddozai tribe.<sup>14</sup> Ahmad Shah was genuinely afraid of Muhammad Khan's claim to the Chieftainship of Aloose Abdali being the son of Sultan Abdullah Khan, the ruler of Hirat and moreover he had once been the ruler of Hirat. His aunt gave him the assurance he required. Then he met all the male members of Saddozai tribe including Muhammad Baqir Khan and Nawab Abdul Aziz Khan. He was pleased with the flattery of Nawab Abdul Aziz Khan. He gave presents to all of them according to their status.<sup>15</sup> In the beginning, Nawab Zahid Khan was reluctant to meet the Afghan ruler because of his previous attitude, but ultimately on the assurance of the safety of his life and person he came from Seitpur and requested Ahmad Shah (who was born in his own Kiri in Multan) to grant him the Nizamat of Multan. Nawab Zahid Khan was a close relative of Ahmad Shah.

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14. T.M., PP.115,116,356; Z.A., P.32., writes that Ahmad Shah returned to Kandhar via Multan after his first invasion which is incorrect. The correct position is that after his second invasion, he went to Kandhar via Dera Ghazi Khan and Kalat.

15. T.M., PP.115,116,356,358,410,411.

The mother of Nawab Zahid Khan was the daughter of Jalal Khan Saddozai. As the Afghan King was not happy with his previous conduct, he turned down his request on the plea that a Saddozai (Nawab Abdul Aziz Khan) was already ruling Multan. He showed no concern over the ascendancy of a Hindu chief as the Nazim of Multan and left for Kandahar via Kalat.

The new Mughal Emperor Ahmad Shah was weak and indolent by nature. He appointed Abdul Mansur Khan Safdar Jang, as his grand Wazir. Safdar Jang was an old rival and enemy of the late Wazir Qamarud Din Khan. He looked more to the satisfaction of his personal animosities than to the strengthening of the State: As the provinces of Lahore and Multan were enjoying peace and prosperity during the Viceroyalty of Mir Muinul-Mulk, Safdar Jang out of sheer rivalry planned to reduce the power of Mir Muinul-Mulk. After the departure of the Afghan ruler, Safdar Jang sent Shahnawaz Khan to take the Province of Multan forcibly.

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16. Ibid. P.192.

17. Ibid. P.202; c.f., Ganda Singh, Op.Cit., P.79; Latif writes that Ahmad Shah confirmed Nawab Zahid Khan in the Government of Multan, E.H.M., PP.97-99. Also see: Z.A., P.32.

Shahnawaz Khan at once informed Nawab Zahid Khan of his planning. As Shahnawaz Khan marched against Multan and Nawab Zahid Khan heard of him, he alongwith his small contingent left Seitpur and joined him. Nawab Abdul Aziz Khan put up no resistance and left Multan for Lahore. He could rule only for about six months. His rival Nawab Zahid Khan once again entered the city triumphantly in 1749 A.D.(1162 A.H.), of course with the help of Shahnawaz Khan. Nawab Zahid Khan appreciated the role of Muhammad Baqir Khan for all he had done to save the family prestige. <sup>20</sup>

18. Ganda Singh, op.cit., PP.73,92.

19. Ibid. PP.73,92; H.P. PP.221,222;  
Z.A., PP.32,33.

20. I.M., PP.203,356; Ganda Singh, op.cit., P.79;  
Z.A., PP.32-35., he has not stated the events chronologically. Being a personal servant of Nawab Sarfaraz Khan son of Nawab Muzaffar Khan, the last Muslim ruler of Multan, he was only careful in praising his master's ancestors while writing the history.

خان را خبر نوشتند از آرسیت پور باستانیا ستانت ر دو یکجا شده روانه ملتان گردیدند  
در آنوقت عبدالعزیز خان این مدعاں حیات خان سدوزئی ناظم ملتان بود چون فوت مقام  
در خود ندید ب رفتن از ارباب کوراس سوئی پنجاب رفت و ایشان آمده ملتان را متصرف  
شدند۔

تذکرہ ( ۱۰۱ )

Within a couple of days, Nawab Abdul Aziz Khan was back with Maharaja Kaura Mal, supported by the Sikh leader Jassa Singh. When the Lahore army reached near Multan, Shakir Khan, the eldest son of Nawab Zahid Khan, who was also very brave and ambitious like Nawab Abdul Aziz Khan joined hands with Maharaja Kaura Mal against his father, whereas his younger brother Shuja Khan remained loyal to his old father. A battle was fought in 1749 . . . (1162 A.H.), 'near the tomb of Shah Shams Sabzwari' in which Shahnawaz<sup>21</sup> Khan and Nawab Abdul Aziz Khan were killed. Due to his old age Nawab Zahid Khan remained in the fort and did not take part in the battle. Maharaja Kaura Mal captured Multan and appointed Nawab Shakir Khan son of Nawab Zahid Khan as his naib Nazim. Ahmad Shah invaded India in 1751 . . . (1164 A.H.). Maharaja Kaura Mal was summoned to Lahore by Mir Muinul-Mulk. Before leaving Multan he appointed Khwaja Ishaq Khan alias Khwaja Hussain Khan as his naib Nazim. Khwaja Ishaq Khan

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21. I.M., . . . P.203.

\* Shakir Khan went to Lahore and was appointed naib Nazim of Multan. See: Ibrat Namah, PP.206,207.



ruled over Multān till its annexation by Ahmad Shāh in 1752 (1165 A.H.). Nawab Zahid Khan died on the third day of his defeat in 1749 (1162 A.H.).<sup>22</sup>

Nawab Zahid Khan was a very pious and a learned man. He always kept with him the Masnavi of Maulāna Rūm and Kimia-i-Saadat of Imam Muhammad Ghazali. He had memorised many verses of these books and used to quote them on appropriate occasions. He ruled Multān very effectively for several years. He was very generous and just and never loved money. He had a soft corner for the Pathans. He respected Muhammad Baqir Khan for his timely help as stated earlier and was indebted to him otherwise too. The two

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22. T.M., PP.203-205. c.f. Epigraphia, Indo-Moslemica (1927-28), Archaeological Survey of India, PP.1-15. Ali-ud-Din writes that when Shahnawaz Khan was killed, Nawab Zahid Khan went to Seitpur. The correct version is that Nawab Zahid Khan died in Multan on the third day of that battle.

\* He had paid Rs.12000/- without any surety, stating that 'it was a present from a brother'. He was short of this amount when he sent Rs.50000/- to Shahnawaz Khan; T.M., PP.204, 249, 350.

families of Nawab Zahid Khan and Muhammad Baqir Khan maintained very sincere relations with each other in spite of the fact that Nawab Abdul Aziz Khan, the step-brother of Muhammad Baqir Khan did not keep good relations with Nawab Zahid Khan and he always intrigued against him to secure the Nizamat of Multan. Nawab Zahid Khan was a God-fearing man. Once his officer reported that a certain Pathan soldier was getting horse allowance regularly without having a horse, he told him to be merciful to the poor Pathan and ignored the complaint of his officer. When he was defeated by Maharaja Kaura Mal and his rival Nawab Abdul Aziz Khan became naib Nazim, he settled down in Seitpur. To overcome this political set-back and to mitigate his woe, he found diversions and passed his time in enjoying the plays performed by the gypsies. The extent of his frustration can be determined from the fact that he would say that he had wasted the whole of his life and it was in these playful pursuits that he was really enjoying life. It was sheer escapism from the disappointment he had at the hands of his rival Nawab Abdul Aziz Khan who had defeated him and deprived him of the naib Nizamat of Multan. He lodged a complaint to Ahmad Shah who ignored him intentionally because of his previous behaviour. On the whole Nawab Zahid Khan

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23. T.M., P.204.

میگفت که جوانی را گدا گزرا بستم به منت برباد

24. Ibid. P.204.

دانم که انچه نذا بدم -

was an able, pious, generous, just and popular ruler. He was loved by all. He commanded great respect, specially in the Mughal court. He left two sons, Shakir Khan and Shuja Khan.<sup>26</sup>

Although the province of Multan, one of the largest provinces of the Mughal Empire, gradually lost its territory after the death of Aurangzeb, it never lost its political importance. In the first instance, Thatta and Sindh were separated from it, then Dipalpur was attached to Lahore and finally Bhakkar was annexed with Dera Ghazi Khan. At the time of the invasion of Ahmad Shah, it was the old parganah of proper Multan only which was left to be known as the province of Multan. It was further reduced when Maharaja Kaura Mal handed over to Nawab Bahawal Khan I a large territory in the south known as Adam Wahan which was adjacent to the State Bahawalpur on the annual lease of only four thousand rupees.<sup>27</sup> The territory consisting of Lodhran and Mailsi including the important towns of Kahrar and Dunyapur were taken over by Nawab Mubarak Khan of Bahawalpur in 1751 A.D.(1164 A.H.).<sup>28</sup> Nawab Bahawal Khan I and his successors

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25. Ibid. PP.202-204.

26. Ibid. P.204; Z.A., P.36.

29  
dug many canals and brought the land into cultivation.  
The rulers of Bahawalpur never returned the acquired  
territory of Multān till it was forcibly taken away by  
Maharaja Ranjit Singh.

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29. Ibid. PP. 54, 56.

C H A . P T E R    IV:    Multan under the Afghans (1752-1818)

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Multan under the Afghans (1752 - 1818)

Political History

The First Phase

The promised revenues of Chahar Mahal in accordance with the treaty of 1749 having fallen into arrears, Ahmad Shah sent Sukh Jiwan Mal a Khatri of Kabul to Mir Muinul Mulk in 1750 for the collection of the same. Mir Muinul Mulk blamed Nasir Khan who then held the charge of Chahar Mahal for non-payment and could pay only nine lacs. The result was that the Afghan King marched on Lahore in 1751<sup>1</sup>. Ahmad Shah crossed Ravi and encamped in the Shalamar garden. Mir Muinul Mulk decided to give fight. He recalled Maharaja Kaura Mal from Multan who joined him alongwith his strong contingent. Mir Muinul Mulk also requested the Delhi Darbar for help but the Delhi Wazir did not send any force. Ultimately a battle was fought on 5th March 1752 . . (1165 A.H.) in which Maharaja Kaura Mal was killed and Mir Muinul Mulk<sup>2</sup> surrendered. Mir Muinul Mulk fearlessly appeared before the Afghan King Ahmad Shah who asked him, 'What would you have done to me, had I been captured by you' ? Mir Muinul Mulk boldly

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1. T.M., P.117; Ganda Singh, op.cit., PP.92,93,101,102;  
M.H.P., PP.75,167; H.P., P.222; Z.A.,  
P.22; Jadunath Sarkar, Fall of the Mughal Empire,  
vol.I., Calcutta, 1932, P.22; Rudolf Hoernle & Herbert Starke,  
A History of India, Cuttack (Orissa), 1909, P.125;  
Percy Sykes, op.cit., P.357.

replied, 'I should have cut off your head and sent it to my master-the Mughal Emperor'. Ahmad Shah asked again, 'Now you have been defeated and you have surrendered, what should I do to you' ? The vanquished Viceroy of Lahore and Multan gave a very bold answer, 'if you are a shopkeeper, sell me for a ransom, if you are a butcher, kill me, but if you are a Badshah, then grant me your grace and pardon'. The answer highly pleased the Afghan King. He embraced him and called him his son(Farzand Khan) and honoured him with the title of Rustam-i-Hind. He also bestowed upon him a robe of honour, an aigrette for the crest, and the very turban he himself was wearing. In the meantime, he despatched Abdullah Khan to Kashmir who conquered it soon. Ahmad Shah annexed Lahore, Multan, Kashmir and Sindh and sent Dalandar Beg to Delhi to secure confirmation of the gains of his sword. The terrified Emperor and his ministers at once agreed to the formal

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2. I.M., PP.117,118; Ibrat Namah P.210;

3. Gand. Singh op.cit., PP.116-119; Ibrat Namah. PP.112,210,211; M.H.P. . PP.76,78,168; U.I. op.cit., vol.I., PP. 24, 31 H.P., PP.221,224; Jadunath Sarkar op.cit. P. 245,246; H.S., PP.74,75; Elliot and Dowson op.cit. P.168; Percy Sykes op.cit., P.357; T.A.S PP.21,22.

cession of Lahore, Multan, Kashmir and Sindh to the  
Afghan King on Monday April 13, 1752 (9th of Jamad-us-  
5  
Sani 1165 A.H.). Before leaving for Kandhar, the Afghan  
King appointed Mir Muinul Mulk as his Viceroy of Lahore  
and Multan and asked him to pay rupees one crore as war  
indemnity which was later on reduced to rupees fifty lacs.  
Although the Lahore Viceroy was asked to look after the  
administration of Multan but a real responsible Subedar  
of Multan was also appointed, who was directly answerable  
to the Afghan King.<sup>6</sup> In spite of the fact that Khwaja  
Ishaq Khan alias Khwaja Hussain Khan was there, and in  
the beginning his Subedari was confirmed, but before  
leaving for Kandhar Ahmad Shah appointed Ali Muhammad Khan  
Khugani as his Subedar of Multan. He also appointed the  
7  
Khatri of Kabul Sukh Jiwan Mal as the Governor of Kashmir.

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4. T.M., P.118; T.A.S., P.22; M.H.P.,  
P.168; Ganda Singh, op.cit., P.124-126.

5. T.M., P.118; T.A.S., op.cit., P.22; Ibrat Ullah,  
P.111.



Multan, where a large number of Saddozai Afghans (fellow-clansmen of Ahmad Shah) were living had been a strong-hold of the Pathans. During the naib Nizamat of Nawab Zabih Khan, a large number of Jagirs were distributed among the Multani Saddozais. Since its annexation by the Afghan King, it became an autonomous Afghan territory as it stopped paying annual tribute to the Mughals. The Subedar of Multan was almost independent in his internal affairs and he even by-passed his nominal Viceroy Mir Muftul Mulk in maintaining relations with Kandhar. The Saddozais played a vital role in the politics of Multan and ultimately the Subedari of Multan became a privilege of the Saddozais of Multan. The Afghan Kings were only interested in the annual tribute and they did not interfere in the internal affairs of Multan. The Subedar of Multan enjoyed absolute powers as long as his Afghan master was happy and was satisfied with his behaviour. When civil war broke out in

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6. H.S., P.82; Taza Nawai Bharak, P.774.
  7. I.H., PP.118,205,206, Ganda ingl. op.cit., PP.124-126; M.H.P., P.168;
  8. I.C.I., P.27; G.H.S., P.49; Jaduat Saekar, op.cit., p.246.

Afghanistan among the sons of Taimur Shah, the Subedar of Multan stopped paying tribute regularly and a time came when Multan became an independent Afghan State in the Sub-continent till it was annexed by Maharaja Ranjit Singh in 1818 A.D. Multan, since 1752 never paid its annual tribute to Delhi, 'its Subedar drew his real powers not from the Delhi Emperor but from the King of Afghanistan'. Although the Marathas and the Sikhs captured Multan, it remained loyal to Afghanistan and its independence was maintained by the Afghan rulers. The Mughal rule had ended in Multan in 1752 and a New Afghan Rule had taken its place since its annexation by the Afghan King Ahmad Shah. The New Muslim Rule lasted in Multan till its conquest by the Sikh leader Maharaja Ranjit Singh in 1818. The New Muslim Rule can rightly be called 'THE LAST PHASE OF MUSLIM RULE IN MULTAN'.  

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Ali Muhammad Khan Khugani as Subedar (Governor)  
of Multan ( 1752 . 1767 )

Ahmad Shah appointed Ali Muhammad Khan Khugani as the Subedar of Multan in 1752 . Ahmad Shah did not interfere in the administration of Multan because he was only interested in the annual tribute. Ali Muhammad Khan<sup>\*</sup> belonged to the Mohsinzal tribe of the Khugani Afghans.<sup>1</sup> His ancestor, Malik Shahpal, migrated from Kandhar to India during Akbar's reign. He alongwith his other clansmen settled in Multan outside Bohar gate and Lohari gate (outside the western walls of the city) and founded Kiri Afghanan.<sup>2</sup> Ali Muhammad Khan traced his geneology in his official stamp. Usman Khan, the father of Ali Muhammad Khan Khugani was a rich merchant of Multan. He had been running the trade of camels. He had two other sons, the eldest was Ismail Khan and the youngest was Abdul Nabi Khan.

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\* Khugani Afghans are also called Durrani as it is evident from an original Farman of Ahmad Shah addressed to Ali Muhammad Khan. It is available in Syed Muhammad Ramzan Shah Gardezi's library.

1. T.H., P.214.

2. P.D.G., B.D., P.112; P.C., PP.310,311; Hukam, op.cit., P.163.

\*\* Ali Muhammad Khan was son of Usman Khan who was son of Farooq Khan, son of Siddique Khan; T.H., P.214; Yousaf Gardezi, op.cit., P.60; Arz-i-Multan, P.78.

Ali Muhammad Khan was a man of exceptional ability. He was very ambitious. When Ahmad Shah became King of Afghanistan, he wrote several letters to the Afghan ruler informing him of the weaknesses of the Mughals. He also wrote about the political affairs in Multan. Thus he maintained a close liaison with the Afghan King. During the Nizamat of Nawab Zahid Khan, Usman Khan died leaving a huge property. Ali Muhammad Khan was involved<sup>1</sup> in property feud with his elder brother Ismail Khan. Being a youngman, he quarrelled with him, injured him with his sword and ran away from Multan. In the meantime, the Afghan King had reached Peshawar. He joined his army, soon rose to a prominent position and was included in his personal staff.<sup>3</sup> Being a personal attendant of the monarch he pleased his master by sheer dint of his ability and loyalty. After the annexation of Multan in 1752 (1165 A.H.) Ahmad Shah appointed him Subedar of Multan and he immediately took over charge from Khwaja Ishaq Khan because he was already 'the lease-holder of Dera Ghazi Khan'.<sup>4</sup> He enjoyed full confidence<sup>5</sup> of his master. For all purposes he was an absolute ruler of

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3. T.M., PP.214,215.

4. Ibid., P.118; Hukam Chand,op.cit., P.163.

5. Ganda Singh,op.cit., P.126.

Multan and was twice appointed as Subedar. During his first governorship of Multan, he treated everybody with respect. He took special care of the Saddozais in his dealings with them. He used to pay visits to the palace of Nawab Shakir Khan, as well as Muhammad Baqir Khan. Being the nominee of Ahmad Shah he enjoyed the active co-operation of all the Pathans of Multan. Nawab Shakir Khan who had been naib Nazim of Multan as well as the chief of the Pathans under Maharaja Kaura Mal remarked that they enjoyed their supremacy only during the Mughal rule/and it had now ceased because the Pathans then referred their disputes to the court of the Subedar of Multan. <sup>6</sup> Previously their cases were decided by their own Chief, as they were so rigid that they would not forward their cases to the court of the Subedar. They respected their Chief and their customary laws very much, hence the position of the Chief of the Pathans was very strong. He was respected not only in the court of Subedar but he also enjoyed a position of esteem in the Mughal Court. The Mughals never interfered in tribal affairs of the Pathans. The annexation of Multan by Ahmad Shah created a sense of pride in the leadership of the Saddozai Chief

who also belonged to the Khizer Khels. Having realised that none but an Afghan Chief Ali Muhammad Khan as the nominee of the Afghan ruler was the Subedar of Multan, Nawab Shakir Khan accepted his overlordship and remarked that henceforth the Pathans of Multan would accept the Afghan Subedar not only as the ruler of the province but also as the chief of the Pathans. This leadership of the Pathans proved to be a source of strength for the Saddozais and it was also a bone of contention between the Khugani Subedar and the Saddozai Chief. Ultimately the dual role of the Saddozai Chief was recognised as the Chief of the Pathans of Multan as well as their ruler. It also became a hereditary title till the annexation of Multan by Maharaja Ranjit Singh in 1818 A.D. Ali Muhammad Khan Khugani having assumed charge of Multan, minted a coin at Multan in the name of his master Ahmad Shah Dur-i-Durran, the founder King of Afghanistan. This coin is available in the Lahore Museum. The inscription of 1165 A.H. on the coin minted at Multan, confirms that Multan was annexed and it became an Afghan province in 1752 A.D. (1165 A.H.). The following inscription can be easily read:

برچهره : حکم شد از خاندان بیرون به احمد بادشاه سکه زن برسیم وزیر اوقاف ماهی تابناه -  
برپشت : میرزا محمد میرزا خورشید منان - ۱۱۶۵ هـ

The Nawab of Bahawalpur had provided facilities to the agriculturists living in the south of Multan. The land in the south of Multan thus became cultivable. It attracted a large population and this territory fell under the influence of the Nawabs of Bahawalpur. This situation was not palatable to the new Subedar who was loyal to the Afghan King. Nawab Ali Muhammad Khan Khugani who was not only an able administrator but also a very ambitious Afghan, On his arrival at Multan decided to give fight to the Nawab of Bahawalpur in order to eliminate his influence from that area. He requested the Afghan King, when he was in Dera Ghazi Khan on his way to Kandhar to send a strong army against Nawab Muhammad Mubarak Khan, the Nawab of Bahawalpur. Ahmad Shah before leaving Dera Ghazi Khan for Kandhar at once despatched a strong army under the command of his General Sardar Jahan Khan Popalzai. Jan Nisar Khan, Governor of Dera Ghazi Khan was also ordered to assist him. Jan Nisar Khan happened to be a friend of Nawab Mubarak Khan. He informed the Nawab of Bahawalpur about the Afghan motives. When the Afghan army 'crossed the Panjnad and encamped at Uch', the ruler of Bahawalpur

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7. Ibid. P.206.

8. P.D.G., H.D.,  
PP.20,21.

P.45; White Head, op.cit.,

'retired to the fort of Mojgarh', situated at a distance of about forty miles to the south-east of Bahawalpur which was occupied by the Afghan General. Ultimately the Daudputras assembled 'at the town of Khairpur' (Tami-wali) leaving their ladles in the fort of Mojgarh. A battle was fought 'at Khatiala, about two miles to the west of the town' (Khairpur) in which the Afghan army was put to flight and the victors pursued it to Lal Sohanra 20 miles from Bahawalpur city. The Bahawalpur city 'was still in the hands of Sardar Jahan Khan'. Nawab Mubarak Khan 'opened negotiations for peace'. Sardar Jahan Khan accepted the peace proposals forwarded by the Nawab of Bahawalpur. After concluding the treaty 'Sardar Jahan Khan crossed the Sutlej at the Ferry of Fatehpur' and returned to Multan 'for homeward journey'.

Ahmad Shah and his successors maintained the policy adopted by Nadir Shah in 1739 A.D. Sirhind was declared as the border between the Afghan Empire and the Mughals and Bahawalpur served as the buffer State between the two Empires. The Afghan Kings invaded it several times but they never annexed it. The rulers of Bahawalpur proved to be great diplomats. They pleased both the Afghans and

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\* The Ruling family of the Bahawalpur State claiming their descent from the Holy Prophet's uncle Hazrat Abbas.

9. Ganda Singh, op.cit., PP.126,127; P.S.G., B.S., P.55; Shahamat Ali, op.cit., PP.38,39.



the Mughals. They maintained very good relations with the Subedar of Multan and supported him during the Sikh invasions. In case of defeat, they always gave him shelter. They also provided employment to the Pathans of Multan. The Bahawalpur State was thus the second home for the Pathans as well as the Subedar of Multan. Ali Muhammad Khan, the Subedar of Multan knew that it was not the policy of the Afghan King to annex Bahawalpur, hence he extended his cooperation to the Daudputras. He acquiesced in the extension of their influence in the southern territory of Multan. After a couple of years, he entered into a matrimonial alliance with a Zamindar of the Joya family of Bahawalnagar. When Nawab Ali Muhammad Khan was killed in Multan alongwith his son by the order of Ahmad Shah in 1767 A.D.(1181 A.H.), his second wife Ehsan Bibi, belonging to the Joya tribe of Bahawalnagar took shelter with her parents. As she was pregnant, she gave birth to a son whose descendants are still living in Mauza Bonga Ehsan Bibi in Bahawalnagar, a village given to Ehsan Bibi by her father. At present almost all the agricultural land of Mauza Ehsan Bibi belongs to the descendants of late Ali Muhammad Khan. There are no  
10  
descendants of this branch of Khugani Afghans in Multan.

Ali Muhammad Khan was a man of great qualities. He was not only a good administrator but was also a reformer. During his first governorship, from 1752 . to 1758 A.D., he did a lot for the welfare of his people. His rule was sensible and popular. He was a great builder. He rebuilt the rampart of the city. He constructed a very beautiful mosque in 1757 <sup>11</sup> (1171 A.H.) in the heart of the city, which still exists and is wrongly known as Masjid Wali Muhammad Khan. It is a fine specimen of enamelled tiles of Multan. It was converted into a Court during the Sikh period, where Granth Sahib was placed for deciding the cases. <sup>12</sup> It was restored to the Muslims during the British period. On the wall of the mosque the following inscription still exists:

بیمین حضرت جیلان غوث میر دو جهان	(۱) بغض ایزد و لرزیدنیں آخر زمان
کہ بد چہوترو و دار جرم و ظلم عیان	(۲) بجلی شخہ بارار بہر دم فساد
بساخت بر سر بارار ناظم ملتان	(۳) بنای مسجد و حمام و چاہ و حوض عجیب
نمود مسجد عالی علی محمد خان	(۴) برای سان بنایں زغیب : اثف گفت

۱۱۷۱ ھ

Ali Muhammad Khan emulating the Daudputras of Bahawalpur State, dug many canals and one of them is wrongly known as

11. T.M.,

P.215; Hukam Chand, op.cit., P.43.

Nala Wali Muhammad Khan. It played a vital role in the economy of the agrarian community of Multan and gave prosperity to the people. Ahmad Shah fixed 17 lacs of rupees as the annual tribute which was paid very regularly<sup>13</sup> by Nawab Ali Muhammad Khan. The Afghan King maintained his Saddozai relative living in Multan with an annual<sup>14</sup> pension of rupees one lac from the Multan's exchequer. The Governor of Multan raised another one lac of rupees<sup>15</sup> annually for his miscellaneous expenditure. Due to peace and prosperity prevailing in Multan during the reign of Ahmad Shah, the Governor accumulated so much wealth that he offered one crore of rupees to the Afghan King if he and his son Mustafa Khan were pardoned and their lives<sup>16</sup> spared. Ahmad Shah invaded India fourth time in autumn of 1756 .(Safar 1170 A.H.), when he returned to Kandhar In April 1757 .(1171A.H.) he appointed his son Prince Timur Shah as Viceroy of his Indian provinces - the Panjab,

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12. I.M., P.286.

13. Ibid. P.215.

جمیعتی آن قدر بود که اگر روپیہ

14. Ibid. P.215.

وقت کشتن عورتان بختی میداد -

15. Ibid. P.215.

شکوه ( ص ۱۲۱ )

16. Ibid. P.215.

17  
Kashmir, Multan and Sindh. During his absence, Adina Beg\*  
invited the Marathas. Prince Timur Shah alongwith Sardar  
Jahan Khan escaped to Kabul. The Marathas occupied Lahore  
in April 1758. Raghunath Rao, the brother of Peshwa  
and the chief of the expedition, despatched 'Ramji and  
18  
Shamji to Multan'. The Maratha hords defeated Nawab Ali  
19  
Muhammad Khan and captured Multan in May 1758. Nawab  
Ali Muhammad Khan after his defeat crossed Sutlej and  
sought refuge in Khairpur. The Marathas plundered Multan  
indiscriminately. In the meantime, Saleh Beg\*\* got the Subedari  
of Multan after paying some money to the Pandits of the  
20  
Marathas at Lahore. A Maratha army of six thousand was  
21  
stationed at Multan to protect the new Governor. During  
their rule which lasted more than a year, 'the Saddozais

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17. Ibid. PP.121,122.

\* Adina Beg: A man of low birth but due to hard work rose to a prominent position and became Governor of the Panjab in April 1758 under Maratha Suzerainty. See: M.H.P., PP.50-102.

18. Ganda Singh, op.cit., P.218.

19. I.H., P.122; Sixer, P.377.

\*\* Saleh Beg: A man of unknown origin.

20. I.H., P.122; Ganda Singh, op.cit., P.221., writes the name of the Maratha Governor of Multan 'Saleh Khan'; also See: Batra, P.52; H.P., P.231., writes that the Marathas appointed 'Ramaji Rao' as the Governor of Multan. It might be true in the beginning but later on Saleh Beg was appointed Governor; See: H.S., P.127., writes 'Salik Khan'.

faced great hardships'. In the beginning they resisted but ultimately they sent a delegation of their elders to the Marathas, under their able and brave chief Nawab <sup>22</sup> Shakir Khan son of Nawab Zahid Khan and a truce was concluded.

Among the Multani Pathans, the descendants of Nawab Zahid Khan and the descendants of Sultan Hayat Khan Khudakka had played an important role in the politics of Multan. Nawab Ali Muhammad Khan was the only non-Saddozai ruler of Multan who also played a vital role in the politics of Multan. On his assumption of power as the Subedar of Multan in 1752 (1165 A.H.) Nawab Ali Muhammad Khan used to pay visits to Muhammad Baqir Khan<sup>\*\*\*</sup> on several occasions in order to please his master, the Afghan King. He did not know that his master had grave apprehensions against his own kith and kin in Multan. The moment the Afghan King came to know about his visits, he at once

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21. Ganda Singh, op.cit., P.226; Jadunath Sarkar, Fall of the Mughal Empire, vol.ii., Calcutta, 1924, P.80.

22. I.H., P.206.

\*\*\* Muhammad Baqir Khan Khudakka was chief of Khudakka Khizer Khel branch of Saddozais, he was respected very much by Ahmad Shah, when he met the Afghan King in 1750 (1163 A.H.). He gave him a Jagir in Dera Ghazi Khan and used the word uncle for him because he was cousin of his father.

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instructed his Governor to be careful and keep an eye on the activities of Muhammad Baqir Khan Khudakka as well as other members of the Khudakka family because they were the only rival claimants to the Afghan leadership. The Afghan King paid them full respect but would never tolerate their progress in the politics of Multan, which could be dangerous to his throne. He was perhaps conscious of the fact that in spite of his generous distribution of wealth among the Afghans, they accepted him as their chief only in the absence of a direct descendant of Sultan Khudakka. Moreover Muhammad Khan, the ex-ruler of Hirat, son of Sultan Abdullah Khan (whose mother was the real sister of Zaman Khan father of Ahmad Shah) could be the possible candidate. He was living in Multan. He had already approached the Mughal court and Muhammad Shah the Mughal Emperor had granted him Haft Hazari mansab and Jagirs in Multan, Shahjahanabad and Lahore in 1740<sup>24</sup> (1152 A.H.). During Ahmad Shah's first Indian invasion, Muhammad Khan was with the Mughals and had fought against him in 1748 (1161 A.H.). The Mughal Crown Prince Ahmad had

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23. Ibid, op.cit., PP.358,359.

24. Ibid. P.426.

منصب هفت هزار سوار و پشیمانی نکرده

بلند آوازه مبارکت و در سه صوبه تنخواه بجائی او بکنند

صوبه شاه بن و صوبه نامور و صوبه ملتان ۰۰ بدایر دادند -

تذکره ( ۱۲۷۰ )

also sent him as an envoy to the Afghan King before the battle of Manupur. The Afghan King had met him in Sirhind in 1748 A.D.,<sup>25</sup> before the battle of Manupur. The Afghan King had instructed him that he should never think of coming to his ancestral land. He offered him everything but in Multan. The Afghan King was very careful in his dealings with the Saddozais of Multan. When Ahmad Shah annexed Chahar Mahal in 1749 A.D. (1162 A.H.), the Mughal Emperor Ahmad Shah consulted Muhammad Khan Khudakka regarding this Afghan action and it was decided that he would go to Kandhar as an Ambassador of the Mughal Emperor apparently<sup>to</sup> negotiate some understanding between the two rulers but actually he would kill the Afghan King and<sup>26</sup> declare himself as the chief of the Afghans as and when he found a suitable opportunity. It was also settled that he would accept the sovereignty of the Mughals and would<sup>27</sup> strike coins and read Khutba in their name. Attock was<sup>28</sup> decided to be the boundary line between the two kingdoms. Muhammad Khan proceeded to Kandhar via Multan and Dera Ghazi Khan. On his arrival at Multan, he disclosed his plan to his mother who opposed his visit to Kandhar.

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25. Ibid. P.116., writes that Muhammad Khan fought on the side of Mughals in the battle of Manupur in March 1748

26. Ibid. P.417.

27. Ibid. P.433.

As he was firm in his decision to kill his cousin, she kept quiet. When he reached Dera Ghazi Khan, its Governor<sup>29</sup> Jan Nisar Khan at once informed his master of his designs. In the meantime, he reached Sewi (Sibbi) alongwith a small contingent labelled as his personal staff. The Afghan King had already directed his Governor of Sewi (Sibbi) not<sup>30</sup> to allow him to cross the border. This resulted into a fighting in which Muhammad Khan Khudakka, alongwith his<sup>31</sup> third son Asghar Khan was killed in 1750 .(1163 A.H.). The fear of a possible coup in favour of the direct descendant of Sultan Hayat Khan had always been lurking in the mind of the Afghan King and hence he had appointed Nawab Ali Muhammad Khan a non-Saddozai as his Governor of Multan in 1752 .(1165 A.H.). He had been on his personal staff and was very loyal to him. The Afghan King could not also trust Nawab Zahid Khan Khan Khel or even his eldest son Nawab Shakir Khan. In such circumstances, he instructed his Governor of Multan to be watchful of their activities but at the same time, he wanted that his relatives be properly respected.

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28. ibid. P.433.

29. Ibid. P.434.

30. Ibid. P.434.

31. Ibid. P.435.

در سال هزار یکصد و شصت و سه بمی یک پسر که  
همراه می بود جان است رسانیدند و در آنجا مدفون ساختند -



Nawab Ali Muhammad Khan was a very clever man. In the beginning, he maintained cordial relations with the Khudakkas and the Khan Khels but as he came to know that his master did not like it, he started ignoring them during his second governorship. During the short interlude of Maratha rule over Multan, Saleh Beg, the Governor of Multan expected Muhammad Baqir Khan Khudakka who was 79 at that time, to visit his court. Muhammad Baqir Khan Khudakka had never attended the court of the Subedar of Multan, nor did he ever send his son. It was misconstrued as insolence on his part and he was imposed a fine of one lac of rupees which was later on reduced to thirty thousand. The Governor wanted his physical attendance in his court and only in that case the amount could be remitted. Muhammad Baqir Khan was approached by Nawab Shakir Khan and other elders of the Multani Pathans with a request to visit the court of the Governor or at least send his son. He remained firm and instead of going there, immediately sent the fine of rupees thirty thousand to the Governor.<sup>32</sup> He also wrote a detailed letter to Ahmad Shah requesting him to free them from the clutches of the Marathas.

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32. Ibid. P.359.

تعین دادم که چندین از حیات مانده و در پیروی  
شوم می آید که برای سن هزار روپیه بتدین مزاج خود کم -  
تذکره ( ۱۵۹ )

Ahmad Shah also received several letters from other Saddozais. Nawab Ali Muhammad Khan, his own Governor of Multan (now a refugee at Khairpur) also informed him of the hardships the Saddozais were facing at the hands of the Marathas and requested his intervention. The Afghan King therefore invaded India once<sup>33</sup> again in October 1759 (Safar 1173 A.H.). When the Marathas heard of his arrival, they immediately left Multan for Lahore and from there hurriedly rushed to Delhi. As soon as Nawab Ali Muhammad Khan came to know that the news of his master's arrival had created fear among the Marathas and they had deserted Multan leaving Saleh Beg alone, he at once collected a few hundred soldiers and marched on Multan. After defeating Saleh Beg, he became the master of Multan once again in winter 1759<sup>34</sup>. Muhammad Baqir Khan saw with his own eyes the crushing defeat of Saleh Beg who had imposed fine on him. Nawab Ali Muhammad Khan conveyed the news of the fall of Multan to the Afghan King who had already arrived in Lahore. Ahmad Shah appreciated his role and reinstated him. When the Afghan King was in Lahore, his informer told him that Muhammad Shah Khan son of Muhammad Baqir Khan was very popular among the

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33. Ibid. P.122.

34. P.D.G., D.D., P.50.

\* See Index.

Pathans and was known as Badshah because of his bravery and generosity'. The Afghan King enquired about his designs. In spite of the fact that a satisfactory report was furnished, it did not wash away his suspicions. When the Afghan King left for Sirhind, 'Muhammad Shah Khan was found dead in mysterious circumstances while he was on his hunting trip on 14th February 1760 . (25th Jamadi-us Sani 1173 A.H.).<sup>35</sup> Muhammad Baqir Khan Khudakka, an old man of 80 could not survive this shock and died on 30th July 1760 A.D. (16th Zilhijj 1173 A.H.).<sup>36</sup> The Afghan King always remained in touch with the affairs in Multan. After defeating the Marathas in the battle of Panipat, he arrived at Lahore on April 26, 1761 . He appointed Nawab Surbuland Khan as the Governor of Dera Ghazi Khan as a punishment for his failure to pay his annual tribute of the Jullundar province. In the same way Nawab Ali Muhammad Khan was found in arrears of the annual tribute from Multan because it remained under the Maratha domination since May 1758 A.D. hence Ahmad Shah appointed Yaqut Khan a eunuch as Governor of Multan before his departure for

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35. Ibid., P.360. عام به بادشاه مشرور تانند پنهانچه شاه  
 36. Ibid. PP.360,361. در دران احوالی می رسید به در دی داعیه  
 37. Ibid. PP.360,361. بادشاهی که ندارد -

Afghanistan in May 1761 . . . Yaqut Khan was incompetent and failed to administer the province. Then the Afghan King deputed Allah Yar Khan Badozai in 1761 . . . (1174 A.H.)<sup>40</sup> to supervise the affairs of the province but he also failed. In the meantime, Nawab Ali Muhammad Khan sent a portion of the fixed annual tribute to Kandhar with an undertaking to be loyal and regular in the payment of the annual tribute, hence Ali Muhammad Khan was reinstated as the Governor of Multan in the same year. Nawab Ali Muhammad Khan during his<sup>41</sup>

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38. Ibid. PP.271,272;

The correct version is that the real name of Sarbuland Khan was Jiwan Khan and he was the grandson of Sohbat Khan son of Ismail Khan son of Bahadur Khan son of Malik Saddu, Mir-i-Afghana. His father was cousin of Zaman Khan father of Ahmad Shah.

When Ahmad Shah conquered India and its capital was occupied, he bestowed upon him the title of Nawab Sarbuland Khan and appointed him as the Governor of Jallundur for a fixed tribute of rupees thirty lacs. Nawab Sarbuland Khan was a very generous man to a fault. He, therefore, could not pay in time the fixed tribute to the Afghan King, hence ~~was~~ dismissed but he was again appointed as the Governor of Kashmir. Due to non-payment of fixed tribute, he was again dismissed but later on appointed as the Governor of Dera Ghazi Khan. He was lastly Governor of Rohtas in 1764, A.D. when he was captured by the Sikhs (T.H., PP.270-274); also See: Ibrat Namah, PP.232.

39. T.H., P.215; E.H.N., P.99; Epi-graphia, Indo-Hislemica, P.6; P.C.<sup>1</sup>p.480; Z.A., PP.38,39.

second governorship constructed the boundary walls of the Tomb of Hazrat Bahaud-din Zakaria in 1761 .(1174 A.H.), soon after he had received his confirmation orders as the Subedar of Multn from the Afghan King. He fixed an inscription\* written on the enamelled tiles, on the western gate-way, which is still there. Ahmad Shah paid great respect to the Mukhdums of the shrines of Hazrat Bahaud-din Zakaria, Hazrat Syed Muhammad Yousuf Shah Gardezi\*\* and Hazrat Syed Moosa Gilani. In order to please his master the grain meant for the shrine of Hazrat Bahaud-din Zakaria was exempted from octroi and he wrote it on the gate-way of the shrine.

