CHAPTER IV

THE ROUTES: SPATIO-TEMPORAL RECONSTRUCTION

4.1 Routes Linking Surrounding Territories
   4.1.1 Farghana-Kabul Route
   4.1.2 Kabul-Badakhshan Route
   4.1.3 Kabul-Balkh Route
   4.1.4 Kabul-Khurasan Route
   4.1.5 Qandahar-Khurasan Route
   4.1.6 Kashmir-Maryul Route
   4.1.7 Kashmir-Badakhshan Route
   4.1.8 Kashmir-Kishtwar Route

4.2 Routes of First Order
   4.2.1 Kabul-Delhi/Agra Route
   4.2.2 Kabul-Qandahar Route

4.3 Routes of Second Order
   4.3.1 Kashmir-Lahor Route
   4.3.2 Kashmir-Kabul Route
   4.3.3 Sind-Lahor Route

4.4 Routes of Third Order
   4.4.1 Sind-Gujarat Route

4.5 Conclusions
The natural function of a route is to connect settlements and to act as a line of communication between them. The role of routes in establishing and maintaining the regional links can barely be exaggerated. The routes enable travel and trade between regions and are agents in establishing political stability, creating economic prosperity and promoting social justice. Lack of communication leads to political disintegration, economic backwardness and socio-physical isolation within the country.

The significance of a route is determined by the purpose for which it is being used, while the purpose of its use depends upon the size, nature and functions of the settlement which the route connects. In every region there is a hierarchy of settlements and consequently a hierarchy of routes - the larger settlements are connected by major routes while smaller settlements by less important routes. The possibility of the development of larger settlements is certainly more in areas of attraction than say, in the negative regions, due to obvious socio-economic reasons. Thus, it will not be unreasonable to assume that the routes linking major settlements of the areas of attraction, usually, have been more important than the routes linking small settlements in other areas.

There is no doubt, that the significance of a route is determined by the functions for which it has been used.
But these functions do change in time. These changes may occur due to various reasons - economic, political, socio-cultural, physical and technological etc. The significance of a route may increase or decrease not only due to the change in the socio-economic and political structure of the regions it connects but also of the regions it passes through. In the case of North West India, most of the major routes remained significant during the period under study. However, there were instances when several minor and a few major changes occurred in the spatial pattern of the routes in the region.

Mughal Kings realized the importance of establishing, maintaining and guarding the routes of North West India. Babar travelled extensively in the Kabul and the Qandahar regions but it seems that he rarely had the time and resources to improve the roads of these regions. Humayun's rule was also short lived. It was really Sher Shah Suri who tried to develop and maintain the roads but most of the North West was not under his control. Kabul, Kashmir, Sind and Qandahar etc. were included in the Indian Empire only during the times of Akbar. After securing some of these regions it was possible for the Mughal administrators to control and guard these route properly. Jahangir also gave much importance to the repairs and maintenance of some of the important routes of the region.

Though the detailed account of some routes is not available, however, it is possible to re-construct the spatial
pattern of the routes in this region with the help of contemporary sources. Quite a detailed account of those routes is available on which the kings travelled. Some of the roads which were quite frequented during the early periods lost their significance later on. There are stray references to some of these routes in the contemporary sources but separate maps have not been prepared for them. These routes, however, have been shown on the made for the whole region (see map 4.1).

In this chapter an attempt has been made to reconstruct the routes of North West India and the surrounding territories for the period under study. The reconstruction has been done on the basis of the description of these routes in travel accounts of kings and travellers of the contemporary period. After the reconstruction, all the routes have been classified on the basis of their relative functional significance. The major routes which were traversed and hence described more than once during the period under study have been reconstructed more authentically than the route traversed only once.

In the case of the major routes, an attempt has been made to analyse the changes in the spatial pattern of the route in course of time. This has been done by arranging the accounts of the routes chronologically. While identifying and describing a route an attempt has also been made to know about the alternative routes between the two regions and their relative significance. The reasons for the estab-
NORTH-WEST INDIA
ROUTES OF IMPORTANCE
DURING EARLY MUGHALS
lishment of alternative routes and the decline of old estab-
lished routes have also been ascertained. Special emphasis
has been given to the understanding of the circumstances in
which the journeys were made since at times the direct route
was followed by the travellers even in periods of suitable
conditions.