40. P.D.G., M.D., P.50; Yousuf Gardezi, op.cit.,

41. T.M., P.215; E.H.M., P.99. Epigraphia,  
Indo-Moslimica, P.6.

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|----------------------------------|---------------------------|
| (۱) چون بدور شمس نه در زمان      | ند شکم سیر هر کسی از نان  |
| (۲) همه جا رو نمره ارزانی        | هیچ جا قحط نیست جز مغان   |
| (۳) کسی جز سر سینه (نه امین میرد | اخذ معصوم غله کود گران    |
| (۴) خاصه بهر خدا و درست خدا      | موجب آن اشرف انسان        |
| (۵) توحید روح غوب اعان پیرو      | در بزرگی فزون تر از پیوان |
| (۶) روح مخدوم خوں بهادرالدین     | بهر تفویج رکن عالم دان    |
| (۷) در برائے دعاے احمد شاه       | تاج بخش سر سلاطینان       |
| (۸) حامی غله را مغاند نمود       | بنده حق علی محمد خان      |
| (۹) تا خلایک دعاے شاه کنند       | بادی شاه و خیرم و رشندان  |
| (۱۰) صوبه دارے که خاصه کیوه      | سه خلایک شدید بوزن آن     |
| (۱۱) گنت دانست باسم صاحب پا      | ساں او گنج بخش جاریدان    |

During his second governorship an incident took place which confirmed the fear of Ahmad Shah about the Khudakkas. Being the genuine chief of the Afghans, they had the feelings that their right to rule had been usurped by others in Afghanistan as well as in Multan. Anwar Khan son of Muhammad Saeed Khan son of Muhammad Baqir Khan Khudakka Saddozai was an ambitious young man with such ideas. Once when Nawab Ali Muhammad Khan was not in Multan, Anwar Khan alongwith a few of his friends attacked the Multan Fort, captured it in 1762<sup>42</sup> .(1176 A.H.)and assumed power as the Subedar. The moment, Nawab Ali Muhammad Khan heard this news, he at once rushed to Multan alongwith his contingent. He attacked the Multan Fort and recaptured it.

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\*\* It is evident from several original Faramins of Ahmad Shah.

The Afghan King had 'granted a fixed amount of Rs. 50/- annually for the maintenance of the shrine of Hazrat Syed Muhammad Yousuf Shah Gardezi and for the family of Mukhdum Syed Muhammad Raju Shah Gardezi'. It is evident from a Royal Farman which was issued on 16th December 1753 (18th Safar 1167 A.H.) and is available in the library of Syed Muhammad Ramzan Shah Gardezi.

Anwar Khan with his friends was killed while defending the Fort. After this event Nawab Ali Muhammad Khan never left the Multan Fort undefended. He ruled Multan very successfully till he was replaced by Nawab Shuja<sup>43</sup> Khan Khan Khel Saddozai in 1763 (early 1177 A.H.).

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42. T.M., P.362.

43. جلید P.211.

Nawab Shuja Khan Khan Khel Saddozai as Subedar (Governor)  
of Multan (1763 - 64 .; 1177 A.H.), (June 1767 - June 70)

Nawab Shuja Khan Khan Khel Saddozai was the second son of Nawab Zahid Khan. After the death of his elder brother Nawab Shakir Khan, he became the leading man of his tribe. Hassan Khan the eldest son of Nawab Shakir Khan was however declared as the chief of his tribe but he was only a titular head. Shuja Khan gave his own house to his nephew Hassan Khan and occupied Shish Mahal<sup>1</sup> forcibly which was the seat of the chief of the tribe. Hassan Khan died after a few years and Shuja Khan became the chief of the Khan Khel tribe. He was a very capable man. He purchased a huge property<sup>2</sup> within a very short period and attracted the Saddozais of Multan because<sup>of</sup> his ability and generosity<sup>3</sup>. As he was very ambitious to become the Subedar of Multan, he had regular correspondence with his maternal-uncle Fatchullah Khan<sup>4</sup> Saddozai<sup>\*</sup> who was a very trusted officer of Ahmad Shah.

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1. I.M., P.206.

2. Ibid. P.210.

3. Ibid. P.210.

4. Ibid. P.204.



Nawab Ali Muhammad Khan, during his second governorship had imposed tax on the grain market as well as on several other articles. He also collected revenue from the tax-exempted agricultural lands of Mukhdum Muhammad Raju Gardezi<sup>4</sup>. Ali Muhammad Khan, therefore, became unpopular due to his greedy nature. He also ignored the Saddozais of Multan, rather he tried to reduce their influence. Even his subordinates were inconsiderate to<sup>5</sup> them, hence they lodged complaints to the Afghan King. Ultimately he was dismissed and Nawab Shuja Khan was appointed as the Subedar of Multan through the good offices of Fatehullah Khan Saddozai in 1763 A.D. (1177 A.H.).<sup>6</sup> Ahmad Shah was always very careful in handling the Saddozais of Multan. When he annexed Multan in 1752

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\* Fatehullah Khan was son of Haroon Khan son of Yousuf Khan son of Yaqoob Khan son of Musa Khan Kamran Khel Saddozai. He commanded great respect in the court of Ahmad Shah. He was a source of strength for the Saddozais. During the reign of Timur Shah, when Abdul Khaliq Khan revolted, Fatehullah Khan supported the King. After the success, Timur Shah appointed him as his Wazir with the title of Wafadar Khan. He died in 1788 A.D. (1203 A.H.); T.M., op.cit., PP.170-172; also See: D.Z., P.234.

4 When the Afghan King was informed, he issued a Farman in which he ordered the government officials in Multan not to collect the revenue tax. This Farman was issued in August 1762 A.D. (Muharramul Haram 1176) and is available in the library of Syed Muhammad Ramzan Shah Gardezi.

he had appointed a non-Saddozai Subedar, who enjoyed his confidence for a long period. When the Afghan King decided to remove Nawab Ali Muhammad Khan who had stopped paying due respect to the Saddozais, the Afghan King appointed a Khan Khel Saddozai as the Subedar of Multan in order to enhance and restore the respect of the Saddozais in the eyes of the people. The Afghan King did not like to appoint anybody from the older branch of the Khizer Khel, i.e. Khudakkas as the Subedar of Multan, because of the known reason. He knew that the Khudakkas and the Khan Khels had not maintained cordial relations between themselves after the death of Nawab Shakir Khan, because the Khudakka chief Muhammad Sharif Khan son of Muhammad Baqir Khan had refused to place the turban of chieftainship on the head of Shuja Khan, rather he had supported the cause of Hassan Khan son of Nawab Shakir Khan. When Shuja Khan forcibly occupied Shish Mahal, Hassan Khan lodged a complaint against his uncle and Muhammad Sharif Khan supported him. Such things were reported to the Afghan King and he was convinced that both of these branches of the Saddozai tribe did not maintain good relations. Having thus been convinced

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5. Ibid. P.207.

6. Ibid. P.211.

of the rivalry between the two families and of Shuja Khan's loyalty, he appointed him the Subedar of Multan, with the title of Nawab. Nawab Shuja Khan conveyed his appointment as Subedar to Nawab Ali Muhammad Khan who retreated to Khairpur Tamewali. Nawab Shuja Khan took over Multan without any resistance. As a result of this change many leading Afghans shifted to Khairpur alongwith Nawab Ali Muhammad Khan.

<sup>7</sup>  
Jamadar Azim Khan Malezai, a handsome, brave young chief of Malezai tribe also left Multan and went to Khairpur alongwith his strong contingent.

Nawab Shuja Khan was brave, ambitious and a very hard task master. He was a very good administrator. He had already purchased one-fourth of the area of Multan <sup>8</sup> before assuming charge as the Subedar of Multan. He had already proved himself a capable administrator in looking after his huge property. He was a great builder. He constructed new buildings in the Shish Mahal. He founded the town of Shujaabad and built forts at Shujaabad and Sikandarabad. Under his able guidance his daughter Khan Bibi built the fort and town of Khangarh and his son Ghazanfar Khan, the <sup>9</sup> fort and town of Ghazanfargarh. Due to his harsh attitude,

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7. Ibid.P.211.

8. Ibid.P.210.

9. Ibid.P.210 ZA P-42

the people started leaving Multan and migrated to Bahawalpur. His behaviour with the Afghans was also very harsh. They secretly invited Nawab Ali Muhammad Khan.<sup>10</sup> Nawab Ali Muhammad Khan with the help of Jamadar Azim Khan Malezai marched on Multan with a small but selected contingent of six hundred horsemen.<sup>11</sup> Nawab Shuja Khan stopped him outside Multan with a force of two thousand and five hundred horsemen.<sup>12</sup> A battle was fought in early 1764

.(1177 A.H.). Shuja Khan fought very bravely, but was defeated and his army ran away. While escaping he was attacked by Ghulam Mustafa Khan son of Nawab Ali Muhammad Khan without knowing who he was. It was his good fortune that he was wearing the coat of mail which saved him. In the meantime, a soldier disclosed his identity. Nawab Shuja Khan was caught and was brought to Multan where he was imprisoned in the Fort.<sup>13</sup> His rule lasted only for six months. Nawab Ali Muhammad Khan won the battle and after occupying Multan confiscated all his property.<sup>14</sup> The Saddozais were humiliated and the people laughed at them. The

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10. T.M., P.211.

11. Ibid.P.211.

12. Ibid.P.211.

13. Ibid.P.211,212.

14. Ibid.P.212

agricultural lands (Jagirs) of all the supporters of Nawab Shuja Khan were confiscated. The Saddozais wrote several letters to Ahmad Shah, stating the affairs in Multan. During this period, the Sikhs had created havoc all over the Panjab and ultimately they brought Lahore under their control in February 1764<sup>15</sup>.

After occupying Lahore, the Sikhs<sup>16</sup> marched to the south-west for over two hundred and fifty miles, crossing the Indus and penetrating into the Deras' under their Commanders 'Sardar Hari Singh Bhanqi and his sons, Jhanda Singh and Ganda Singh' alongwith Hira Singh. These infidels destroyed everything, plundered and killed the people mercilessly, set the houses of the Muslims on fire and demolished the mosques<sup>17</sup>. Ultimately, under the command of Jhanda Singh and Ganda Singh, they appeared before Multan on 9<sup>th</sup> March 1764<sup>18</sup> (12<sup>th</sup> Ram<sup>ā</sup>zan 1178 A.H.).

Nawab Ali Muhammad Khan, the Subedar of Multan had announced through the beat of drum that the Sikhs were advancing towards Multan, hence everybody was asked to enter into the walled city alongwith his valuable belongings.

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15. . Ganda Singh. op.cit., P.294.

16. Ibid. P.296.

17, Nur Muhammad, Jang Nama (Persian MS), Amritsar, 1939., PP.38-

18. T.M., PP.365,366.

He closed the gates of the fort and the city. All the people living outside except the Saddozais entered the city. The Khan Khel Saddozais went to Shujaabad fort but the Khudakka Saddozais thought that Nawab Ali Muhammad Khan was playing a trick with them because of his enmity. He had already imprisoned Nawab Shuja Khan and now he wanted to grab their wealth. Muhammad Sharif Khan son of Muhammad Baqir Khan, the Khudakka Chief, therefore, decided not to leave his Kiri. The Khudakka Saddozais did not trust the Subedar. In the meantime, the Sikhs under their leader Jhanda Singh reached Multan and went straight to the Kiri Sultan Hayat Khan as if they had already been informed of the treasure of the Khudakkas worth 50 lacs<sup>\*</sup> of rupees. Muhammad Sharif Khan closed the gates of his Kiri and decided to give fight to the Sikhs. He alongwith his relatives and the loyal servants numbering a few hundred resisted till evening but he could not stand before the Sikh army<sup>\*\*</sup>. All the

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19. Ibid. P.366.

20. Ibid. P.366.

\* The Khudakka Treasure was well known since the days of Sultan Hayat Khan and the mode of their action proved that Ali Muhammad Khan informed them and he did so in order to save his own wealth. This view is confirmed by the Tazkirat-ul-Muluk and is also endorsed by the Khudakkas; See:T.M., PP.367,368.

relatives of Muhammad Sharif Khan including three sons of the late Nawab Abdul Aziz Khan, one son of Ali Yar Khan son of Sultan Abdullah Khan, Salabat Khan son of Ashraf Khan Maudud Khel, a cousin of Muhammad Sharif Khan and Ahmad Khan son of Abdullah Khan Bahadur Khel including several other<sup>21</sup> Afghans and loyal servants laid down their lives but did not surrender to the infidels. Muhammad Sharif Khan having received<sup>22</sup> 18 wounds fell unconscious and was discovered from the dead bodies. He was taken prisoner alongwith his sons Pir Muhammad<sup>23</sup> Khan and Din Muhammad Khan. Azim Yar Khan son of late Nawab Abdul Aziz Khan was also taken prisoner. Their lives were ultimately spared because they were close relatives of the Afghan King. Muhammad Sharif Khan was accorded a good treatment because he was the cousin of Ahmad Shah. When the Sikhs entered the Kiri Sultan Hayat Khan, the ladies of the Khudakka family ran away and entered the city bare-footed and<sup>24</sup> bare-headed and saved their lives and honour. During this

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\*\* Our Muhammad, the celebrated author of Jung-Namah gives the details of this campaign. He writes that "The Dogs (Sikhs) have brought immense booty from there. My mind refuses (to describe) what the Dogs did there. O faithful ones ! since the days of the auspicious-natured Adam none remembers to have heard of such miseries inflicted anywhere except in Multan" ; M.H.P., P.197.

21. Ibid. PP.366,367.

22. Ibid. P.367.

23. Ibid. P.368.

attack on the Khudakkas, Nawab Ali Muhammad Khan, the powerful Subedar of Multan did not help them and remained a silent spectator.<sup>25</sup> The Sikhs looted the Kiri and later on set it on fire. They plundered the treasure of the Khudakka family worth 50 lacs which included gold dust,<sup>26</sup> diamonds, pearls and jewellery. After three days, the Sikhs went back. During their invasion they did not attack the fort or the city. They remained busy in collecting the valuables from the Kiri Sultan Hayat Khan and left nothing but ashes. The ladies of the Khudakka family occupied the house of their late loyal servant Waloo Mal, the father of<sup>27</sup> Maharaja Kaura Mal, inside the city till the release of Muhammad Sharif Khan. He was not released for three years and remained a prisoner with the Sikh chief. When Ahmad Shah came to know of the plight of the Khudakkas, he instructed the Subedar of Multan to pay ransom and get Muhammad Sharif Khan and others released. On the approach of the representative of the Subedar of Multan, the Sikh chief, released everybody on ransom except Muhammad Sharif Khan with the pretext that a cousin of the Afghan King should remain with them as a<sup>28</sup> hostage in token of their victory. After three years when

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24. T.M., op.cit., PP.367,368.

25. Ibid. P.366.

26. Ibid. P.368.

27. Ibid. P.369.

28. Ibid. P.368.



the Sikh chief died, his widow demanded twelve thousand rupees as ransom which was immediately paid to her and Muhammad Sharif Khan was released. He came to Multan and resettled his family in the old devastated Kiri after its repairs. He went to Kandhar where he met Ahmad Shah in 1770 (1184 A.H.) and told him the whole story. The Afghan King who was on his death bed welcomed him and sympathised with him. He granted him the Jagirs in Dera Ghazi Khan and Multan alongwith twelve thousand rupees in cash.

After the Sikh invasion of Multan, Nawab Ali Muhammad Khan was approached by Bibi Khan Khur the daughter of Nawab Abid Khan and the sister of Nawab Zahid Khan with the request to release her nephew Nawab Shuja Khan. In order to pacify the Saddozais, the Subedar, at once released Shuja Khan. He remained in the Multan fort as prisoner for six months and during that period he did not cut the nails of his fingers nor did he trim his head and beard. After his release, he cut the nails, trimmed his head and beard and sent it to the Afghan King alongwith a letter of Bibi Khan Khur.

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29. Ibid. PP.369,371.

30. Ibid. P.371.

31. Ibid. P.212.

\* Khan Khur: Her real name was Khadija.

32. Ibid. P.213; Yousuf Gardezi, <sup>ob. cit.</sup> P.43.

His maternal uncle Fatehullah Khan Saddozai also told about the atrocities of the Sikhs to the Afghan King. When the Sikhs had taken away Muhammad Sharif Khan as prisoner, Abdul Rahim Khan son of Muhammad Khan (a cousin of Ahmad Shah) son of Sultan Abdullah Khan had also informed the Afghan King of the atrocities of the Sikhs. He wrote that the old enmity was between the males of the two branches of Khizer Khel Saddozais (Sultan Abdullah Khan had killed Zaman Khan) but the ladies were not involved.<sup>33</sup> He further represented that the Subedar Ali Muhammad Khan in spite of a strong force at his disposal extended no help to them. Flushed as he was with the victory at Panipat, the Afghan King took the harrowing tale of the Sikh atrocities at Multan as a great affront. He, therefore, wrote to his Lieutenant Mir Naseer Khan Baluch, the Khan of Kalat to postpone his pilgrimage to Mecca and join hands with him to crush the infidels, which the Khan of Kalat agreed.<sup>34</sup>

The Afghan King marched from Afghanistan in the month of October 1764 A.D. and simultaneously the Baluch Chief started from Baluchistan. Ahmad Shah was encamped at Eminabad when the Baluch Chief joined him 'at the head of twelve thousand Baluchis'.<sup>35</sup> The main object was to crush the

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33. T.H., PP.213,214.

34. Jang Nama, PP.38-44.

35. Ganda Singh, op cit., P.297; J.H.P., P.200.

Sikh infidels who had devastated not only the Panjab but<sup>36</sup> also the Derajats and Multan. The Afghan King, with the help of Mir Naseer Khan Baluch defeated the Sikhs everywhere and for the time being they ran to the mountains. He was so busy in his campaign against the Sikhs that he could not pay attention to Multan. When he started for his home-ward journey in April 1765 ., he granted Mir Naseer Khan Baluch 'the territory of Quetta at his request and also offered him the neighbouring territories of Derajat, Multan and Jhang, which he respectfully declined to accept for 'fear of' involvement<sup>37</sup> with 'the Sikhs!'. In the meantime, Nawab Ali Muhammad Khan reached Pakpattan and paid him the revenues due from Multan. He also apologised for his misdeed and helplessness before the Sikh hordes. He assisted his master in the transportation of the immense booty to Afghanistan. The Afghan King once again conferred upon him the Subedar of Multan because he could see in him the only person who could hold Multan against the Sikhs. Nawab Ali Muhammad Khan ruled over Multan gloriously

Nawab Shuja Khan had settled down at Shujabad. The indifference of the Subedar of Multan had been reported to the Afghan King but as he was busy with his internal affairs 'during the year 1765 . and early 1766 .', he, 'could not<sup>38</sup> find time to attend to Panjab and Multan'. Ultimately he

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36. Jane Namah, PP.38-44.

37. M.H.P., P.217; Ganda Singh, op.cit., P.307.

decided to punish Nawab Ali Muhammad Khan. During his eighth invasion in the autumn of 1766 . . . he left for India<sup>39</sup> and 'crossed the Indus at Attock early in December'. First of all, he punished the Sikhs and then decided to settle the affairs of Multan. On his home-ward journey, he stopped 'at Machhiwara on the bank of the Sutlej on 23rd of March 1767<sup>40</sup>, and stayed there for a month and a half . After<sup>41</sup> organising 'various expeditious in pursuit of the Sikhs', he continued his journey towards Multan in the last week of May 1767 . Nawab Ali Muhammad Khan received his master<sup>42</sup> near Pakpattan and accompanied him to Multan. In early June 1767 . . . , the Afghan King crossed the Sutlej and entered Multan. Ahmad Shah occupied the city and the fort. In June 1767 . . . (Muharramul Haram .191 A.H.), the Afghan King held<sup>43</sup> his court in the Multan Fort. He met all the three Mukhdums and bestowed upon them the Khilats. He also issued a Farman in their favour for the renewal of the tax-free Jagirs for the maintenance of the respective shrines. The Multani Saddozais<sup>44</sup>

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38. Ganda Singh, op.cit., P.308.

39. M.H.P., P.218.

40. Ganda Singh, op.cit., P.317.

41. M.H.P., P.221,222.

42. T.M., P.213; Z.A., op.cit., P.41.

43. T.M., P.213.

\* Qureshi, Gilani and Gardezi.

led by Nawab Shuja Khan lodged complaints against the  
Subedar of Multan. The complaints were collective as well as  
individual. They told the Afghan King about their sufferings  
and the maltreatment which they had met at the hands of  
Nawab Ali Muhammad Khan and also about the sufferings and  
disgrace which Nawab Shuja Khan had faced during his  
imprisonment. The Khizer Khel Saddozais also told him about  
the invasion of their Kiri, the destruction of their houses  
and the loss of their wealth and honour at the hands of the  
Sikhs. They also complained that the Subedar of Multan did  
not come to their rescue in spite of his resources. They  
even placed before the Afghan King a concrete example of the  
carelessness of the Nawab who in spite of the clear instruction  
from the Afghan King, did not get Muhammad Sharif Khan, the  
Khudakka Chief, released on ransom from the Sikhs. He was  
still a prisoner with the Sikh chief. It annoyed the Afghan  
King and on his enquiry from the Nawab who failed to satisfy  
his master, he openly condemned the Subedar's attitude and  
that he had to face infamy due to his inaction. He ordered  
that the Subedar and his son Ghulam Mustafa Khan alongwith

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44. Yousuf Gardezi, op.cit., P.43.

45. T.M., P.213; Z.A., P.41;  
Yousuf Gardezi, op.cit., P.43.

46. T.M., P.214; Z.A., P.41;  
Yousuf Gardezi, op.cit., P.43.

three nephews (two sons of brother and one son of sister) be ripped up. Nawab Ali Muhammad Khan apologised for his misdeeds and offered one crore of rupees in case his life<sup>47</sup> alongwith the lives of his son and nephews were spared. Shah Wali Khan Bamezai, the Prime Minister, requested his master to spare their lives against the payment of one<sup>48</sup> crore of rupees. It annoyed Ahmad Shah and he showed his Prime Minister the letter of Abdul Rahim Khan Khudakka in which he had desperately stated that their ladies had been<sup>49</sup> disgraced in the presence of Nawab Ali Muhammad Khan during the Sikh invasion of Multan. The Afghan King at once ordered that their bellies be ripped open and roared ferociously that one crore of rupees was not the worth of the Saddozai's<sup>50</sup> dishonour. Their bellies having been ripped open, their dead bddies were thrown over the back of camels and paraded through the streets of Multan. It was promulgated by the beat of drum that such would be the fate of anyone who should dare<sup>51</sup> to show opposition to a Saddozai ruler. Before leaving for Kandhar, the Afghan King reappointed Nawab Shuja Khan as the

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47. T.M., P.213; Yousuf Gardezi, op.cit., PP.43,44.

48. T.M., P.213.

49. Ibid. PP.213,214.

50. Ibid. P.213; Yousuf Gardezi, op.cit.  
P.44; Ibrat Numan, P.240.

نشاہ دلا سے در بواب از بمونند به روز ریونف و سد و رونه و رکوم -

تذکرہ ( ج ۱۱ )

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Subedar of Multan with the title of Safdar Jang Bahadar and distributed the Jagirs among the Saddozais. He also gave away cash prizes according to their status. All the Jagirs of the late Nawab Ali Muhammad Khan and his family were confiscated.

Nawab Shuja Khan proved himself a just and generous ruler during his second governorship. All the extra taxes imposed by the late Nawab Ali Muhammad Khan were withdrawn. He issued a Farman<sup>\*</sup> of perpetual exemption of tax-free Jagirs to Mukhdum Gardezi. He proved too lenient in his administrative dealings. This encouraged the decoits and the robbers who created problems of law and order for him. The people felt insecure after the sun set. Robbery became common in the suburbs of Multan. This lawlessness was due to the connivance of Jamadar Azim Khan Malezai - a close ally of late Nawab Ali Muhammad Khan. At the time of the punishment of Nawab Ali Muhammad Khan, he had slipped away along with his strong contingent. He harassed the Subedar as well as the people by invading Multan and using the Sikhs

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51. I.M., PP.213,214; E.H.M., P.100;  
Z.A., P.41; Yousuf Gardezi, op.cit., P.44.

52. I.M., P.214; Yousuf Gardezi, op.cit., P.44;  
Ibrat Namah, P.240; U.T., P.165.

\* The original Farman is in the personal library of Syed Muhammad Ramzan Shah Gardezi.

53. Yousuf Gardezi, op.cit., P.44.

tactics of hide and seek. He also looted the villagers and due to his fear, the life outside the city became insecure. His activities encouraged the dacoits and robbers. Whenever Nawab Shuja Khan sent his army to catch him, he always escaped towards the south in the forests adjacent to Bahawalpur. He would take away the animals of the poor villagers and other valuables including the grains. He also plundered the caravans and the goldsmiths. The plight of the people was so bad that Multan which was a 'Darul-Aman' during the Mughal rule became a trouble spot in 1768 and nobody dared to pass by it during the day what to talk of spending nights in it or even closer to it. Ultimately several emissaries were sent to him and on a personal guarantee for his safety, he came to Nawab Shuja Khan to conclude a truce. Nawab Shuja Khan having over-powered him, treacherously killed him and ground his bones in order to give a lesson to all such miscreants and law-breakers. This way his terror came to an end. The Sikhs revived their activities against Multan under their leader Jhanda Singh and ultimately they besieged Multan. The siege lasted for forty days. Nawab Shuja Khan closed the gates of the fort and the city and defended Multan bravely. In the meantime, Nawab Shuja Khan hurriedly sent a request for aid to the Afghan King who

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54. I.H. PP.215,216; Z.A. PP.41,42;  
Yousuf Gerdazi, op.cit., P.44.



at once despatched his able General Sardar Jahan Khan to Multan. On the news of his arrival the Sikhs ran away. The Jagirs of the Saddozais could not escape devastation at the hands of the Sikhs. The Afghan King, therefore, imposed 70 thousand rupees as extra revenue annually on Dera Ghazi Khan<sup>57</sup> to compensate the Saddozais according to their status. Sardar Jahan Khan spent the summer of 1768 / . In Multan and then left home-ward to receive his master who had already left Kandhar for India in autumn 1768 . He 'reached as far as the left bank of the Chenab and fixed his camp at Jokalian<sup>58</sup> to the north-west of Sujrat, ten miles from Kunjah'. Nawab Shuja Khan went to see his master, early in 1769 . Before leaving Multan, he appointed his cousin Zareef Khan Saddozai<sup>59</sup> as his naib Subedar in his absence. After spending four months there, Nawab Shuja Khan came back to Multan. In the meantime, Muhammad Sharif Khan, the Khudakka Chief, was released and Nawab Shuja Khan approached him with the request to place the Turban of chieftainship on his head as it was placed by Sultan Hayat Khan on the head of Nawab Zahid Khan. Muhammad Sharif Khan replied that his father Muhammad Baqir Khan had placed the

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55. I.H., . . . , P.216; Z.A., . . . P.42. Yousuf Gardezi  
op.cit., P.44.

56. I.H., . . . . PP.216,134.

57. Ibid. P.134.

Turban of Chieftdom on the head of Nawab Shakir Khan and now it was not possible to ignore the claim of his son, Hussain Khan. It annoyed Nawab Shuja Khan and he retorted that it was sheer out of respect for the Khudakka Chief that he had requested him to enjoy this privilege, otherwise in the presence of Ahmad Shah, the chief of Khizer Khels, nobody among the Khizer Khels even the Khudakkas could be more privileged than the Afghan King himself. He, therefore, approached Ahmad Shah through his maternal uncle Fatehullah Khan Saddozai and was soon granted a 'Darvana' of chieftainship of the Khan Khel Saddozais, alongwith a 'Khilat'.

The leniency of Nawab Shuja Khan made him popular in the first instance but it encouraged the miscreants. Even after the punishment meted out to Jamadar Azim Khan Malezai Nawab Shuja Khan failed to control the situation. He, therefore became unpopular. The robbers and decoits took away the animals of the villagers and looted their grains. The agriculturists refused to pay him the revenues. When he became harsh in the collection of revenues, the villagers left their lands and went to Mailsi and Lodhran in the territory of Nawab of Bahawalpur where they got land as well as protection. The suburbs of Multan looked a deserted area. When Nawab Shuja Khan failed to pay the annual tribute to the Afghan King, he was removed from the Subedari of Multan

in June 1770 . (Safar 1184 A.H.). In the meantime, the  
 Sikhs invaded Multan once again. Nawab Shuja Khan was  
 replaced by Nawab Haji Muhammad Sharif Khan Bahadur Khel  
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 Saddozai. He received the orders from the Afghan King  
 personally and took over the charge from Nawab Shuja Khan  
 in the same month. Nawab Shuja Khan retired to his  
 62  
 strong-hold at Shujaabad.

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58. Ganda Singh, op.cit., P.320., but Ali Muhammad Khan  
 writes that the Afghan King, reached as far as Lahore  
 where Nawab Shuja Khan met him; T.M., P.216;  
 also See: Z.A., P.42.

59. T.M., P.216.

60. Ibid. PP.216,217.

61. Ibid. P.217; Z.A., P.43; P.C.,  
 P.481; P.52.

62. T.M., P.217; Z.A., P.43;  
P.C., P.481; P.52.

Nawab Haji Sharif Khan Bahadur Khel Saddozai as  
Subedar (Governor) of Multan (June 1770 - March 1771.) }

Nawab Haji Sharif Khan was the only son of Abdul Shakoor Khan son of Yousuf Khan son of Ali Khan son of Bahadur Khan son of Malik Saddu. The descendants of Bahadur Khan are called Bahadur Khel Saddozai. Abdul Shakoor Khan alias Shakroo Khan had no landed property and was in the service of Nawab Abdul Aziz Khan Khudakka son of Sultan Hayat Khan. He used to look-after the landed property of Nawab Abdul Aziz Khan. Nawab Haji Sharif Khan was fond of hunting and was an expert in catching birds alive with a locally knitted net which he always kept with himself. When once Nawab Ali Muhammad Khan saw him, he predicted about his future greatness. He also performed his pilgrimage to Mecca. He lived on a pension, granted to him by the Afghan King, like other Saddozais of Multan. During the Subedari of Nawab Shuja Khan, he made a request for the grant of a Jagir but it was turned down by the Subedar. He, therefore, decided to go to Kandhar to get a Jagir from Ahmad Shah, the Afghan King. Nawab Shuja Khan, Subedar of Multan sent some presents for the Afghan King through him, which he misappropriated and clandestinely obtained the Subedari of Multan from the Afghan King. As the Afghan King had already received complaints

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1. I.M., P.297.

2. Ibid. P.298.

3. Ibid. P.298.

against Nawab Shuja Khan, he granted the Subedari of Multan to Haji Sharif Khan with the title of Nawab in June 1770<sup>8</sup> (Safar 1184 A.H.). The news was officially conveyed to Nawab Shuja Khan who with great disappointment, retired to Shujaabad alongwith his family. In the meantime, Nawab Haji Sharif Khan Bahadur Khel Saddozai reached Multan and took<sup>9</sup> over charge. Having assumed charge, Nawab Sharif Khan demanded from Nawab Shuja Khan, the payment of the revenues of his Jagirs. Nawab Shuja Khan could not tolerate it and it resulted in an open confrontation between the two Chiefs. The Subedar forcibly confiscated certain Jagirs of Nawab Shuja Khan after his refusal to pay the revenues. The Subedar also demanded the surrender of the Jagirs attached to the Subedari of Multan. Ultimately, such Jagirs were also forcibly taken over by the Subedar. He ordered his subordinates to stop the irrigation facilities for watering the lands of Nawab Shuja Khan. Nawab Shuja Khan retaliated and occupied Sikandarabad with a small force, although he remained in enjoyment of the canal water. The servants of Nawab Shuja Khan also imprisoned 'Nannu' a trusted Hindu servant of the<sup>10</sup> Subedar, who was responsible for controlling the canal water.

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4. Ibid. P.298.

5. Ibid. PP.228,299.

6. Ibid. P.299.

7. Ibid. P.299; A.A., P.43.

Nawab Sharif Khan could not tolerate it and despatched a force to Shujaabad to punish Nawab Shuja Khan. It attacked the city, plundered it and destroyed everything in the <sup>11</sup> Bazars. Nawab Shuja Khan escaped to Bahawalpur. He came back to Shujaabad Fort when the army of Nawab Sharif Khan went back to Multan. This family feud weakened both of them and encouraged the burglars, the thieves and the dacoits. Lawlessness prevailed in that area. In a revengeful mood Nawab Shuja Khan also gave protection to such persons and instigated them. Theft became the order of the day and the life, honour and property of the rural population was rendered insecure. The Subedar could not control it and failed to punish the culprits. The villagers refused to pay the revenues. A small force of Nawab Haji Sharif Khan was placed at the disposal of the revenue officers for the collection of revenues. Although he could collect a portion of the revenues but he did not pay a single rupee to the Afghan government on the pretext that he took over the charge of Multan at a time when Nawab Shuja Khan had already collected the revenues of Rabi crop whereas he could not get time to collect the revenues of Kharif crop because of his removal from the Subedari prematurely. A proverbial

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8. T.H., PP.217,299.

9. Ibid. PP.217,299; A.A., P.43;  
P., P.481.

saying became current about Haji Sharif Khan, 'Haji Sharif<sup>12</sup> na Rabi na Kharif'. His failure to control the situation in maintaining law and order in the province, in general and failure to pay the annual tribute to the Afghan King, in particular, provided sufficient grounds for his removal after his nine months rule over Multan in March 1771 . . .<sup>13</sup> (Ziqaad 1184 A.H.).

Nawab Haji Sharif Khan was an intelligent man. In spite of all his weaknesses he could claim the credit of effectively controlling the affairs of the city. Sharif Khan cleverly isolated Nawab Shuja Khan from the rest of his Saddozai clansmen. During his rule over Multan which lasted for nine months Nawab Shuja Khan had never thought of visiting the Multan City. He remained in the Shujaabad Fort. Nawab Haji Sharif Khan maintained cordial relations with all the Saddozais and paid special respect to Muhammad Sharif Khan Khudakka. During his Subedari, he celebrated the marriage of his eldest son Abdul Rahim Khan with great pomp and show. Abdul Rahim Khan was married to the daughter of Haji Mahmood Khan Bahadur Khel Saddozai. His marriage was

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10. T.M., P.217.

11. Ibid. P.213.

12. Ibid. P.300.

attended by all the Saddozais except Nawab Shuja Khan and his nephew Hussain Khan son of Nawab Shakir Khan and cousin Zarif Khan son of Arif Khan. Nawab Haji Sharif Khan was known for his wisdom and resourcefulness. He himself visited Hussain Khan and Zarif Khan and brought them to<sup>14</sup> his palace. Thus Nawab Shuja Khan was left alone and Nawab Haji Sharif Khan won the sympathies of Khan Khels. Although he was the son of a poor man, he made his fortune during his Subedari without paying anything to the Kandhar government. Even after his dismissal, he visited the Imperial court at Kandhar to give the accounts. He convinced Ahmad Shah of his loyalty. The Afghan King appointed him as the Subedar<sup>15</sup> of Dera Ghazi Khan. He again made a fortune there. He was also given a Jagir in Dera Ghazi Khan. He ruled Dera Ghazi Khan for more than two years and during his tenure of Subedari, he never paid the entire amount of tribute to the Afghan King. When he failed to pay the arrears of three lacs of rupees, he was dismissed. He went to the Imperial Court and requested for the remission of the arrears. Ahmad Shah said that it was not proper to punish a Saddozai for

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13. Ibid. P.300.

14. Ibid. P.300.

15. Ibid. P.301.



such a petty amount. He was forgiven and duly honoured.<sup>16</sup>  
Nawab Sharif Khan was a very ambitious man. He visited  
the court of Timur Shah at Kabul and tried his best to  
get the Subedari of a province but failed, however he  
was shown all respect. He lived in Dera Ghazi Khan with  
great pomp and show. The rest of his life, he spent in  
hunting because he was very fond of it and did not  
stop it even in his old age even when his eye-sight grew  
very weak.<sup>17</sup> Nawab Sharif Khan had two sons, Nawab Abdul  
Rahim Khan and Qazi Haji Muhammad Khan. Nawab Abdul  
Rahim Khan was the eldest and was very intelligent. He  
acted as the 'naib' of his father during his Subedari of  
Multan. After the death of his father, he was appointed  
Subedar of Dera Ghazi Khan by Shah Zaman. He ruled Dera  
Ghazi Khan for more than two years till his death in  
1800<sup>18</sup> (1215 A.H.). His only son Ahmad Khan who was  
issueless<sup>19</sup> died in 1829 (1245 A.H.) while performing  
pilgrimage at Mecca. Nawab Sharif Khan's second son  
Qazi Haji Muhammad Khan was a carefree man and never  
performed his religious duties in his youth. But after  
performing pilgrimage to Mecca, he became very religious.

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16. Ibid. P.302.

17. Ibid. P.302.

18. Ibid. PP.303-305.

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He was appointed Qazi of Dera Ghazi Khan and died during the lifetime of his elder brother Nawab Abdul Rahim Khan. He left five sons and his descendants are still living in Dera Ghazi Khan.

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19. Ibid. P.306.

20. Ibid. P.308.

Mirza Sharif Beg Tughlu (March 1771 - January 1772)

Nawab Shuja Khan knew that Nawab Sharif Khan did not pay a single rupce to the Afghan King as tribute. He requested a Hindu businessman Dharm Jas who was going to Afghanistan, on his business trip, to go to the Imperial Court and request Ahmad Shah, to grant him the Subedari of Multan with the promise to be loyal to his master in future. Dharm Jas went to Kandhar and being encouraged in the Imperial Court with the affectionate attitude of the Afghan King, obtained the Subedari of Multan for himself instead of Nawab Shuja Khan in March 1771 / ..(Ziqaad 1184 A.H.). After obtaining the Subedari, Dharm Jas despatched his servant Mirza Sharif Beg Tughlu, to Multan alongwith the royal Farman to take charge on his behalf. Mirza Sharif Beg Tughlu, first of all, went to Shujaabad and met Nawab Shuja Khan with the request to assist him in taking over charge from Nawab Sharif Khan but Nawab Shuja Khan did not agree because Dharm Jas had deceived him. Mirza Sharif Beg Tughlu was a very clever man. He went to Multan with great confidence and entered the city from Pak gate. He announced that he was the new Subedar and showed the royal Farman but did not allow anybody to read the name of Dharm Jas. The people

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1. Yousuf Gardezi, op.cit., P.44.

2. Ibid. PP.44,45; See: Z.A., P.43., writes that Mirza Sharif Beg Tughlu was appointed Subedar of Multan by the Afghan King which is incorrect.

gathered around him. He took over the city single-handedly with sheer intelligence and proceeded towards the Fort in a procession. While reaching near the Fort, he sat down on a cot and asked the people to lift it and placed the royal Farman on his head announcing that he was the new Subedar. He entered the Fort from the Sikki gate.<sup>3</sup> 'Nawab Haji Sharif Khan was having his beard dyed at the time in the Samman Burj of the Fort'; he despatched several officers to enquire about the noise but none returned because everybody finding the arrival of the new Subedar showed his loyalty and gathered around him. At last Nawab Sharif Khan sent his barber named Jamal who came back with the news of the arrival of the new Subedar.<sup>4</sup> Nawab Sharif Khan finding that his army had already left him alone, at once, 'escaped by the window',<sup>5</sup> and ran away to Dera Ghazi Khan.<sup>6</sup> He was followed by his family members and personal servants.<sup>7</sup> Mirza Sharif Beg Tughlu ruled the city effectively but soon a messenger brought the news that the Subedar Dharm Jas was reaching Multan, and Mirza Sharif Beg Tughlu was asked to receive him on the bank of River Chenab. Dharm Jas deceived Nawab Shuja Khan and Mirza Sharif Beg Tughlu paid him in the same coins. He refused to acknowledge Dharm Jas as the Subedar of Multan and closed the gates of the Fort with the determination to give fight. Dharm Jas

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3. Yousuf Gardezi, op.cit., P.45;

4. I.M., op.cit., P.300

reached Multan in April 1771 and stayed in the house of Diwan Mansa Ram. One fine morning, when Dharm Jas was wearing his turban on the roof of the house, he was shot<sup>8</sup> dead by a soldier of Mirza Sharif Beg Tughlu as the house of Diwan Mansa Ram was close to the Fort and was in front of it. Mirza Sharif Beg Tughlu announced his success and opened the gates of the Fort. He visited the shrines of Syed Yousuf Gardezi and Syed Moosa Gilani, in the afternoon. He also presented Khilats to the Mukhdums of both the<sup>9</sup> shrines. Mirza Sharif Beg Tughlu refused to acknowledge the<sup>10</sup> sovereignty of the Afghan King and declared his independence. In the meantime, Nawab Shuja Khan visited Multan but when he heard the news of Sharif Beg Tughlu's revolt, Nawab Shuja Khan went back to his stronghold without meeting Mirza Sharif Beg Tughlu. During his correspondence with Nawab Shuja Khan, Mirza Sharif Beg Tughlu did not even observe<sup>11</sup> the protocol. When Nawab Shauja Khan protested, he was informed that the titles were only meant for the Subedar<sup>12</sup> of Multan. When the Afghan King was informed of the revolt

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5. Yousuf Gardezi, op.cit., P.45; G.M.D., P.54.
  6. I.M., P.300.
  7. Ibid. P.300.
  8. Yousuf Gardezi, op.cit., P.45.
  9. Ibid. P.45.

of Mirza Sharif Beg Tughlu, Ahmad Shah, at once sent<sup>13</sup>  
Abdul Karim Khan Bamezai to Multan as the new Subedar.  
On the arrival of the new Subedar, Mirza Sharif Beg  
Tughlu closed the doors of the Fort and the city.  
Abdul Karim Khan Bamezai besieged Multan and the siege<sup>14</sup>  
lasted for three months. In the meantime, Mirza Sharif  
Beg Tughlu wrote to the Sikhs for help and promised them<sup>15</sup>  
a big amount of money. When Abdul Karim Khan Bamezai<sup>16</sup>  
heard of it, he went back without facing the Sikhs. When  
Ahmad Shah was informed of the failure of the expedition  
of Abdul Karim Khan Bamezai, he at once despatched one-eyed<sup>17</sup>  
General Sardar Behram Khan Barakzai alias Sardar Behru Khan  
to Multan in 1771 (1185 A.H.) to punish the insolent  
self-made Subedar of Multan. On the arrival of Sardar  
Behru Khan, Nawab Shuja Khan rushed towards Multan alongwith<sup>18</sup>  
his small contingent and the combined force besieged Multan.

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10. Z.A., P.43;

11. I.N., P.218.

12. Ibid. P.218.

13. Ibid. P.218.

14. Ibid. P.218;

15. Yousuf Gardezi, op.cit., P.46, P.C., P.481;  
Ibrat Namah, P.248., writes that one lac  
of rupees was offered to the Sikhs by Mirza Sharif  
Beg Tughlu.

All the Saddozais residing outside the walled city gathered round Sardar Behru Khan because they were not happy with the government of Mirza Sharif Beg Tughlu who had usurped the powers of Nawab Sharif Khan Saddozai and had exploited the royal Farman of Diwan Dharm Jas. Their annoyance was also due to his behaviour towards Nawab Shuja Khan Saddozai. The united Afghan contingent captured the city with force and looted it but Mirza Sharif Beg Tughlu defended the Fort with valour. In the meantime, Mirza Sharif Beg Tughlu sent a message to Jhanda Singh and Ganda Singh for help. The Sikhs decided to avail of the opportunity and marched against Multan. When Sardar Behru Khan heard of their arrival, he at once left Multan for Kandhar. He had also heard the news of his master's serious illness. Multan was left at the mercy of the Sikhs. Nawab Shuja Khan called a meeting of all the Saddozais and on his request it was decided to shift to

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16. T.M., P.218.
  17. Ibid. P.218; Yousuf Gardezi, op.cit., P.46; G.M.D., P.54; Z.A.
  18. T.M., PP.218,219; Z.A. P.44; P.53; Yousuf Gardezi, op.cit., P.46.
  19. T.M., P.218; Yousuf Gardezi, op.cit., P.46; Z.A., P.43;
  20. T.M., P.219; Yousuf Gardezi, op.cit., P.46; Z.A., P.43; Ibrat Namah, P.248.
  21. T.M., P.219; Yousuf Gardezi, op.cit., P.46; Z.A., P.44.

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Shujaabad. All the Saddozais, therefore, alongwith their  
valuables left Multan and went to Shujaabad, which was  
23  
considered to be a safer place. The Bhangi Misl reached  
Multan on the invitation of Mirza Sharif Beg Tughlu but  
the Sikhs deceived the Subedar and captured the city  
without any resistance. Mirza Sharif Beg came to know of  
their designs. He, therefore, shut the gates of the Fort  
and resisted their attack. The Sikhs besieged the Fort  
and the siege lasted for many months. The Sikhs failed  
to capture it by force. They threatened the Hindu Diwan  
of Mirza Sharif Beg Tughlu that in case of the capture of  
24  
the fort, they would cut him to pieces alongwith his family  
members. The Diwan, therefore, decided to cooperate with the  
Sikhs and sent them a secret message that the Eidul Fitr  
would fall soon and Mirza Sharif Beg Tughlu would go to the  
Eidgah for his Eid prayers. In his absence, he would open  
25  
the doors of the Fort. Accordingly the Sikhs entered the  
26  
Fort on 5th January 1772 ... (1st Shawaal 1185 A.H.). Now  
Jhanda Singh and Lahna Singh divided Multan amongst themselves

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22. I.M., P.219.

23. Ibid. P.219.

24. Yousuf Gardezi, op.cit., P.46;

25. Yousuf Gardezi, op.cit., P.46; Z.A., P.44;  
P.54.

26. Joseph Davey Cunningham, op.cit., P.114.



27

and 'appointed one Diwan Singh Chhachowalia, as Qiladar' of Multan. Mirza Sharif Beg Tughlu having been deceived, fled to the garden of Sital Das. He started negotiations with the Sikhs and it was ultimately decided that he would live in Tulamba as a Jagirdar of the Sikhs. He went to Tulamba and built a fort and died there after a few years.

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27. H.P., P.297; Ibrat Namah, P.248;  
U.T., P.16.

28. Yousuf Gardezi, op.cit., P.46; See: Z.A. P.44., writes that he died during the siege of Multan which is incorrect; Also See: P.C., P.481., writes that Mirza Sharif Beg Tughlu ran away to Khairpur Tomewali and died there which is also incorrect.

\* Aliud Din gives an interesting story about the capture of the Fort by the Sikhs which is also incorrect because it is not supported by any other contemporary chronicle. According to him the Sikhs requested Mirza Sharif Beg Tughlu to allow them to pay a visit to the Parhalad Temple in the Fort for religious rites. It was decided that sixty persons would enter the Fort to perform their religious rites in the Parhalad Temple. On their return, another batch of sixty would be allowed till every Sikh soldier was given the opportunity to perform his religious rites. But the Sikhs played a trick and instead of sixty, fifty persons came back and ten Sikhs hid themselves in the Temple from each batch, till their number became sufficient to control the Fort. So this way treacherously, the Sikhs captured the Fort and the Subedar was allowed to retire to Tulamba. This story is impracticable as the Subedar was not a fool to allow them to the Fort and it is not supported by any authentic source, Ibrat Namah, P.248.

The Sikh Interlude  
(January 1772 to January 1780)

After the conquest of Multan, Jhanda Singh imposed<sup>1</sup> twelve thousand rupees as extra revenue and collected it for himself.<sup>2</sup> He divided the villages among other Sardars who realised three to seven rupees as extra revenue for themselves from each piece of agricultural land irrigated<sup>3</sup> by a persian well.

The Sikhs as a whole were most ill-disciplined people. They started their career as robbers. Although they conquered a vast territory but they generally failed to give it any administration worth the name. They were the enemies of the Muslims, and hence they destroyed not only their institutions but also their historical monuments. They even forbade the call for prayers. The Sikhs stopped their entries into the mosques and used them as stables for their horses. The Muslims were disgraced and many of them decided to leave Multan. During the Sikh anarchy which lasted for eight years, a large number of Muslim population shifted to Bahawalpur. The people living in the rural areas also left their lands. The area in the south of Multan which was under the influence of the

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1. T.M., P.219.
  2. Yousuf Gardezi, op.cit., P.46.
  3. Ibid. P.46.

Nawab of Bahawalpur offered refuge to them because it enjoyed peace and prosperity. The farmers were given lands as well the protection. Multan, which was called 'Darul Aman' during the Mughal period had become the most disturbed area. The Sikhs therefore gave away the lands in Karor, Dunyapur, Fatehpur and Dipalpur to Daudputras on lease. The Sikhs had also placed Garanth Sahib in the mosque wrongly known as Masjid Wali Muhammad Khan. The Sikh Kotwal of the city held his court there. Jhanda Singh had left a strong contingent in Multan for the help of his Diladar before he left for Amritsar.

In the meantime, Ahmad Shah Dur-i-Durran, died on 23<sup>4</sup> October 1772 (20<sup>5</sup> Rajab 1186 A.H.), and was succeeded by his son Timur Shah who shifted his capital from Kandhar to Kabul in early 1773. In the beginning he remained busy in his internal affairs and could not pay his attention to the Sikhs who had devastated a large territory in India. Ultimately he despatched Sardar Madad Khan, the Ishaqzai chief, to capture Multan and followed him to the Panjab in November 1774. Sardar Madad Khan reached Multan and besieged the Fort and the city. He was soon joined by Nawab Shuja Khan. At that time Jhanda Singh was fighting against Jay Singh, the chief of Kaniha Misl in Jammu where

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4. Ibid. P.47.

5. Tarikh-i-Sultani, PP.146,147; I.A.S. P.58.

6. I.H., P.219;

7. M.H.P., P.235

8. I.H., P.219; Yousuf Gardezi, op.cit., P.47:

he lost his life in 1774 . He was succeeded by his brother Ganda Singh as the chief of the Bhangi Misl. The Bhangi Misl could not extend any help to Diwan Singh in Multan. The Sikh Qiladar of Multan closed the doors of the Fort and resisted the Afghan invasion. In the meantime, Timur Shah decided to go back in January 1775 . He stopped at Peshawar for a couple of months to avoid the rigour of winter at Kabul<sup>9</sup>. During his stay in Bala-hissar (Fort) at Peshawar, Muizullah Khan Mahmood tried to kill him<sup>10</sup> treacherously but failed in his design and was killed alongwith several other allies. After this incident, Timur Shah, at once recalled his General Sardar Madad Khan<sup>11</sup> Ishaqzai, who left the Muslims of Multan at the mercy of the Sikhs and soon joined his master. Nawab Shuja Khan<sup>12</sup> came back to his strong-hold. He sent his son Muzaffar Khan to Kabul to seek help from the Afghan King in order to capture Multan.<sup>13</sup> Yar Muhammad Khan Tarin accompanied<sup>14</sup> Muzaffar Khan as Wakil of Nawab Shuja Khan. Timur Shah did not pay any attention to their request. The Afghan King

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9. M.H.P., P.236.

10. T.N., P.138;M.H.P. PP.236,237;Tate,  
op.cit.

11. T.N., P.219;P.C., P.461; See:Tate.  
op.cit.,P.90.,states that the event occurred in 1788.

12. T.N., P.219;Z.A., P.43.

13. T.M., P.219;Z.A., P.44.

14. T.M., P.219;Z.A., P.43.

<sup>15</sup>  
 granted Muzaffar Khan a stipend of five thousand rupees  
 from the revenue of Dera Ghazi Khan and dismissed him. The  
 failure of the mission annoyed Nawab Shuja Khan and he  
<sup>16</sup>  
 beat his Wakeel Yar Muhammad Khan Tarin with sticks. Nawab  
 Shuja Khan himself decided to go to Kabul to seek the Afghan  
 help. He met the Afghan King who appointed him as the  
<sup>17</sup>  
 Nazim of Multan and deputed Sardar Madad Khan Ishaqzai to  
<sup>18</sup>  
 capture Multan. Timur Shah had already written a letter  
<sup>19</sup>  
 to the Nawab of Bahawalpur to invade Multan. In the meantime,  
 Muzaffar Khan also approached the Nawab of Bahawalpur to  
<sup>20</sup>  
 request him to invade Multan. The Nawab of Bahawalpur  
 marched against Multan with his army of three thousand  
 soldiers. He was joined by Muzaffar Khan with his small  
 contingent. The united force captured Multan in February  
<sup>21</sup>  
 1775 A.D. (Zilhijs 1185 A.H.). They laid a siege to the Fort,  
<sup>22</sup>  
 which lasted for 18 days. Diwan Singh, the Qiladar of Multan

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15. T.M., P.219.

16. T.M., P.219., See: Z.A., P.45.,  
 writes that Nawab showed his annoyance.

17. T.M., P.220; Z.A., P.46.

18. T.M., P.220; Z.A., P.46; P.C.,  
 P.481., See: Tate, op.cit., P.91., states  
 that the event occurred in 1788 which is incorrect.

19. T.M., P.220; P.C., P.481.

20. Z.A., P.46.

informed Ganda Singh who reached Multan to help the Sikhs. On the arrival of Ganda Singh, Nawab Bahawal Khan<sup>23</sup> Rukunudoula Daudputra alongwith Muzaffar Khan ran away. The Sikhs pursued them. The small contingent of the Afghans consisting of one hundred horsemen under Muzaffar Khan showed great valour. The army of the Nawab of Bahawalpur could not stand before the Sikhs and was put to flight<sup>24</sup>. Ganda Singh besieged Shujaabad and the siege lasted for three months. The Sikhs failed to capture it<sup>25</sup>. Having accepted money, the Sikhs under Ganda Singh lifted the siege. In the meantime, Nawab Shuja Khan, alongwith Sardar Madad Khan advanced and hurriedly reached Daman where they received the news that Ganda Singh had invaded Shujaabad. A messenger came from Timur Shah who recalled his General because of the rebellion of Abdul Khaliq Khan. Nawab Shuja Khan was very much disappointed and hurriedly proceeded to Bahawalpur via Dera Ghazi Khan where Nawab Bahawal Khan<sup>26</sup> received him with

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21. T.M., P.220; Z.A., P.46.
22. T.M., P.220; P.S.G., B.S., P.57;  
G.M.D., P.55; Z.A., P.46.
23. T.M., P.220; Z.A., P.46; P.C.,  
P.481.
24. T.M., op.cit., P.220; Z.A., P.46.
25. T.M., op.cit., P.221; Z.A., P.46., See: P.C.,  
PP.481,482., writes that the Sikhs captured  
Shujaabad which is incorrect because it is not  
supported by any contemporary chronicle.

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great honour. He was in Bahawalpur when he received the news  
29  
of the withdrawal of the Sikhs from Shujaabad. Nawab Shuja  
Khan went to Shujaabad where he died on 16th September  
30  
1775 (18<sup>th</sup> Rajab 1189 A.H.). He was buried in Shujaabad.

Nawab Shuja Khan was a man of great qualities.  
He was a very hard taskmaster and a good administrator. He  
was fond of constructing new buildings. He founded many  
towns where he constructed new forts. He loved fine things  
and niceties and collected them. He was also generous in  
31  
bestowing gifts upon others. In spite of the fact that he  
was never tired of purchasing landed properties in which  
~~money~~ was involved, yet he could afford to be generous. He  
was a religious man and never tolerated anything against  
Islam. He was not regular in his prayers and fasting during  
the month of Ram<sup>32</sup>zan. He never allowed anybody to take undue  
advantage of his being close to the Nawab. He was a very  
dominating personality. Nawab Bahawal Khan always treated

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\* Daman: situated in the Frontier region on the other  
side of Dera Ismail Khan.

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| 26. | <u>T.M.</u> , | P.221; <u>Z.A.</u> , | PP.46,47. |
| 27. | <u>T.M.</u> , | P.221; <u>Z.A.</u> , | P.47.     |
| 28. | <u>T.M.</u> , | P.221; <u>Z.A.</u>   | P.47.     |
| 29. | <u>T.M.</u> , | P.221; <u>Z.A.</u>   | P.47.     |
| 30. | <u>T.M.</u> , | P.224; <u>Z.A.</u> , | P.48.     |
| 31. | <u>T.M.</u> , | P.222.               |           |

him on an equal footing and paid him due regards. During the Subedari of Nawab Ali Muhammad Khan Khugani, he never attended his court as a courtier. He left Multan and lived in Shujaabad. The same way when Nawab Sharif Khan became Subedar of Multan, Nawab Shuja Khan left Multan and never saw him again. On his return journey from Kabul when he was on his way to Bahawalpur, he stopped at Dera Ghazi Khan. Nawab Sharif Khan sent him presents and showed his willingness to call on him in case Nawab Shuja Khan would also pay a return visit. Nawab Shuja Khan did not agree because he never visited his place before.<sup>33</sup> He believed in protocols. The same way, when the Nazim of Dera Ghazi Khan Shaikh Qamaruddin Khan visited him, he<sup>34</sup> did not stand on his arrival and kept sitting. He only shook hands with him which offended the Nazim of Dera Ghazi Khan. Nawab Shuja Khan did not care for such things. In short he was really a great man and established a government which lasted till the conquest of Multan by Maharaja Ranjit Singh in 1818

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32. Ibid. P.210.

33. Ibid. P.221.

34. Ibid. P.221.



Ganda Singh proceeded towards Pathankot in 1775 A.D. with a large army. After his Multan's campaign, he fought a battle against Jay Singh of the Kanhia Misl at Dinanagar. The fighting continued for ten days but abruptly Ganda Singh fell ill and died. He was succeeded by his son Desa Singh who left the battle-field and went back to Amritsar. <sup>35</sup> Desa Singh was not a capable person, hence the Bhangri Misl lost Pathankot and its surroundings. The <sup>36</sup> tribute from Jhang was also stopped. As usual it provided an opportunity to the Khan Khel Saddozais to request the Afghan King to intervene in the affairs of Multan. They wrote him several letters apprising him of the latest situation including the weaknesses of the Sikhs. Timur Shah was genuinely busy in his internal affairs. He, therefore, remained a silent spectator for three years. The Sikhs continued their rule in Multan without any interruption. They usurped the properties of the Saddozais and the Jagirs of the Mukhdums and increased the **octroi** on all goods. The life of the common man became miserable. The home industry of Multan which was famous in India was destroyed. The technical workers did not get the raw material and if they succeeded in getting the same, it was costly as well as inferior. The result was that the goods produced by the home industry in Multan were inferior <sup>37</sup> as well as costly and the production decreased. The woven

cloth and copper utensils as well as the engraved wooden articles for which Multan was famous lost their markets. It all happened during the eight years of the Sikh rule which failed to provide peace and prosperity in the area. The life and property was insecure. Whenever the Sikhs were short of money, they collected money from door to door and whosoever resisted was disgraced and sometimes he lost his life. The people lost their faith in the Government.

In such circumstances Timur Shah decided to help the people of Multan but he had to deal with Mir Naseer Khan Baluch, Abdul Khaliq Khan son of Abdul Rahman Khan Kamran Khel Saddozai and Mohammad Akbar Khan Khudakka (Younger brother of Abdul Rahim Khan) son of Mohammad Khan Khudakka, who alongwith several other Durrani rose in open rebellion. During their revolt, the Saddozais of Multan supported Timur Shah and after his success, he appreciated their support and increased their stipends by thirty thousand <sup>38</sup> rupees annually. When Abdul Khaliq Khan revolted he used the name of Akbar Khan Khudakka who was a direct descendant of Abdullah Khan, (ruler of Hirat) and in this way a large number of Durrani gathered around

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35. H.P., P.298.

36. Ibid.P.298.

37. Charles Masson, Marrative of various journeys in Balochistan, Afghanistan and the Punjab, Karachi, 1974, vol.i., P.395.

him. He attacked Kabul but lost the battle and was  
39 captured. Akbar Khan's importance was also felt during the  
days of Ahmad Shah who had ordered his Subedar of Multan  
to confine Akbar Khan in the Fort, the moment he crossed  
Attock on his way to India till his return journey to  
40 Kandhar. This practice continued till his death. During  
the Sikh anarchy, Akbar Khan got the opportunity and ran  
away to Kalat to Mir Naseer Khan Baluch who gave him  
assistance and ultimately he marched against Kandhar in  
early March 1775 (1189 A.H.) where he lost the battle  
41 and was captured alive. He was sent to Kabul where he was  
42 imprisoned in Bala Hissar. The Afghan King ordered to  
kill all the descendants of Sultan Abdullah Khan.

Timur Shah then decided to recover Multan. He  
left Kabul in October 1779 and reached Peshawar. He  
sent Haji Ali Khan as his envoy to the Sikhs who killed  
43 him. On hearing this news, he despatched Zangi Khan Durrani  
with a force of 18000 men who took the Sikhs unaware near

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38. I.M., op.cit., P.137.

39. Ibid. PP.176-179; Tatc, op.cit., PP.88,89.

40. I.M., op.cit., P.438.

41. Ibid. PP.441,442.

42. Ibid. P.442.

Rohtas and gave them a crushing defeat.<sup>44</sup> Timur Shah followed his General and reached Multan in January 1780.<sup>45</sup> He besieged the city and the Fort and the siege lasted for more than a month. Muzaffar Khan, the successor of Nawab Shuja Khan alongwith his small contingent consisting of the Afghans and the Nawab of Bahawalpur with his 12000 soldiers joined the Afghan King. The Bhangi Sikhs under their leaders Jassa Singh with 15000 horsemen reached Multan from Lahore. They found Multan besieged hence they went to Shujaabad. Muzaffar Khan rushed to Shujaabad alongwith his contingent and took the battlefield. In the meantime, the dust storm<sup>46</sup> blew and a few soldiers of Muzaffar Khan caught a drum beater of the Sikh army. They brought him to Muzaffar Khan who spared his life on the condition that he would beat the drum in a manner to call the Sikhs.<sup>47</sup> The Sikh drum beater at once started beating the drum and whosoever<sup>48</sup> heard it rushed to the spot. As the visibility was very poor due to the dust storm, Muzaffar Khan had arranged his soldiers in two straight lines, in such a way that, the moment a Sikh

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43. T.A.S., PP.67,68; Timur Shah Durrani, P.88; M.H.P., P.239.

44. M.H.P., PP.239,240; Timur Shah Durrani, PP.87,89. T.A.S., op.cit., PP.68,69.

45. M.H.P., P.240; Timur Shah Durrani, PP.87,89.

soldier reached them, one of the Nawab's soldiers was to<sup>49</sup>  
catch hold of him and the other was to kill him. This process  
continued till the Sikhs lost thousands of their soldiers  
when the dust<sup>storm</sup> subsided, they realised the situation<sup>50</sup>  
and ran away to Lahore. This way Muzaffar Khan won his first  
victory over his deadly enemies in February 1780 . He<sup>51</sup>  
collected the heads of the Sikhs and sent them to Timur Shah  
who praised his bravery. Then Muzaffar Khan joined his  
master in the siege of Multan. When the Sikh Qiladar came  
to know of this catastrophe, he also lost heart. In the  
meantime, Abdul Karim Khan Babar, a Muslim General of the  
Sikh army, was won over by Timur Shah. He induced the Sikh<sup>52</sup>  
Qiladar for negotiations. It was decided that the Sikhs<sup>53</sup>  
would be allowed to leave the Fort alongwith their valuables.  
Accordingly, the Sikhs left the Fort from one gate and Timur  
Shah entered the Fort from another. This way Multan was<sup>54</sup>  
conquered in February 1780 (Safar 1194 A.H.). Multan  
became once again an Afghan Province after eight disastrous  
years of Sikh rule. It remained an Afghan Province till its  
reconquest by the Sikhs under their leader Maharaja Ranjit  
Singh in 1818 . After the conquest of Multan, Timur<sup>55</sup>  
Shah appointed Muzaffar Khan as the Nazim (Subedar) of Multan.

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46. Yousuf Gardezi, op.cit., P.47.

47. Ibid. P.47.

48. Ibid. P.47.

49. Ibid. P.47.

He bestowed upon him the titles of 'Nawab Safdar Jang  
Bahadur', and 'Ruk<sup>56</sup>nu<sup>57</sup>d-dou<sup>58</sup>lah (Pillar of the State) as  
he was convinced of his loyalty as well as bravery. The  
Afghan King fixed twelve thousand rupees as his stipend.  
He also gave him one lac of rupees for the maintenance  
of the army, repair of the rampart of the city and the  
Fort. Abdul Karim Khan Babar, who was a very clever and  
influential officer during the Sikh rule, played a very  
important role during the siege of Multan. He was appointed  
by the Afghan King as the naib of Muzaffar Khan.

The Mukhdums (in charge of the shrines) of Hazrat  
Bahauddin Zakria, Hazrat Shah Rukunud Din, Hazrat Shaikh  
Syed Muhammad Yousuf Gardezi and Hazrat Syed Moose Gilani,  
had been granted tax-free Jagirs for the maintenance of  
the shrines as well as their families. The Mukhdums enjoyed  
this privilege since the days of the Sultanate and the  
later Muslim rulers had increased it. It was during the Sikh  
anarchy that their Jagirs were confiscated. Now a deputation

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50. Ibid. P.47.

51. Ibid. P.47; M.H.P., P.241., writes that Timur  
Shah himself gave a crushing defeat to the Sikhs at  
Shujaabad on 8th February, 1756 which is incorrect  
because he has not quoted any original reference.

52. Yousuf Gardezi, op.cit., P.47; Z.A., P.50;  
Ibnat Namah, P.250.

consisting of Mukhdum Bahawal Shah (in charge of the shrines of Hazrat Bahauddin Zakaria and Hazrat Shah Rukunud Din and Mukhdum Shaikh Muhammad Raju Gardezi (in charge of the shrine of Hazrat Syed Muhammad Yousuf Gardezi) alongwith his sons Syed Nasrud-Din Muhammad and Syed Pir Shah alias Syed Shah Ali Muhammad met the Afghan King and requested him for the restoration of their Jagirs<sup>61</sup> alongwith their privileges. The Afghan King restored their old Jagirs consisting of 14 villages alongwith their<sup>62</sup> privileges and bestowed upon them the Khilats. It created a very healthy atmosphere.

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53. Yousuf Gardezi, op.cit., P.47; Ibrat Namah, P.250; I.A.S., P.71; Shahamat Ali, op.cit., P.64.
54. I.M., P.137; Z.A., PP.50,51; P.H.P., P.241., writes that Multan was conquered on 8th February 1780; See: Tate, op.cit., P.91., gives the date 1779 and the operation lasted for forty days; also See: P.C., P.482.
55. I.H., P.228; Yousuf Gardezi, op.cit., P.47; Z.A., P.50; Tate, op.cit., P.91; D.Z., PP.36,37; Shahamat Ali, op.cit., P.64.
56. Yousuf Gardezi, op.cit., P.47; D.Z., PP.36,37.
57. P.C., P.482; D.Z., PP.36,37.
58. I.M., P.228; Z.A., PP.50,51.

Due to the revolt of Akbar Khan, Timur Shah was also afraid of the Khudakkas. He asked his Wazir Fatehullah Khan (Wafadar Khan) to press Din Muhammad Khan and Azim Yar Khan to swear fealty to the Afghan King which they did.<sup>63</sup> Timur Shah also struck his coins at Multan. Having made<sup>64</sup> sufficient arrangements for the defence of Multan Timur Shah left for Kabul.

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59. I.M., P.228; Sadiqut Tawarickh, P.301; Z.A., P.50; See: Yousuf Gardezi, op.cit., P.47., writes that the Afghan King gave him two lacs of rupees for the repair of the rampart of the city and the Fort.
60. Yousuf Gardezi, op.cit., P.47.
61. Ibid. P.47., original farmans are with Syed Muhammad Rmazan Shah Gardezi and Mukhdum Ghulam Miran Shah.
62. Ibid. P.47.
- \* Din Muhammad Khan: Son of Muhammad Sharif Khan and the chief of the Khudakkas.
63. I.M., P.381.
64. Whitehead, Catalogue of coins in the Lahore Museum, vol.iii., Oxford, 1977, P.64.

مانوس  
میں  
سہ  
ضرب  
دارالامان ملتان



THE SECOND PHASE

Nawab Haji Muhammad Muzaffar Khan Khan Khel Saddozai,  
Safdar Jang Bahadur, Rukn-ud-doula Subedar  
(Nazim --- Governor) of Multan: The last Muslim Subedar  
of Multan: February 1780 to 2nd June 1818

Nawab Shuja Khan had four sons and one daughter. Muzaffar Khan, Sikandar Khan and the daughter<sup>\*</sup> were from one wife; Ghazanffar Khan and Sanjar Khan were from another wife. Muzaffar Khan was the eldest and was very intelligent and capable person. Sikandar Khan, Ghazanffar Khan and Sanjar Khan were lazy and lethargic. They wasted their properties in merry-making and none of them proved worth mentioning except that they earned bad name to their family<sup>1</sup> and also to Muzaffar Khan who remained always kind to them.<sup>2</sup> Muzaffar Khan had not married his sister and she lived with him.<sup>3</sup> Nawab Haji Muzaffar Khan Khan Khel Saddozai was born in 1757 (1171 A.H.) in Multan. He was given the best available education in religion, civil administration and warfare. He was a man of great qualities and was well-versed man in all current discipline. He offered prayers regularly from the early age and always fasted in the month of Ramazan. He treated everybody with respect and was a man of good manners. He took keen interest in the State affairs from the very beginning and got good training under the able

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\* Khan Bibi.

1. T.M., P.224; Z.A., P.47.

2. T.m., PP.225-227.

guidance of his father. He was only 18 years old when he led a mission to Kabul in January 1775 under the instructions of his father. His mission failed but he attracted the attention of the Afghan King who fixed five thousand rupees as his stipend. He was a brave man and his training was fed with Sikh enmity. He commanded the Afghan contingent during the siege of Multan in February 1775 A.D. and showed great bravery. When Ganda Singh had invaded Shujaabad, he defended it with great valour and ultimately having realised the greedy nature of the Sikhs, gave them some money. He succeeded his father at the age of 18 in Shujaabad on 18<sup>th</sup> October 1775 (20<sup>th</sup> Shaban 1189 A.H.).

When Mirza Sharif Beg Tughlu had invited the Bhangi Misl for help. Nawab Shuja Khan had retired to Shujaabad alongwith all his Saddozai clansmen. Since then Muhammad Sharif Khan, the Khudakka Chief was also residing there alongwith his family members. He died there on 7<sup>th</sup> June 1775 (7<sup>th</sup> Rabi-us-Sani 1189 A.H.). He was succeeded by his elder son Pir Muhammad Khan, as the chief of the Khudakkas. It was a practice since the days of Sultan Hayat Khan that the turban of chiefdomship was placed on the head

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3. Ibid. P.227; J.A., P.49.

4. I.M., PP.228,376.

5. Ibid. P.374.

of the Khan Khels by the chief of the Khudakkas in the house of the Khudakka chief. Pir Muhammad Khan was a young man of 18. He had to face a real problem because there were two contestants for the chieftainship, namely, Muzaffar Khan son of Nawab Shuja Khan and Hussain Khan son of Nawab Shakir Khan. Tarin Khan, a Wakeel of Muzaffar Khan approached Pir Muhammad Khan that the turban of the chieftainship should be placed on the head of his master and the ceremony should also take place in Muzaffar Khan's house to which Pir Muhammad Khan agreed.<sup>6</sup> It was the first diplomatic success on the part of Muzaffar Khan. Muzaffar Khan, at the age of 18 showed great sense of responsibility and resourcefulness. He distributed his father's property among his brothers equally and when his youngest brother Sanjar Khan was born posthumously, Muzaffar Khan took him under his care and also gave him his share<sup>7</sup> from his own property. It was unfortunate that his brothers were pleasure loving and sold all the property. But Muzaffar Khan was an affectionate brother and always took<sup>8</sup> care of them.

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6. Ibid. PP.374-376.

7. Ibid. PP.224-227.

8. Ibid. PP.227,228.

When the Sikhs under their leaders Jhanda Singh and Ganda Singh captured Multan and besieged Shujaabad, Nawab Shuja Khan agreed to pay them a fixed amount of <sup>9</sup> twelve thousand rupees as annual revenue. After his death, Muzaffar Khan continued to pay the same amount as annual <sup>10</sup> revenue. It created an understanding between the two, though short-lived and provided an opportunity to the Sadozais to visit Multan on certain occasions, for example, when Pir Muhammad Khan\*, a very handsome youngman of 22, died <sup>11</sup> in Shujaabad on 12th February 1776. (22nd Zilhiij 1190 A.H.) and his dead body <sup>was</sup> carried to Multan for burial in the ancestral graveyard. The people from far flung areas attended his funeral at Multan. The Sikhs were surprised <sup>12</sup> to see such a huge funeral and they also attended it. He was buried in Sultan Hayat Khan's graveyard. This liaison with Multan was maintained by the Khan Khels as well. During the Sikh rule in Multan, Nawab Shuja Khan and Muzaffar Khan on the one hand paid them the fixed revenue and on the other hand struggled to oust them. The Khan Khels also maintained a permanent liaison with the Afghan King and

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9. Ibid. P.219.

10. Ibid. P.228.

11. Ibid. P.378.

12. Ibid. P.378.

ultimately achieved the object. When Nawab Muzaffar Khan was appointed as the Subedar of Multan, he was only 23, but keeping in view the requirements of the office he was sufficiently mature and capable. Having realised the Sikh menace he recruited a large army and maintained it permanently for the defence of Multan with the permission of Timur Shah.<sup>13</sup>

The mother of Nawab Shuja Khan was the real sister of Wafadar Khan, the Wazir of Timur Shah; therefore, Nawab Muzaffar Khan also enjoyed the confidence of the Kabul government. Nawab Muzaffar Khan was as dear to the Afghan Wazir as his own son.<sup>14</sup>

His rule over Multan was very effective. Yar Muhammad Khan Tarin<sup>\*\*</sup> was his Wazir (Wakeel) who was an able and an experienced man. He had already served his father very scrupulously. Abdul Karim Khan Babar was appointed as his naib by Timur Shah.<sup>15</sup> He was a very clever and experienced officer and had already served the Sikhs very intelligently. It was due to his cleverness that the Sikhs

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\* Pir Muhammad Khan was issueless, therefore, he was succeeded by his younger brother Din Muhammad Khan (father of Ali Muhammad Khan, the author of Tazkirat-ul-Muluk) as the chief of Khudakkas (Khizer Khels); See: I.M., P.379.

13. Ibid. P.228.

14. Ibid. P.228.

\*\* Tarin: The chief of Khuadadzai Tarin. His descendants are still living in Multan. Abdul Haleem Khan Khuadad, one of his descendants has many valuable and original documents in his personal library.

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handed over the Fort to Timur Shah without any loss to their valuables. Due to his cleverness he kept the Sikhs satisfied with his arrangements and on the other side, Timur Shah was also happy with him for his support. After the departure of the Afghan King, Nawab Muzaffar Khan had<sup>17</sup> repaired the rampart of the Fort and the city. All the Saddozais who had shifted to Shujaabad during the Sikh anarchy came back to Multan along with other Afghans and regained their old houses and lands. Nawab Muzaffar Khan also shifted to Multan and constructed a new Shish<sup>\*</sup> Mahal.<sup>18</sup> Later on, he shifted to the Fort where he built several houses for his family as well as for his officers and the staff.

The Province of Multan under Muzaffar Khan extended its boundaries to the Chenab, the Ravi and the Sutlej. Muzaffargarh, Rangpur, Muradabad, Khangaarh and Ghazanfarnarh across the Chenab were also included in this

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15. Ibid. P.228; Z.A., PP.50,51.

16. Yousuf Gardezi, op.cit., P.47; Z.A., P.50;  
Ibrat Namah, op. P.250.

17. T.M., P.228; Yousuf Gardezi, op.cit., P.47;  
Z.A., P.50.

\* Shish Mahal: situated on Abdali Road, the present Commissioner's house.

18. Hukam Chand, op.cit., P.46.

province, whereas Lodhran, Mailsi, Karor, Duniyapur and Kabula, although situated on this side of the Sutlej and the Ravi were not included in Multan. The length of the Province of Multan was one hundred and ten miles and the breadth was seventy miles.<sup>19</sup> only the area near the river was rich but the rest of the territory was not fertile and was thinly populated. During the Sikh anarchy, many villages were ruined. The collected revenue 'was Rs.5,50,000/-, of which 2,50,000' was fixed as the tribute<sup>20</sup> and was paid very regularly to the Afghan King. The army of the Nawab consisted of 'two thousand men and twenty guns but the number could be raised in emergency by summoning to duty ten thousand or twelve thousand militia'. Nawab Muzaffar Khan made sufficient arrangements for the defence of the Fort and the city. He constructed a store for ammunitions in the Fort. He paid special attention to the recruitment and the training of his soldiers. He was

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19. Mountstuart Elphinstone, An account of the Kingdom of Caubul, vol.ii., Karachi, 1972, P.234.

20. Ibid. P.235., G.M.D., P.50; P.D.G., M.D., P.46; I.M., PP.229,232; M.H.P., P.273., writes that 'the total income was Rs.673400. The expenditure is given below' :-

Paid to the King's treasury	-	255000
Talukdars	-	323400
Expenses of establishment	-	45000
Charity	-	50000
		<u>673400</u>

also See: M.H.P., P.273., writes that 'he commanded 1500 horse and could muster 2000 horse and 4000 foot more. There were 11 strong Forts'. They contained many pieces of artillery'.

In favour of cavalry, therefore, a major portion of his regular army consisted of cavalry. He maintained a strict discipline and justice while dealing with his officers, soldiers, personal attendants and the public.

After the departure of Timur Shah, the Panjab  
<sup>21</sup> faced a famine. In order to collect the grain, the Sikhs  
<sup>22</sup> of Lahore numbering 20,000 horsemen attacked Multan but Nawab Muzaffar Khan resisted their attack very bravely with his army and militia. In the meantime, the young Nawab requested Nawab Rukunud-doula Bahawal Khan Daudputra for  
<sup>23</sup> help but the Nawab offered no assistance. Ultimately, after devastating the rural population, the Sikhs went back. In the meantime, the chiefs of Sials belonging to the Jhang territory of Rehana, the Ahmadpur fort and the Garh-Maharaja fort developed cordial relations with Nawab Muzaffar Khan. During the same period, Sahib Khan Sial, a Zamindar of Jhang, with the help of Karam Singh Bhagti  
<sup>24</sup> attacked the territory of Rehana and besieged the Ahmadpur fort. The people of the Rehana appealed to Nawab Muzaffar  
<sup>25</sup> Khan for help. It provided an opportunity for the Nawab to

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21. Z.A., P.51.

22. Varma, English East India Company and the Afghans, Calcutta, 1968, P.44; Yousuf Gardezi, op.cit., P.47;  
Z.A., P.52.

23. T.M., P.228.

24. Z.A., P.52.



take revenge from the Sikhs. The Nawab despatched a  
strong army under his Commander Sa'adullah Khan. The  
Multani army after crossing the River Chenab gave them  
a crushing defeat and put them to flight. It enhanced  
the image of Nawab Muzaffar Khan and his political influence  
increased towards Jhang. This way Nawab Muzaffar Khan  
took the revenge from the Sikhs and also served the  
interest of his Muslim brothers of the Jhang territory.  
It was creditable for the Nawab to fight against his  
enemies in the battle-field of their choice. The Sikhs  
were so discouraged that they did not attack Multan for  
more than six years. It encouraged Nawab Muzaffar Khan and  
he decided to punish the Daudputras. He despatched his  
army under Abdul Karim Khan Babar to Bahawalpur. The Nawab's  
army marched in cover of darkness but the Nawab of Bahawalpur  
was informed well in time. The Bahawalpur army was ready  
to give fight on the right bank of the River Ghara and a  
battle was fought in which Abdul Karim Khan Babar was shot dead.

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25. Ibid. P.52.

26. Ibid. P.52.

27. Ibid. P.52.

28. T.M., P.228: Shahmet Ali, op.cit., P.65;  
gives date in 1779 (1193 A.H.).

29. T.M., P.228; Shahmet Ali. op.cit., P.65;  
writes that Abdul Karim Babar  
marched on Bahawalpur on his own, op.cit., P.51.