For this study all the possible routes have been fi-
died and plotted on the maps but all these maps
and their description have not been included in this report.
We find that at times the journeys were not made through
proper routes at all due to political compulsions - like
Humayun's flight from India to Persia. Likewise some of the
Babar's journeys are also of no use for this study as he
just followed any route in the tribal areas - in fact in
those areas it has not been possible to reconstruct any route
properly.

Apart from the routes linking surrounding territories
all other routes have been divided into three categories,
the routes of the first order, the routes of the second order
and the routes of the third order. This division is based
on the assumption that the routes linking two or more areas
of attraction would have been the most important and most
frequented and may be called the routes of the first order.
The routes linking an area of relative isolation with an
area of attraction may be called, the routes of the second
order as they would have been less significant and less fre-
quented as compared to the first order routes. The routes linking two areas of relative isolation and passing through an area of isolation would have been still less functional and so less significant. The route connecting the areas of relative isolation with the areas of isolation have not been included, as the description of these routes in the contemporary sources is insufficient and more over the description is available only for a few routes. The areas of isolation, due to negative physical conditions did not have any proper routes so they have been kept out of the perview of this study.

The chapter has been divided into four sections. In the first section an attempt has been made to reconstruct some of the important routes linking North-West India with the surrounding territories during the period under study. While describing these routes, an attempt has been made to highlight the changing socio-political condition of the North-West India and of the surrounding territories as most of the journeys were made on these route at the time of changing fortunes of these regions. An attempt has also been made to describe the alternative routes between North-West India and the surrounding territory.

In the second section our concern has been to identify and reconstruct the routes of the first order within the North-West India. An attempt has also been made to understand the changing pattern of routes linking two or more
areas of attraction. The role of the changing political, techno-economic and social conditions in the emergence of these routes has also been assessed. While describing these routes which is done in a chronological order, an attempt has also been made to highlight the problems of travel on these routes and the role of the Mughal administration in making these routes safe for travel.

In the third section of the chapter, the routes of second order have been identified and described. The routes, which were linking newly conquered areas of relative isolation, with areas of attraction have also been described with the help of contemporary sources. Here an attempt has also been made to highlight the efforts, which the Mughals made in the development of the mountainous routes linking these newly conquered regions.

In the last section an attempt has been made to identify the routes of the third order. The information about the third order routes is very limited as the king usually did not travel on these routes which connected the areas of relative isolation with one another. However, while describing the routes of the third order an attempt has been made to highlight the problems of travel on these routes because these routes were passing through negative and dangerous regions.

4.1 ROUTES LINKING SURROUNDING TERRITORIES

North-West India, as has already been discussed, was
more exposed to Central Asia, Persia and West Asia, than any other region of India. The influence and the impact of these regions on India first passed through its northwest. It is, therefore, necessary to trace some of the important routes, which were being used to link North-West India with the surrounding territories during the times of Early Mughals. There were obviously routes and alternative routes to link important settlements of this region with surrounding territories but the description of all these routes is not available in the contemporary sources.

There are various references to show that there was a constant flow of traffic of people and goods between India and the surrounding countries through Kabul and Qandahar. This information however, is so meagre that it cannot be used to construct route maps. The only regular information which helps us to do so are the accounts of the expeditions of Mughal Kings to the surrounding territories during the times of the Early Mughals. These accounts too are not always comprehensive and detailed as some of these journeys were made in desperation. The best example of this is Babar's journey from Badakhshan (Herat) to Kabul through Hari Rud Valley route. In some other expeditions also, instead of the direct routes, the longer routes were preferred due to some political and strategic reasons. Hence, while describing the routes it is important to highlight the conditions and seasons of the journey and also the reasons why the journey was undertaken.
With the help of contemporary sources, it was possible to trace the following routes and map them:

1. Kabul-Farghana Route
2. Kabul-Badakhshan Route
3. Kabul-Balkh Route
4. Kabul-Khurasan Route
5. Qandahar-Khurasan Route
6. Kashmir-Tibet Route
7. Kashmir-Badakhshan Route
8. Kashmir-Kishtwar Route

Unfortunately, Sind-Markaran route has not been described in any of the source used so it has not been included in this study. However, for this route lucid accounts are available in the pre-Mughal and European sources.

4.1.1 Farghana-Kabul Route

The reconstruction of this route is based on one of the accounts of Babar's march from Farghana to Kabul (1504)\(^1\). The main source of information is the *Babar Nama*. Other sources like *Akbar Nama*, *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*\(^2\) also refer to Babar's flight from Farghana, but the description of the route followed is very sketchy. Unfortunately, the description of the route in *Babar Nama* also lacks the geographical information required for the reconstruction of the route.

---

The reasons are obvious. Babar's march from Farghana to Kabul was not a planned one. In fact, Babar was defeated in his home land by Uzbeks under the leadership of Shaibani Khan. After wandering about and enduring great hardship and misery he reluctantly left Central Asia to try his luck in Afghanistan where the government was unstable.  

Babar followed a very circuitous route between Farghana and Hisar, dictated by the exigencies of the situations he had to face. We do not hence find it necessary to trace that sector of the route. The route Babar followed from Hisar is traceable and seems to be a direct one, though only a few places along this long route are mentioned. Babar, in fact, while leaving Farghana was intending to go to Khurasan. At the time when he dismounted at Ailakyilak, one of the summer pastures of Hisar (see map 4), his supporters were between 200 to 300 and almost on foot. He mentions the misery of the fugitives, "we had two tents (Chadar) among us; my own used to be pitched for my mother, and they set an alachug at each stage for me to sit in."  

---

3 Tripathi, p. 13.  
4 BN, p. 188.  
5 Beveridge, A.S. identified it as 'Ilak Valley'. "The route from Sukh would be over the Alauddin-pass into Qizi-su Valley, down to Ab-i-garm and to the Ailaq-Valley, Khwaja Imad, the Kafirnigan, Qabadian, and Aubaj on the Amu." BN, p. 187, f.n. 3. Unfortunately due to unability to get detailed map of this region it is not possible to identify some of these places.  
6 BN, p. 188.
FARGHANA-KABUL ROUTE
(Hisar-Kabul Sector)
BASED ON BABAR NAMA
1504

Map 4.2
But fortunately for him, after a long time, things were taking a positive turn and while he was moving towards Amu Darya (Oxus) the discontented retainers of Khusrau Shah\(^7\) and people from Hisar started joining him. Babar delayed his journey at every stage\(^8\) as he was hoping for some help from the tribes. When he reached Qabadian, a younger brother of Khusrau Shah, Bagi Chaghaniani, whose holdings were Chaghanian, Shahr-i-Safa and Tirmiz,\(^9\) sent his good wishes and his desire for alliance. He himself greeted Babar at the Aubaj ferry.\(^{10}\) Babar then went towards Tirmiz where the families and goods of Bagi and his retainers were brought across the river Amu to join Babar. They then set out together for Kahmard and Bamian which was then held by the nephew of Baqi.\(^{11}\) Upto this point, Babar was not sure as to where they would go as he mentions, "our plan was to leave the households safe in the Fort of Ajar of Kahmard-Valley and to take action wherever action might seem well."\(^{12}\)

\(^7\) "Khuran Shah was of the Tukistani Qipchaqs... Not only Badakhshan but the whole country from the Amu to Hindu Kush Mountain depended on him." BN, p. 49.

\(^8\) BN, p. 188.

\(^9\) Ibid.

\(^10\) Beveridge mentions that instead of Aubaj read Charjui (BN, p. 828). Apart from Aubajar Charjui, other ferries on Amu were Kilif (BN, pp. 57, 191), Kirki (BN, p. 191), Tirmiz (BN, p. 191).

\(^11\) BN, p. 189.