The Multani army ran away and was pursued upto Shujaabad.<sup>31</sup>  
Ultimately a truce was concluded and Nawab Muzaffar Khan  
expressed his regrets for his action.<sup>32</sup> Nawab Muzaffar Khan  
wrote a detailed letter to his patron the Afghan Wazir,  
(Wafadar Khan) and informed him about the Sikh invasion.  
He also wrote him about the cold attitude of the Nawab of  
Bahawalpur and justified his action against the Daudputras.  
He requested his patron to persuade the Afghan King to  
punish the Nawab of Bahawalpur. Nawab Rukunud-doula Muhammad  
Bahawal Khan was a tributary of the Afghan King and had  
not paid his arrears.<sup>33</sup> It provided an opportunity to Timur  
Shah to take action against the Nawab of Bahawalpur. The  
Afghan King decided to march to India and wrote to Nawab  
Muzaffar Khan in September 1780 'to collect grain for  
his troops'.<sup>34</sup> He despatched his Commander Sardar Madad Khan  
in October 1780 and followed him 'in the autumn of  
1780'.<sup>35</sup> The Nawab of Bahawalpur 'on hearing the news of  
the Shah's approach loaded his family treasures and

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30. T.M., P.228; Shahmet Ali, op.cit., P.65;  
Z.A., P.51.
31. T.M., P.228; Shahmet Ali, op.cit., P.65.
32. T.M., P.229; Shahmet Ali, op.cit., P.65;  
Z.A., P.51.
33. M.H.P., P.243; Varma, op.cit., P.45.

provisisons on camels and took refuge' in his stronghold<sup>36</sup> of Derawar 'situated in the heart of the water-less desert'. When the Shah's troops reached Dera Ghazi Khan, they were<sup>37</sup> joined by Nawab Muzaffar Khan alongwith his contingent. Muzaffar Khan was also responsible to provide the grain for the troops. The united army marched on Bahawalpur and<sup>38</sup> 'plundered the city and burnt the houses'. 'Then Timur Shah despatched Sardar Madad Khan with a strong' army to the Derawar Fort. He made sufficient arrangements for the supply of 'food and water' for his Commander 'against the<sup>39</sup> Nawab'. Sardar Madad Khan besieged the Derawar Fort and dug three wells at different places which provided him sufficient water. The Daudputras resisted with great valour. In the meantime, 'the magazine in the Fort caught fire' and the<sup>40</sup> Fort was captured. It 'disheartened Bahawal Khan' who requested for peace 'by sending his son' Mubarak Khan to Timur Shah at Bahawalpur. He paid the Afghan King 'the arrears of the tribute' and 'acknowledged' his overlordship, with the promise to remain loyal in future and 'agreed to

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34. M.H.P., P.242; Varma,op.cit., P.51.

35. M.H.P., P.243.

36. Ibid. P.243; T.A.S., PP.73,74; Timur Shah Durrani, P.91.

37. T.A., P.53.

38. M.H.P., P.243; T.A.S., P.74.

supply troops to his overlord in case of a fight between  
 him and the Sikhs'. Timur Shah accepted his submission and  
 retired to Kabul, taking Mubarak Khan as a hostage to  
 ensure the good behaviour of the Nawab of Bahawalpur.  
 Before leaving for Kabul, Timur Shah appointed Shah Muhammad  
 Khan Badozai<sup>\*</sup> as the officer in charge of the Derawar fort.

39. M.H.P., P.243; T.A.S., P.74.  
 40. Z.A., P.53; T.A.S., P.74.  
 41. M.H.P., PP.243,244; T.A.S., PP.74,75.  
 42. Tarikh-i-Sultani, PP.155,156; T.A.S.,  
 PP.74,75; Timur Shah Durrani, P.92.

\* Shah Muhammad Khan Badozai son of Wali Muhammad Khan son of Muhammad Hayat Khan. The father of Muhammad Hayat Khan maintained hordes of camels for transportation purposes. After his death his sons quarreled over the division of property and consequently were impoverished. Muhammad Hayat Khan entered into the personal services of Nawab Abdul Aziz Khan. It was Shah Muhammad Khan who adopted soldiery as his career and he joined the army of Ahmad Shah and later on served Nawab Ali Muhammad Khan and Nawab Shuja Khan. During the siege of Multan in January 1790 he distinguished himself, therefore, Timur Shah gave him 'a Jagir at Dera Din Panah and one at Dera Ghazi Khan, worth Rs.10,000'. He built a fort at Dera Din Panah for his family. He again distinguished himself during the siege of the Derawar fort. He rose to a prominent position and Nawab Muzaffar Khan had realised it. He died in 1791. He left three sons, namely, Sarfaraz Khan, Abdus Samad Khan and Hafiz Sarbuland Khan. Sarfaraz Khan lost his life during the siege of Leiah. His brothers began to quarrel on the property and ultimately Abdus Samad Khan seized the whole. He served under Nawab Muzaffar Khan but was very ambitious man and became a rival of Nawab Muzaffar Khan; See: T.A., PP.247-252; op.cit., PP.319-321.

On the retirement of the Afghan King, the Nawab of Bahawalpur forcibly took the Derawar fort. <sup>44</sup> Shah Muhammad Khan Badozai ran away to his Jagir in Dera Din Panah<sup>\*\*</sup>. He appealed to Nawab Muzaffar Khan for help but the Nawab showed no response.

After the departure of Timur Shah, Nawab Muzaffar Khan devoted himself to the welfare of his people. In spite of the fact that he was a youngman, he showed a great sense of responsibility. Multan which had experienced destruction many<sup>a</sup>/<sub>45</sub> times at the hands of the Sikhs enjoyed peace and prosperity once again under the guidance of its able ruler Nawab Muzaffar Khan. <sup>46</sup> He maintained law and order and tried his best to give security to his people. He paid special attention to the welfare of the agrarian community. <sup>47</sup> He was a great builder. He founded towns and provided the people with many other facilities. He dug several canals and provided the farmers with the canal water for irrigation purposes without enhancing the revenue. During his first five years of rule,

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43. C.F., P.319; Z.A., P.53.

44. C.F., P.319; Z.A., PP.53,54.

\*\* Dera Din Panah: situated in Muzaffargarh and is wrongly called Daira Din Panah.

45. Z.A., PP.48-52.

46. Ibid. P.52.

47. Ibid. P.52.

he devoted himself to the development and uplift of his people. There was no warfare and the Sikhs did not invade Multan for more than five years. Multan became once again 'Darul Aman'. Those who had left the country during the Sikh period, once again came back to their ancestral land. Nawab Muzaffar Khan remained very loyal to his Afghan master and paid him the tribute very regularly. The Nawab of Bahawalpur had never paid the tribute in one instalment. He was always under the pressure of his arrears and sometimes the outstanding arrears were never paid. He was in a constant state of war with the Subedar of Dera Ghazi Khan who was a tributary of the Afghan King. The Nawab of Bahawalpur had grabbed a larger area of southern Dera Ghazi Khan. The Afghan King decided to punish him. Timur Shah once again 'invaded India in December 1785 . ' and reached Peshawar 'on the 18th December. On the one side the Afghan King despatched a strong army of 20,000 horsemen under his son Prince Humayun and General Sardar Madad Khan to Kashmir to crush the revolt of Azad Khan son of Haji Karimdad Khan and on the other side his General Sardar Ahmad Khan Nurzai marched

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48. Ibid. P.53; I.A.S., PP.74,75.

49. M.H.P., P.245.

50. I.M., P.229; Shahmet Ali, op.cit., P.73., writes that Sardar Madad Khan was despatched to Bahawalpur in 1785 A.D.(1200 A.H.) which is incorrect because he was sent to Kashmir soon after the defeat of the royal army against Azad Khan; also See: M.H.P., PP.245-247.

on Bahawalpur in 1786 (1200 A.H.) to punish the Nawab.<sup>51</sup>  
Sardar Ahmad Khan Nurzai advanced towards Bahawalpur via  
Khangarh. When he reached Khangarh, he was joined by<sup>52</sup>  
Nawab Muzaffar Khan under the instructions of his master,  
and provided grain for the royal troops. The united army  
crossed the river and invaded Bahawalpur. The Nawab had  
left Bahawalpur earlier and had entrenched himself in<sup>53</sup>  
the Derawar Fort. The city was sacked and the royal houses<sup>54</sup>  
were set on fire. Having been defeated the Nawab of Bahawalpur  
paid the arrears of tribute with the promise to remain<sup>55</sup>  
loyal to the Afghan King. Then the royal army retired.<sup>56</sup>

The loyalty of Nawab Muzaffar Khan enhanced his  
prestige in the eyes of his master but made others jealous  
of him. The Sikhs were opposed to the Afghan King and his  
tributarics in India, hence, they invaded Multan once again  
in 1787, but due to the tough resistance and the valour  
of young Nawab of Multan, they retired soon after devastating<sup>57</sup>  
the rural population. The peaceful atmosphere of Multan had  
been disturbed once again by the Sikhs which forced Nawab  
Muzaffar Khan to request his master's intervention to punish

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51. T.S., P.229.

52. Ibid. P.229; Shahmet Ali, op.cit., P.73.

53. Shahmet Ali, op.cit., PP.73,74.

54. Ibid. P.74.

the Sikhs. 'The Nawab of Bahawalpur had not paid tribute' to Timur Shah as usual and 'the annual subsidy from Sind<sup>58</sup> had remained unpaid for several years past'. In such circumstances, Timur Shah left Kabul for India in December 1788<sup>59</sup>. (Rabiul Awwal 1203 A.H.). He had already written to Nawab Muzaffar Khan 'to collect grain, cloth<sup>60</sup> and other necessary material for his forces'. When the<sup>61</sup> Sikhs heard of his arrival, they ran away to the forests. The Afghan King with his strong army, 'consisting of<sup>62</sup> 1,20,000 cavalry' reached Khangarh via Derajats. He encamped at Khangarh where Nawab Muzaffar Khan joined him alongwith<sup>63</sup> his contingent. He was made responsible for all supplies to the royal army. In Khangarh the Saddozais of Multan met<sup>64</sup> him and gave him assurance of their loyalty. The Afghan King marched on Bahawalpur and the Nawab alongwith his family members once again took shelter in his stronghold<sup>65</sup> of Derawar. Ultimately the Daudputras were defeated and Bahawalpur was captured. Timur Shah despatched Sardar Madad<sup>66</sup> Khan Ishaqzai to the Derawar Fort. On hearing the arrival

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55. Ibid. PP.75,76.

56. Ibid. P.76.

57. T.M., P.229; Yousuf Gardezi, op.cit., P.47.

58. M.H.P., P.249.

59. T.M., P.P.140,229; Shahamet Ali, op.cit., P.77; Yousuf Gardezi, op.cit., P.47; M.H.P., P.249; writes that 'Timur Shah marched from Peshawar on the 10th November', which is incorrect because he has not quoted any original source.



of the Afghan General, Rukunud-doula Bahawal Khan left Alam Khan as in charge of the Derawar Fort and 'he took to flight to Bikaner'.<sup>67</sup> The Afghan General besieged the Derawar Fort. The Daudputra chief had realised his weaknesses and at once sent Izzet Rae, as his agent to the Afghan King to offer his submission. 'The agent was admitted to an audience through the interest of Noor Muhammad Khan Babar<sup>\*</sup> the Ameen-ul-Mulk,<sup>\*\*</sup> who was a friend of the Khan' (the Daudputra chief) and 'was favourably received'.<sup>68</sup> Timur Shah accepted the submission only on payment of the arrears of tribute and the presence of his son Mubarak Khan in the royal court as hostage.<sup>69</sup> The Nawab of Bahawalpur agreed and sent his son Mubarak Khan alongwith the arrears of tribute of ten lacs.<sup>70</sup> Timur Shah bestowed upon him a Khilat

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60. M.H.P., P.249; Varma, op.cit., P.51.  
 61. M.H.P., P.249.  
 62. Ibid. P.249; I.M., P.140.  
 63. Shahamet Ali, op.cit., P.77; Yousuf Gardezi, op.cit., P.47; Z.A., P.53.  
 64. I.M., P.229.  
 65. Shahamet Ali, op.cit., P.77; Tate, op.cit., P.91; I.M., P.140.  
 66. Shahamet Ali, op.cit., P.78; Tate, op.cit., P.91; I.M., P.140.  
 67. Shahamet Ali, op.cit., P.78; I.M., P.140; M.H.P., P.250.

and also gave him a stipend of rupees twelve thousand from  
the revenue of Multan.<sup>71</sup> He took Mubarak Khan with him to  
Kabul and 'conferred on him the title of Sarbuland Khan'<sup>72</sup>  
and granted him 'the State of Bahawalpur through a Farman'.<sup>72</sup>  
He planned to raise Mubarak Khan's claim against his father<sup>73</sup>  
but could not do it and was disappointed.

After his Bahawalpur campaign, the Afghan King  
halted at Khangarh where all the Saddozais waited on him  
again. Timur Shah gave them stipends according to their  
status. Nawab Muzaffar Khan had always rendered very  
valuable services to his master, therefore, in the beginning  
the Afghan King reduced the revenue of Multan to one lac<sup>74</sup>  
of rupees, but later on, on the instigation of ~~Noor~~ Muhammad<sup>75</sup>  
Khan Babar, Ameen-ul-Mulk, Timur Shah was annoyed with the  
Subedar. ~~Noor~~ Muhammad Khan Babar, as officer in charge of  
the Finance Department, showed several lacs of rupees as  
arrears. Timur Shah asked Nawab Muzaffar Khan to submit the  
account.<sup>76</sup> On his failure to submit the account the Afghan<sup>77</sup>  
King increased revenue of Multan to three lacs of rupees.

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\*\* Ameen-ul-Mulk: Finance Minister.

68. T.M., P.140; Shahamet Ali, op.cit., P.78.

69. T.M., P.141; Shahamet Ali, op.cit., P.79;  
Tate, op.cit., P.91.

Nawab Muzaffar Khan had to face a delicate situation because if he refused to pay, there were other claimant<sup>78</sup> ready to pay the same amount for the Subedari of Multan. He accepted the royal verdict with mental reservation and did not agree to give the previous account on the basis of new assessment. One day, Timur Shah ordered to imprison the officers of the Nawab. When Muzaffar Khan came to know, he asked the royal officers to arrest him instead of<sup>79</sup> his servants. The moment Timur Shah was informed of the Nawab's reaction, he ordered to set free all his officers because he would not defame the Afghan King in India and let the people say that Timur Shah arrested a Saddozai against the non-payment of a certain amount. He remitted<sup>80</sup> the previous arrears and confirmed him as Subedar of Multan. The enemies of Nawab Muzaffar Khan were disappointed when they came to know of the magnanimity of the Afghan King who did not like to disgrace Nawab Muzaffar Khan hence their<sup>81</sup> schemes failed.

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70. T.M., P.141; Varma, op.cit., P.51; Shahamet Ali, op.cit., P.78; Tate, op.cit., P.91.
71. T.M., P.141; Shahamet Ali, op.cit., P.78.
72. P.S.G., B.S., P.59.
73. Ibid. P.59.
74. T.M., P.229.
75. Ibid. PP.232,233.
76. Ibid. P.229.

After settling the affairs of Multan and Bahawalpur, Timur Shah paid his attention towards <sup>82</sup> Sindh and succeeded in collecting the arrears of tribute. Then the Afghan King retired to Kabul in early 1789 and Nawab Muzaffar Khan accompanied him to Dera Ghazi Khan, having <sup>83</sup> obtained his permission he came back to Multan.

Timur Shah was considerate to Nawab Muzaffar Khan due to Wafadar Khan's patronage of the Nawab. On his return journey, Wafadar Khan died in Kabul. Timur Shah summoned his son Rehmatullah Khan from Kandhar and appointed <sup>84</sup> him as his Wazir. Rehmatullah Khan Saddozai also treated Nawab Muzaffar Khan with great respect and affection and <sup>85</sup> patronised him. Rehmatullah Khan could not enjoy the confidence of his master for long because Noor Muhammad Khan Babar, Ameen-ul-Mul, instigated the Afghan King against him.

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77. T.H., P.229; Z.A., P.53., writes that the revenue of Multan was increased to double.

78. Ibid. P.229; Z.A., P.53.

79. T.H., P.229.

80. Ibid. P.230; Yousuf Gardezi, op.cit., PP.48,49; Shahamat Ali op.cit., P.79; Z.A., P.53.

81. T.H., P.230.

82. M.H.P., P.251., writes that 'he succeeded in <sup>ext</sup>acting about sixty lakhs of rupees'.

83. Yousuf Gardezi, op.cit., PP.48,49.

The Wazir excused his presence in the court on the grounds of illness and did not attend the court till the death of Timur Shah.<sup>86</sup> After his death when Shah Zaman succeeded to the Afghan throne, Rehmatullah Khan was again honoured and given the title of Wafadar Khan II and was appointed as Wazir. Wafadar Khan became very powerful, and the Afghan King never thought of doing anything against his wishes. He was a great source of strength for Nawab Muzaffar Khan.<sup>87</sup>

When Ghulam Qadir Ruhila assumed power in Delhi in 1788 . and blinded the Mughal Emperor Shah Alam II, Mirza Ahsan Bakht the second son of the Mughal Emperor decided to go to Kabul to seek help from the Afghan King.<sup>88</sup> On his way to Kabul, he stopped at Multan in summer 1790 / . He was given due respect by Nawab Muzaffar Khan and was provided with all facilities. In Kabul, he met the Afghan King who gave him the assurance to invade India once again.

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84. T.M., P.172.

85. Ibid. P.172.

86. Ibid. P.203.

87. Ibid. P.172.

88. Z.A., P.54.

Timur Shah also gave him a stipend of one lac of rupees  
89  
from the revenue of Multan. Mirza Ahsan Bakht reached  
Multan in May 1792. He was received by the Nawab  
90  
and was lodged in the Mirza Jan garden. He indulged in  
loose talk against the Afghan King which was somehow  
reported to him. While receiving the news of this  
intrigue, the Afghan King became angry and 'sent secret  
instructions to the Governor of Multan to keep Mirza  
91  
Ahsan Bakht under surveillance'. His stipend was also  
cancelled and ultimately, he was allowed to leave Multan.

When Mirza Ahsan Bakht was already in Kabul,  
Ghaziud Din, the Delhi Wazir, also proceeded to Kabul via  
Bahawalpur, Multan and Derajats. When he arrived near  
92  
Multan in summer 1790 from Khairpur Tomi Wali, Nawab  
Muzaffar Khan sent his eldest son Sarfaraz Khan to receive  
93  
him. He was duly honoured and brought to Multan as the  
guest of Nawab Muzaffar Khan. Nawab Muzaffar Khan called  
94  
on him and provided him all the facilities. In Kabul, Ghaziud  
Din met the Afghan King who, on the request of Mirza  
95  
Ahsan Bakht, granted him pardon for having murdered Alamgir II.

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89. Ibid. P.54; T.A.S., P.146.

90. Z.A., P.54.

91. M.H.P., P.259.

92. Z.A., P.57.

The Nawab Wazir of Oudh sent his gifts to Kabul and his 'agents took the route through Bahawalpur , Multan and Derajat'. They were also received with honour in Multan and were provided all the facilities . In December 1797 A.D. (Rajab 1212 A.H.) Ghulam Muhammad Khan son of Faizullah Khan son of Nawab Ali Muhammad Khan Ruhila, while on his way to Mecca via Kabul stopped at Multan. Nawab Muzaffar Khan received him with great respect and extended him all the facilities. Ghulam Muhammad Khan also called on the Afghan King at Kabul who bestowed upon him the Khilat.

Nawab Muzaffar Khan maintained very cordial relations with all the prominent Muslims of India. He exchanged gifts with them. He paid due respect to all those who visited his domain. He commanded great respect and was the only hope for the Muslims in the northern India. He hoisted high the flag of independence in the beginning of the 19th century and faced bravely the Sikh menace under Maharaja Ranjit Singh. He laid down his life while defending his homeland and to save the life and honour of the Muslims of Northern India.

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93. Ibid. P.57.

94. Ibid. P.57.

95. M.H.P., P.258.

96. Ibid. P.255.

Nawab Muzaffar Khan was conscious of <sup>the</sup>entire political situation in Northern India. He had tried to unite the Muslims of Multan but seeing their weaknesses made a continuous struggle to safeguard his domain from the aggression of the Sikhs.

Nawab Muzaffar Khan had started his rule in Multan with great confidence. Although Timur Shah had not invaded India again after his lost invasion in 1788-89 but his officials had extracted revenues regularly from his Indian Provinces including Multan. Timur Shah had increased the revenues of Multan, hence Nawab Muzaffar Khan had to collect the revenues with great harshness which <sup>100</sup>was resented by his people. In the meantime, Timur Shah was informed that Nawab Muzaffar Khan had constructed a throne for himself, on which he used to sit while holding the court. The Afghan King had already tolerated his using of 'Palki'. He showed his annoyance to Wafadar Khan who communicated it to Nawab Muzaffar Khan, 'on hearing of his annoyance the Nawab gave up his sitting on the throne' and

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97. Z.A., P.55; T.A.S., P.138.  
 98. Z.A., P.55; T.A.S., P.138.  
 99. T.A.S., P.138.



the 'Palki'<sup>101</sup> as well. Then he used to sit on a carpet while holding his court.<sup>102</sup> Later on Nawab Muzaffar Khan had become lethargic and carefree in his official duties due to his over-confidence. He did not care for anybody and became harsh in his dealings with his people. He even ignored the royal order of joining Sardar Abdul Rahim Khan Hoti in the campaign of Kachi-Shumali.<sup>103</sup>

The Province of Kachi-Shumali consisted of Thal, Bhakar, Mankera and Leiah. It had different chiefs in their respective areas and all of them belonged to the Mirrani and Jaskani tribes.<sup>104</sup> These Baluch chiefs\*\* were independent in their internal affairs but they had accepted the overlordship of the Afghan Kings since the days of Ahmad Shah. The annual subsidy from them had remained unpaid since the departure of Timur Shah from India. In the meantime,

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100. T.M., P.230.

101. Ibid. P.230.

\* Palki: A wooden cot, covered with beautiful curtains, being carried by slaves/servants was in the common use of royal house of Mughals in Shahjahanabad. Sarbuland Khan Saddozai saw it in Shahjahanabad, he got it constructed on that pattern and used it in Multan. When Nawab Shuja Khan saw it, he liked it very much and also got it constructed. He used it during the lifetime of Ahmad Shah who ignored it. But Timur Shah did not like the idea.

102. T.M., P.230.

103. Ibid.; Yousuf Gardezi, op.cit., P.48; Shahamat Ali, op.cit., P.93.

104. Gazetteer of Dera-Ismail-Khan, Lahore, 1883-84 PP.32-35.

Mian Abdul Nabi<sup>c</sup>, a Kalhora chief was ousted from Sindh by Mir Fateh Ali Khan Talpur in 1784 (1198 A.H.). He ran away to Kabul for help. On his way to Kabul, he stopped at Multan. Nawab Muzaffar Khan provided him with all the facilities<sup>105</sup> and he proceeded to Kabul. Mir Fateh Ali Khan, the Talpur chief, sent Agha Ibrahim Shah Irani as his envoy to Kabul to get the royal Farman, confirming the Talpur chief as Subedar of Sindh. He was instructed to give the assurance of paying the tribute regularly to the Afghan King. Mian Abdul Nabi then requested Timur Shah for help as he was his tributary. The Afghan King asked him to pay nine lacs of rupees, the arrear of tribute but he failed to deposit the amount in the royal treasury. Timur Shah instructed the envoy of Mir Fateh Ali Khan to pay nine lacs of rupees in lieu of Subdari of Sindh, which he immediately arranged.<sup>106</sup> Mir Fateh Ali Khan was then appointed Subedar of Sindh. Mian Abdul Nabi was granted a stipend of one lac of rupees from the revenue of Dera Ghazi Khan.<sup>107</sup> Mian Abdul Nabi constantly tried to convince the

<sup>108</sup>

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\*\* Hayat Khan and Muhammad Khan Jaskani.

c Timur Shah gave him the title of Mutamidud Doula Shah Nawaz Khan Feroz Jang in 1780 (1194 A.H.)  
See: Ghulam Rasool Mehr, Tarikh-i-Sindh, vol.iii., P.787.

105. Z.A., P.55.

106. Sheikh Muhammad Azam, Jawahir-i-Abbasiya (Persian MS), Bahawalpur (1802-30), pp.264, 265.

Afghan King and after two years he ultimately succeeded in obtaining the royal order to conquer Sindh. Timur Shah despatched Ahmad Khan Nurzai and Bostan Khan to Sindh in 1788 . . . (1202 A.H.). Orders were also issued to the Nawab of Bahawalpur and Nawab Muzaffar Khan to help the<sup>109</sup> Afghan Generals. Nawab Muzaffar Khan joined the Afghan<sup>110</sup> army alongwith his small force. But the Afghan army failed<sup>111</sup> to conquer Sindh for Mian Abdul Nabi. In the meantime, Mir Fateh Ali Khan sent his envoy to Kabul, to pay the tribute.<sup>112</sup> Timur Shah confirmed him as the Subedar of Sindh. Mian Abdul Nabi had also sent his envoy Lala Izzat Rai to the royal court. He was still at Multan, on his way to Kabul, when Mian Abdul Nabi heard the news of the confirmation of his opponent as the Subedar of Sindh. He at once, recalled<sup>113</sup> his envoy from Multan. Mian Abdul Nabi again persuaded the Afghan King to help him. The Afghan King then granted him the Province of Kachi-Shumali and despatched Sardar<sup>114</sup> Abdul Rahim Khan Hoti in 1791 . . . (1205 A.H.) to his help.

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107. Ibid. P.265.

108. Ibid. P.259.

109. T.M., P.229; Jawahir-i-Abbasia, PP.271,272.

110. T.M., P.229.

111. Ferrier, op.cit., PP.116,118.

112. Jawahir-i-Abbasia, P.285.

The Afghan King also ordered Nawab Qamaruddin Khan Subedar of Dera Ghazi Khan, the Nawab of Bahawalpur and Nawab Muzaffar Khan to assist Mian Abdul Nabi. The Afghan army under the command of Sardar Abdul Rahim Khan Hoti conquered the Province of Kachl-Shumali except Mankera for Mian Abdul Nabi. The Baluch chief of Mankera defended the Fort bravely and the siege prolonged. The Afghan King sent Khan Sarqani to Nawab Muzaffar Khan with clear instructions to induce him to join the campaign of Mankera. The Afghan King showed his annoyance when the Nawab could not join the Afghan General. On the arrival of the Afghan envoy, Nawab Muzaffar Khan, who had already prepared to proceed to Mankera, appointed Muhammad Khan son of Yar Muhammad Khan alias Yaran Khan Saddozai as his naib in Multan and hurriedly proceeded for the campaign. The mere arrival of the Nawab created panic in the enemy's camp and the united army conquered Mankera Fort after nine months of its siege.

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113. Ibid. PP.301,302.

114. T.M., PP.142,143,231,232.

115. Ibid. PP.231,232; Yousuf Gardezi, op.cit., P.48; Shahamet Ali, op.cit., P.83.

116. T.M., PP.231,232; Z.A., P.55.

117. T.M., P.231; Yousuf Gardezi, op.cit., P.48; Shahamet Ali op.cit., P.83., writes that Mankera was occupied by Muhammad Khan who resisted Abdul Nabi which is incorrect because at that time Muhammad Khan was naib of Nawab Muzaffar Khan in Multan and he was appointed Subedar of Mankera by Shah Zaman. See: T.M., PP.231, 232; Yousuf Gardezi, op.cit., P.48; Z.A., op.cit., P.55.

in winter 1791 . (1206 A.H.). During the absence of Nawab Muzaffar Khan, Muhammad Khan very ably looked after the administration. After the conquest of Mankera, Nawab Muzaffar Khan came back to Multan in early 1792 (1206 A.H.). At the time of conquest of Mankera, Timur Shah was in Peshawar. He acknowledged the services of Nawab Muzaffar Khan because he had shown great valour in the

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118. I.M., PP.231,232; Yousuf Gardezi,op.cit., P.48; Shahamet Ali,op.cit., P.82.

- \* Muhammad Khan son of Yar Muhammad Khan alias Yaran Khan son of Ghazi Khan son of Sohbat Khan son of Ismail Khan son of Bahadur Khan was son of Malik Saddu. The descendants of Bahadur Khan are called Bahadur Khel Saddozai. Yar Muhammad Khan married a Tarin woman who gave birth to a son named Muhammad Khan. Yar Muhammad Khan became mad and killed his wife, therefore, the infant was brought up in the house of his maternal uncle. He was patronised and financed by Muhammad Sharif Khan Khudakka at the time of his joining the army of the Subedar of Multan. He started his career as a foot soldier but later on he was provided horse by Muhammad Sharif Khan and joined the cavalry of Nawab Shuja Khan. He was a brave, attractive, tall and robust young man. During the Subedari of Nawab Sharif Khan in Dera Ghazi Khan, he was taken as Jamadar. When Nawab Muzaffar Khan became Subedar of Multan, he came back to Multan and joined his army. He started his career with thirty rupees per month but soon promoted to the rank of a confident of the Subedar. When Nawab Muzaffar Khan went to Mankera, he appointed him as his naib and paid him one hundred rupees monthly. It was a turning point in his life and he introduced himself as a real able and brave administrator. He made his fortune and raised his personal contingent. During the reign of Shah Zaman, due to the kind favour of Wafadar Khan II, he was appointed as the Subedar of Kachi-Shumali with the title of Muinuddoula Sarbuland Khan Bahadur Feroz Jang. During the reign of Shah Mahmud, he was also appointed as the Subedar of Dera Ismail Khan; See: I.M., PP.264-283; also See: D.Z., PP.36,37.

campaign of Mankera. The Afghan King remitted fifty thousand  
rupees from his arrears of <sup>121</sup>tribute. It encouraged him and  
the Nawab decided to go to the royal court for the settlement  
of his arrears of tribute with the request to get concession  
<sup>122</sup>in the annual tribute as well. Nawab Muzaffar Khan also paid  
his attention towards his internal affairs and settled them  
before leaving Multan for Kabul. It took several months  
to proceed to Kabul because the rivers were also flowing in  
flood. He waited till the decrease of the river water.  
Before leaving Multan he appointed Muhammad Khan Saddozai  
as his naib and then proceeded via Derajats. In the meantime,  
Timur Shah had arrived in Peshawar to spend his winter of  
1792 A.D. Nawab Muzaffar Khan reached there with great  
<sup>123</sup>confidence and met the Afghan King. He was asked to place the

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119. T.M., PP.231,232; Yousuf Gardezi,op.cit.,P.48;  
Shahamet Ali,op.cit., PP.82,83; Z.A., PP.55,56.

120. T.M., PP.142,143,232; Yousuf Gardezi,op.cit.,  
P.48; Shahamet Ali,op.cit., P.83; Z.A., P.56.

\* Previously it was fixed 3 lacs of rupees annually,  
now after this concession it became 2 lacs and fifty  
thousand; T.M., P.232.

121. T.M., P.232.

122. Ibid. P.232.

123. T.M., P.232; Z.A., P.56.

account of the arrears of tribute. The Nawab was disappointed because ~~Near~~ Muhammad Khan Babar, the Ameenul -Mulk who was against him created hurdles in his way. The reason of his being against the Nawab was that once a relative of the Ameenul-Mulk killed a farmer in Multan. His case was brought before the Nawab who judiciously ordered his execution in spite<sup>124</sup> of the request of ~~Near~~ Muhammad Khan Babar. Under the instructions of the Ameen-ul-Mulk, the finance department<sup>\*</sup> prepared a list<sup>125</sup> of arrears of tribute which was calculated in lacs. The Diwan and the officers of the Nawab tried to satisfy the royal officials but in vain. The matter was reported to the Nawab who ultimately and against his wishes, decided to go to ~~Near~~ Muhammad Khan Babar to seek his favour because the Nawab's patron Rehmatullah Khan was not attending the royal<sup>126</sup> court. Nawab Muzaffar Khan visited the place of Ameenul-Mulk, who agreed to help him and the next day the account was<sup>127</sup> settled according to the wishes of the Nawab. Nawab Muzaffar Khan<sup>128</sup> felt disgraced after his visit to ~~Near~~ Muhammad Khan Babar

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124. I.M., P.233.

\* ~~Near~~ Muhammad Khan Babar, Ameenul-Mulk was in charge of Treasury; See: M.H.P., P.269; Also See: T.A.S., P.141. Also See: D.7., P.244.

125. Ibid. P.233.

126. Ibid. P.233; T.A.S., P.140.

127. I.M., P.233.

128. Ibid. P.233.

but there was no way out. At that time Timur Shah was seriously ill and when the matter was reported to him, he felt very sorry and remarked that the Nawab should have  
129  
requested him instead of his Amcenul-Mulk. The Afghan King  
130  
proceeded to Kabul and Nawab Muzaffar Khan accompanied him.  
131  
Timur Shah died in Kabul on 18th May 1793 .(1207 A.H.).  
Timur Shah was succeeded by his son Shah Zaman. Rehmatullah Khan son of Fatchullah Khan Saddozai, the Afghan Wazir<sup>\*</sup> was a patron of Nawab Muzaffar Khan and treated him with great  
132  
affection. Shah Zaman confirmed Nawab Muzaffar Khan as  
133  
Subedar of Multan in 1793 .(1207 A.H.). The Afghan King also bestowed upon him the Khilat and remitted one lac and ten thousand rupees from the arrears of tribute with the  
134  
concession of forty thousand rupees from the annual tribute.<sup>\*\*</sup>

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129. Ibid. P.233.

130. Ibid. P.233., Yousuf Gardezi, op.cit., P.48., writes that Timur Shah took Nawab Muzaffar Khan alongwith him to Kabul. While on his way to Peshawar, the Afghan King fell seriously ill and later on died in Kabul, otherwise, Timur Shah had the intention of putting the Nawab in the confinement which is incorrect because Timur Shah never invaded India in 1792 . before his death; See: Z.A., P.56.

131. H.H.P., P.261; Tate, op.cit., P.92; Tarikh-i-Sultani, PP.159-161; D.Z., P.23

\* He was promoted from Wazir to Prime Minister in 1199 (1213 A.H.); See: D.Z., op.cit., P.235; T.M., op.cit., P.144; T.A.S., op.cit., P.140.

132. H.H., P.233; Yousuf Gardezi, op.cit., P.49; D.Z., PP.239,240.



Nawab Muzaffar Khan came back to Multan in winter 1793 via Derajats. In his long absence, Muhammad Khan Saddozai ruled over Multan very successfully. It provided him an opportunity to get an experience and training in the administration which he utilised in administering the Province of Kachi-Shumali during his governorship.

Nawab Muzaffar Khan had gained some experience from his visit to Kabul. He had seen the death of one monarch and the succession of another. Shah Zaman was a young man of 23, the Nawab had studied and watched him closely. He had also judged his political wisdom alongwith the political environment of Kabul. He had noticed his weaknesses and the intrigues of his courtiers. It all made Nawab Muzaffar Khan bold and the fear of the royal authority had vanished from his mind.<sup>135</sup>

Shah Zaman, after settling his internal problems paid his attention towards his Indian affairs. He marched 'in person to Dera Ghazi Khan to consolidate his authority over Sindh'. He reached Dera Ghazi Khan on 9th January 1794<sup>136</sup>. He collected the 'arrears of revenue' and gave

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\*\* Annual tribute of Multan:After this concession, it became 2 lacs and ten thousand.

133. T.H., P.233; Yousuf Gardezi, op.cit., P.49;  
Z.A., P.56; D.Z., PP.36,37.

134. T.H., P.233.

audience to all notables. The Nawab of Bahawalpur sent his son Faizullah Khan. He alongwith several other notable Saddozais of Multan including Din Muhammad Khan Khudakka waited on 'his majesty, to condole with him on the death of the late monarch and to congratulate him on his succession'.<sup>137</sup> All of them were received with great honour.<sup>138</sup> Din Muhammad Khan Khudakka and several other Saddozais of Multan lodged complaints to the Afghan King against the harsh attitude of Nawab Muzaffar Khan.<sup>139</sup> Shah Zaman paid full attention to their complaints but did not take any action against the Nawab due to the favourable attitude of his Wazir towards Nawab Muzaffar Khan.<sup>140</sup> On the other hand, the Nawab was fed up with their complaints and his attitude became more harsh which caused division among the Saddozais.<sup>141</sup> This division weakened the position of the Nawab and it was badly felt during the invasions of the Sikhs under Maharaja Ranjit Singh. He realised it and tried to redress their genuine grievances but failed to win over their hearts.

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135. Ibid. P.234.

136. Tate., op.cit P.96; T.M., PP.146,147.

137. T.M., PP.146,147,234; Shahamet Ali, op.cit., P.85.

138. T.M., PP.146,147,234; Shahamet Ali, op.cit., P.85.

139. T.M., P.234.

140. Ibid. P.234.

Mian Abdul Nabi the Subedar of Kachi-Shumali was in arrears of tribute worth 1,20,000 rupees. He became also unpopular due to his tyranny. He also met the Afghan King in Dera Ghazi Khan, who asked him to clear his account. Due to the good offices of Nawab Muzaffar Khan, 'five hundred camels were agreed in lieu of that sum'. But he failed to furnish the same. It resulted in his dismissal. Shah Zaman, on the recommendation of Wafadar Khan II, appointed Muhammad Khan Saddozai (who was naib of Nawab Muzaffar Khan) as the Subedar of Kachi-Shumali. After settling his Indian affairs, Shah Zaman retired in February 1794. The Afghan King issued orders to Nawab Muzaffar Khan, the Subedar of Dera Ghazi Khan and Sarfaraz Khan Badozai to assist him in recovering the Province of Kachi-Shumali. Nawab Muzaffar Khan placed the army at his disposal and Muhammad Khan Saddozai marched on Leiah, the capital of Kachi-Shumali. Mian Abdul Nabi fought a battle outside the Leiah Fort and after being defeated closed the gates of the Fort. During the siege,

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141. Ibid. P.234.

142. Shahamet Ali,op.cit., P.85.

143. T.M., P.278; Yousuf Gardezi,op.cit., P.50; Shahamet Ali,op.cit., P.87; Gazetteer of the Dera Ismail Khan District, 1883-84., P.35; Z.A., P.56; D./., P.37.

144. T.M., P.278; Yousuf Gardezi,op.cit., P.50; Shahamet Ali,op.cit., P.87; Z.A., P.56.

several prominent persons from both sides including Abdul Rahim Khan Babar, Sarfaraz Khan Badozai and Muhammad Arif Khan son of Mian Abdul Nabi were killed. Mian Abdul Nabi ran away to Dera Ghazi Khan and the Fort was captured by Muhammad Khan Saddozai. This way the Province of Kachi-Shumali was conquered with the help of Nawab Muzaffar Khan and it enhanced his image.

Nawab 'Muzaffar Khan's rule was a continuous war' but still he paid his attention towards the betterment and development of his people. He realised the importance of 'Musan Hatti' on the road leading from Multan to Dera Ghazi Khan, on the right side of the river Chenab. He decided to build a Fort there, therefore, 'the Fort and town of Muzaffargarh' were founded in 1794. He also repaired the Fort of Khangarh, the Fort of Ghazanfargarh, the Forts at Sikandarbad and Shujaabad. He dug many canals and provided facilities to the people. Muzaffargarh became his central town on the right side of Chenab. This way the

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145. T.M., op.cit., P.278; Yousuf Gardezi, op.cit., P.50; Shahamet Ali, op.cit., P.87; Z.A., op.cit., P.56.

Kachi Janubi: It consisted of Alipur, Arain, Kinjhar, Khor, Mahra, Seri and Trund. Previously it was in the possession of the Nawabs of Thal but 'between 1790 A.D. and the end of the century Nawab Bahawal Khan II took possession' of it. Now it forms the southern and western part of the Muzaffargarh Tehsil; See: P.D.G., Muzaffargarh, P.32.