\(^12\) Ibid.
More people joined Babar when he reached Aibak and then again in the Zindan Valley. In three or four marches they reached Kahmard to deposit their household and families in Ajar. They stayed there for some time and when they proceeded by way of Sham-tu and were near the Qizil-su, three or four thousand heads of houses with their families joined them. Together they marched down to the Qizil-su and dismounted where it joined the water of Andar-ab. By this time Khusrau Shah, out of fear of Shaibani Khan, abandoned Qunduz and was planning to go to Khurasan with the permission of Babar. Babar crossed the Andar-ab water and took his seat under a large plane-tree near Dushi, where Khusrau Shah paid his homage and was escorted by way of Ghuri and Dahanah and was left on the road to Khurasan.

Better known as Haiback. Moorcroft identified Haibak with the old medieval town of Semenjan (Holdich, Gates of India, p. 946). Idriși refers to Semenjan as "a pretty town, in every way comparable to Khulan, commercial, populated and encircled with mud walls".

The river Tashkurgan is called Darra Zindan apparently after the name of Zindan, 7 miles sough of Aibak. It is to be noted that darra, meaning a narrow passage, is used in this region for a river as well as valley.

Babar might have followed up the Zindan (Tash Kurgan) river to its head and then drop over the Kara Pass into Kahmard at Bajgah.

Now known as Surkh-ab. See passes through Hindu Kush.

BN, p. 193. It seems that Babar encompassed south of Andar-ab river, near its meeting point with Qizil-su (Surkh-ab) as to meet Khusrau, he had to cross Andar-ab.

BN, p. 194.
Marching from the camp for Kabul Babar dismounted in Khwaja Zaid. From there in four or five marches they reached Ghor-band and there dismounted in Ushtur-shahr. Babar got the news that Muqim's Chief beg, Sherak Arghun, was lying along the Baran. On hearing this they marched forward, starting in the afternoon and pressing on through the dark till, with the dawn they surmounted the Hupian pass. The sun was a "spear's length high" when they reached the foot of the Sanjid Valley and dismounted. They attacked Sherak below the Qara-bagh near Aikariyar and defeated them. From the camp they marched to the Aq-sarai meadow of the Qara bagh and there decided to move towards Kabul immediately, so they dismounted in Aba-quruq. Here the families which they left behind in the Ajar fort joined them after completing their journey with difficulty. Kabul was gained "without a fight, without an effort," in October 1504.

The description of Babar's journey clearly shows that he did not follow the direct route from Hisar to Kabul. To

19 Approximate location of the place is shown on the map.
20 Babar crossed the Hindu Kush through Qipchaq-pass, BN, p. 197.
21 Chinese travellers mention of a city called Hupian in the neighbourhood of Begram, but Masoon was inclined to place the site of Hupian near Charikar, where there was, in his time (1830s) a village called Halek Hupian. Holdich, Gates, p. 394.
22 Beveridge, mentions (in brackets) Jiyube, BN, p. 196.
23 BN, p. 199.
make this point clear, circumstances in which he was travelling have been discussed. The direct routes were, however, quite established between Kabul and various central Asian territories like Kashghar, Farghana, Turkistan, Samarkand, Bukhara, and Hisar.24 There were many ferries on Amu Darya to indicate constant flow of traffic in these areas. It is also important to note that Babar did not mention anything about the physical difficulties they might have faced on this route because he was overwhelmed by other more menacing dangers.

4.1.2 Kabul-Badakhshan Route

The Kabul region remained closely linked with Badakhshan, during the period under study. Badakhshan was conquered by Sultan Abu Said Mirza, a Timurid by descent, after killing Sultan Muhammad of Badakhshan. After his death, Badakhshan came into possession of his son Sultan Mahmud but after his death Amir Khusrau Khan, one of his nobles blinded Bayas ghar, the elder son, killed the second prince, and ruled as usurper. He submitted to Babar in 910 AH (1504 AD). When Babar took Qandahar in 912 AH (1507 AD), he sent Khan Mirza as governor to Badakhshan. Khan Mirza was the son of Mahmud.

After the death of Khan Mirza, Badakhshan was governed for Babar sequentially by prince Humayun, Sultan Uways,
Prince Hindal and lastly, by Mirza Sulaiman - son of Khan Mirza. During the period of Humayun's exile, when he was trying to regain power Badakhshan changed hands frequently. But during this and later periods it is clear that the affairs of Kabul and Badakhshan remained closely linked.

The routes between Kabul and Badakhshan were quite known and well established. Different routes were taken by the travellers depending upon the nature and season of the journey. Fortunately, it is possible to reconstruct the routes between Kabul and Badakhshan with the help of the accounts of the expeditions of Humayun who tried different routes while travelling between Kabul and this city.

4.1.2.1 Nasir Mirza's Flight from Badakhshan (1507)

We have traced this route on the basis of the description of Nasir Mirza's flight from Badakhshan given in Babar Nama. Nasir Mirza had left Kabul after its conquest by Babar due to some misunderstanding and conquered Badakhshan. However, he was expelled from Badakhshan by the beg who "grew angry and mutinous because of the misconduct of Nasir Mirza", and so reached Kabul in a very pathetic condition. The description of the route is not a detailed one as Babar himself did not travel on this route. Babar only mentions that Nasir Mirza "and his close circle took the road through

Ishkimish\textsuperscript{26} (see map 4.3) and Narin\textsuperscript{27} to Kila-gahi,\textsuperscript{28} from there followed the Qizil-su\textsuperscript{29} up, got out on the Ab-dara road, crossed at Shibrtu,\textsuperscript{30} and so came to Kabul,\textsuperscript{31} with 70 or 80 followers, worn-out, naked and famished.\textsuperscript{32}

4.1.2.2 Humayun's Expedition to Badakhshan (1546)

The account of Humayun's Expedition to Badakhshan is mainly based on Akbar Nama.\textsuperscript{33} Humayun, after establishing his rule in Qandahar and Kabul, decided to conquer Badakhshan. Humayun while going towards Badakhshan took a direct route i.e. via Andrab, Khost and Kishm. But for his return journey he had to take a much longer route, via Taliqan, Qunduz, Abadara and Shibar-tu, as he was travelling during the winter season and all other passes were covered with snow, except the Abdara. This circular route of Humayun,

26 The correct spelling of it is Tshkamish. The town is located on the western bank of one of the tributaries of Bangi river.

27 The settlement of Narin is on the north of the river of the same name.

28 It is located on the eastern bank of the river Qizil-su (Surkh-ab).

29 This is one of the many Red-rivers and flows from near Kahmard and joins the Andar-ab.

30 For the passes of Hindu Kush see section 3.2.1.1.

31 It was the easiest route from Kabul to Qizil-su.

32 \textit{BN}, p. 321.

33 \textit{AN}, I, pp. 490-516.
gives us an idea of all the possible direct routes between these two regions during that period. The description of these routes given in the sources is quite detailed and accurate.

Humayun started from Kabul for Badakhshan in March, 1546 and halted at Yurat Calak (see map 4.4). They stayed at Ulang of Qara Bagh. When Humayun reached Andrab, Mirza Sulaiman offered a battle at the village of Tirgiran which was a dependency of Andrab. A great battle was fought, which Mirza Sulaiman lost and went off towards the defiles of Khost by way of Narin and Iskamish and ultimately fled to Kulab.

After the victory Humayun reached the valley of Khost

34 Ibid., p. 490.
35 Ibid. Possibly it is Calakan, which lies few miles south of Qara Bagh.
36 Ibid. Qara Bagh lies 25 miles north of Kabul and a few miles east of Istilaf. Babur, while coming to conquer Kabul in 1504 halted at this place.
37 Ibid., p. 491. Tirgiran is located a few miles south-east of Andrab.
38 Ibid., p. 492. The Khost district was located adjacent to Andrab region thus the order of places is correct but the route mentioned is wrong. Mirza Sulaiman might have gone through the defiles of Khost towards Narin and then Iskamish.
39 Ibid. Beyond the Amu Darya.
40 Ibid. Irfan in his Atlas correctly shows Khost district adjacent to Andrab. The location of Khost is in conformity with the description of this march of Humayun from Andrab to Khost Valley through Shashan.
through the pass of Shashan\textsuperscript{41} and stayed there for several days on account of the abundance of fruits. For hunting waterfowl and part-ridges and for fishing he proceeded to Warask.\textsuperscript{42} There he practised the netting of birds (ganjishk) which is a speciality of that place. From thence he went to Kalaogan\textsuperscript{43} and from there to Kishm.\textsuperscript{44} Humayun resolved that "for the better management of the affairs of Badakhshan and for the comfort of the subject and soldiery he would make Qila Zafar his winter-quarters."\textsuperscript{45} Humayun thus proceeded in that direction, but when he came to Shakhdan,\textsuperscript{46} between Kishm and Qila Zafar,\textsuperscript{47} he fell ill and had to halt there for nearly two months. There was a lot of confusion among the nobles as Hindal tried to replace