146. T.M., op.cit., PP.250, 251, 278; Yousuf Gardezi, op.cit., P.50; Shahamet Ali, op.cit., P.87; Jawahir-i-Abbasia, op.cit., PP.312, 314.

territory on the right bank of the river Chenab attracted the people. The agriculturists migrated there from the other parts of the territory. During the downfall of the Mughals, the Provinces of Sindh, Multan, Bahawalpur, Panjab and Kashmir became the areas of influence of the Afghan Kingdom. But after the death of Timur Shah, their internal feuds provided the opportunity to the Indian Provinces to behave independently. The Sikh menace encouraged it. The Subedars of the Afghan Provinces had realised the weaknesses of the Afghan Kings after the death of Timur Shah and mere obtaining a royal Farman from Delhi or Kabul was nothing; the real thing was to have a strong base alongwith a strong army. Nawab Muzaffar Khan had realised it since his visit to Kabul and was doing his best to provide all the facilities to his people to have deep roots amongst his people. He had constructed many forts in different parts of his territory and had posted his men for their defence. This way he strengthened his position in his territory. It increased his influence which was felt far and wide. The geographical

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147. I.M., P.279; Yousuf Gardezi, op.cit., P.50; Shahamet Ali, op.cit., P.87.

\* Musan Hatti: A shop situated on the right bank of the river Chenab.

148. Punjab District Gazetteers, vol.xxxiv-A., Muzaffargarh District (1908), Lahore, 1910 P.31.

149. Ibid. P.1.

situation of the territory of the Nawab also helped him in strengthening his position. 'A favourable saying of the local <sup>150</sup>historians' indicates safety and prosperity of the territory of Nawab Muzaffar Khan. Nawab Muzaffar Khan paid equal attention to all parts of his territory. He made remarkable improvements in the country on the right bank of the Chenab specially in Rangpur, Muradabad, Muzaffargarh, Khangarh, Ghazanfargarh but never neglected his area on the left bank of the river Chenab which was considered as his stronghold. He also paid special attention to Sikandarabad Shujaabad and Multan.

After the retirement of Shah Zaman, Nawab  
• 151  
Muzaffar Khan wrote him a detailed letter on 14<sup>th</sup> March 1794 (27<sup>th</sup> Rajab 1208 A.H.) and tried to convince him of his loyalty, probably he was afraid of the complaints made to the Afghan King by the notable Saddozais of Multan. He also invited the Afghan King to invade India, but Shah Zaman could not respond due to his preoccupation in his internal affairs.

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\* Udhar Dilhi di Sultanat men futur, Idhar Shahan Kabul ki nazaron se dur., See: Ibid. P.30.(on that side anarchy in the Delhi Kingdom; on this side far from the eyes of the Kings of Kabul). It is generally said about Muzaffargarh but it is also true about Multan.

150. Ibid. P.31.

151. D.Z., PP.38-40.

• Note: The original Farman is available in Kabul. It is a detailed self explanatory letter. It is also a piece of literature. See: D.Z., PP.38-40.

His brothers Mahmud and Humayun had revolted against him. Prince Mahmud surrendered and was pardoned through the good offices of his mother who met Shah Zaman at Dilaram<sup>153</sup> in early 1795 but Prince Humayun fled to Baluchistan. In the meantime, orders were issued 'to Multan, Bahawalpore<sup>154</sup> and to the Rulers of Sind, to prevent his further advance'. Prince Humayun came back to his ancestral land but was defeated by Sardar Ahmad Khan Nurzai near Kandhar 'on 9th August 1795<sup>155</sup>. Prince Humayun once again retired to Baluchistan. From there he went to Kachi-Shumali via Sibi alongwith his small contingent numbering one hundred. When he reached the vicinity of Leiah, the news of his arrival was reported to Nawab Muhammad Khan Saddozai, Governor of Kachi-Shumali. As the Governor approached there with a force of five hundreded horsemen, fighting took place in which Prince Sultan Ahmad son of Prince Humayun and several others were killed. Prince Humayun was wounded and captured.<sup>156</sup>

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152. T.M., P.234.

153. Tate, op.cit., P.100.

154. Ibid. P.97; Shahamet Ali, op.cit., P.88., Memoirs of Peer Ibrahim Khan, op.cit., P.54.

155. Tate, op.cit., P.100.

156. T.M., PP.146,279; Shahamet Ali, op.cit., P.88; Memoirs of Peer Ibrahim Khan, P.55; Tate, op.cit., P.100; D.Z., PP.70,71; T.A.S., PP.115,116.

The Afghan King had already left for India to punish the Sikhs. He arrived at Peshawar on the 18th December 1795 where he was reported about the capture of Prince Humayun<sup>157</sup> who was then brought to Peshawar on 30th December 1795. Shah Zaman was so much pleased with this news that he conferred the title of 'Muinud doulah Sarbuland Khan Bahadur Feroz Jang' upon Nawab Muhammad Khan and also appointed him<sup>158</sup> as the Governor of Dera Ismail Khan. Now the Afghan King crossed attock in early 1796 and went on to Hasan<sup>159</sup> Abdal where he stayed for seven days only. He despatched Ahmad Khan Nurzai to subdue the Sikhs of the Panjab, and 'to take possession of the fort of Rohtas'. The Afghan Command succeeded in capturing the fort but his army failed to<sup>160</sup> subdue the Sikhs. He soon came back and joined his master. In the meantime, Shah Zaman had imprisoned Prince Humayun at Bala Hisar in Kabul. The captive was deprived of his sight and this callousness on the part of the brother was resented by the Durrani. The moment Prince Mahmud heard of it, he once again revolted in Hirat. The matter was

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157. Tate, op.cit., P.101.

158. T.M., P.279; Shahamet Ali, op.cit., P.89; Memoris of Peer Ibrahim Khan, P.56; Gazetteer of Dera Ismail Khan District 1883-84, op.cit., P.36.

159. Tate, op.cit., P.101; D.Z., P.62; T.M., P.147.



reported to the Afghan King, who immediately retired to  
161  
Kabul. The Sikh anarchy prevailed in Panjab. The Court  
intrigues compelled the Mughal Emperor Shah Alam II to  
invite the Afghan King to his rescue, but Shah Zaman  
excused on the grounds of bad weather and hurriedly went  
162  
back to crush the revolt of Prince Mahmud.

Since the days of Ahmad Shah, the image of the  
Afghan Kings was so towering, awe-inspiring in the minds  
of the Muslim rulers of the Sub-continent that whenever  
they faced any danger to their authority, they looked back  
to the Afghan King as their saviour. Tipu Sultan and  
Ghulam Muhammad Khan Ruhila having been defeated by the  
English, approached the Afghan King for help. Unfortunately  
the Afghan King had his own family <sup>feuds</sup> and he could not render  
timely assistance, nevertheless, he had been studying the  
situation and as soon as he got the opportunity, he rushed  
towards India, in the winter of 1796 . to crush the Sikh  
menace. . He crossed the Indus at Attock on 13th December  
1796 . (12th Jamadi-us-Sani 1211 A.H.). Shah Zaman  
163  
despatched a strong army of 20,000 under the command of

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160. Tate, op.cit., P.101; D.Z.. PP.62,63.

161. Tate, op.cit., PP.101,102; D.Z., PP.63,71,81.

162. D.Z., PP.71,73,81.

163. D.Z., P.232.

Sher Muhammad Khan Mukhtar-ud-Daulah<sup>164</sup>son of Sardar Shah Walli Khan Bamezai to punish the Sikhs. At the time of the Afghan invasion, the Panjab was ruled by several Sikh Sardars. Prominent amongst them were, Sahib Singh of Gujrat, Ranjit Singh of Wazirabad, Lehna Singh of Lahore and Gulab Singh of Amritsar. When the Sikhs heard of the Afghans, they ran away while the Vanegaurd of the Afghans reached Lahore in the last week of December 1796, followed by Shah Zaman. As the Afghan King arrived near Lahore, Lehna Singh handed over the charge of Lahore 'to Mian Shah Cheragh, a descendant<sup>165</sup> of the famous saint, Abdul Qadir Jilani' and ran away. Shah Zaman entered Lahore on 3<sup>166</sup>January 1797 .(Rajab 1211 A.H.) and stayed for one month. During his stay in Lahore, all of his tributaries in compliance with his orders sent their contingents to fight against the Sikhs. The Subedar of Multan, Nawab Muzaffar Khan also despatched his contingent to Lahore as a token of his loyalty. In February 1797, the Afghan King again got the news of Prince Mahmud's revolt in Hirat and he rushed back to Kabul. In the meantime, the

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164. D.Z., P.232.

165. D.Z., P.82; H.P., P. 302.

166. Monalstuart Elphinstone, An Account of the Kingdom of Caubul. Vol.II., Karachi, 1912, P.315; H.P., P.302; Tale.op.cit., P.104., gives the date 1st January 1797 also See: D.Z., P.82; I.A.S., PP.127-129.

hereditary Chief of Kot Kamalia, Saadat Yar Khan Kharral arrived in Multan to seek help from Nawab Huzaffar Khan against the Sikhs who had captured Kot Kamalia after  
167  
the departure of Shah Zaman. Nawab Huzaffar Khan directed his contingent to attack Kot Kamalia on their way back to Multan. Kot Kamalia was captured and handed over to  
168  
Saadat Yar Khan Kharral. It was a great achievement which enhanced the image of the Nawab not only in the minds of the Muslim rulers but also in the eyes of his enemies.

Shah Zaman invaded India again in November 1798 A.D. and soon occupied Lahore in December 1798 . In the Panjab 'the Shah was grieved to find the signs of the ravages of the Sikhs'. His army pursued the Sikhs but they ran away into the hills on the borders of the Panjab. Nizam-ud-Din Khan, a Pathan of Kasur who was a brave and capable person assisted the Afghan King in this encounter against the Sikhs. The Sikh leader, Ranjit Singh, a youth of 18, attracted the attention of the Afghan King. In the meantime, the news of the presence of Shah Fateh Ali of Iran in Khurassan disturbed him and he retired hurriedly in early 1799 His army

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167. T.H. . . . P.234; Z.A., op.cit., PP.56,57.

168. T.H., . . . P.234; Z.A., op.cit., PP.56,57; P.C., . . . P.482; Yousuf Gardezi writes the name of the Commander Muhammad Khan Badozai. According to him Kot Kamalia was annexed by the Nawab, Iazkirat-ul-Multan P.69; Ali Muhammad Khan writes that it was uneconomical for the Nawab to retain Kot Kamalia; T.H., . . . P.234;

followed him. Due to heavy rains the river Jhelum was in flood. While the Shah's army was crossing the river, his artillery and baggage were swept away. Ranjit Singh recovered the Shah's guns which were sent on after him to Peshawar, where the Shah arrived on the 30th January 1799 . . The Afghan King was so pleased with him that<sup>169</sup> he appointed him the Governor of Lahore.

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169. D.Z., PP.85,86; Tate.op.cit., P.110;  
H.P., P.348.

Maharaja Ranjit Singh

Maharaja Ranjit Singh belonged to the Sukerchakia Misl. His father Maha Singh was the Chief of that Misl. At the time of his father's death in 1792 ., Ranjit Singh was a youth of 12. He had to struggle very hard for his existence as he was surrounded by many rivals. His enemies belonging to his own sect forced him to seek refuge with the Afghan King who not only patronised him, but also bestowed upon him, the Royal Farman of governorship of Lahore in 1799 . He succeeded in capturing Lahore in July 1799 . Being a very ambitious man, he not only consolidated his territories but ultimately established himself as the unrivalled Chief in the Panjab. He conquered the whole of the Panjab and established a Sikh dynasty which lasted for half a century. He was opposed by the Muslims as well as the non Muslims but he defeated all of his rivals.

In the meantime a conspiracy was unearthed to kill Shah Zaman and his Wazir Wafadar Khan II in 1800 . All the conspirators including Payanda Khan Barakzai and Noor Muhammad Khan Babar were executed. Fateh Khan son of Payanda Khan alongwith his brothers and supporters ran away to Prince Mahmud who was in exile in Iran. Wafadar Khan II summoned Nawab Muzaffar Khan in 1800 . (1215 A.H.).

The Nawab at once proceeded to Kabul via Derajats. When he reached Dera Ismail Khan he came to know about the conspiracy. While realising the Afghan capital, a disturbed place, he cancelled his onward journey. During his stay at Dera Ismail Khan, Nawab Muhammad Khan (Muin-ud-Doulah Sarbuland Khan Bahadur Feroz Jang) Governor of Dera Ismail Khan, who had been his employee, called on him. Nawab Muhammad Khan's drum-beater heralded his arrival by announcing his entry into the Camp of Nawab Muzaffar Khan. This announcement annoyed Nawab Muzaffar Khan who paid no heed to his arrival. The Nawab received him casually while sitting on the carpet. Nawab Muhammad Khan felt disgraced and did not turn up again. From Dera Ismail Khan, Nawab Muzaffar Khan came back to Multan.<sup>2</sup>

The year 1801 saw many important events. In Afghanistan, Shah Zaman<sup>\*</sup> was dethroned at the age of 32 after nine years of disturbed rule. His elder brother Prince Mahmud was declared the King of Afghanistan with the help of the Barakzais. Wafadar Khan II was killed. In India, Maharaja Ranjit Singh succeeded in capturing a large territory of the West Panjab. Nizam-ud-Din Khan of Kasur

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1. T.H., PP.148,149,234.
  2. Ibid. PP.234, 279, 280.

also accepted his overlordship. The family feud of the Saddozais in Afghanistan encouraged Maharaja Ranjit Singh to fulfil his ambitious designs against the Muslims of the Panjab and Multan. Having realised the changes in Afghanistan as well as in the Panjab, Nawab Muzaffar Khan also prepared himself to reap political benefits. During the reign of Shah Mahmud, Afghanistan was virtually ruled by his Wazir Fateh Khan Barakzai. In Afghanistan, the practice had been that whosoever reigned, he also ruled otherwise he was replaced. The Afghans did not like the tyrannical rule of the Barakzais, hence all the tributaries stopped paying the annual tribute to Kabul. Nawab Muzaffar Khan also stopped sending the annual tribute to Kabul. He did not like the Barakzai atrocities on the Saddozais. The ill will was mutual. Fateh Khan Barakzai waited for an opportunity to dislodge Nawab Muzaffar Khan. It was provided by Abdus Samad Khan Badozai.

During the Leliah Campaign in 1794 . Sarfaraz Khan had lost his life and his brothers Hafiz Sarbuland Khan and Abdus Samad Khan quarrelled with each other on the property. In this property feud Abdus Samad Khan had

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\* 'He lived to a good old age and died in Ludhiana, a pensioner on the bounty of the East India Company. He had several sons, none of whom, however, displayed any talent, or distinguished themselves in the events that took place in Afghanistan'. 'Shah Zaman died in exile and was buried in a graveyard, near the town of Sirhind'. See: Tate, op.cit., PP.115,116.

seized the whole estate. Hafiz Sarbuland Khan had then appealed to Shah Zaman to intervene. The Shah had given him an allowance of Rs.6500/-, of which Rs.4500/- was to be paid out of the revenues of Multan. The Afghan King had also passed an order to the Subedar of Multan to divide<sup>3</sup> equally all the Jagirs between the two brothers. Abdus Samad Khan had refused to abide by this decision. It was their Jagir in Multan which Nawab Muzaffar Khan could divide between the two brothers. This created resentment in the mind of Abdus Samad Khan against the Nawab. After the fall of Shah Zaman, Abdus Samad Khan went to Kabul and approached Fateh Khan Barakzai with the result that he was<sup>4</sup> successful in obtaining the Subedari of Multan.

The Mukhdum of Uch, Syed Hamid Gilani had ~~stained~~ his relations with the Nawab of Bahawalpur (Rukun-ud-Doulah Muhammad Bahawal Khan II) because he aspired to extend the area of his political influence which was opposed by the Nawab of Bahawalpur. Mukhdum Hamid Gilani sent his envoys to Multan and Bikaner to seek help against the Nawab. He had also approached the Afghan King, Shah Zaman, who demanded explanation from the Nawab. The Nawab of

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3. I.M., P.234; C.F., Multan District, vol.II, Lahore, 1910, PP.319, 320.

4. I.M., PP.234,235; C.F., P.320; Shahamat Ali, op.cit., P.113.



Bahawalpur confined him in his house and informed Shah Zaman about feigned insanity. The Mukhdum of Uch was joined by Khuda Bakhsh of Kahrani tribe, Hajj Khan of Mehdanee tribe, Ikhtiar Khan of Marufanee tribe and several other Daudputras against the Nawab of Bahawalpur. The Nawab sent his second son Faiz Ullah Khan<sup>\*</sup> to Multan to seek help from Nawab Muzaffar Khan. He was received by Sarfaraz Khan the eldest son of the Nawab and was treated hospitably. Nawab Muzaffar Khan placed a force under the Command of Khuda Yar Khan Ghilzal and Ahmad Khan at his disposal. Faiz Ullah Khan alongwith the Multani army joined his elder brother Sadiq Khan<sup>\*\*</sup> near Bahawalpur and this united force crushed the rebels.<sup>5</sup> This timely succour created better understanding between the Nawab of Bahawalpur and Nawab Muzaffar Khan.

When Abdus Samad Khan returned from Kabul, he had also brought royal orders for the Nawab of Bahawalpur and for Mir Alam Khan Nurzai<sup>\*\*\*</sup>, the Governor of Dera Ghazi Khan

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\* Sher Muhammad Nadir writes his name 'Faizyab Khan'; Z.A., P.58.

\*\* Abdullah Khan was his real name.

5. Z.A., PP.58,59; Shahamat Ali, op.cit., PP.90-98.

\*\*\* He was nephew of Sardar Ahmad Khan Nurzai.

to assist him in assuming charge of the Subedari of Multan.<sup>6</sup> The Nawab of Bahawalpur could not afford to be ungrateful and he refused to comply with the royal orders against Nawab Muzaffar Khan. The Nawab of Bahawalpur then sent Gosaeen Behar Rae as his envoy to Multan who gave assurance to Nawab<sup>7</sup> Muzaffar Khan for all assistance against Abdus Samad Khan. Nawab Muzaffar Khan requested the Nawab of Bahawalpur for help. Nawab Bahawal Khan II agreed to supply a force to assist him. As soon as Abdus Samad Khan came to know of it he also approached the Nawab of Bahawalpur seeking his help in lieu of Khangarh which would be ceded to the Nawab on perpetual basis in case of success. But the Nawab turned down his offer and at once placed his strong army consisting of 5000 horse and foot under the command of Munshi Jiwan Ram, Din Muhammad Khan, Abdullah Khan and other Daudputra chiefs,<sup>8</sup> at the disposal of Nawab Muzaffar Khan. Abdus Samad Khan then decided to give fight. He sent his family to his strong-hold of Dera Din Panah. He decided to check the army of Nawab Muzaffar Khan near his another strong-hold Daud Jahanian<sup>9</sup> which he had already fortified. As Nawab Muzaffar Khan

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6. Z.A., PP.59,60; Shahamet Ali,op.cit., PP.113,114.

7. Shahamet Ali,op.cit. PP.113,114.

8. Ibid. PP.113,114; C.F., P.320

had refused to accept the royal farman appointing Abdus Samad Khan as the Subedar of Multan, he had despatched his army against Abdus Samad Khan without waiting for the army of the Nawab of Bahawalpur; under the command of Ghulam Murtaza Khan and Khan Muhammad (Father-in-law of Zulfikar Khan). Abdus Samad Khan stopped the Multani army at village Dinpur in the vicinity of Daud Jahanian. A battle was fought in which Abdus Samad Khan was defeated. He took refuge in his fort at Daud Jahanian, which was besieged. The siege lasted for one and a half month. Ultimately it was captured. Abdus Samad Khan ran away to his second stronghold of Dera Din Panah. The Fort at Daud Jahanian was demolished by Nawab Muzaffar Khan. The Multani army followed him to Dera Din Panah. Abdus Samad Khan appealed to Mir Alam Khan Nurzai, Governor of Dera Ghazi Khan for help. Mir Alam Khan at once sent his envoy Kareem Khan to Multan to settle the affair according to the royal Farman. Kareem Khan was a short-tempered man. He annoyed Nawab Muzaffar Khan.

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c It is 5 miles from Muzaffargarh and the village is named after the saint Hazrat Daud Jahanian who is buried there. Sarfaraz Khan, the elder brother of Abdus Samad Khan, built a Fort there. It is 2 miles from the Tomb of Hazrat Daud Jahanian..

9. Shahamat Ali, op.cit., PP.113,114; C.F., P.320; I.H., P.235.

10. P.D.G., H.D., P.52.

11. I.H., P.235.

The Nawab refused to accept Abdus Samad Khan as the Subedar of Multan. The failure of the mission annoyed Mir Alam Khan, who soon despatched one thousand selected horsemen to Dera Din Panah to render help to Abdus Samad<sup>12</sup> Khan. The arrival of a force from Dera Ghazi Khan encouraged Abdus Samad Khan, who with its help repulsed the attack of the Multani army in a battle fought in the vicinity of<sup>13</sup> Dera Din Panah. The Multani army lost 220 men. In the meantime the Bahawalpuri force arrived at Dera Din Panah and joined the Multani army. They collectively attacked Dera<sup>14</sup> Din Panah and besieged it. During the siege, Nawab Muzaffar Khan also approached the Afghan King, Shah Mahmud through the good offices of the Saddozais of Multan<sup>\*</sup> as well as the Saddozais of Afghanistan that the Subedari of Multan should<sup>15</sup> not be given to a non Saddozai. At that time, Fatch Khan Barakzai had gone to Daman and Dera Ismail Khan to collect the annual revenue. The absence of the Wazir from the capital provided an opportunity to the Saddozais to convince the Afghan King who ultimately withdrew his previous royal

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12. Ibid., P.235; Shahamet Ali, op.cit., P.114;

13. Shahamet Ali, op.cit., P.114.

14. Ibid. P.115.

\* Amongst the Saddozais of Multan, Din Muhammad Khan Khudakka wrote a letter of recommendation to the Afghan King in favour of Nawab Muzaffar Khan. See: Ibid., P.235.

Farman and confirmed Nawab Muzaffar Khan as the Subedar of  
<sup>16</sup>  
 Multan. This new development strengthened the hands of  
 besieging army and the Fort was captured in 1802 .  
 (1217 A.H.). Abdus Samad Khan ran away to Mir Alam Khan. The  
<sup>17</sup>  
 Fort of Dera Din Panah was also demolished. After this  
 victory, Nawab Muzaffar Khan exchanged correspondence with  
 Nawab Muhammad Khan of Dera Ismail Khan and Nawab Bahawal  
 Khan II. Both of them agreed to punish Mir Alam Khan,  
 Governor of Dera Ghazi Khan for his nefarious activities.  
 Nawab Muzaffar Khan despatched a force under his son  
 Zulfikar Khan. The Nawab of Bahawalpur also sent a force  
 under the command of his son Abdullah Khan (Sadiq Muhammad  
 Khan). Nawab Muhammad Khan too sent his army under the  
 command of his brother Khuda Yar Khan. The united force  
<sup>18</sup>  
 gathered at the village of Ajub Walah . It crossed Indus  
 from Ajub Walah and marched on Dera Ghazi Khan. Mir Alam  
 Khan finding himself defenceless retired to Jampur in  
<sup>19</sup>  
 1803 . (1218 A.H.) and from there ran away to Kandhar.

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15. T.N., PP.235,285,286.

16. Ibid. PP.235,286.

17. Ibid. PP.235,236.

\* A village in Muzaffargarh on the bank of the river Indus.

18. Shahamet Ali, op.cit., PP.115,116.

اورا منہدم ساختہ باخاک برابر گردانید

تذکرہ (ص ۲۳۶)

Abdus Samad Khan, who was with him ran away to Lahore to induce Maharaja Ranjit Singh to fight against Nawab Muzaffar Khan. <sup>20</sup> Shah Mahmud was then deposed at Kabul and Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk succeeded him as the King of Afghanistan.

During the reign of Shah Mahmud, Maharaja Ranjit Singh had established himself as the ruling Chief. Being encouraged with his successful campaigns against his rivals including Nizam-ud-Din Khan of Kasur, he decided to invade Multan whose prosperity had attracted his greedy nature. Abdus Samad Khan also played his dirty role and induced him to invade Multan. He advanced against Multan in 1803. (1218 A.H.) and encamped in the vicinity of Kabirwala, <sup>21</sup> 27 miles from Multan. The moment Nawab Muzaffar Khan came to know of his arrival, he collected a large army and proceeded to check his advance. The Nawab also encamped in front of the Sikh army. Both of them decided to settle the dispute if any through negotiations, hence they exchanged letters and ultimately met each other in a cordial atmosphere and exchanged presents. The Nawab saw for the first time this youth of 22 who had shown his administrative skill, diplomacy and valour against his rivals. It was a meeting of two great leaders. They departed in a friendly atmosphere and Maharaja Ranjit Singh went back to Lahore

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19. J.H., P.236; Z.A., PP.61,62; Shahamet Ali, writes that this event occurred during the reign of Shah Mahmud, P.116., where as Ali Muhammad Khan writes that Mir Alam Khan was ousted during the reign of Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk.

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after receiving some money from the Nawab.

When the Afghan King, Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk ascended the throne, he came to Baluchistan via Bolan Pass in 1804 .(1219 A.H.) to extract the arrears of revenue. Mir Mahmud, the chief of Baluchistan agreed to pay a portion of the arrears. From there, he entered into Shikarpur (Sindh) and collected the arrears of the revenue for the last three years. Then he proceeded to Dera Ghazi Khan. On his arrival at Dera Ghazi Khan, the prominent Saddozais including Din Muhammad Khan Khudakka went to meet him. Shah Shuja-ul-Mul received every body with great affection. He granted a stipend of five thousand rupees annually to Din Muhammad Khan out of the revenues of Multan. Nawab Muzaffar Khan refused to acknowledge the royal Farman after the departure of the Afghan King. It created bitterness between the Khudakkas and the Nawab, hence the Khudakkas remained aloof during the late invasions of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. The Nawab had not paid his

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20. C.F., P.320.

21. Sita Ram Kohli, Maharaja Ranjit Singh, Allabad, 1933, PP.84,85; See: P.C., op.cit., P.483., gives the year 1802 A.D. also See: H.P., op.cit., PP.359,359.

22. Sita Ram Kohli., P.85; H.P., op.cit., PP.359, 359; See: U.T.(ii), op.cit., P.55; Kanhia Lal, Ranjit Singh, Lahore 1909, PP.31-33., gives a detailed account of a battle which is incorrect.

annual tribute to Kabul for the last three years. He avoided meeting the Afghan King at Dera Ghazi Khan. He sent his envoy Zardar Khan who met the Queen, Wafa Begum. She was the daughter of the late Wafadar Khan II who was the patron of Nawab Muzaffar Khan. Zardar Khan requested her that the Nawab may be excused from attending the royal court in person and be allowed to send his son instead. The Queen persuaded the King who agreed and the Nawab sent his third son Shah Nawaz Khan to Dera Ghazi Khan to attend the royal Court.<sup>25</sup> Nawab Muzaffar Khan also promised to pay a portion of the arrears very soon. The Queen extended another favour to the Nawab and gave her guarantee for the payment. The Wazir of Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk, Sher Muhammad Khan Bamezai was against this deal but due to Queen's intercession, the Afghan King showed his affection. His son Shah Nawaz Khan<sup>26</sup> was duly honoured. The Afghan King then went to Kabul via Peshawar. The rivals of Nawab Muzaffar Khan expected his

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23. I.M., PP.154,236; Tate, op.cit., P.121., writes that the Shah 'recovered 20 lakhs of rupees in settlement of arrears of revenue'.

24. I.M., P.286.

25. Ibid. PP.154,236; Yousuf Gardezi writes that Sher Muhammad Khan (Diwan of Nawab Muzaffar Khan) escorted Shah Nawaz Khan; Tuzkirat-ul-Multan, P.70.

26. I.M., P.236.



disgrace at the hands of the Afghan King but the royal behaviour enhanced his image in the eyes of his rivals. Before leaving Dera Ghazi Khan, Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk appointed Ata Muhammad Khan son of Sher Muhammad Khan <sup>27</sup> Damezai, as the Governor of Dera Ghazi Khan.

During the same period Maharaja Ranjit Singh, marched on Jhang, defeated Ahmad Khan Sial and captured it <sup>28</sup> in 1804 . (1219 A.H.). Ahmad Khan Sial alongwith his family ran away to Multan to seek refuge with Nawab Muzaffar Khan and to request him for help against the <sup>29</sup> Maharaja. Abdus Samad Khan had another opportunity of instigating the Sikh leader against the Nawab and induced him to invade Multan once again. The Maharaja marched on Multan and encamped at village Mahtam, 10 miles from Multan on way to Lahore. Nawab Muzaffar Khan, at once rushed to the village Mahtam and encamped in front of the Maharaja. Negotiations once again started and valuable presents were exchanged. In the meantime, news reached about the arrival of a large army of Malirathas pursued by the British army.

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27. Ibid. P.236; Shahamet Ali writes that Ata Muhammad Khan was the son of Ahmad Khan Nurzai, he was appointed Governor of Dera Ghazi Khan during the reign of Shah Mahmud. He was removed during the reign of Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk; P.117. The author is mistaken.

28. T.H., P.236; Ibrat Hamah, P.407;  
Z.A., P.63; H.P., P.360., gives the  
year 1803.

در ہماں روزہا احمد خان سیال رئیس جھنگ باستدعی امداد و امانت ہی توقف و درنگ  
وارد ملتان شد -

Multani army and closed the gates of the Fort. The Multani army defeated the Sikhs and captured Jhang City. Then they besieged the Fort but could not capture it. Ultimately, Fateh Singh Kalian-wala started negotiations and Ahmad Khan Sial agreed to pay 60,000 rupees as the annual tribute to Maharaja Ranjit Singh in lieu of Jhang. The Sikh in charge of the Fort handed over the Fort to Ahmad Khan Sial and went to Lahore where as the Multani army retired to Multan triumphantly. It was a prestigious move on the part of Nawab Muzaffar Khan. As the Afghan Wazir, Sher Muhammad Khan Bamezai was jealous of Nawab Muzaffar Khan, he could not tolerate his success against the Sikhs. He instigated the Afghan King and with his approval instructed his son Ata Muhammad Khan to extract the arrears of the revenue from the Nawab. Ata Muhammad Khan marched on Multan with the help of the royal army numbering 12000 horsemen in 1805 (1220 A.H.) and reached the village Shah Ali only 10 miles from Multan. Nawab Muzaffar Khan sent his eldest son Sarfaraz Khan with a strong army to oppose him. At the same time he appealed to the Nawab of Bahawalpur for help. Nawab

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31. Ibrat Namah, P.407;

32. Z.A., P. 3; Ibrat Namah, P.408;  
H.P., P.360.

Bahawal Khan II intervened and sent his officer Azeem Khan to settle the dispute. He brought both the parties to an agreement. Shah Nawaz Khan represented his father during the negotiations. Presents were exchanged and a truce was concluded. According to the agreement, Ata Muhammad Khan went back alongwith the royal army after receiving<sup>33</sup> a portion of the arrears of the revenue.

Maharaja Ranjit Singh had already realised that the Afghan Government was not happy with Nawab Muzaffar Khan as he had not paid the annual tribute to Kabul since the days of Shah Mahmud. The royal army under the command of Ata Muhammad Khan could realise a small portion of the arrears of the revenue. In the meantime, Abdus Samad Khan an inveterate enemy of the Nawab, who was dispossessed of Jagirs and the Fort, again instigated the Maharaja to take revenge from the Nawab for his helping Ahmad Khan Sial in men and money and causing disgrace to the Sikhs. Maharaja Ranjit Singh had also settled his affairs with the Marathas and the English East India Company. In spite of the fact that he owed his governorship of Lahore to the Afghan King, he ungratefully decided to slaughter all the Afghans in his

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33. I.M., PP.154,237; Shahamet Ali, writes that Ata Muhammad Khan marched on Multan during the reign of Shah Mahmud, P.120; the author is mistaken. Latif writes that the incident occurred in 1803 : H.P., P.385., which is incorrect.

territory. The Pathans had refused to recognise Maharaja's overlordship and had to surrender due to their own disunity. Maharaja Ranjit Singh did not tolerate the tiny Pathan States at Kasur and Multan. He fought against them and ultimately annexed both the States.

In 1807 .. Maharaja Ranjit Singh invaded Kasur and captured it. Then he decided to march on Multan. He proceeded to Multan via Dipalpur. After extracting some money from its people he advanced to Multan. The moment the news of his arrival reached Multan, Nawab Muzaffar Khan made war preparations and sent his envoy to Nawab Bahawal Khan II for help. The Nawab of Bahawalpur was also worried because the Sikhs could advance to Bahawalpur, hence gave him only moral support.

The Maharaja encamped at Mahtam before invading Multan. Sarmast Khan Malizai was the land lord of the village Mahtam. His affairs were looked after by his manager Khuda Yar Khan son of Taj Muhammad Khan Tarin who was a young brave person with great intelligence. Sarmast Khan was residing at Multan. On the arrival of Maharaja Ranjit Singh at Mahtam, Khuda Yar Khan alongwith other local petty land lords extended his submission and requested for an interview. The Maharaja accepted his submission and soon

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34. Shahamet Ali, op.cit., P.128.

called him for an interview. But in the meantime, some one informed the Maharaja that Sarmast Khan was a wealthy person. It was also stated that Khuda Yar Khan had given protection to all the local wealthy land lords. As the Maharaja was a greedy person, he decided to arrest him. Khuda Yar Khan was on his horse back when he was asked to hand over his sword. He refused to do so. When the Sikh soldiers insisted, he attacked them and killed four of them. Showing his great valour, he did not waste time and also attacked the Maharaja who was sitting in the hoda of an elephant. His sword cut the hoda into two pieces. The Maharaja saved his life by quickly squeezing himself in the rear corner of the hoda. His sword was broken and he was attacked by the Sikh soldiers and was cut into pieces. The Maharaja was very much impressed by the bravery of the young Multani Pathan. This incident had a great impact on his mind.

Nawab Muzaffar Khan undauntedly got ready to give fight to the Maharaja. He was not going to bow before the Maharaja. He closed the gates of the walled city and the fort. The Maharaja reached Multan on 26<sup>th</sup> February, 1807 . (16<sup>th</sup> Zilhiij 1221 A.H.)<sup>36</sup> and besieged both the city and the fort.<sup>37</sup> The Nawab showed great resistance and valour.

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35. Yousuf Gardezi, op.cit., P.53; P.D.G., H.D., P.54.

The siege prolonged and the Sikh army plundered the suburbs of Multan. The Sikh devastation made the rural population to leave their home and hearth. On the 9th day of the siege,<sup>38</sup> the Nawab shifted from the city to the fort and left his people at the mercy of the Sikhs. The people displayed great courage and resistance but could not avert the humiliation. The Sikh commander Fateh Singh Kalian-wala captured the walled city and plundered it.<sup>39</sup> Maharaja Ranjit Singh tried his best to capture the Fort but failed. The siege lasted for 21 days.<sup>40</sup> Having failed he agreed to enter into a treaty on the 22nd day of the siege. Nawab Muzaffar Khan refused to acknowledge him as the ruler of Multan. During the negotiations the Nawab of Bahawalpur played a very important role. He sent his envoy Munshi Dhunpat Rae to the Maharaja alongwith presents.<sup>41</sup> Nawab Muzaffar Khan agreed to pay the Maharaja a certain amount of money in lieu of war expenses.<sup>42</sup>

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36. T.H., P.237; Shahamet Ali writes that 'on the 2nd of Muharram, 1222 A.H., the intelligence of his march from Lahore was received in the Khan's court', P.128.
37. T.H., P.237; Z.A., P.64.
38. T.H., P.237; Z.A., P.64; Yousuf Gardezi, op.cit., P.53.
39. Z.A., P.64; H.P., P.367.
40. T.H., PP.155, 157; Yousuf Gardezi, op.cit., P.53.
41. Shahamet Ali, op.cit., PP.128, 129; U.T., (ii), P.61

The Maharaja then proceeded to Bahawalpur and after crossing the river Ghagra, sent his envoy Fakir Aziz-ud-Din to the Nawab of Bahawalpur and came to terms with him on the payment of some money. They also exchanged gifts. Then he retired to Lahore. Abdus Samad Khan Badozai remained with him throughout the campaign and <sup>43</sup> seeing his mission a failure, he went back to Lahore alongwith the Maharaja.

The family feud of the Saddozais in Afghanistan among the incompetent and selfish successors of Ahmad Shah provided an opportunity to the Sikhs to establish a Sikh dynasty in the Panjab. The absence of a strong Government in Kabul as well as at Delhi created a vacuum in the Panjab which was filled by the Sikh Chief Ranjit Singh. He utilised the greater resources of the Panjab in invading the Afghan area of influence. The tiny Muslim state of Multan resisted under the guidance of its brave ruler Nawab Muzaffar Khan who ultimately laid his life for the noble cause. The Nawab commanded great respect among his people who were convinced of his bravery. As he was fighting for his independence, all the surrounding rulers of Jhang, Dera Ghazi Khan, Dera Ismail Khan and Bahawalpur paid tribute to him for his

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42. T.M., P.237; Sadiq-ut-Tawarickh, P.331; See: H.P., PP.367,368., writes that the Nawab agreed to pay a Nazrana' of 70,000 rupees; U.T.,(ii),op.cit., P.65; See: Yousuf Gardezi,op.cit., P.53 writes that the Sikh chief accepted Rs.10,000 as Nazrana and went back.

superiority. Ranjit Singh's campaigns against him exposed that he was a no match to the ruler of the Panjab who commanded heavier resources than the Nawab. The defeat of the Nawab encouraged the miscreants who carried loot and arson in his dominion after the retirement of the Maharaja.<sup>44</sup> The Nawab despatched a strong army under the command of his eldest son Sarfaraz Khan against these miscreants including Rajab Sial.<sup>45</sup> Sarfaraz Khan marched on Sardarpur\* and proceeded to the area of influence of Rajab Sial. Rajab Sial and his followers ran away. Ahmadpur\*\* and Garh Maharaja<sup>c</sup> were captured. After this military action, Sarfaraz Khan imposed a tax on all the miscreants which they agreed to pay. He imposed 80,000 rupees as tax on Rajb Sial and his followers.<sup>46</sup> Then he proceeded to Trimu and encamped on the bank of the river Ravi.<sup>47</sup> Ahmad Khan Sial, the ruler of Jhang visited his camp and paid homage to him.<sup>48</sup> A timely military action subdued all the miscreants who had disturbed peace in the dominion of the Nawab. Sarfaraz Khan was ultimately successful in restoring law and order in Multan.

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43. Shahamet Ali, op.cit., PP.129,130; H.P., P.368.

44. Z.A., P.64.

45. Ibid. P.64.

46. Ibid. P.65.

47. Ibid. P.64.



Having realised the courage and resourcefulness of his son Nawab Muzaffar Khan decided to hand over all his powers to his eldest son Sarfaraz Khan who was very dear to him. Sarfaraz Khan was an experienced man. He had led many campaigns against the enemies of his father. He was taking full interest in the State affairs. He had proved himself a good commander and a good administrator. No important decision was taken without consulting him. Gradually he took over control of all the State affairs and Nawab Muzaffar Khan announced him as his successor. He wanted a formal royal Farman from the Afghan King. He sent a mission to Kabul under the guidance of his Diwan, Sher Muhammad Khan for this purpose. Sher Muhammad Khan presented several valuable presents to the Queen Wafa Begum and the Afghan King on behalf of Nawab Muzaffar Khan. He requested the Shah that Nawab Muzaffar Khan sought his permission to proceed pilgrimage to Mecca and further desired his eldest son to succeed to the Subedari of Multan. In spite of the

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- \* Sardarpur: 30 miles on the north east of Multan.
  - \*\* Ahmadpur: 40 miles on the north east of Multan.
  - ¢ Garh Maharaja: 50 miles on the north east of Multan.
  - ¢¢ Trimu: 70 miles on the north east of Multan.

opposition of his Wazir, Mukhtar-ud-Doulah Sher Muhammad Khan Bamezai, the Afghan King, on the intercession of the Queen agreed to grant a royal Farman. Sarfaraz Khan was bestowed upon the Subedari of Multan with the title of <sup>49</sup> Nawab.

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48. Ibid. P.65.