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{41} AN, I, p. 492. The location of Shashan is shown in various maps. The pass of Shashan is located on the North-East of the settlement. But three passes are shown (Pulfi, Lunda and Borak) on the map prepared to Illustrata the Life of Amir Abdur Rehman. It is difficult to say with certainty which of these passes was used by Humayun to reach the Khost Valley.
\item \textsuperscript{42} Ibid. Possibly it is Warsaj of modern maps. The place or region is referred to by Babar or Varsak. Beveridge, N.S. identified it as located "on the water flowing to Taligan from Khwaja Muhammad range", EN, p. 523, f.n. 1).
\item \textsuperscript{43} Ibid., p. 493. The Kalagan of the maps, few miles of Kishm.
\item \textsuperscript{44} Ibid. It is Kesham of modern maps.
\item \textsuperscript{45} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{46} Ibid. Ikashan of modern map, which lies between Kishm and Qila Zafar as mentioned by A.F.
\item \textsuperscript{47} This place does not exist now. Its ruins may still be seen on the eastern bank of the Kakcha river, a little
Humayun. The attempt was, however, foiled by loyalists.

After the recovery, Humayun proceeded towards Qila Zafar. There he got the news of the capture of Kabul by Mirza Kamran and so decided to hasten by the defile of Ab-dara. He started immediately but had to stay for some days in Taliqan on account of the protracted continuance of the ice and snow. When the snow had abated Humayun moved from Taliqan towards Qanduz, which was given to Hindal. In Qanduz, Humayun stayed in the garden of Khusru Shah and after the Id-i-Qurban he moved by the pass of Shibartu below the mouth of the Argu river and above that of the Teshkan stream. 'Its earlier name was Shaf-Tiwar' (BN, p. 242).

Cont'd. f.n. 47

48 AN, I, p. 494.
49 Ibid., p. 504.
50 Ibid. Ab-dara, shown as Jalmish on the modern maps was the only route open during winter season. All other passes of Hindu Kush were covered with snow and so were not passable.

51 Before leaving Qila Zafar Humayun sent a letter to M. Sulaiman, pardoning his offences and restoring the territories which Babar had bestowed on his father. AN, I, p. 504.

52 AN, I, p. 504.
53 Ibid. The date of the Id was 1st February 1547. This shows that Humayun might have started from Qila Zafar at the peak of the cold.

54 Ibid.
to the pass of Regak and halted at Khwaja Seh Yaran and reached Kabul after staying for a few days at Carikaran. Humayun captured Kabul once again from Mirza Kamran.

4.1.2.3 Humayun's Expedition to Badakhshan (1548)

Mirza Kamran after his expulsion from Kabul in 1547 did not sit idle. He went to Sulaiman of Badakhshan, but on being refused any help he pushed on and sought the help of the Uzbeks. The Uzbeks gladly agreed to help and send a powerful force with Kamran. Humayun was forced to proceed towards Badakhshan as Kamran defeated Sulaiman Mirza and Hindal. In this expedition Humayun did not go upto Qila Zafar as the battle was fought at the fort of Taliqan. For this journey Humayun took the most direct route as he was travelling during the summers on his way to Badakhshan.

Humayun started from Kabul on 12th June 1548 and encamped at Alang Calak (see Map 4.5). After two or three

55 Ibid. Beveridge, H., suggest that it can be Khawak pass (fn. 3). This is an absurd suggestion as Humayun came through Ab-darra and Shibartu. It is not clear why he had gone to the Khawak pass which lies on the eastern most corner of Hindu Kush range. In all probability it is Rangan on the Ghorband river.

56 AN, I, p. 505. There is no place in this area of this name. Humayun might have stayed at Charikar.

57 AN, I, p. 514, 27 April 1547.

58 AN, I, p. 525.

59 Ibid. Alang or meadow of Chalak is mentioned by Babar as located 2 miles (1 shari) north-west of Kabul. Babar mentions that the meadow is a large one but in it mosquitos greatly trouble the horses. (BN, p. 204).
KABUL–BADAKHSHAN ROUTE
Based on Akbar-Nama
1548

Map 4.5
days, they moved from there to Qara Bagh, where they remained ten or twelve days on account of some state affairs.

From the village of Gulbihar, Akbar was sent back to Kabul with his mother. They reached the village of Bazarak in the Tuman of Panjshir and from there an advance party was sent to Andarab which occupied the fort. Later on Humayun reached Andarab and stayed there to settle the administrative affairs. The royal camp reached the Qazi's Alang, which is a village of Andrab, on 22nd July 1548. From thence the army proceeded to Taliqan.

---

60 AN, I, p. 525.
61 Ibid. It is Gul-i-bahar of Babar Nama. Babar refers it in various connections. It is on the left bank of Panjshir river.
62 AN, I, p. 526. Bazarak means small-bazar. Bazarak is the most direct road and it leads over into Sur-i-ab (BN, p. 205).
63 AN, I, p. 527. Andarab was an ancient settlement. Idrisi writes "from Andarab to Badakhshan towards the east is a four day's journey". Holdich mentions that "Andarab (the ancient site) being fixed at the junction of the Kasan stream with the Andarab River, the only possible route eastwards would be to the head of the Andarab at Khawak". (Gates of India, pp. 427-428). Habib locates Andrab further west, which is not correct as it is far away from the main route.
64 The location of Qazi's Alang (meadow) is marked approximately.
65 AN, I, p. 528. The date in AN is given as 22nd May which is obviously incorrect as Humayun started from Kabul on 12th June.
66 Taliqan of modern maps. Taliqan according to Holdich "was one of a group of important cities whose connection with India lay through Andarab and the northern passes of the Hindu Kush" (Gates of India, p. 243).
It is further mentioned in the Babar Nama that "most of the fugitive officers, as well as Mirza Abdullah and a number of M. Kamran's men, were in garrison there (Taliqan). An order was issued to M. Hindal and the officers with him to cross the Bangi river and engage. Just then M. Kamran hastily brought his men from Qila Zaffar and Kishm and joined the Unholy Crew." In July 1548 Humayun came into conflict with Kamran. It was the gallantry of Mirza Hindal that averted a calamity and compelled Kamran to retire to Taliqan. The siege of Taliqan fort was so vigorously conducted that Kamran surrendered on 17th August 1548 on the condition that he be allowed to go to Mecca. Humayun accepted the terms and granted general amnesty.

Next day a counsel was held with the princes and officers about an expedition against Balkh. Everyone spoke according to his opinions. His Majesty ordered that when the army arrived at Nari whatever appeared proper should be carried into execution. Nari is a village from which

---

67 Bangi river flows south of Taliqan. For detail account of Bangi river see Habib's Atlas (Notes Sheet IA-B).

68 AN, I, pp. 528-529.

69 Tripathi, p. 163.

70 It is Narin in BN and modern maps. In the year 1549 when Humayun went to Balkh he passed through Narin and Aibak. Narin might have been an important place due to its location more or less at the centre of Kabul, Balkh and Badakhshan triangle.
there is a road to Balkh and another to Kabul. 71

On the fourth day they marched from Taliqan and at night encamped at the spring of Bandgasha which is near Ishkamish. 72 From there Humayun proceeded to the village of Nari. 73 Then the army marched to Khust 74 and halted in that delightful spot. 75 Humayun subsequently went on by Parian 76 towards Kabul. Babar is said to have laid the foundation of the fort of Parian. Humayun repaired it and gave it the name of Islamabad. Humayun remained there for ten days. 77 From there Humayun proceeded and encamped on the banks of Panjshir river near the pass of Ushtar Karam. 78 He reached the environs of Kabul in the beginning of winter when the ground became white with snow. 79