49. Ibid. P.65; Shahamet Ali, op.cit., P.130.

فرمان نظامت صوبہ ملتان بنام نامی قواب محمد سرفراز خان از پیشگاه سلطنت کہ سلطان شاه  
شجاع الملک دران زمان پایہ اخروی اورنگ خلافت بود ، درخواستہ سند حکومت را بوجود مسعود  
ایشان برآرا مستند -

زبدہ ( ص ۶۵ )

Nawab Sarfaraz Khan as Subedar of Multan  
(1807 - 2 June 1818)

Nawab Muzaffar Khan had 8 sons and 3 daughters<sup>1</sup> from 3 wives. Sarfaraz Khan was the eldest. Sarfaraz Khan, Zulfikar Khan, Shah Nawaz Khan and Mumtaz Khan were from one mother. Their mother was the real sister of Abu Bakr Khan Khan Khel Saddozai. Shah Baz Khan, Aizaz Khan and one daughter were born of a dancing girl. Haq Nawaz Khan and one daughter were from a non-Pathan lady. The youngest son Mir Baz Khan and a daughter were born posthumously. Before leaving for Mecca, Nawab Muzaffar Khan distributed all his landed property<sup>\*</sup> amongst his sons, daughters and wives in 1807 . .(1222 A.H.). He gave three times more of the property to Sarfaraz Khan than to his other sons on the ground<sup>2</sup> that being the ruler of Multan he was genuinely entitled to have the lions share.

Nawab Muzaffar Khan, after investing his Government to his eldest son Nawab Sarfaraz Khan, decided to start his sacred journey to Mecca by boat from the Raj-ghat of the River Chenab in front of Shujaabad. All his sons, relatives, friends and the people of Multan went to the Raj-ghat to see him off. He sailed in December

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1. T.H., P.256.

\* Its annual income was 3 lacs of rupees.

2. Ibid. P.237.

1807 . (Shawal 1222 A.H.) and reached Panjnad where he was welcomed by the local Chiefs<sup>3</sup>. On his arrival at the village of Manjee Wala near Uch, he was personally received by Nawab Rukun-ud-Doulah Bahawal Khan II.<sup>4</sup> The Nawab of Bahawalpur presented him a few boats and gave him a grand feast. The Nawab of Bahawalpur was very much impressed with his religious sentiments.

Nawab Sarfaraz Khan had obtained good training in running the state affairs under the guidance of his father. During the absence of Nawab Muzaffar Khan, he proved a failure in administering his state. During the process of the collection of revenue, Nawab Sarfaraz Khan ordered Rajab Sial to deposit the required tax. Rajab Sial did not obey. Nawab Sarfaraz Khan despatched a strong army against him. A battle was fought in which he was defeated and was taken prisoner.<sup>5</sup> He was locked up in a prison-house situated outside the Multan city.<sup>6</sup> Mehr Sultan, his cousin approached the Nawab with a request for his release which was turned down. Mehr Sultan then requested Maharaja Ranjit Singh for help. The Maharaja despatched a few hundred soldiers who attacked the prison-house and released him.<sup>7</sup>

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3. Z.A., P.66.

4. Ibid. P.66; Shahamet Ali, op.cit., P.131.

5. Z.A., PP.66,67.

During the absence of Nawab Huzaffar Khan, Maharaja Ranjit Singh despatched a strong army of 5000 cavalry under Jassa Singh Bhanqi. The Sikh army succeeded in obtaining some money from Nawab Sarfaraz Khan in 1808 A.D.<sup>8</sup> and went back. Nawab Sarfaraz Khan was conscious of his weak position, hence he extended the hand of friendship towards the Nawab of Bahawalpur. Nawab Bahawal Khan II was clever enough to dictate his own terms and he succeeded in getting Khanpur and its adjacent area on<sup>\*</sup> lease from Nawab Sarfaraz Khan.<sup>9</sup>

The Afghan King, Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk entered India through Bolan Pass and reached Sindh in winter 1808

. (1223 A.H.) Sher Muhammad Khan Bamezai who had revolted against Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk, wrote a letter to Nawab Sarfaraz Khan and succeeded in creating some misunderstanding between the Afghan King and his loyal Subedar<sup>10</sup> of Multan. On the arrival of the Afghan King in Dera Ghazi Khan, Nawab Sarfaraz Khan closed all the links with Dera Ghazi Khan forbidding the people in general and the Saddozai

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6. T.M., P.238., Ali Muhammad Khan writes that he was treacherously made prisoner, P.238.

7. Ibid. P.238., Sher Muhammad Nadir writes that Nawab Sarfaraz Khan pardoned him and released him on the request of his courtiers, P.70.

8. R.P., op.cit., P.372.

9. Shahjahan Ali, op.cit., P.132.

\* Khanpur: situated in the south of Muzaffargarh and was part of Multan Province.

in particular to go there to meet Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk. He  
 neither sent his envoy nor did he send any present even  
 to Queen Wafa Begum who had always patronised the rulers  
 of Multan.<sup>12</sup> It was a great shock for the King and the Queen.  
 Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk decided to take some action against  
 the Nawab but the disturbances in his own country forced  
 him to retreat and proceed to Peshawar. Soon after the  
 departure of the Afghan King, Mir Izzatullah, a reporter  
 (Waqia Haves) of East India Company arrived in Multan.  
 He was received by the officials of Nawab Sarfaraz Khan  
 and was given the best treatment. Nawab Sarfaraz Khan  
 gave him audience and entertained him.<sup>13</sup> He conveyed to the  
 Nawab the proposed journey break of the English Mission  
 under Mountstuart Elphinstone at Multan on way to Kabul.  
 The mission was to negotiate friendly relations with the  
 Afghan King. After crossing the River Sutlej, the English  
 Mission entered in the territory of Multan on 5<sup>th</sup> December  
 1808 A.D. Mountstuart Elphinstone reached Multan on 11<sup>th</sup>

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10. T.H., PP.237,238.

11. Ibid. PP.237,238,

12. Ibid. P.238.

13. Z., P.67.

شاه شجاع الملک بر دیره غازیخان آمد نواب سرفراز خان نخود رفت و نکسین برادر را برائین  
 سلام فرستاد -  
 تذکره ( ص ۲۳۷ )

و هم دران ایام میر عزت اللہ خان بمعہ دقایق نویسی از سرکار صاحبان انگریز بہادر وارد  
 ملتان گشت -  
 زبدہ ( ص ۲۷ )

December 1808 . and encamped outside the town. In spite of the fact that Nawab Sarfaraz Khan was already informed of the arrival of the English mission, he suspected their motives. As the East India Company emerged as a super power in the Sub-continent and had already swallowed two Muslim states of Bengal and Mysore, the ruler of tiny Muslim state of Multan was naturally apprehensive. Nawab Sarfaraz Khan closed the gates of the walled city and the fort. He did not allow any member of the English mission to enter the city without his permission. In the meantime, Sikandar Khan, the younger brother of Nawab Muzaffar Khan, who was on hunting trip came to know about the arrival of the mission. He invited Elphinstone to join him in hunting the wild boars but he later placed his excuse. After his hunting trip, Sikandar Khan sent wild boars and several other presents to Elphinstone. Elphinstone also sent him certain presents. When Sikandar Khan went to Multan, he was suspected to be in league with the English officers. He at once returned the presents to Elphinstone and demanded his own. Elphinstone was very much surprised and he returned the presents. The Nawab Sarfaraz Khan agreed to

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op.cit

14. Mountstuart Elphinstone(vol.I), P.27; Yousuf Gardezi writes that he encamped in Hazuri Bagh, P.70.

15. Elphinstone, op.cit., P.29.

16. Ibid. PP.31,32.

meet Elphinstone on 15<sup>th</sup> December 1808 . 'A very large tent was pitched', where he held his court. He received Mr. Strachey a member of the English mission in this tent. Nawab Sarfaraz Khan then went to meet Mountstuart Elphinstone on 15<sup>th</sup> December 1808 . and welcomed his visit to Multan. The English mission stayed at Multan for a few days. Mountstuart Elphinstone crossed the river Chenab on 21<sup>st</sup> December and proceeded on his journey to Kabul.

During the absence of his father, Nawab Sarfaraz Khan showed lack of tact and wisdom. He did not deal tactfully with Rajab Sial and also became panicky on the arrival of the English mission. He annoyed his father for his ceding Khanpur and its adjacent areas to the Nawab of Bahawalpur on a lease. Nawab Muzaffar Khan, after performing his pilgrimage to Mecca and after visiting all the sacred places in Arabia returned to Multan. As he had gone to Mecca with great pomp and show, he had to suffer at the hands of the Badouines. He was attacked by them and it was due to his large entourage which saved him from being killed. Even when the ruler of Mecca and Madina came to know of the Nawab's richness, he stopped him on his way back. He did not let him go till he received 12,000 Riyals. On his way back to home, he purchased

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17. Ibid. PP.29,30.

18. Z.A., PP. 68,69.



many rare varieties of the Date Palm and brought them to Multan. He transplanted them in Shujaabad, Multan and Muzaffargarh. When he reached Sindh, he was welcomed by the Talpura Chiefs and when reached Bahawalpur, he was personally received by the Nawab of Bahawalpur, who arranged a grand feast in his honour. His sons, courtiers and relatives had joined the feast. After spending more than a year on his sacred journey, he reached safely at Shujaabad in January 1809 . (Zilhi<sup>19</sup>j 1223 A.H.). He relaxed here for about a month. He was not happy at the<sup>20</sup> dealings of his son with Rajab Sial and his arrangements with the Nawab of Bahawalpur. As the decision had already been taken, he kept quite . He came to Multan and resumed his control over his state. He paid special attention towards the collection of the revenue and the improvement of agriculture which were neglected during his absence. For the next nine years both father and son ruled Multan jointly but with great understanding. Whenever there was a difference of opinion, the father prevailed over his son who happily yielded. Nawab Sarfaraz Khan never grudged the over-lordship of his father. During the last invasion of Maharaja Ranjit Singh in 1818 . Nawab Sarfaraz Khan favoured a truce with the Sikh Chief but when he came to know that his father had decided to fight against the Sikhs. he accepted his decision and fought against them bravely alongwith others.

The reign of Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk lasted till the summer of 1809 . When his brother Shah Mahmud defeated his army and captured Kabul, the Queen Wafa Begum alongwith the royal treasure safely reached in Rawalpindi. Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk, after his defeat went to Kandhar and from there ran away to India via Gomal Pass.<sup>21</sup> He soon reached Rawalpindi where he was welcomed by a local Zamindar(land-lord) Jiwan Singh.<sup>22</sup> In the meantime, Maharaja Ranjit Singh had decided to invade Multan once again and had left Lahore for Multan via Gujrat.<sup>23</sup> The moment, the Maharaja came to know about the arrival of Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk in Rawalpindi, he sent his envoy with the request to grant him audience. The exiled King agreed and himself proceeded towards the Maharaja, who welcomed him near Pind-Dadan Khan.<sup>24</sup> The Maharaja paid him full respect and requested him to accompany him to Multan. He also promised Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk that after its conquest, he would hand over it to him. But the exiled King turned

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19. I.M., P.238; Z.A., P.69.

20. I.M., P.238.

21. Tate, op.cit., P.125; I.M., P.158.

22. I.M., PP.447,448; H.I., P.108.

23. I.M., P.448; Ibrat Namah, P.416.

24. I.M., P.448; See: Ibrat Namah, P.420; Tate, op.cit., P.125; Joseph Davey Cunningham writes that both met at Sahiwal, P.149; Lepel Griffin writes that both met at Khushab, P.484; also See: H.P., op.cit., P.384; Sohan Lal writes that the both met near Hassan Abdal, P.34.

down his offer because he did not trust the Maharaja and secondly he did not like to be defamed amongst the Saddozais for conquering Multan with the help of the <sup>25</sup> infidels. Before they departed, the Maharaja requested the exiled King, at least he should allow some one to accompany him as his representative to Multan that in case of conquest, Multan should be handed over to him. At last Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk hesitantly agreed and sent Habib Ullah Khan Saddozai, who was a brother of the <sup>26</sup> Queen Wafa Begum, to Multan's campaign. He soon went back to Rawalpindi and from there proceeded to Peshawar leaving his family at Rawalpindi.

Nawab Muzaffar Khan having realised the danger of another Sikh invasion, started corresponding with the <sup>27</sup> Chief of the East India Company at Calcutta. He requested him for help against Maharaja Ranjit Singh. The Government of Lord Minto did not extend cooperation in this regard as the Governor General firmly believed in the policy of non-intervention and secondly the company had already concluded a treaty with the Maharaja. Nawab Muzaffar Khan had already felt the danger of the presence of the exiled King (Shah Shuja) in the Panjab. He was afraid of the Maharaja who would have capitalized

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25. I.M., P.448.

26. Ibid. P.448.

27. P.C., P.483.

his presence. The Nawab's apprehension proved to be true during the 2nd Sikh invasion of Multan in 1810 A.D. Nawab Muzaffar Khan sent his son Zulfikar Khan to Nawab Muhammad Khan of Kachi Shumali (ruler of Lela and Bhakkar) for help but due to the fear of the Sikh leader he did not move.<sup>28</sup> Nawab Muzaffar Khan then sent his envoy to Nawab Sadiq Muhammad Khan (Ruler of Bahawalpur). This mission also failed. In the meantime, Maharaja Ranjit Singh with extensive war preparations marched on Multan. Nawab Muzaffar Khan had to rely on his own resources and was prepared to face the Sikh Chief single-handedly. Before reaching Multan, the Maharaja extracted 120,000 rupees from Nawab Muhammad Khan of Kachi Shumali as a ransom of his State and also sent an envoy to the Nawab of Bahawalpur who agreed to pay him one lac of rupees along with a contingent of 500 horsemen to fight against Nawab Muzaffar Khan.<sup>29</sup> Meanwhile, the Sikh chief subdued Syed Hamid Gilani alias Nag Sultan of Uch and obtained 10,000 rupees from him as Nazrana. Maharaja Ranjit Singh was very successful in his early moves against Nawab Muzaffar Khan who was thus isolated.

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27. P.C., P.483.  
\* Treaty of Amritsar-25th April, 1802. 'By this treaty, Ranjit's activities were confined to the right side of the Sutlej, and the Cis-Sutlej States came definitely under British Protection'. See: An Advanced History of India, P.738.

The Maharaja devastated the suburbs of Multan and appeared before it on 24th February 1810<sup>31</sup>. Nawab Muzaffar Khan fortified himself in the Multan Fort. His army defended the town but failed and it was captured<sup>32</sup> by the Sikh army on 27th February 1810. Before leaving the town at the mercy of the Sikhs, the Nawab ordered the people to shift to the Fort. A large number of population shifted to the Fort alongwith grain and valuables. The Nawab very bravely and successfully defended the fort but could not save the town from Sikh ravage, who mercilessly and indiscriminately plundered it. The population of Multan both rural and urban had to seek refuge at Bahawalpur. The Sikh army laid siege to the Multan Fort, which lasted for 55 days<sup>33</sup>. The fort was heavily bombarded for several days under the personal guidance and supervision of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. The Pathans

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28. I.H., PP.281,282.
  29. Shahamat Ali,op.cit., P.157; P.C., P.484; H.P., P.386.
  30. Ibrat Hamah, P.421.
  31. I.H., P.159; P.C., P.484; H.P., P.386; Lepel Griffin, Ranjit Singh. Delhi, 1957, P.183; See: Shahamat Ali writes that Ranjit Singh laid siege to the fort of Multan on the 20th February, 1810, P.157.
  32. Z.A., P.70; Yousuf Gardezi,op.cit., P.54; P.C., P.484; Latif writes that the town was captured the next day, H.P.,op.cit., P.386; Alind Din writes that the Muslim soldiers defended the town for 8 days, Ibrat Hamah, P.421.

resisted bravely under their able commander Nawab Muzaffar Khan. The famous saint Hafiz Jamal Ullah Multani<sup>\*</sup> also took active part in the defence of the Fort. He preached that the war against the Sikhs was a Jihad (holy war). In spite of his old age, he voluntarily offered his services to Nawab Muzaffar Khan against the infidels. He led a small contingent of archers and played a vital role during the siege. Whenever the Sikh soldiers tried to climb the walls of the Fort with rope-stairs, the archers<sup>34</sup> under Hafiz Jamal Ullah Multani failed their evil designs. The Pathan soldiers also poured boiling water and oil on the besiegers. Having failed in their initial attempt to capture the Fort, the Sikhs planned to lay mines to effect a break through the walls of the Fort. A team of expert miners under Sardar Atar Singh Dhari laid out the mines. As soon as the Nawab came to know of their move, he decided to countermine. When Sardar Atar Singh Dhari went inside

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33. H.P., P.387; Ali Muhammad Khan writes that the Maharaja retired after 53 days; T.M., P.159; Lepel Griffin writes that the Maharaja retired on 14th April 1810 . i.e., after 50 days; P.C., P.485; Yousuf Garzezi writes that the Nawab defended the fort for two months, P.54; Shahamct Ali writes that the Maharaja retired to Lahore on the 25th of April 1810 . i.e., after 65 days, P.159; Sohan Lal writes that the siege lasted for 2 months, U.T., P.34.

\* Hafiz Jamal Ullah Multani son of Muhammad Yousuf son of Hafiz Abdur Rashid belonged to the tribe of Awan. He was a pious man and was an expert in the art of archery .Nawab Muzaffar Khan paid him great respect. He died in 1812 . (1226 A.H.), See: Aulia-i-Multan, op.cit., PP.257-261; M.K., P.281.

the tunnel to inspect the operation, the Pathans blew up the mines which caused the death of Sardar Atar Singh Dhari and twelve others, while <sup>several</sup> ~~several~~ others including Sardar Nehal Singh Attariwala and Sardar Hari Singh Nalwa were severely wounded. This counter-move caused confusion and chaos among the assailants who deserted, leaving their dead close to the Fort. Nawab Muzaffar Khan was so good at heart that he ordered to wrap the dead-body of Sardar Atar Singh Dhari in a pair of shawls and sent it to the Maharaja. Maharaja Ranjit Singh then planned another operation and effectively organised all transport arrangements linking Lahore through land and water with other parts of his territory in order to mobilise all his resources against Multan. He offered gallantry awards and high offices to his Sardars to motivate them against the Pathans. The Maharaja also ordered to bring to Multan the famous Zam-Zama from Lahore.

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34. Najumuddin Chishti Sulaimani, *Munaqib-al-Mahboobain*, Lahore, 1312 A.H., PP.124,134.
35. Z.A., P.71; Shahamet Ali, *op.cit.*, PP.157,158;  
Ibrat Naryay, P.421; P.C., P.484;  
H.P., PP.386,387; U.T., P.34.

\* This famous gun belonged to Ahmad Shah. It was made by his order. He used it against the Marathas in the third battle of Panipat. It had the capacity to discharge a ball of two and a half mounds (more than 200 pounds), in weight. At present, it is lying on the crossing of Shahrah-i-Quaid-i-Azam, opposite Lahore Museum.

His order was carried out but there was no body to handle it. In spite of all efforts, the Sikhs could not use it against the Pathans during the siege. Maharaja Ranjit Singh then ordered a general assault on the Fort on the 21st of March 1810 . but the Pathans again failed their attempts and the attack was repulsed. The Sikh army suffered heavy losses. The Maharaja was naturally annoyed with his officers and he despatched a strong army under Diwan Mohkam Chand to conquer Shujaabad which was held by Nawab Sarfaraz Khan. He repulsed the Sikh attack and Diwan Mohkam Chand had to return<sup>to</sup> Multan without achieving his object. Diwan Mohkam Chand fell ill and the Maharaja ordered another general attack on the Multan Fort which was carried out on 25th March 1810 . but it met the same fate. Mines were laid out near the Dev gate (on the western side of the Fort). The Pathans countermined. This time the Sikh soldiers blew up the mines earlier on 29th March 1810 and a few Muslim soldiers who were inspecting the mines on their side lost their lives. A portion of the wall was breached. The Sikh soldiers tried to enter but Zulfikar Khan alongwith his contingent checked their designs. In the meantime, the breach was filled. Having

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36. H.P., P.387;

37. Shahamat Ali, op.cit., P.158; P.C., P.484;  
H.P., P.387.



been encouraged by this incident, the Maharaja ordered to lay out mines once again under the supervision of Sardar Hari Singh Nalwa, Sardar Muchh Singh and Sardar Tej Singh. When they were examining the operation, the Pathans blew up the mines killing Sardar Tej Singh alongwith forty others. Sardar Hari Singh Nalwa and Sardar Muchh Singh luckily<sup>39</sup> escaped but with brunt faces. The people of Multan thus defended their homeland at the cost of all privation and miseries. There was scarcity in food and wheat atta was sold at the rate of two seers a rupee.<sup>40</sup> Maharaja Ranjit Singh mobilized all his resources and tactics during the siege but miserably failed to conquer the fort. After great disappointment he agreed to enter into negotiations with the Nawab. The Sikh chief pretended that he was fighting for the exiled King of Afghanistan (Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk) whose brother in law Habib Ullah Khan Saddozai<sup>41</sup> was with him. After negotiations the Nawab agreed and solemnly under took it in writing on the Holy Quran that

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38. Z.A., PP.71,72; Shahamet Ali, op.cit., P.158.

39. Z.A., P.72; Shahamet Ali, op.cit., PP.158,159.

40. Shahamet Ali, op.cit., P.158.

41. I.N. P.448; Shahamet Ali, op.cit., P.159.

حبیب اللہ خان سدوزائیں ولد وزیر اعظم کہ برادر وفا بیگم ہوں ہمراہ مہاراجہ روانہ ہوئے۔

he would hand over the Multan Fort to Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk on his arrival.<sup>42</sup> Simultaneously he made it clear to the Maharaja that he was not going to let him enter into the Fort or he would not hand over the Fort to him. Nawab Muzaffar Khan believed that he was a tributary of the King of Afghanistan and not the Sikh ruler of the Panjab. The Nawab also agreed to pay one lac of rupees to the Maharaja as the war indemnity and promised to pay two lacs of rupees to Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk as the annual tribute.<sup>43</sup> Nawab Muzaffar Khan could pay thirty thousand only to the Maharaja as war indemnity and handed over Abu Bakr Khan Saddozai as a hostage till the payment of the remaining amount.<sup>44</sup> The Maharaja on his side blamed his Sardars (chiefs) for the failure and retired to Lahore on 19th April and reached his capital on 25th April, 1810.<sup>45</sup> During his return journey when the Maharaja was at Mahatam, only 10 miles from Multan, he heard that a portion of the wall of the Fort had fallen. He was very tired of the siege, hence he did not have the courage to avail of the opportunity.<sup>46</sup> He hurriedly reached Lahore alongwith Abu Bakr Khan Saddozai.

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42. T.M., PP.159,238,448,449; Sohan Lal writes that the Nawab agreed to be loyal to Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk; U.T.,(ii), P.34.

اگر شاه بدینصوب رونق آفران شود ملتان را حواله ائی نمایند بدین قول قرار بر مصحف  
مجید مهر ما کوده حواله حبیب الله خان نمودند -  
تذکره (ص ۲۲۹)

Maharaja Ranjit Singh realised the weaknesses of his ill-disciplined army which was not under his direct control, but owed allegiance to his feudal Sardars. 'After a few days rest' at Lahore, he introduced 'reforms in his military department'. 'A corps of horse artillery was organised under the superintendence of skilful generals'. Soldiers were selected for this corps and he enhanced<sup>47</sup> their pay and emoluments. The Maharaja also started correspondence with Colonel Sir David Ochterlony at Ludhiana and proposed a joint march on Multan with the undertaking to divide it equally. Colonel Sir D. Ochterlony wrote to the Governor General on 23rd July and 13th August 1810 and sought his approval and guidance. In the meantime, Nawab Muzaffar Khan had already approached the Governor General for help against the Maharaja. The policy of the Company was that of non-interference in the affairs of the

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43. Ibrat Namah P.412; See: T.M., P.238; Z.A., P.72; Yousuf Gardezi, op.cit., P.54; also See: U.T., P.34; Shahamet Ali, op.cit., P.159; Joseph Davey Cunningham, op.cit., P.149, writes Rs.180,000/-; Also See: P.C., P.485; H.P., op.cit., P.387., writes Rs. 254,000/- but it could be the total amount which the Nawab agreed to pay to the Maharaja as well as the exiled King.

44. T.M., P.238; Yousuf Gardezi, op.cit., P.54; Ibrat Namah, PP.421,422; U.T., (ii), P.102; P.C., P.485; H.P., P.387.

native States. The Government of Calcutta conveyed its policy to Colonel Sir. D.Ochterlony in its letter dated 25th September, 1810<sup>48</sup>. The Maharaja and the Nawab were also apprised of it.<sup>49</sup>

Habib Ullah Khan Sodh<sup>4</sup>zai brought the Holy Quran to Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk at Rawalpindi duly signed by Nawab Muzaffar Khan. He also conveyed the allegiance of the Nawab to the exiled King. Being convinced of the loyalty of the Nawab, Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk sent his wife Queen Wafa Begum and his 8 years old son Prince Timur to Multan in 1810 (1225 A.H.) and he himself proceeded to Peshawar. Nawab Muzaffar Khan and Nawab Sarfaraz Khan received the royal guests outside the town with great respect and brought them in the Fort. Nawab Muzaffar Khan served the

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- \* He was maternal uncle of Nawab Sarfaraz Khan as well as his father-in-law; T.M., P.238; Ibrat Namah, P.421; Yousuf Gardezi, op.cit., P.54.
45. H.P., P.387; Lepel Griffin writes that the Maharaja retired on 14th April 1810 ..; P.C., P.485; Shah Jett Ali writes that the Maharaja retired on 25th of April, 1810 , P.152.
46. Ibrat Namah, P.422.
47. H.P., P.387.
48. Joseph Davey Cunningham, op.cit., PP.149,150.
49. H.P., P.387.

royal guests with great honour for two months. Queen Wafa Begum conveyed the loyalty and sincerity of the Nawab to Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk who had come back to Rawalpindi after being defeated by the army of Fateh Khan Barakzai. The moment the exiled King received the good news, he decided to proceed to Multan to capture it. When Nawab Muzaffar Khan heard of his arrival, he closed the gates of the Fort as well as the town and did not go to receive Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk. The exiled King encamped in the Hazuri Bagh (a garden) outside the town. The Nawab prohibited all the Saddozais to visit Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk. He also requested Queen Wafa Begum to vacate the Fort, which she did and joined her husband. Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk told the Nawab that he planned to set his military base at Multan against his brother. He also promised that he would not in any way interfere with the Nawab's rule in Multan. The Nawab did not trust him as he was known to be in league with Maharaja Ranjit Singh who had coveted eyes on Multan. Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk did not expect this lack of trust on the part of Nawab Muzaffar Khan.

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50. I.M., PP.238,239, 449;  
Z.A., P.73.
51. I.M., PP.449, 450.
52. I.M., PP.239, 159; Z.A.,  
P.73.

After one month, the Nawab sent a delegation led by his son Shah Nawaz Khan, including the Syeds and the Mukhdums of Multan, requesting to Shah to shift to the Fort of Tulamba\*. He was also requested to accept the Parganas of Rangpur and Sardarpur which had an annual income of 16,000 rupees. Seeing the Nawab firm, Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk sent his family to Tulamba and he himself encamped at Salarwahan\*\*. Later on he also joined his family at Tulamba.<sup>53</sup> It was at Tulamba that Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk wrote to Maharaja Ranjit Singh for help. The Maharaja despatched 1000 horsemen (all muslims) to help him (Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk) against the Nawab alongwith an assurance that in case the Shah needed reinforcement, a strong army under the command of his eldest son Kharak Singh would be sent.<sup>54</sup> The exiled King sent the same letter to Nawab Muzaffar Khan. The fear which was lurking in the mind of the Nawab proved to be correct and he yielded to the demand of Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk. It was decided that Nawab Muzaffar Khan alongwith

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\* Tulamba: It is situated 50 miles on the north east of Multan.

\*\* Salarwahan: It is situated 19 miles on the north east of Multan.

53. I.M., P.239; Z.A., P.73.

54. I.M., P.240; Sher Muhammad Nadir writes that the Maharaja sent Diwan Bhawani Das for the help of Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk; Z.A., P.74.

his army, ammunitions and other valuables would shift to Shujaabad, whereas Nawab Sarfaraz Khan would stay in<sup>55</sup> Multan and would render all assistance to the exiled King. The Nawab took oath on the Holy Quran from all the Saddozais, the Afghans and the Tumandars (chiefs) to remain loyal to him. Every body took the oath of allegiance except Ali Muhammad Khan<sup>cc</sup> who commanded great respect among the Saddozais. He did not abide<sup>cc</sup> by the solemn pledge. Although he lived in the Fort alongwith other Saddozais. He had also built a guest-house<sup>ccc</sup> outside the walled city where from he slipped away and went over to the exiled King. He remained with him for a few years and represented him in<sup>56</sup> the Court of Maharaja Ranjit Singh.

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55. T.M., P.240.

cc The author of Tazkirat-ul-Muluk.

cc He disobeyed because Nawab Sarfaraz Khan had confiscated his Jagir and had distributed it amongst his brothers. When it was brought to the notice of Nawab Muzaffar Khan, he kept quiet; See: T.M., PP.390,391.

ccc It was situated on the western side of the present Town Hall. When the Nawab had requested Queen Wafa Begum to vacate the Fort, she shifted to the guest-house of Ali Muhammad Khan and then joined Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk.

56. T.M., PP.239,392; U.T., P.108.

Nawab Muzaffar Khan had ruled Multan as a tributary of the Afghan King. But since the Vizarate of Fateh Khan Barakzai, he had stopped paying the annual tribute to Kabul. During this period, Maharaja Ranjit Singh had emerged as a powerful ruler of the Panjab. The Maharaja collected the war indemnity from Nawab Muzaffar Khan. The Nawab paid him under coercion and irregularly. The Nawab could never think of any help from the Kabul Government because of the enmity of the Barakzais. The present situation which Nawab Muzaffar Khan had to face was very closely studied by Abdul Jabbar Khan, the Governor of Dera Ghazi Khan. He believed that the occupation of Multan by Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk would be a potential danger to the Kabul Government. He, immediately conveyed the political development at Multan, to his brother wazir Fateh Khan Barakzai. The Kabul Government felt concerned about Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk as well as Maharaja Ranjit Singh, hence a letter was sent to Nawab Muzaffar Khan confirming him as the genuine Subedar of Multan with a promise to help him in case of any invasion. This change in the attitude of the Kabul Government strengthened the hands of Nawab Muzaffar Khan. His intelligence also brought him the news that the Sikh leader did not intend to send a large army for the capture of Multan on account of his



recent failure. It encouraged the Nawab who abruptly changed his decision of handing over Multan to Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk and shifting to Shujaabad. He also turned down the request of Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk to accommodate him in the Multan Fort. The Afghan King Shah Mahmud<sup>57</sup> alongwith his Wazir, Fateh Khan Barakzai, arrived at Peshawar and crossed the Indus near Kalabagh to apprise himself of the designs of Maharaja Ranjit Singh who had already reached Rawalpindi. Both the rulers met in 1811 . . . (1226 A.H.) and departed with great understanding<sup>58</sup>. Then Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk sent Ali Muhammad Khan to Maharaja Ranjit Singh for help. He met the Sikh leader in Rawalpindi<sup>59</sup> and found the Maharaja insincere. Maharaja Ranjit Singh did not permit Ali Muhammad Khan to go back to Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk. He detained him with a false promise to help the exiled King and took him to Lahor where he was duly<sup>60</sup> looked after nicely. Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk was disappointed and he came back to Rawalpindi alongwith his family in

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57. I.H., PP.240-242; Z.A., P.74.  
 58. I.M., P.159; Iate. opcit P.125;  
H.P., P.389.  
 59. I.H., P.392; U.I., P.108.  
 60. I.H., PP.392,393.

1811 (1226 A.H.). During his absence, the Nawab occupied all the Parganas granted to him earlier including Tulamba. Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk then attacked Peshawar with the help\* of Bamezai\*\* brothers and defeated the Barakzai army. The Barakzai Governor of Peshawar Ata Muhammad Khan was killed and his brother Azim Khan Barakzai ran away to Kabul. Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk occupied Peshawar in 1812

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(1227 A.H.). He had to face another rival in the person of Jahandad Khan who became very powerful and paid no heed to the authority of Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk. Ali Muhammad Khan reached Peshawar having spent 16 months in the Court of Maharaja Ranjit Singh as he was recalled by the Shah. He was granted leave hesitantly on the promise to be back at his earliest. He told the exiled King in Peshawar that the Maharaja was not sincere to him. In the meantime, Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk sent Prince Haider son of Shah Zaman to Dera Ghazi Khan to capture it but he was defeated by Abdul Jabbar Khan the brother of Fateh Khan Barakzai. It lowered the prestige of the Shah in the eyes of Jahandad Khan who on the instigation of his

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\* Ali Muhammad Khan writes that Ata Muhammad Khan, the Governor of Kashmir, sent a strong army under Diwan Nana Ram and Jahandad Khan, the Governor of Attock, participated with his force; see: T.M., P.450.

\*\* Ata Muhammad Khan and Jahandad Khan sons of Sher Muhammad Khan Bamezai who was the Wazir of Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk.

61. Ibid. PP.159,450.

elder brother Ata Muhammad Khan attacked Bala Hissar and the Shah was 'made a prisoner' in August 1812 (Shaban 1227 A.H.) and 'was carried to Kashmir'. Ali Muhammad Khan came back to Rawalpindi and met Queen Wafa Begum. Later on he proceeded to Bhakar and from there reached Jalalpur (Bahawalpur) where Nawab Sadiq Muhammad Khan sent him presents in recognition of his position and status. He celebrated his marriage in Jalalpur in February 1813 (Safar 1228 A.H.) with the daughter of Din Muhammad Khan Babar. After a few days, he decided to proceed to Lahore. Nawab Muzaffar Khan having come to know his programme invited him to Multan. Ali Muhammad Khan cancelled his visit to Lahore and proceeded to Multan where he was duly honoured by Nawab Muzaffar Khan and Nawab Sarfaraz Khan. It restored brotherly feeling and understanding between the two branches of Saddozais of Multan.

After the departure of Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk, Nawab Muzaffar Khan paid his attention towards maintaining law and order in his dominion. He was also worried for the payment of the remaining amount of 70,000 rupees to the Maharaja for the release of Abu Bakr Khan Saddozai.

61. T.H., PP.393, 450; Tate, op.cit., P.125.

62. Jalalpur: At present it is the Sub Tehsil of Shujaabad Tehsil (Multan District). It is situated 55 miles on the south west of Multan.

63. T.H., P.394.

Although he was also committed to pay 2 lacs of rupees to the exiled King but the helplessness of the Shah and his weakness made him more careful about his commitment to the ruler of Lahore. The Nawab concentrated on the welfare of his people specially the rural population because they were the people who were responsible for the prosperity of his State. Rajab Sial of the Rajbanah tribe was a source of constant disorder in the north-eastern side of Multan. Nawab Muzaffar Khan despatched a strong army to check his activities. Rajab Sial had built a fortress near Ahmadpur and had fortified it. It was attacked and captured. Rajab Sial ran away. The Nawab ordered the Fortress to be demolished. A new Fort near Ahmadpur named Firozgarh was built, where a strong army was kept to maintain law and order.

In the meantime, the Nawab had to turn his<sup>64</sup> attention to another grave incident. Nawab Sarfaraz Khan some how or other interfered in the internal affairs of the ruler of Bahawalpur, which strained their relation and led them to the battle field. During the invasion of Multan by Maharaja Ranjit Singh, Nawab Sadiq Muhammad Khan had provided a small contingent to the Sikh chief.

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64. Z.A., PP.74,75; P.C.,  
P.485.

He had also taken Khanpur and its adjacent area on lease from Nawab Sarfaraz Khan against the wishes of Nawab Muzaffar Khan. Moreover, he was not paying the fixed<sup>65</sup> annual amount regularly. It created misunderstanding between the two chiefs. Certain principal officers of the Nawab's army also provided an excuse for Nawab Sarfaraz Khan to interfere in the internal affairs of Bahawalpur State.

Fateh Muhammad Khan Ghauri, Jamadar Ahmad Khan Tarin and several others conspired to kill Nawab Sadiq Muhammad Khan when he was in Ahmadpur East. They deputed one Sanji Khan to accomplish it, but he failed in his mission. Nawab Sadiq Muhammad Khan went back to his<sup>66</sup> strong-hold of Derawar. On an other occasion, when Nawab Sadiq Muhammad Khan left Derawar for hunting, the conspirators, with the help of Mulla Hashim, Allah Dad Kehri, Bihar Khan Kehri and several others again played foul with him and declared Sahibzada Ahmad Baksh son of Sahibzada Mubarak Khan as their new ruler. They formed a regency and having closed the gates of the Fort, they fired guns to celebrate the installation of the new ruler. When Nawab Sadiq Muhammad Khan heard the fire of the guns,<sup>67</sup> he rushed back to the Fort and captured it by force. Fateh Muhammad Khan Ghauri, Jamadar Ahmad Khan Tarin and Dhooman Singh 'who had each under his command 500 horse and foot

proceeded towards Bahawalpur' town and from there 'were  
obliged to cross the river' (Ghara). Nawab Sarfaraz Khan  
who was the actual manager of his father's territory  
was in Shujaabad. They met him there and instigated the  
young Nawab against the ruler of Bahawalpur. Nawab  
Sarfaraz Khan allowed them to plunder the territory of  
Bahawalpur on this side of the river. It annoyed Nawab  
Sadiq Muhammad Khan but he sent an emissary to settle  
the dispute. The mission failed and ultimately Nawab  
Sadiq Muhammad Khan despatched a strong army under his  
commander Muhammad Yaqoob Khan who defeated Jamadar Ahmad  
Khan Tarin at Khangarh. Nawab Sarfaraz Khan also sent  
a strong army under Diwan Sahibdad to check the advance  
of the Bahawalpur forces but it was also defeated, hence  
Muhammad Yaqoob Khan advanced towards Shujaabad. Another  
force was despatched by Sarfaraz Khan and a pitched battle  
was fought in which the Afghans were routed and Jamadar  
Ahmad Khan Tarin alongwith fifty companions was killed.

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65. Z.A., P.75.

66. Shahamet Ali, op.cit., P.163.

67. Sadiq-ut-Tawarikh, PP.348,349.

68. Shahamet Ali, op.cit., PP.163,164; Sadiq-ut-Tawarikh,  
P.350; Z.A., op.cit., PP.76,77.

69. Shahamet Ali, op.cit., P.164.

70. Z.A., P.76.

Fateh Muhammad Khan Ghauri ran away to Dera Ghazi Khan. The Afghans having been completely defeated had to sign a truce. Nawab Muzaffar Khan expressed his concern to Sadiq Muhammad Khan over this incident and apologised for these unpleasant developments. Similar feelings were expressed by Nawab Sadiq Muhammad Khan who also paid the outstanding lease money of Khanpur and its adjacent area to Nawab Muzaffar Khan and promised to be punctual<sup>71</sup> in payment of the same in future.

The incompetent descendants of Ahmad Shah Dur-i-Durran at Kabul failed to defend their tributaries from the Sikh invasions. Being convinced of the weakness of the Afghan King, Nawab Muzaffar Khan had concluded a truce with Maharaja Ranjit Singh and in 1811 . . . (1226 A.H.) had<sup>72</sup> agreed to pay him 80,000 rupees as the annual tribute. Accordingly 30,000 rupees, which were paid earlier to the Maharaja, were adjusted and it was decided to pay the remaining 50,000 rupees from the Rabi crop of 1812 . . . Maharaja Ranjit Singh sent Sardar Dal Singh to Multan in April 1812 alongwith Abu Bakr Khan Saddozai who was in Lahore as a hostage. The Maharaja instructed the Sardar to release Abu Bakr Khan only on the receipt of the remaining amount

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71. I.H., P.242; Z.A., PP.77-79; Sadiq-ut-Tawarikh, op.cit., P.350; Shahamet Ali writes that Nawab Muzaffar Khan himself declared war against the Daudputras and proceeded to Shujaabad which is incorrect, PP.166,167,

72. I.H., PP.242,243.

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of 50,000 rupees from Nawab Muzaffar Khan. The Nawab found himself unable to honour the commitment because the Sikhs had destroyed the standing crop in the north eastern part of his territory and the Bahawalpuri army had damaged the standing crop on the south western side of his dominion. The Nawab, having realised the financial stringency, decided to sell his jewellery to clear the arrears. On the arrival of Sardar Dal Singh, Nawab Muzaffar Khan sent his jewellery to Delhi where it was sold and payment was made to the Sikh commander who released Abu Bakr Khan.

74

Shah Mahmud, the Afghan King alongwith his Wazir, Fateh Khan started from Kabul in winter 1813 A.D. to collect tributes from his Indian vassals. He reached Dera Ghazi Khan via Daman whereas his Wazir, with his permission, proceeded to Multan. With the help of Abdul Jabbar Khan, the Governor of Dera Ghazi Khan, fateh Khan crossed the Indus. Fateh Khan wanted to replace Nawab Muzaffar Khan with one of the Barakzais. The Nawab already knew his nefarious designs, hence he despatched a delegation led by Sarwar Khan Saddozai (his father in law)

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73. T.M., P.243; Batra, op.cit., P.59; H.P.,  
P.393; Muraqa-i-Multan, P.127.
74. T.M., P.243; Batra, op.cit., P.59; H.P.,  
op.cit., P.393; Muraqa-i-Multan, P.127;  
P.D.G., H.U., op.cit., P.55; U.T., P.106.



to Shah Mahmud. Sarwar Khan explained to the Afghan King that the Nawab could not pay his respects in the royal Court at Dera Chazi Khan due to the fear of his Wazir. He also explained that Maharaja Ranjit Singh was collecting the tribute with force and the Nawab was in financial distress. He presented 15,000 rupees alongwith some presents to Shah Mahmud who accepted it and promised to safeguard his interests. A royal order was issued to Fateh Khan that he need not proceed to Multan and should come back as the Afghan King was satisfied with the attitude of Nawab Muzaffar Khan. The moment Fateh Khan received the royal order, he at once retreated in early 1814 A.D. and dropped the idea of invading Multan. The Afghan King again came to Dera Chazi Khan in winter 1814 A.D. via Sindh. Nawab Muzaffar Khan again sent an emissary who presented the 'Nazar' to Shah Mahmud who reciprocated by sending a Khilat alongwith a horse to the Nawab and went back. It was a critical situation for the Nawab because on one side the Maharaja wanted to annex his State whereas

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\* Enmity of Wazir Fateh Khan Barakzai.

75. T.B., PP.161,162,243; Latif narrates that on the arrival of Fateh Khan at Trimu Chat, Nawab Muzaffar Khan sent Ghulam Muhammad Khan to Maharaja Ranjit Singh for help. The Maharaja promised to despatch a strong army under the command of Prince Kharak Singh. The moment Fateh Khan heard of it, he went back, H.P., P.398.

his own Afghan patron was knocking at his door for money. The Nawab had to save his tiny Muslim State from the clutches of the infidels as well as to keep it safe from the grip of the Barakzais who were in full control of the affairs in Afghanistan. He behaved very diplomatically and faced every situation courageously. He also concentrated on his domestic affairs. He paid full attention to the welfare of his people. The Nawab did not pay his promised tribute of 80,000 rupees to the Maharaja for the year 1815\*. The Sikh chief, on the pretext of extracting tribute, marched on Multan in February 1816. While he was at Tulamba in the last week of March, Syed Mohsin Shah the representative of Nawab Muzaffar Khan met him and placed before him several presents including horses, shawls and carpets with the promise that the Nawab would pay him the tribute in Rabi 1816. The Maharaja who did not withdraw his forces and laid siege to the Ahmadabad Fort which was captured with the help of the artillery of Mir Dewan Chand. The Maharaja proceeded towards Multan and after crossing the Chenab at Trimu Ghat reached Khokharawn<sup>77</sup> in 1816. (1231 A.H.). Nawab Muzaffar Khan closed the gates of the Fort and the walled city. He was

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76. I.M., P.243.

\* Khokharawn: It is situated 22 miles on the north east of Multan. It is on the left bank of Chenab. It is also known as Khokharawn Muhabbat.

ready to give fight. The Nawab was never impressed by the Sikh force and would never think of surrendering the Fort to the infidels. In the meantime, a Sikh chief Phula Singh taking advantage of the presence of the Maharaja started devastating the standing Rabi crop ripe for harvesting. Although the Nawab knew that the prosperity of the people depended upon this crop, he did not send any force to check Phula Singh but the irregular force<sup>6</sup> of the Afghans whose crop was involved came forward and checked Phula Singh near the Eidgah. A battle was fought in which the Sikh force was defeated and Phula Singh<sup>78</sup> ran away leaving the dead-bodies of his Sikh companions. Maharaja Ranjit Singh realised the situation and sent his Wazir Fakir Aziz-ud-Din to Nawab Muzaffar Khan. He expressed regrets to the Nawab on behalf of the Maharaja on the<sup>79</sup> irresponsible behaviour of Phula Singh. There upon, the Nawab paid him 40,000 rupees and promised to pay the remaining amount at the time of the Rabi crop. After receiving the money, the Maharaja retreated and encamped at Gaggrā<sup>80</sup> from where he despatched an emissary to Mankera

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77. Ibid. PP.243,244,253; H.P., P.407; U.I., P.38; P.D.G., M.D., P.55 writes that the Maharaja encamped at Salurwahan during the Sikh attack on Multan under Phula Singh.

6 The constant state of warfare had trained the rural population and they were in habit of being united at the time of any invasion; See: Z.A., PP.72, 80.

asking Nawab Muhammad Khan Sarbuland Muinud-Doulah to pay the tribute. The veteran Nawab who was more than 80 years old rejected the demand of Maharaja Ranjit Singh but soon he died. The Maharaja then despatched a strong army against his successor Sher Muhammad Khan, the Nawab of Kachi-Shumali and after several battles the Nawab<sup>80</sup> agreed to pay him the tribute. The Maharaja after settling the affairs with the Afghans returned to Lahore via Jhang. While at Jhang, he arrested Ahmad Khan Sial, the Chief of Jhang, who was a close ally of Nawab Muzaffar Khan alongwith his Diwan, Jawaya Ram and sent them to Lahore under a strong Guard. His territory was confiscated. Rajab Sial of Rajbanah tribe was also arrested<sup>81</sup> and was sent to Lahore as a prisoner.

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78. T.M., PP.243,244; Z.A., PP.79,80;  
 See: H.P., P.407; P.C., PP.485,486;  
 give a different account that Phula Singh took  
 'possession of some of the out-works of the citadel',  
 which is incorrect because it is not based on  
 authentic reference.
79. Z.A., P.80; P.C., P.486.
- cc Gaggrah: It is situated 17 miles north east of  
 Multan.
- ccc Nawab Muhammad Khan Sarbuland Muin-ud-Doulah had no  
 male issue. Nawab Sher Muhammad Khan was the son of  
 his only daughter who was married to Hafiz Ahmad Khan  
 son of Abdul Rehman Khan son of Momen Khan. His  
 descendants are still living in Dera Ismail Khan;  
 See:T.M., PP.282-290.
80. T.M., PP.282-285; H.P., PP.407,408;  
U.T., P.38.

Nawab Muhammad Sarbuland Khan Muin-ud-Doulah had given shelter to Abdus Samad Khan Badozai. His strong-hold of Dera Din Panah was situated in his dominion. The Nawab had given him the protection against Nawab Muzaffar Khan and had also given him a stipend of fifty rupees daily. When the old Nawab died in 1816 (1231 A.H.) Abdus Samad Khan raised a strong force and stationed it in his Fort of Dera Din Panah. He planned to capture a portion of the territory of the late Nawab, but after the departure of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, Hafiz Ahmad Khan the father of Nawab Sher Muhammad Khan besieged Dera Din Panah. Abdus Samad Khan having realised his weak position deserted to Lahore in 1817 (1232 A.H.) and induced<sup>82</sup> the Maharaja to invade Multan once again.

Nawab Muzaffar Khan was always in arrears of tribute. The Sikh chief had been cherishing the desire to capture Multan but the brave Afghans had always resisted. The Maharaja sent a strong army against Multan in 1817

under the command of Diwan Bhawani Das and Lala Ram Dayal assisted by Hari Singh Halwa 'to enforce the payment of tribute'. Mir Dewan Chand alongwith his artillery<sup>83</sup> consisting of 'a large number of guns' followed them. They encamped in the village Suraj Miani two miles west of

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81. H.P., P.408.

82. T.M., PP.252,253; H.P., P.408.

Multan and looted the area west of Multan. The Sikh army<sup>84</sup> did not have the courage to besiege the Fort and the town. They waited for the realisation of the tribute from the Nawab, but as they could not get anything, they crossed the Chenab. They entered the dominion of Nawab Sher Muhammad Khan and besieged Mahmud Kot\* which was captured. Hafiz Ahmad Khan had to pay them some money. Then they marched against the territory of Nawab Muzaffar Khan and<sup>85</sup> besieged the Fort of Muzaffargarh. When the Sikh army was in Mahmud Kot, Nawab Muzaffar Khan had despatched a strong army under his son Zulfikar Khan to defend the Fort of Muzaffargarh against any possible invasion. The Afghans offered a stiff resistance to the invaders and showed

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83. T.M., P.244; Z.A., P.80; H.P.,  
op.cit., P.410; U.T., P.38.

84. T.M., P.244; Z.A., P.80; Latif narrates that the Sikh army besieged the Multan Fort but it was very bravely defended by the Nawab, H.P., P.410. Lepel Griffin writes that the invaders retired on the payment of 10,000 rupees, P.C., P.486. He has not given any authentic reference.

\* Mahmud Kot: It is situated 17 miles north west of Muzaffargarh.

85. T.M., P.244; Z.A., P.80.

در سال مستقبل که لاله رام دیال و دیوان بهوانیداس از حفود سرکار عالی بداعیه خرابی ملک ملتان بتقریب تحصیل مایه مقررہ آن مامور بودند - - - قلعہ مظفرنگر را محصور کردند -  
زبدہ ( ص ۸۰، ۸۱ )

سال دیگر رام دیال وغیرہ سرداران بافوج بسیار روانہ ملتان کردہ و در قصبہ سیرہ میوانی دو گروہی ملتان آمدہ نشست - - - دیوانی چند سردار لشکر قلعہ مذکور نگہ زدہ -  
تذکرہ ( ص ۲۲۲ )

great valour. During the siege, a ball was shot from a close range, which set fire to the houses including the Palace of the Nawab inside the Fort. The defenders controlled the situation and did not lose their morale. Ultimately the Sikh army went back to Lahore after receiving money.<sup>86</sup> On their arrival, Maharaja Ranjit Singh penalised Diwan Bhawani Das, placed him under guard and imposed a fine of 10,000 rupees for his unsuccessful mission.<sup>87</sup> It was during the same period that Abdus Samad Khan ran away from Dera Din Panah and joined the Sikh force on their way to Lahore.<sup>88</sup>

Maharaja Ranjit Singh had been very successful in all of his campaigns except Multan. He wanted to conquer it because it had been a great hurdle in his policy of aggrandisement. Nawab Muzaffar Khan was neither paying the tribute to Maharaja Ranjit Singh nor was he paying the revenues to the King of Afghanistan. In spite of all the pressures both military and political by the rulers of Afghanistan and the Panjab, he maintained his independence by sheer dint of courage and kept his dignity in the face of all hazards. He was an absolute ruler in his internal affairs and paid tribute to the Maharaja at his convenience either in the form of indemnity or in the shape of tribute.

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86. T.M.,

P.244;Z.A.,  
P.38.

PP.80,81;U.T.,

As Maharaja Ranjit Singh was very much annoyed at the failure of the mission of Diwan Bhawani Das, he was determined to conquer Multan at any cost. During the later part of the year, the Maharaja paid full attention to his preparations for an expedition against Multan. He personally supervised 'all the preparations, including the transport arrangements'. It was decided to transport all 'the provisions and war materials by the Ravi and the Chenab'. All the boats were requisitioned. 'A large number of bullocks were procured to convey the heavy artillery to the intended seat of war'. 'Zam Zama', the famous gun, was brought to Lahore from Amritsar and was to be moved to Multan. Maharaja Ranjit Singh ordered his Sardars to collect all possible supplies as well as  
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soldiers from all quarters. He did not want to face failure during this campaign of Multan as he had been attempting the conquest of Multan for the last 8 years. With a total force of 50000 soldiers both regular and  
90  
irregular he was ready to move against Multan. He was also worried about the selection of the commander of the expedition. Once he discussed this problem in his court, Mirs Dewan Chand expressed his willingness to lead the

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87. U.T., P.39; H.P., P.410.

88. I.M., P.253.



expedition with the assurance that all the expenses of war would be met by the Maharaja and in case of success, he would not be asked to submit the accounts of the <sup>91</sup>booty. The Maharaja accepted his demands and appointed him as the commander of the expedition. Some of the Sardars were not willing to serve under Misr Dewan Chand as he had risen from 'a low position' to that of commandant of the artillery on account of his ' talents'. Ultimately it was decided that Prince Kharak Singh would accompany the Sikh army as a nominal chief and the command would be <sup>92</sup>retained by Misr Dewan Chand. The Maharaja briefed his son Prince Kharak Singh about these arrangements. He was afraid of a united front of the Muslims. He, therefore, released Ahmad Khan Sial and gave him a Jagir in Mirowal in the Amritsar District. He sent emissaries to the Nawab of Bahawalpur, the Governor of Dera Ghazi Khan and Nawab Sher Muhammad Khan of Kachi-Shumali. He encamped in the

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89. I.M., P.244; Ibrat Namah, P.447; U.I., P.39; H.P., P.410; P.C., P.486.

90. Z.A., P.81; See: H.P., P.410; Lepel Griffin writes that the total number of his army consisted of 25000 soldiers, P.C., P.486.

سرکار عالی بعد از محاصره دویم که جمعیت خاطر در بیابان اندیشه های تسخیر قلمه ملتان گم داشت و مدت هشت سال بتائید روز افزونی مواد اقبال سرگرم اجتماع و سربراهی اسباب و سامان حصار کشای بود - شاهزاده کهزک سنگھ را باخان جو انان عرسه کارزار که تعداد شان زیاده بر پنجاه هزار بود -

زبدہ ( ص ۸۱ )

Shalamar garden and made the best possible arrangements of communications between his station and the war front. Being the supreme commander, he wanted to be well-informed about each and every development. His grand army marched to Multan with great pomp and show in January 1818. It included all big and small Sardars including Diwan Ram Dayal, Hari Singh Malwa, Fateh Singh Abduwalia, Dil Singh, Karam Singh, Diwan Moti Ram and Diwan Bhawani Das. He also brought the Afghans of Kasur to the scene of war and Qutub-ud-Din Khan was made in charge of his contingent. Abdus Samad Khan also accompanied the Prince. The Maharaja appointed him as the adviser of Prince Kharak Singh and instructed the Prince to pay full attention to his advice. When Nawab Muzaffar Khan heard the news of the arrival of such a large army to conquer Multan, he appealed to the people of Multan in general and the Muslims in particular to rise in defence of their homeland. He declared it a holy war and was determined to put up a strong defence. He shifted provisions to the Multan Fort. His well-trained

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91. Ibrat Namah, P.447.
92. H.P., P.410; Ibrat Namah, P.447;  
P.C., P.486; Shahamet Ali, op.cit., P.174
93. T.M., P.244; Yousof Gardezi, op.cit., P.54;  
U.T., PP.32,208; H.P., PP.410,411,
94. U.T., P.208.

small army consisting of 2000 soldiers alongwith an artillery of 20 small guns was ready to defend Multan and Shujaabad because both were his invincible strongholds. The people of Muzaffargarh, Khangarh, Shujaabad and Multan volunteered themselves and were ready to face the enemy on their own. Nawab Muzaffar Khan wrote to the Nawab of Bahawalpur, the Governor of Dera Ghazi Khan and the Nawab of Kachi-Shumali for help but they kept quiet. The Sikh army after crossing the Chenab at Trimu Ghat reached Muzaffargarh. It besieged the Fort which could not stand in defence for long. It was defended by the local militia, hence it surrendered. Then the Sikhs proceeded towards Multan. Mir Dewan Chand was encamped in the Hazuri Bagh on the northern side of the Fort. He was successful in his initial campaign. After the fall of Muzaffargarh, the Sikhs devastated the entire territory. They destroyed the standing crops and looted the people mercilessly. The women committed suicide in order to save their honour. The people ran away towards Dera Ghazi Khan for refuge. As the Maharaja had promised his commander that he would not question him about the booty, the soldiers looted the Nawab's dominion fearlessly and set the houses on fire.

The Nawab was then left with five guns and  
1000 soldiers (600 regular and 400 irregular ) and a  
small contingent of volunteers to defend Shujaabad.  
Necessary provisions was also stored in the Fort of  
Shujaabad. The Nawab did not give importance to the  
Fort of Khangarh. It was vacated and the people were  
shifted to Shujaabad. The Sikh army occupied it without  
any resistance. The Sikh soldiers were stationed in the  
Fort of Muzaffargarh and Khangarh. The Nawab posted 1400  
soldiers for the defence of the Multan Fort. A small  
army consisting of volunteers was raised to defend the  
town. The Sikhs under the command of Diwan Moti Ram  
besieged the town in March 1818 . (Jamadi-ul-Aawal  
1230 A.H.) The Afghans fought very bravely and defended  
the town with a great vigour. In spite of the best  
defence several breaches were made in the wall of the  
city on account of the heavy fire of artillery. The  
bombardment was so severe that the defenders were unnerved  
and ultimately the town was captured. The Sikhs entered  
the city and performed acts of arson and loot, resulting  
in the suicide of many women to save their honour. Ultimately  
Mistr Dewan Chand had to stop it because the fort was  
yet to be conquered. The Fort was besieged and was

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95. Z.A., PP.81,82.

bombarded and the artillery showed its performance which caused breaches in the walls of the fort. The Nawab was very vigilant and the breaches were repaired in no time. The famous Zam Zama which was used by Ahmad Shah against the Marathas in the third battle of Panipat in 1761, was deployed for the destruction of the Muslims in general and the rule of the Saddozais in Multan in particular. During the siege of the Fort, it was fired four times and every time it irreparably damaged the outer wall of the Fort. The Nawab undauntedly raised mounds of earth behind the breaches.<sup>96</sup> Due to constant bombardment, Khizai gate facing Eidgah (on the north eastern side) was blown up<sup>99</sup> but the defenders raised a mound of earth behind it. Then a general assault was attempted, which the Afghan soldiers repulsed very courageously and the Sikhs ran away leaving<sup>100</sup> the dead-bodies of 1800 men. Constant bombardment ultimately caused two serious braches, one in the wall near Khizai gate and the other in the wall near the Dev gate (on the western side). It encouraged the Sikh soldiers who having crossed the dry moat rushed towards the Fort. A hand to hand fight took place near the wall and the Afghans succeeded in pushing them back. The old Nawab himself

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96. I.M., P.244.

97. Ibid. PP.244,245.

took active part in the battle and his presence enhanced the morale of the Afghan soldiers. They at once raised mounds of earth behind the breaches. In the meantime, Mir Dewan Chand despatched a strong army towards Shujaabad. A flight of artillery was also sent. It besieged the Fort of Shujaabad. In spite of heavy bombardment, it failed to do any harm to the Fort. The defenders showed their exceptional courage and repulsed their attack. The Sikh army failed to capture Shujaabad even after the fall of the Fort of Multan. The Fort of Shujaabad remained invincible.

Maharaja Ranjit Singh had deployed all of his resources and was anxiously waiting for good news. When two months elapsed and the Sikh army failed to capture the Fort, he instructed Mir Dewan Chand to offer terms of an honourable peace to the Nawab. As the Maharaja was deeply interested in the conquest of Multan at any cost, he offered Shujaabad and Khangarh in return to Nawab Muzaffar Khan as Jagirs for the maintenance of his family.

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98. Ibid., P.244; Z.A., P.94; See: H.I., P.32; Latif writes that the Sikh army besieged the town in February 1818. (Phagan 1874 Samvet). Multan was also captured in February, H.P., P.411; Yousuf Gardezi writes that the Maharaja despatched his army towards Multan in February 1818 (Phagan 1874 Samvet), P.34.

He was asked to shift to Shujaabad and hand over the charge of Multan Fort to Prince Kharak Singh. The Nawab was also asked to live like a Jagirdar of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. Diwan Bhawani Das and Ghaudri Qadir Baksh were sent to the Nawab and they gave assurance for the protection of his life, honour and property. They also offered to allow the Nawab to shift alongwith his relations, servants, soldiers and other belongings including ornaments. There was a lull. Fighting was stopped. The terms were placed before the Tumandars (chiefs) for their consideration. The position of the Fort was also explained. Provisions and ammunition had exhausted. There were two irreparable breaches, one on the western side and the second on the north eastern side. During the war, if the Sikhs had lost thousands of their soldiers, the Nawab had also incurred the loss of at least more than 1000 soldiers. For the present there were hardly 300 soldiers including his family-members and personal servants to defend the fort. In spite of all these handicaps, a section of the proud Afghans thought that the old Nawab was making peace for the safety of his family, which was absolutely undesirable,

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99. T.M., P.245; Ibrat Namah, P.447;  
H.P., P.411; P.C., P.486.
100. P.C., P.486.

but the fact was that he was avoiding further destruction. Nawab Muzaffar Khan was interested in peace because the Sikh artillery had destroyed most of the buildings including the Palace of the Nawab and the stores inside the fort. The crafty Abdus Samad Khan for his selfish designs was guiding the Sikh artillery. He was a deadly enemy of the Nawab. He had the desire to see the end of his rule. He intrigued with certain Afghans and played a very dirty role by bribing them. A section of the Afghans deserted the Nawab during the siege and joined the Sikhs. It did not unnerve the veteran Nawab. The Nawab after consulting his sons had taken the decision of concluding an honourable peace 15 days before the fall of the Fort but the proposal had been rejected by other Afghans. Ultimately he consulted his sons again and revised the decision accordingly. The Sikh Chief made a desperate attempt to capture the fort and the artillery fire was resumed. This time, the bombardment was so severe that it destroyed the remaining buildings inside the Fort and it became absolutely difficult for the defenders to repair the damaged walls of the Fort or to raise earth behind the breaches. The Sikh soldiers succeeded in entering the Fort on the north western side near the Dev gate. Under this critical situation, the Tumandars requested the Nawab to conclude peace with the Sikhs. The Nawab told them that he had chosen an honourable death for himself.



He turned down their request for negotiations with the infidels and preferred to die for the noble cause of Islam. He had preferred to die as a martyr in defending Islam than live a defamed life. He rushed towards the Sikh soldiers who had entered the Fort and pushed them back with the help of his small contingent. He showed exceptional bravery while defending the Fort. His courage raised the morale of the remnants. He posted Nawab Sarfaraz Khan to take care of the Dev gate. The siege of the Fort lasted for 84 days. The Sikh soldiers finding a way through the breach of the wall near Khizai gate entered the Fort on Friday, 1st June 1818. The old Nawab was there to stop them and they fought from morning to the darkness of the night. Both were tired but remained firm in their respective positions. The Sikh soldiers had taken their position in the moat near the damaged wall.

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101. T.M., PP.244-246; Z.A., PP.82-84;  
U.T., PP.39, 213, 216-218; Ibrat Namah,  
 PP.447,448; Yousuf Gardezi, op.cit.,  
 PP.54,55.

روز هشتاد و چهارم از ایام محاصره زبده (ص ۸۲)  
 عبدالصمدخان که همراهِ لشکر سپهکان بود بزدن توپ و نقب ایشان را راه نغائین میکرد و  
 افغانه اندرون را دلالت بکفرمیی نمود - تذکوه (ص ۲۲۲)  
 نواب فرمود آنوقت که طلبیدن امان بود جائیز نداشتند اکنون ایمان باید طلبید شمشیر کشید  
 اتفاقاً رو برویی او جوان سودهی . که پیر خانه سپهکان هستند دوچار شد و شمشیری بویکدیگر  
 زدند تیغ او بر نواب کار نکود بیک تیغ نواب سودهی از پادر آمد و یک تیغ دیگر رسید  
 شهید شد - تذکوه (ص ۲۲۲)

The tired Afghans and the Sikh soldiers slept there for a few hours. Early next morning, Saturday, 2nd June 1818 . (23<sup>rd</sup> Rajab 1233 A.H.) ( 18 Jaith 1874 Samvet), Sadhu Singh, an Akali fanatic alongwith a small contingent, seeing the Afghan soldiers sleeping, availed the opportunity and entered the Fort. Nawab Muzaffar Khan alongwith a few trusted faithful soldiers checked Sadhu Singh near the Khizri gate. They fought from morning to the afternoon and during this battle, they used daggers, swords and guns. Nawab Muzaffar Khan was fighting alongwith his sons, loyal servants, relations and few loyal brave Afghans but the rest had left him a day earlier. There was a hand to hand fight. When Sadhu Singh again tried to enter the Fort and Nawab Muzaffar Khan once again checked him, this time cutting him into two pieces with his sword. Simultaneously a bullet which was fired by a Sikh soldier gave him the honour of martyrdom. Seeing the blood oozing out of the body of the old Nawab, his five sons Shah Nawaz Khan, Haq Nawaz Khan, Mumtaz Khan, Aezaz Khan, Shahbaz Khan alongwith Nasrullah Khan(nephew of the Nawab) and several other close relations and loyal Afghans including Jan Muhammad Khan Badozai, Khudayar Khan Alizai, Diwan Sahib dad Khan, Muhammad Khan Tarin, Sarmast Khan Malizai <sup>and</sup> Fatch Khan sacrificed their lives fighting for a

noble cause. The brave daughter of the courageous Nawab also took active part in the battle and following the footsteps of her father laid down her life for the safety of her homeland. Nawab Sarfaraz Khan who was fighting near the Dev gate refused to surrender. He did not know that his father and brothers had lost their lives while defending the Fort. In the meantime, Diwan Ram Dayal approached him and told him about the debacle. He also requested him to surrender which he did. He paid him respect and took him to Misr Dewan Chand who received him with great honour. Prince Kharak Singh also accorded full respect to him according to the instructions of the Maharaja. Zulfikar Khan was seriously ill but as he heard about the death of his father, he rushed towards the infidels furiously. He fought bravely and received serious wounds on his face and fell down unconscious. He was later on located among the dead bodies of the Afghans near the 102 Khizri gate. Next day the dead bodies of Nawab Muzaffar Khan and Shahnawaz Khan were located near the Khizri gate

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102: T.M., PP.162,163,245,246; Z.A., PP.84-87; Ibrat Namah, P.448; U.T., PP.29,219; Yousuf Gardezi, op.cit., PP.55,56; H.P., P.412.

نواب بلند القاب حبیب الحرمین الشرفین نواب مظفر خان سدوزی ناظم آنجا با پنج ہمسر  
و دہ سدوزی دیگر شہید شدند۔ و مقدار ہزار نفر از افغانہ وغیرہ  
بجماعتہ شہید او ملحق شدند۔

and buried with all honours in the tomb of Hazrat Bah<sup>u</sup>ddin Zakaria by the order of Mir Dewan Chand. The dead bodies of other sons of the Nawab and the dead body<sup>103</sup> of his daughter could not be located. After the fall of the Fort, the royal Afghan ladies ran to safe places in the city to save their honour. When things were settled, they were located by Nawab Sarfaraz Khan and they joined<sup>104</sup> him on his way to Lahore. Shujaabad Fort remained invincible throughout. In spite of the fact that the defenders were informed about the fall of the Multan but they refused to believe. It was, therefore, decided that Nawab Sarfaraz Khan be taken to the scene. Under the instructions of Mir Dewan Chand, Diwan Ram Dayal alongwith Nawab Sarfaraz Khan went to Shujaabad where he disclosed<sup>obtained</sup> to the defenders that Nawab Muzaffar Khan had/martyrdom while defending the fort and asked them to surrender. The defenders agreed on the condition that they would be allowed to leave Shujaabad for Bahawalpur alongwith their valuables. As they surrendered, the Sikh chief entered the

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103. Z.A., P.88.

104. Ibid. P.88.

از انجا که قلعه شجاع آباد بحراست دلاوران شجاعت نهاد استوارد کنایش آن بزرور  
بازوین نبرد دشوار بود ناکام لاله رام دیال نواب عظمت و سعادت انتساب را بدان مقام  
برده بغرمان ایشان انصرام مراد کرد۔

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Fort of Shujaabad. The remaining five guns were found inside the Fort. Nawab Sarfaraz Khan and Zulfikar Khan were taken to Lahore to Maharaja Ranjit Singh where they were granted Jagirs. They settled down in Lahore. The youngest son of Nawab Muzaffar Khan, Amir Baz Khan aged 14 and several other Saddozais went to Bahawalpur, where the Nawab granted them pensions and they settled down in Bahawalpur.

The dynasty of the Saddozais in Multan thus met a tragic end on 2nd June 1818 . . . Simultaneously the rule of the Saddozais also ended in Afghanistan (Hirat) in 1818 A.D. Multan witnessed for more than half a century the rule of the brave Afghans who resisted the infidels heroically at the cost of their lives. Multan always maintained its autonomy since 1752 . . . The Afghans saw with great shock the destruction of their palatial houses inside the Fort. They were deprived of all they had. The Sikhs became masters of Multan till its annexation by the East India Company in 1849 A.D.

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105. Ibid. P.88; Sohan Lal writes that Shujaabad was captured earlier which is incorrect, U.T., P.221

106. P.S.G., B.S., 1904, P.66.

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### Structure of Administration

Multan was one of the biggest and important provinces of the Mughal Empire.<sup>1</sup> Princes of the royal blood were appointed as its Governor. Its geographical situation enhanced its importance. It had a strong link with the Sulaiman Ranges and the rivers provided the facilities of communications with the Panjab on the one side and Sindh on the other. During the down-fall of the Mughals, Multan lost a major portion of its territory but it retained its importance which increased after the conquest of Ahmad Shah as it was his birth place.<sup>2</sup> After conquering Multan, Ahmad Shah made it an Afghan province and appointed an Afghan Subedar who was directly answerable to him. The Afghan King was interested only in the collection of the tribute. He never interfered in the internal affairs of Multan and directed his Subedar to keep a watchful eye on the activities of the Khudakka Saddozais who were the only claimants to the Afghan throne. The Subedar of Multan under the Afghan rule was absolutely independent in his internal affairs.<sup>3</sup>

In the beginning, the structure of administration<sup>4</sup> was the same as it was during the Mughal rule. Gradually, the Afghan tribal system influenced it. Previously Diwan who was the head of the department of Finance, was considered

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1. Raverty, Op.Cit., PP.557,558; c.f., K.H.P., P.12.
  2. T.M., PP.65,201,202; Yousuf Gardezi, Op.Cit., P.56.
  3. T.M., PP.206,222.
  4. For detail see The Administration of the Mughal Empire, by I.H. Qureshi.

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to be a very important person and was always very close to the Subedar but with the passage of time, the tribal chiefs became equally important and a time came when Nawab Shuja Khan and his son Nawab Muzaffar Khan did not take any important decision without consulting their Tumandars (tribal chiefs). It is true that they were very powerful Subedars of their time but they did not ignore their Tumandars. The Tumandars formed a sort of advisory body (majlis) and they played a major role during war and  
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peace. They were the spinal cord of the administrative structure. All the civil and military officers were appointed from amongst them. The Tumandars were very influential persons and were responsible for the maintenance of peace and order within their tribal jurisdiction. They maintained their contingents consisting of the soldiers of their own tribes. All the Subedars and the Tumandars were supposed to be good natured persons and had to maintain a high moral standard. They were free from most of the vices such as drunkenness and the use of intoxicants, duplicity and cruelty. They were firm supporters of religion. They possessed a kind heart and were generous and charitable in their disposition.

The administrative structure was that the Subedar was at the head of the administration. He was the

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5. P.Saran, The Provincial Government of the Mughals, Allabad, 1941. P.170; c.f., Moreland, Journal of Indian History, Madras, 1927, Vol. VI, Pt.II.

6. T.M., PP.244,246.

Note: In the Mughal Administration there were other officers but during the Afghan period in Multan, Tumandars played an very important rule.



chief executive. He exercised fullest control over all departments of the administration both civil and military.<sup>7</sup> Amongst his officers, the Diwan and the Wakeel were the most important functionaries. The Diwan was the custodian of the Finance department.<sup>8</sup>

The Wakeel represented the Subedar on all important occasions outside the Province. He had to represent his Subedar in the royal court of the Afghan King.<sup>9</sup> His function was to strengthen the relations between the master and the vassal whereas the duty of the Diwan was to tap all resources of income. After its annexation by Ahmad Shah, the Afghan Subedars of Multan subdivided it into several smaller units for administrative purposes. The main units were Multan, Shujaabad, Khangarh, Sikandarabad, Muzaffargarh, Ghazanfargarh, Rangpur, Muradabad, Sardarpur, Tulamba, Mailsi, Luddan and Kahrur Pakka. During the rule of Nawab Muzaffar Khan, Mailsi, Luddan, Kahrur Pakka and Jalalpur had fallen into Nawab Bahawalpur's areas of influence.

<sup>10</sup> For military purposes, a Faujdar was appointed in each unit but Multan, being the seat of the Subedar was directly under his control. For the collection of revenue, a 'Kardar' was appointed in each unit and under him were placed several other officers to assist him in the collection

7. T.M., PP.206,228., Saran, Op.Cit., P.170; I.H.Q.,Op.Cit., P.228; Saran writes that Diwan was second important person in a Suban but was subordinate to Subedar. But with the passage of time, Diwan definitely became subordinate to Subedar.

8. I.H.Q., Op.Cit., PP.229,230.

9. T.M., PP.219,220.

10. Saran, Op.Cit., PP.208,230. \* A name given to

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of revenue. The smallest unit in the administrative structure was a village. In each village, there was a 'Dabeer' for the collection of revenue. For purposes of maintaining law and order, in each unit there was a <sup>12</sup> 'Kotwal'. He was a police officer. He was responsible for the maintenance of law and order. In case of emergency, Faujdar was also there to help him. Faujdar was a military officer. He was the commander of the military contingent which was kept in a state of readiness to fight against the external <sup>13</sup> invaders as well as the internal miscreants. For the maintenance of law and order, police was also stationed in the villages. The Subedar maintained his direct liaison with Faujdars, Kotwals and the Dabeers. Being the chief of the departments of the Finance and the revenue, the Diwan was to look after the work of the officers of both the departments.

For purposes of justice, a full-fledged Judiciary was there. In each unit, a 'Qazi' was appointed to decide <sup>14</sup> the cases. He was to give the decision according to the Quran and the Sunnah. There were 'Muftis' who were authorised to give their opinion on certain matters relating to the <sup>15</sup> Islamic laws. The Qazi did not go against the opinion of the Mufti. The Mufti was supposed to be a learned scholar of Islamic Jurisprudence. In the village, petty cases were

11. Saran, Op.Cit., P.278.

12. Ibid. PP.232-236; I.H.Q., Op.Cit., PP.229-233.

13. Saran, Op.cit., PP.228,229.

14. Ibid., PP.341-344; I.H.Q., Op.Cit., P.191.

15. I.H.Q., Op.Cit., P.191; Saran believes that in the 18th century the Muftis seem to have gradually been ignored in the higher courts, Op.Cit., P.247.

\* Village life remained unchanged- Saran, Op.Cit., P.241.

decided by the 'Panchayat'<sup>16</sup> according to the customary laws. Sometimes, petty cases were also decided by the Tumandars. In short the Subedar was responsible for the administration of his province and he looked after all the departments. Any appeal could be taken to his court. He was supposed to hold his court at least once in a week. Every body was allowed to file a mercy petition. Major punishments could be given only with his permission. Every office was provided a 'Munshi' to write the proceeding in Persian which was the official language. The record was also maintained and a copy of the proceedings was sent to the headquarter.

All big and small officers were paid regularly from the government exchequer. The pay was according to their status. Different Kardars and Faujdars got their pay according to their seniority. It depended entirely upon the Subedar. The Afghan rule in Multan was generally a benevolent rule. It added to the prosperity of the people of Multan which lasted upto the Sikh invasions. Ultimately the continuous Sikh invasions destroyed the prosperity of the tiny Muslim territory.

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16. I.H.Q., Op.Cit., P.197; Saran, Op.Cit., PP.246,247.

Note: After the death of Aurangzeb, Multan started losing its territory but it remained an important province. The civil administration of the Mughal remained unchanged. During the Afghan period, it retained all the officers of a Sarkar and a Parganah in its smaller units with the same responsibilities. See for detail the provincial Government of Muthals: by P.Saran.

### Religion and Culture

Multan was conquered by Muhammad bin Qasim in 713 . . . The people started embracing Islam and within a short period of time, Islam was being practised here. The local people started living like their Arab rulers. Arabic became popular because it was the language of the rulers. It also influenced the local language. Arabic became the official language and with the passage of time, it was adopted by the local intelligentsia. In 980 A.D. the Karmat-ians captured Multan and under their influence Arabic progressed a lot. Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna conquered Multan in 10<sup>1</sup>0~~0~~ D., which was the beginning of a new era. The new conquerors introduced Persian and the local population accepted their habits and copied them in almost all fields of life. As time passed, Persian became very popular and it played a significant role in the development of the local language. Before the Mughal rule, 'Saraiki'<sup>2</sup> (the local language )had developed.

The Muslims of Central Asia who ruled the Sub-continent for centuries exercised an over all influence over the local population. Multan being a very important province also maintained cultural relations with Central Asia. During the Mughal period, its link with Central Asia was strengthened specially with Khurasan. While realising its

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1. Muhammad Nazim, Op.Cit., P.99.
  2. Ikram-ul-Haq, Arz-i-Multan, Lahore, 1972, P.64.

importance Ahmad Shah annexed it in 1752 A.D. and it remained an Afghan Province till 1818 A.D. During this period, the official religion of the State was Islam and the official language also remained Persian. The majority of the inhabitants belonged to Sunni sect and a sizeable population also preferred Shia faith. The local people were already very much influenced by the people of Khurasan as they had close commercial links with them. The people from Khurasan had already started migrating since the days of Babur. The Afghans who were very much entrenched here at the time of its annexation by Ahmad Shah, were living in tribal forms under their tribal chiefs. They maintained their customary laws even in Multan. During the Afghans rule in Multan, the Pirs, the Mukhdums and the Syeds were respected a lot. The Afghans considered them as their spiritual guide and obeyed their behests for the betterment of their eternal life. The happiness of the Pir was considered to be the happiness of God. Their ladies specially believed in their 'Walayat' (nearness to God). The Afghans built tombs and mosques and showed their practical obedience to the living Pirs as well as to the dead ones. In order to please the dead, they visited the mazars (tombs) and laid flower wreaths. They offered fatiha and distributed alms among the poor. The ladies kindled small earthen lamps on the graves of the saints. The Afghans were very

3. T.M., P.47.

\* The Afghan Subedars of Multan granted Jagirs for the maintenance of the shrines. See the original Farmans - with Syed Muhammad Ramzan Shah Gardezi, Multan.

rigid in their religious ceremonies. Old beliefs and superstitions remained unchanged among the Afghans. The 'Ulema' and the 'Sufis' popularly known as the 'Mullahs' enjoyed great respect and commanded great influence over the people.

The Afghan Subedars had a profound religious bent of mind and were always fond of the society of the learned and the holymen. They treated the Mullahs and 'Darveshes' with great respect and devotion. The Syeds and the Mullah were always allowed to remain seated in their presence. The learned Mullahs were to be appointed<sup>4</sup> as the Qazis and the Muftis by the Subedar. The orthodox laws of Islam known as 'Shara', were emphasised in governing the every day life of the Afghans. They were very punctual in offering their prayers and observed fast in the holy month of Ramazan. The Mullahs were also responsible for their religious education. Mosques were utilized for such education. Children of both the sexes got religious education together in the Mosques. All the Subedars of Multan belonged to the Sunni Sect. Shias were granted full liberty in practicing their religious ceremonies but were not allowed to make public demonstration on the days of Muharram. Religious toleration was one of the chief virtues of the Afghan people. Almost all the Afghans belonged to the rigid Sunni Sect but they tolerated the Shias as well

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4. T.M., P.309.

Note: Qadi Haji Abdul Ghafoor was chief qadi of Multan in the later Afghan period. See T.M., P.309.

as the non-muslims. They also maintained good relations with them. The non-muslims had full religious freedom and their temples and gurdwaras were never interfered with.

The Afghans were war-like people. Professionally they were soldiers. They never indulged in any business. All trade and commerce was controlled by the non-Afghans. Among the non-Afghans, the muslims excluding the Pirs and the Syeds indulged in agriculture, cottage-industry and masonry. The Hindus monopolized almost all other business. They were rich people and lent money to the muslims at a heavy rate of interest which ultimately ruined them. They controlled the business even outside Multan. Basically the Hindus were urban people. The local muslim population indulged in agriculture. The Hindu traders always exploited them and made fortune. Even they exploited the Afghans whenever they were in need of money. They were so much entrenched in the society that even the Afghan Subedars failed to check them.

Multan was famous for its masonry work as well as for the industries of 'glazed pottery, glazed tiles with floral patterns, nitrous enamel, ornaments in silver, cotton and woolen carpets, silk fabrics and metal work'. As far as glazed tiles and pottery were concerned, during the Afghan period, the work was exclusively architectural. The

'tiles painted in dark and light blue with large geometrical patterns for wall surfaces, finials for the tops of domes, the Muhammadan profession of faith(kalima) painted in bold Arabic characters for tombs, and panels of various sizes for lintels, door Jambs and the like' were special characteristics of this period. The glazed tiles and pottery did not diminish for more than a century and in case of decay, its finish did remain as it was in the beginning. Multan was notable for this industry and it was maintaining its standard<sup>6</sup> during the Afghan period. The art of 'thappa' (a sort of stamp) on the plain clothes with different fast colours, was also a very popular industry in Multan. The coloured cotton rugs and carpet industry of Kahrur Pakka and Shujaabad excelled in their work. It was also very popular even outside Multan. The bed-sheets of Kahrur Pakka were sent as sovineour to different parts of the Sub-continent. Multan's contact with Khurasan, Iran and Turkistan through the Afghans introduced w<sup>o</sup>ollen carpet industry which was at its zenith during the Afghan period. Multan was also famous for its hand-loom industry,

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6. Ibid. P.211.

\*2. Percy Brown writes that Glazed Tiles work was at its zenith in the 14th century as it is evident from the tomb of Rukh-i-alam, The Indian Architecture, (The Islamic period), Bombay, 1942. Chapter VII, PP.34,35.



specially in making 'Khes' (silk sheets). Silk was imported from China, Kashmir and Central Asia. Coloured Khes of Multan was also sent to different part of the Sub-continent as sovincour. Multan silk-weaving was the best in the area. The combination of cotton with silk to make 'Susi' ( a local name to this kind of cloth) attracted the people and this cloth became very popular among the ladies. The same way 'Shuja Khani' cloth was popular among the males. The name of this kind of cloth was after Nawab Shuja Khan.<sup>7</sup> Multan is also famous for its embriodary on clothes specially on the shirts. The combination of silk with gold thread to make 'Lungis' (piece of cloth for male instead of trouser) and turbans for the Afghan Chiefs gained popularity. Its border was always made of gold thread and it was used on the ceremonial occasions by the rich specially at marriage ceremonies. The best features of this manufacture were durability and the finish of the fabric.<sup>8</sup>

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7. Ibid. PP.214-216; Alexander Burnes, A voyage on the Indus, Karachi, 1973, P.111; Charles Masson, Narrative of various journeys in Balochistan, Afghanistan and the Panjab, Karachi, 1974, vol.I, P.395.

8. P.D.G., H.D., P.215.

### Social and Economic Aspects

Different tribes of the Afghans migrated from Afghanistan to India during the Mughal period. Certain notable tribes settled down in Multan. 'The Last Phase of the Muslim Rule in Multan' was dominated by the Mohsinzai and the Saddozai Chiefs of the Afghan tribes. The people of Afghanistan, in fact, were not a mixed race in the sense of miscegenation, on the contrary, they were a conglomeration of several distinct nationalities which did not intermarry, and each of which maintained its own traditions, customs and dialects, more or less completely distinct from the others. The Afghans belonged to a martial race and were the only dominant race among other races which figured prominently in the history of the country. After their migration to Multan they maintained their tribal entity. The different tribes lived in different localities of Multan and constructed their houses accordingly. They never thought of settling down inside the four walls of the city. The Afghans maintained their tribal system in Multan for more than a century. Each tribe had a chief and the chiefship was hereditary. In the beginning, all the civil, revenue and criminal disputes were settled by the Chiefs of the tribes, who applied the provisions of Muhammadan Law but gradually

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1. Bellew. H.H., An Enquiry in to the Ethnography of Afghanistan, London, 1932, PP.17-19.

\* The Afghans are maintaining their traditional houses till this day.

the local influence dominated and during the Afghan period, they started referring their disputes to the local Courts. The Afghan lived peacefully with the local population and never showed religious fanaticism. They maintained very good relations even with the non-muslim population of Multan. The Afghans were democratic people, therefore, they cooperated with the local people in all affairs. It resulted in a better understanding between the rule and the ruled. During the Sikh invasions, the local population fought side by side with the Afghans and the Afghans trusted them. Several Hindus enjoyed the confidence of the Afghan Subedars of Multan. The rulers of Multan were benevolent and paid their full attention towards the betterment of the people. Nawab Ali Muhammad Khan did a lot for the betterment of the agriculturists. He paid his full attention to the prosperity of the urban community. He dug many canals. He dug a big canal in 1755 A.D. from the Chenab which was named after him and which is wrongly known as Nala Wali Muhammad. It still exists and plays a vital role in the prosperity of the agriculturists. The same way another canal 'Durana Langana' was dug from the Chenab to provide the facilities of irrigation to the agriculturists. It also still exists and

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2. T.M., P.246.

3. Muraqa-i-Multan, PP.157,158.

\* Since the days of Nawab Ali Muhammad Khan. See T.M., PP.205,206.

provides facilities of water to the agriculturists. The prosperity of Multan can be judged from the income and the savings of its ruler Nawab Ali Muhammad Khan when he offered one crore of rupees to Ahmad Shah against the price of his life in 1767<sup>4</sup>. His successor Nawab Shuja Khan was also a great builder and paid special attention on the development of his people. During his period<sup>\*</sup> 'Sikandarabad', 'Shahpur', 'Larr Daud Sher' canals were dug, which provided irrigation facilities to the agriculturists of Multan and Muzaffargarh. It increased the production and Multan started exporting Cotton, Wheat, and Indigo to India and Afghanistan. Multan also exported coarse cloth, silk Khes, Shoes, Sugar Candy and Lungis to different areas. During the<sup>5</sup> same period, certain land-lords took the initiative and dug several canals in different parts of the dominion. For example 'Bakhtu' (a land-lord) dug a canal during the period of Nawab Shuja Khan and it was known as 'Bakhtu Wah'. Several small canals were dug from 'Bakhtu Wah' such as 'Larr Jhungi Wah', 'Larr Kasturi Mubarak Wah', 'Larr Mir Khadri', 'Larr Waryam Wah', 'Larr Sheikhpur', 'Lurr Nur Fakir',<sup>and</sup> 'Larr Chuti'. In the same

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4. T.M., PP.213,215.

5- The Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. XVIII. London, 1908, P.31; Memoirs of Peer Ibrahim Khan, PP.60,61.

\* See page 117.

way the Nawabs of Bahawalpur State took interest and dug several canals in the area of Mailsi, Lodhran and 'Adam Wahan' which were given to them on lease by the Afghan Subedars. They paid special attention for the development of agriculture and dug many canals. Under their patronage 'Sultan Wah', 'Jam Wah', 'Bahawal Wah', 'Mubarak Wah', 'Khan Wah', and 'Hafiz Wah', were dug which provided the facilities of irrigation to the agriculturists.<sup>6</sup>

Nawab Shuja Khan during his second governorship took keen interests in improving the lot of his people. He maintained law and order and proved to be very strict in punishing the miscreants. He built Shujaabad and took great interests in its development and did a lot for the betterment of his people. Ultimately it became an invincible strong-hold of the ruler of Multan. Originally it was his personal Jagir where he built a Fort in 1750 A.D. Later on the four walls of the town were also completed in 1772<sup>7</sup>. He also took keen interest in laying mango gardens in Multan and Shujaabad. He built a beautiful mosque in the centre of Shujaabad Town. He ruled Multan very judiciously<sup>8</sup>. His sister Khan Bibi built a Fort on the

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6. Muraqa-i-Multan, P.158.

7. Ibid, P.244; Muraqa-i-Shujaabad, P.12.

8. Muraqa-i-Shujaabad, PP.54-60.

right side of the Chenab. It flourished after the name of Khan Bibi as Khangarh. His brother Ghazanfar Khan, built the fort and town of Ghazanfargarh.

Nawab Muzaffar Khan was a great builder. He built Muzaffargarh and several other towns. He also took keen interests in the welfare of the people. He dug canals, made embankments and extended cultivation. 'Kaju Hattu' canal was the biggest which provided the irrigation facilities to the people of Shujaabad. He built eight palatial houses for his eight sons and three palaces, namely, Mubarak Mahal, Saman Mahal and Hijaz Mahal in Shujaabad.<sup>9</sup> He also built a Palace in the Multan Fort alongwith several other buildings for his officers and barracks for the soldiers. He also took keen interests in laying mango gardens including one in Shujaabad. He was very hard working. He ruled very judiciously and maintained law and order and punished miscreants. He was a brave man and lived a life of a soldier and died as a martyr. He was a pious man and at the time of laying the stone of the Muzaffargarh Fort in 1798, he admitted that he never missed his prayer and never committed

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9. Muraqa-i-Multan,  
District Gazetteer,

pp.156,245; Muzaffargarh  
P.31.

adultery. At this time an incident took place. The Nawab's 'sword-belt slipped from his shoulder and the sword fell into the trench'. The Nawab predicted that there would 'never be a fight at this Fort, as is shown by this omen of the sword falling'. 'Moreover, a kite had killed a maina (a small bird) and come to eat it on a kikar tree'. The Nawab said that it was another omen that the people of Muzaffargarh would earn outside the town and eat inside. The later period proved that there was no bloody fight<sup>10</sup> and the people never indulged in trade at Muzaffargarh. The Nawab led a simple life and maintained his family tradition. In 1798 . (1213 A.H.), the mother of Din Muhammad Khan, the Khudakka Chief, died and during the same period, flood water entered Multan. After the funeral prayer in the Fort, the Nawab accompanied Din Muhammad Khan to the ancestral graveyard of Sultan Hayat Khan in a boat and remained there till the burial of the dead body.<sup>11</sup> The same way, the Nawab participated in the funeral prayer of Hazrat Hafiz Jamal Ullah<sup>12</sup> alongwith his sons and also attended the burial ceremony. Once he was ill and the mother

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10. Skemp, Multani Stories, Lahore,, 1917, Story No.9.

11. T.M., PP.384, 385.

12. Munagib-al-Mahboobain, P.122.

of Ali Muhammad Khan (wife of Din Muhammad Khan), the Khudakka chief, died, the Nawab sent<sup>13</sup> his sons Nawab Sarfaraz Khan and Zulfiqar Khan to attend the funeral ceremony. They accompanied the funeral to the graveyard on horse back which was very much felt by Ali Muhammad Khan but he kept quiet. After a few months when the mother of Nawab Sarfaraz Khan died and her dead body was to be buried in the tomb of Hazrat Bahauddin Zakaria, Ali Muhammad Khan accompanied the funeral till the gate of the tomb on horse back. Some one pointed it out to Nawab Muzaffar Khan who said that it was the fault of Nawab Sarfaraz Khan and kept quiet.

During the later period of Muslim Rule in Multan, the Afghans indulged in wine and became cruel. Polygamy was common in spite of the fact that their ladies commanded great respect and controlled all the affairs inside the house but still they were helpless before the tyrant Afghans. They took interest in the dancing and singing girls and married them which lowered their prestige. The Nawab failed to check them. Nawab Muzaffar Khan always remained busy in the defence of his dominion against the Sikhs. He could not punish them because he always needed

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13. I.M., P.389.



their monetary and physical support. He always ignored them. According to the customary law, a woman, could never claim share from the property of her father or husband. After marriage a woman could not think of going and living with her parents even after the death of her husband. She was considered to be the property of her husband. Women of the noble families observed 'Pardah' but the ladies of the common folk did not observe Pardah, but it was customary not to come before a stranger. If the husband was convinced of his wife's illicit relations with some one, he was allowed to murder her. She had to accept the supremacy of her husband in all affairs. Women were fond of ornaments made of gold. To differentiate between a Muslim women and a Hindu woman she wore a red or mustard yellow veil. The authority of women (both Muslims and non-Muslims) in the household, among both rich and poor, was very extensive, and most of the money transactions passed through their hands. It was she who decided the daily menu. She played a vital role in the marriage of her children. Their dress was a big embroidered Shawl, a big Dupatta, and a shirt. The Shalwar or Trousers was not embroidered. They liked fast colours specially flowery clothes for their dress. Silken clothes were liked by all. They were expert in cooking delicious food.

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The Afghans were landowners and free lancers. They were reckless and extravagant in the latter period of their rule. They were very social and mixed freely with the local people without prejudice of cast, colour and creed. The people had a proverb: 'PATHAN DA PUT, KADAHIN JINN KADAHIN BHUT' ( A Pathan's son was some-<sup>14</sup> times a devil, sometimes a demon'). In their social habits, the Afghans were very simple. They spoke Pashto as well as Persian. They spoke Saraiki in their dealings with the local people. Their dress was a big turban, an embroidered Jacket over a cotton shirt and a loose shalwar. The Tumandars wore a comparatively better dress. It included a big Chogha or a Shawl, a leather coat. Sword and dagger were also part of their dress. They wore shoes of thick leather (Khussa) with extra strong toes bent upwards and backwards like the upturned trunk of an Elephant. In winter these shoes were replaced by long boots and kid-leather socks. Majority of them shaved their heads and grew beards.

The Afghans were also very simple in their food. All the people, including big and small sat together on the carpet for their meals with no social distinction of rank or wealth and used to eat together. They were

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14. P.D.G., H.D.,

fond of roast, pulao, mutton-kabab and baked nans made of wheat-flour. They were also fond of sweet pulao known as 'Mutanjan'. The Afghans were very hospitable and they not only provided shelter and food to guests but they actually protected them from their enemies also.

The Afghans always supported humane rulers like Ahmad Shah and Nawab Muzaffar Khan who forbade the customary punishments of cutting the nose and ear whatever might be the crime and forbade the master from killing his slave.<sup>15</sup> In the field of sports they indulged in horse-racing, tent-pegging, shooting, wrestling and other many games. The Afghans also indulged in cock and quail fighting. They were very fond of hunting and also used to keep hawks for hunting purposes. They were also fond of pigeon flying and their pastime was chess and draft. The rich people were generally lethargic and stayed at home doing almost nothing.

At the time of Multan's annexation by the Afghan King, its area was much larger than what it was at the time of its capture by the Sikhs in 1818<sup>\*</sup>. Its income was also much greater than what it remained during the later period. Multan was basically an agricultural country. The Afghan rulers provided better facilities to

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15. T.K., PP.225-227.

\* See for detail PP.168,169.

the agriculturists. The arable land was divided into nine categories, namely, 'Chahi' (irrigated by wells alone), 'Chahi-Nahri' (irrigated by canal cum wells), 'Nahri' (irrigated by canals alone), 'Jhalari' (irrigated by canals but by lift), 'Chahi-Jhalari' (irrigated by wells assisted by lift irrigation system), 'Sailabi' (subject to river floods), 'Chahi-Sailabi' (irrigated by wells or river-floods), 'Abi' (land irrigated by direct lift from rivers, ponds, etc), 'Barani' (dependent on rain-fall). The revenue was different for each category of land. The government's major income was from the land revenue. There were other taxes as well, namely, octroi and tax on all sorts of industry. The Subedar was to pay the tribute to the Afghan King and also met the administrative and the military expenditure.<sup>16</sup> He had to save for his household expenditure. The prosperity of the people of Multan was well known but the Sikh invasions drained all its resources so much so that Nawab Muzaffar Khan had to sell his Jewellery to make payment to the Sikh Chief. He was such a benevolent ruler that he did not force his people to pay him 50,000 rupees for onward transmission to Maharaja Ranjit Singh.<sup>17</sup>

The Afghans had a joint family system. They used to live together till the death of the head of the family. They seldom married in other tribes. They had a

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16. Ibid. P.215.

17. Ibid. P.243; U.T., P.106.

liking for the dancing girls. They celebrated their marriage and the Eids with great <sup>18</sup>zeal. They wore new dresses on such occasions. Their children and women and even their servants wore new clothes on all such ceremonies. The ladies made a show of their richness by wearing maximum of their gold ornaments. They held big feasts. Among the Afghans, marriage was always an elaborate ceremony. The parents of the boy at first selected a girl and then visited the house of the girl with the request to her parents and other elders to give her hand in marriage to their son. It was considered an act of disgrace on the part of the parents of a girl to initiate the proposal and go to the house of the boy for a proposal for engagement. There were professional ladies known as 'Taqqdir' who were expert in arranging such contracts and they were duly paid. On the agreement of the parents of the girl, a ceremony took place called 'Mangani' which meant a public announcement of their engagement. The boy and the girl were never supposed to see each other before marriage. Their consent was also never required. On the announcement of the 'Mangani' a grand feast was arranged in the boy's house where all the relatives were invited and they always served the hunted-meat. The Afghans maintained relations with the local

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people and invited them on such occasions. They participated in their ceremonies as well. The Afghans lived for centuries in Multan and developed close contacts with the local people, hence they lost many of their characteristics, namely, their traditional laws and language, nevertheless they maintained their entity as a distinct race.

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19. Ibid. PP.378,385.

C H A P T E R V

Conclusion

### Conclusion

The Afghans specially the Saddozais played a very important role in the History of Afghanistan and India in the 18th Century. It was the same period when the Mughals were on their way to decline. Nadir Shah, realising the bravery of the Abdalis, recruited them in his army after the fall of Hirat. He provided them an opportunity during his Indian invasion to see with their own eyes the weakness of the Mughals. After the death of Nadir Shah, the Abdalis under the able command of Ahmad Shah started invading India. During his second invasion Ahmad Shah realised the importance of Multan. The Saddozais had already settled in Multan where they played a very important role in the local politics. They were also very close to the Mughal Court. Nawab Zahid Khan Saddozai had gained a position of confidence in the Mughal Court as well as commanded great respect in the eyes of the local people. In a religious society that was in Multan, he was specially considerate to the Syeds and Mukhdums of Multan and gave away Jagirs to them, hence his relations with them were very cordial. The Saddozais of Multan under his leadership also cultivated better understanding with the local population. During the second Afghan invasion, the Khan Khel Saddozais of Multan



under Nawab Zahid Khan had refused to assist the Afghan King and remained loyal to the Mughals but the disunity and misfortune of the Mughals provided an opportunity to Ahmad Shah to annex Multan during his third invasion. He had already realised its strategical importance. It was also his birth-place. It was a centre of business as well. Its prosperity was well-known and it was famous for the export of wheat, indigo and silk rugs to Afghanistan and India. The Saddozais of Multan considered Ahmad Shah a usurper because they believed that any descendant of Sultan Hayat Khan was the genuine successor of Sultan Abdullah Khan (the former ruler of Hirat) and he could be the only possible candidate for the chiefship of the Abdalis. It was due to these feelings that Ahmad Shah had appointed a non-Saddozai Subedar of Multan after its annexation. A non-Saddozai remained as Subedar till the Afghan King was convinced of the loyalty of the Khan Khels. In the beginning the elder branch of the Saddozais excluding Nawab Abdul Aziz Khan did not support Ahmad Shah and the same way he met an opposition from the younger branch, but after the death of Nawab Zahid Khan, his son Nawab Shuja Khan realized the situation and decided to give his whole-hearted and sincere support to his clansman and recognised Ahmad Shah as the genuine Chief of the Abdalis. Following his footsteps, all the Khiz

Khels excluding the descendants of Sultan Abdullah Khan also supported the Afghan King whole-heartedly. The descendants of Sultan Abdullah Khan never accepted Ahmad Shah as the Chief of the Abdalis, and approached Delhi for help. As the Mughals were already declining, they failed to support their cause.

Ahmad Shah after the annexation of Multan had appointed Nawab Ali Muhammad Khan Mohsinzai Khugani as the Subedar of Multan. This appointment was resented by his own tribesmen, the Saddozais who were strongly entrenched in the socio-political set up of Multan and were playing a very important role in the affairs of Multan since the days of Nawab Zahid Khan. They decided to withdraw their cooperation which encouraged Anwar Khan Saddozai who captured the Multan Fort in the absence of Nawab Ali Muhammad Khan. Ultimately, having realised the situation, the Afghan King appointed Nawab Shuja Khan Saddozai as the Subedar of Multan. The Saddozais of Multan were already divided into two groups since the days of Shah Hussain Khan. They reconciled their differences after the arrival of Sultan Hayat Khan from Safa to Multan. They came closer to each other since the decision of Sultan Hayat Khan conferring the Chiefship of the Khen Khel Saddozais on Nawab Zahid Khan, but after his death, his

ambitious son Nawab Abdul Aziz Khan challenged the leadership of Nawab Zahid Khan. It again created a gulf between the two groups of the Multani Saddozais. The situation remained under control during the life-time of Ahmad Shah who commanded great respect among the Afghans. In the later period of Timur Shah's rule, Nawab Muzaffar Khan emerged as a powerful Subedar of Multan. Wafadar Khan Saddozai, the able minister of the Afghan King, was a great source of strength for Nawab Muzaffar Khan. The Nawab proved to be a great diplomat in his dealings with the Afghan Government as well as the Saddozais of Multan. He always patronised his tribesmen and paid special attention to the Khudakka Chief on account of his importance among the Afghans of Multan. He had instructed his sons to be kind and respectful to the Afghans and specially the Khudakkas. In the absence of his father, Nawab Sarfaraz Khan became the Subedar (Nazim) of Multan. He had his own likings and dislikings and he did not care for the advice of his father in his dealings with the Afghans. He annoyed several chiefs. He confiscated the Jagir of Ali Muhammad Khan and distributed it among his brothers. He also gave away the South Western villages of his *possession* to the Nawab of Bahawalpur on lease and became himself responsible for the loss of his influence

in that area. On the arrival of Nawab Muzaffar Khan, Ali Muhammad Khan approached him for the restoration of his Jagirs. The Nawab ordered his son to restore the same but he paid no heed to it. The old Nawab again made him realise the importance of Ali Muhammad Khan but instead of changing his attitude, he became all the more jealous of him. It created a gulf between the Khizla Khels and the Khan Khels. In the meantime, the unwise move of Nawab Sarfaraz Khan caused a bitter clash between him and the Nawab of Bahawalpur, which ruined his prestige. The war of succession for the Kabul throne weakened the ruling dynasty and lowered its prestige in the eyes of their vassals as well as the rising Sikh power. During this family feud in Afghanistan, the Barakzais emerged as a powerful party. Nawab Muzaffar Khan failed to assess their position and did not pay any serious attention to them. He had already stopped paying the tribute during the second term of the Kingship of Shah Mahmud. Once the Barakzai Chief himself knocked at the doors of Multan in order to make them realise his position. The Nawab requested the Saddozai King for help and his timely intervention saved the position of Nawab Muzaffar Khan. It provided an opportunity to an unscrupulous Afghan Abdus Samad Khan Badozai to approach Fateh Khan Barakzai

and secure the orders for the Subedari of Multan. It was a critical situation for Nawab Muzaffar Khan. With the support of the Khudakka Chief, he once again succeeded in strengthening his position as the Subedar of Multan. He also gave a crushing defeat to Abdus Samad Khan who ran away to the infidel Chief at Lahore.

Ahmad Shah, being convinced of the loyalty and sincerity of the other descendants<sup>of</sup> Sultan Hayat Khan, gave them Jagirs in Dera Ghazi Khan and Multan where<sup>as</sup> he directed all his Officers in India to keep a watchful eye on the activities of the descendants of Sultan Abdullah Khan. He also ordered that, in case any one of them tried to cross over to Afghanistan, he might be killed forthwith. As far as other Afghan tribes living in Multan were concerned, they never thought of indulging into politics. They remained loyal to the Afghan Kings and the Subedars of Multan. It was only Abdus Samad Khan Badozai who, being encouraged by the Barakzai Chief, planned to grab power but failed miserably. The Subedari of Multan became hereditary for the Saddozais who proved to be good diplomats and maintained friendly relations with the rulers of the surrounding areas viz, the Nawab of Bahawalpur, the Nawab of Kachi-Shumali (Mankera and Dera Ismail Khan), the ruler

of Dera Ghazi Khan, the Mukhdum of Uch and the Chief of Sials (Jhang). It was rather a misfortune of Nawab Muzaffar Khan that he had to deal with an unscrupulous and power-hungry Sikh ruler of the Panjab who could not tolerate the prosperity and the peaceful atmosphere at Multan on account of his lust for territorial aggrandisement. The Nawab wrote to the Governor General of the East India Company and sought his help, but he remained a silent spectator. The Nawab also welcomed the envoy of the Rohilla Chief on his way to Kabul and provided facilities to the Mughal Prince.

Maharaja Ranjit Singh had emerged as a powerful ruler of the Panjab in the absence of a strong Government at Kabul. He was a great diplomat, a skilled warrior, an ambitious ruler and an unscrupulous chief who had a lust for power. He tried several times to capture the tiny Muslim *territory* of Multan but miserably failed. The family feud of the Saddozais and specially the attitude of Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk encouraged the Maharaja to go on trying his luck again and again. Nawab Muzaffar Khan had been surrounded by unfavourable circumstances which provided an opportunity to his enemies to attain their object, however, he showed great valour during his defence of Multan. He defended the fort with a small army for months

and ultimately established a commendable instance of the sincerity of purpose for which he laid down his life and the lives of his sons and daughter alongwith the Saddozais and the Afghans of other tribes. The people of Multan would never forget his courage and his sacrifice which he made for the freedom of his soil.

The Saddozais had all along been very popular in Multan. The ruler was a pious man but other Afghans became power-drunk. They mixed with the local population to the extent of marrying with their girls. Although it resulted in a better understanding between the rulers and the ruled, but they gradually lost their racial characteristics specially their language and adopted the local customs and the local language, the 'Saraiki'. The Afghans built their own Kiris and lived separately. They never settled within the four walls of Multan. They always lived outside the city without any fear of the invaders. They owned most of the lands in Multan but they were the absentee land-lords. During the last phase of their rule in Multan, the Afghans mixed with the local people and became their part and parcel. After the capture of Multan, the local people not only wept for the loss of their benevolent rulers, their ladies committed suicide considering their honour unsafe and several families left

Multan to safer places. The Afghans were also very social and were remembered for long for their blood-bath to save Multan.

In short, the Afghans were brave, honest to their deeds, respectful, religious to the extent of worshipping their pirs, social to the extent of marrying the local girls, music-loving to the extent of keeping musicians including singing and dancing girls and forgetful to the extent of forgetting their own language and adopting the local one. They set an example of supreme sacrifice by hoisting high the flag of *The last Phase of The Muslim rule in* Multan at the cost of their own lives and blood. They were pious to the extent of not only offering their daily prayers regularly but also to the extent of sacrificing their lives for the sacred cause of Islam. The non-Muslims of Multan also admired their judicious rule and remembered them even after their downfall. They had relished freedom during their rule as they were treated equally with the other Afghans. The Afghans were never privileged before the eyes of law. Nawab Muzaffar Khan had set up such a judicious system in his dominion that every body was equal before law. His reforms had encouraged the poor to get their greivances redressed without *let* or hindrance. Even his own family members did not have the courage to do injustice to the people. There was rule of law in Multan.



After the debacle of the fall of Multan, there ensued a tyrannical rule of the Sikhs for years. The people were molested, their houses were set on fire and looted. All the houses in the fort were demolished. The Eidgah Mosque was converted into a stable. The call for prayer was forbidden for the Muslims and "granth sahib" was placed in the Central Mosque of the city known as Masjid Ali Muhammad Khan. The Muslims were denied all their basic rights. They were maltreated and disgraced and several innocent persons including old and young were mercilessly killed. The women were raped. The Afghans left Multan and ran away either to Dera Ismail Khan or Bahawalpur. In such circumstances, Maharaja Ranjit Singh visited Multan, celebrated his victory and ordered all his soldiers to deposit the looted money. The Sardars intervened and reminded him of his promise but he refused to listen to any one. He demanded money. Ultimately, with great efforts, he could receive only 3 lacs of rupees out of the plunder as his share. The people were disgraced and were deprived of their liberty and civil rights. The Maharaja did not care to redress the genuine grievances of the people and went back to his capital. The people were disappointed with the attitude of the Sikhs. There was lawlessness in Multan. The Sikhs devastated even the suburbs of Multan and the villagers left their lands and

ran away to safe places. Agriculture was also ruined by the Sikhs. The same way, the industry of glazed tiles and enamelled work including the carpets and silk rugs suffered a set-back due to the non-availability of the raw material as well as the non-patronising attitude of the rulers. The Sikhs were crude and had no taste for niceties. They indulged in wine and women. They contributed nothing but destroyed every thing. In short Multan gained nothing and lost every thing after the fall of the Afghan rule.

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APPENDIXBIBLIOGRAPHYMAIN SOURCES (ORIGINAL UNPUBLISHED) USED IN THIS THESIS

This thesis is based purely on original and hitherto unknown and unutilised sources. A few attempts, though in a very rudimentary form, have been made to trace out history of 'THE LAST PHASE OF MUSLIM RULE IN MULTAN,' ( 1752 - 1818 A.D.) but these endeavours suffer from serious setbacks, i.e. the author had no access to the original sources and even their attempts were in no way systematic ones to comprehend the history of the times.

1. TAZKIRAT-UL-MULUK

This manuscript written in vivid Persian is one of the major sources on which this thesis is based. Ali Muhammad Khan Khudakka Saddozai, its author - a direct descendant of Malik Saddu who had the honorific title of Mir-i-Afghan was a renowned scholar of his time. He had a vantage position to watch contemporary historical developments. For being the nearest kin and a close associate of Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk, the exiled King of Afghanistan, Ali Muhammad Khan was deputed by him to seek

1 assistance of Maharaja Ranjit Singh to capture Multan.

All Muhammad Khan was an ocular witness to many important events of the later Muslim period in Multan as he was living during the siege of Multan in 1818 . After capturing Multan, when Maharaja Ranjit-Singh visited Multan in 1820 . (1235 A.H.) All Muhammad Khan had fallen seriously ill. The Maharaja, as soon as he learnt about his illness visited his place and enquired about his health.<sup>2</sup>

During his extensive travels he had collected rare original documents on the history of the Saddozais. This manuscript was completed on 16th April 1835 . ( 7th Muharram-ul-Haram 1251 A.H.) at Multan. The manuscript measuring 10 inches by 7 inches consists of 483 folios. This rare manuscript has come to light accidentally. It was lying unnoticed, in the personal library of one of the descendants of All Muhammad Khan. During hectic efforts in search of source material, the document was detected. All Muhammad Khan Khudakka Saddozai introduces his "TAZKIRAT-UL-HUJUK" as follows:

چون حضرت سدو میر افغان علیہ الرحمۃ والاعتراف تہذیب و مکنان و شہرہ بجزآن بوستان و نور کبیر آن السان است بہت اذکر اسباب و احوان اور اولاد اور از کتاب تواریخ ذرہ ذرہ معلوم مدارے چمیدہ و در سلک تحریر کشیدہ چنانچہ از تواریخ سلاطین افغانہ لودیہ و سورید و طبقات اکبر و آئین اکبری و برأت الافغان کہ بحکم خلیفہ ان لودی در عهد جمہور بادشاہ تالیف شد و از تواریخ نامہ ان عہدہ کہ در دربار ایوان فرمانروائی کردند و شاہ جمہور نامہ و تاریخ عاشکیوں و بن سیری و تاریخ محمد شاہی و نامہ و تاریخ احمد شاہی و رسالہ اخبار مذکورہ و چیرہ از بعض روایات ثقات جمع نموده شد و آنرا بہ تذکرۃ الملوک عالیشان از اولاد سدو میر افغان مسبق کردیم۔

Tazkirat-ul-Mulk is a detailed history of the Saddozais. It deals with the origin of the Afghāns and the rise and fall of the Saddozais in Afghānistān and Multān.

2. Tazkirat-ul-Multān, Mukhḍum Syed Muḥammad Yūsuf Shāh Gardezi, Multān, 1861 ( 1278 A.H.).

Mukhḍum Syed Muḥammad Yūsuf Shāh Gardezi was a learned man of his time. He wrote a history of Multan in persian in 1861 (1278 A.H.). His work starts from the initial period and ends in 1861. The manuscript measuring 8 inches by 5 inches consisted of 200 folios. It provided sufficient material specially about the events occurred in the later 18th century and the first half of 19th century. His family maintained extremely good relations with the rulers of Afghānistān and specially with the Afghān Sūbedārs of Multān. His work was based on all the original documents in shape of Farmans which were granted by the Afghāns for the maintenance of the Shrine of Hazrat Syed Muḥammad Yūsuf Shāh Gardez, of which he was custodian. Such Farmans are still with Syed Muḥammad Ramzan Shāh Gardezi. His original work is lost but the original urdu translation is available. There are two such copies. One is with Maulana Nur Ahmad Khan Faridi. It was translated by Faiz-ul-Hasan on the initiative of Colonel George William Hamilton, Commissioner of Multan and the work was completed on 1st December, 1938 (21st Shawwal 1357 A.H.). The same way Muḥammad Hashim Bahawalpuri

translated it in February 1939 by the order of Nawab Muhammad Sadiq Khan II of Bahawalpur. It is available with Saith Oubad-ur-Rehman of Bahawalpur.

3. Tarikh-i-Hindustan, Ahmad Shāh Batalvi, Batala, no date. The author of Tarikh-i-Hindustan belonged to a very respectable Qadri family of Batala. He maintained cordial relations with Maharaja Ranjit Singh. He had also good relations with Ali-ud-Din, the author of Ibrat Namah. He completed his work in the middle of 19th century but the original manuscript is not available. The present persian manuscript was copied by Ra jab Ali son of Haji Shāh of Batāla in 1866 (1288 A.H.). It is the only copy available in Dyle Singh Trust Library, Lahore. It has 936 folios with 17 lines on each page. It is a detailed history of the Sikh period. He has dealt with the Afghān Indian invasions, their successors conflict with Maharaja Ranjit Singh and the fall of Multān. The author called it ' Bayan-i-Ahwal-i-Mulk-i-Hind Wa Malūk-i-An.'
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6. Sadiq-ut-Tawarikh , Prof. Mirza Muhammad Ashraf Gurgani Delhvi and Maulvi Muhammad Din, Bahawalpur, 1899 (1317 A.H.).

It is a history of Daudputra rulers of Bahawalpur. Prof. Mirza Muhammad Ashraf Gurgani completed his work with the assistance of Maulvi Muhammad Din in 1899 (1317 A.H.). The urdu manuscript measuring 12 inches by 8 inches consisted of 416 folios and is available in the Central Library, Bahawalpur. It deals in detail the relations of the rulers of Bahawalpur with the Afghān Sūbedār of Multan. It provides sufficient valuable material.

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It is a history of the Afghāns written in Urdu. The author belonged to a very respectable family of the Panjab and was in the service of the British Government.
21. Muhammad Oubad Ullah Multani, Sirr-e-Dilbarawa, Persian. Muhammad Oubad Ullah Multāni wrote the biography of his Pir Maulana Khuda Baksh who was deciple of Hafiz Jamal Ullah Multāni. As the author was living in Multān, therefore, he narrated the religious life of the people of his time.
22. Muhammad Azim, Sheikh, son Sheikh Muhammad Saleh, Jawahir-i-Abbasia, Persian, 1830. Sheikh Muhammad Azim was in the service of Nawab Bahawal Khan II. He wrote a history of the rulers of Bahawalpur. It is almost a copy of Mirat-i-Daulat-i-Abbasiya. It consisted of 471 folios.
23. Murad Shāh Gardezi, Tarikh-i-Murad Shāh, Persian, 1876. Murad Shāh Gardezi was in the service of Nawab of Bahawalpur and later on joined the

service of the British Government. He wrote a history of Bahawalpur. His history is based on that of Mirat-i-Daulat-i-Abbasia and Jawahir-i-Abbasia.

24. Najumud Din Chishti Sulaimani, Munagab-ul-Mahboob'ain, Persian, Lahore, 1312 A.H. He wrote the biography of his Fir Khwaja Muhammad Sulaiman Taunsivi. His Fir who had cordial relations with Hafiz Jamal Ullah Multani, had visited Multan several times. He wrote about the religious life of the people of Multan during the later period of Nawab Muzaffar Khan. He also described the Sikh invasions. He started writing his work from 1278 A.H. and it took him several years to finish it. He has not given the year of the completion of his work.

25. Nimat Allah, Makhzan-i-Afghani, vol.I., (English translation), Dacca, 1960.

Nimat Allah son of Khwaja Habib Ullah completed his work in July 1701 ( 15 Safar 1113 A.H.). It is a history of the Afghans. It is also known as Tarikh Khan-i-Jahan. In first two chapters, the author deals with the origin of Afghans.



26. Nur Muhammad, Qādi, Jang Namah, (Persian MS), 1765.  
Nur Muhammad was a learned man of his time. He was in the service of Mir Naseer Khan of Kalat. He accompanied his master during the Indian invasion of Ahmad Shāh Dur-i-Durrān in 1764. He was an eye witness to many important events specially during the seventh Indian invasion of the Afghān King. It is the Jang Namah which confirms the authenticity of the research work of Āli Muhammad Khan about the first Sikh invasion of Multān in 1764. Both have written about the atrocities of the Sikhs during their first invasion on Multān. Both agree that the conquests of the Sikhs in the Panjab compelled the Afghān King to invade India once again in order to check the infidels. It is written in poetry covering 226 folios and is a very important contemporary document. A copy of the original persian manuscript was with the late Khan of Kalat (Ahmad Yar Khan).

27. Sohan Lal, Umdat-ul-Tawarikh, (Persian) ,  
Lahore, 1885.  
Sohan Lal was the court chronicler of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. He wrote a history of the Panjab and the Sikhs. He provided sufficient material

on the events occurred during the period of the Maharaja but he was very careful in writing the affairs of Multān. Being a loyal servant, he had to place only one side of the picture but still his work is considered valuable.

28. Sher Muhammad Nadir, Zubdat-ul-Akhbar, (Persian MS), Lahore, 1832 (1248 A.H.).

Sher Muhammad Nadir was in the personal service of Nawab Sarfaraz Khan son of Nawab Muzaffar Khan, the last Muslim Subedar of Multān. After the fall of Multān, Sher Muhammad Nadir accompanied his master to Lahore. He wrote a history of the Khan Khel Saddozais. The persian manuscript measuring 11 inches by 8 inches consists of 111 folios. It was traced and published by the Research Society of Pakistan, Lahore. It is an extremely valuable history on the later Muslim period of Multān. It is true that the author is very careful in praising the ancestors of his master but still it provides sufficient material on the Afghān period of Multān. Sher Muhammad Nadir has not given the events choronologically. It confirms the authenticity of Tazkirat-ul-Muluk. He completed his work in 1832 (1248 A.H.).

29. Sher Muhammad Khan, Tawarikh Khurshid Jahan, (Persian), Lahore, 1894,

It is a history of the Afghāns. It provides sufficient material on the ancestral history of the Afghān Subedars of Multān.

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31. Sultan Muhammad Khan Ibne Musa Khan Durrani, Tarikh-i-Sultani, (Persian), Bombay, 1881 (1298 A.H.). It is a history of the Afghāns, providing material on the ancestors of Saddozais.
32. Zardar Khan, Saulat-i-Afghani, (Urdu), Cawnpur, 1876. It is a history of the Afghāns providing material on the ancestors of Saddozais. It also deals with the contemporary history of India.

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