71 AN, I, p. 538.
72 Ibid. Ishkamish was important due to its location equidistant from Qanduz and Taliqan.
73 AN, I, p. 538.
74 At Nari it was resolved that the expedition against Balkh should take place (AN, I, p. 539).
75 Humayun liked the valley of Khust very much. During his earlier expedition to Badakhshan he stayed in the valley of Khust for many days. Humayun, in all probability took this slightly longer route to visit this delighted spot.
76 The village of Parian is located on the upper reaches of Panjshir river. The fort was erected here due to its location near Kafirstan. In fact there is no established route between Khost and Parian.
77 AN, I, p. 540.
78 Ibid. It is Ushtar Gram. It was a common halting place. The name meaning the Camel's village.
79 Ibid.
4.1.3 **Kabul-Balkh Route**

The links between Kabul and Balkh regions were quite established even during the ancient period. "Balkh, the 'mother of cities' (said to have been founded by Nimrod), has figured in ancient history as the central focus of Asiatic trade, dominating the vast extent of the lower Oxus plain once cultivated and teeming with a civilized population. This can never be again."\(^{80}\) The ruthless hands of such destroyers as Chengiz Khan and his Mongol successors shook the walls of Balkh from their foundations and destroyed its inhabitants at recurring intervals.

The destruction of this flourishing centre of trade and culture was a set-back to the established linkages between these two regions. The Balkh region, however, once again regained prominence as it possesses considerable strategic importance since it dominates all communication between Kunduz and Kabul, as well as over those lines of approach which lead southward from the ferries and crossings of the Amu Darya (Oxus) at Kilif.\(^{81}\)

Though various references to the Kabul-Balkh route are found in Akbar Nama, only one detailed account of it, based on Humayun's expedition to Balkh (1549), is given there.\(^{82}\) However, both Babar and Humayun passed through

---

80 Holdich, *India*, p. 63.
81 Ibid., p. 64.
82 *AN*, I, pp. 443-452.
the places from where the routes to Balkh were direct. Babar, while coming from Farghana (1504) passed through Aibak, which lies only few marches away from Balkh. At another occasion, Babar passed through Darra Suf, when he was going to Khurasan. There was a direct route to Balkh from Darra Suf along Balkh. During the expedition to Badakhshan (1548), Humayun reached the village of Nari or Narin "from which there is a road to Balkh."83 During the earlier expedition to Badakhshan (1546) he reached upto Qunduz from where the road to Balkh is most direct. All these places, however, lie north of Hindu Kush range.

There were various possible routes between Kabul and Balkh, depending upon the pass through which Hindu Kush was crossed. If the Hindu Kush was crossed, through the passes in Panjshir region e.g. Khawak, Tul and Bazarak than the direct route was through, Andarab, Baglan, Aibak, Khulm and Nazar Sharif. This route, however, was impassable during the winter months.

The passes through the central part of the Hindu Kush range, it seems, were not under frequent use during the period under study.85 Babar mentions only one of these pass-roads through this part of the range. From the Kabul

83 Ibid., p. 538.
84 For a detailed account of the passes through Hindu Kush see section 3.2.1.1.
85 In the travel accounts of this period it is appeared that no army passed through the passes of Hindu Kush between Bazarak and Qipchaq.
side, the route starts from Parwan, "a commercial site more ancient than that of Kabul" and passes through Haft-bacha before its main pass (Baj-gah). This route leads to Doshi via Khinjan. The direct route to Balkh from Doshi was through Ghori, Aibak, Khulm and Mazar Sharif. There are other passes, which were quite important prior to Babar, which he did not mention. The most important of these passes was the Kushan or Kaoshan. According to local tradition, this pass was traversed by Alexander. The Kaoshan pass lies south-west of Bajgah pass and also leads to the Andarab-Dushi road.

It has already been mentioned that out of the various passes through Hindu Kush in the Ghorband Valley, Babar took note of only three e.g. Yangi-yul, Qipchaq and Shibr-tu. Of these three only Yangi-yul (New road) passed-road goes through Walian to Khinjan. The Yangi-yul route, during the time of Babar, was perhaps a newly developed pass-road. At present, Yangi-yul is known as the Walian pass. On the west of this route, is the Qipchaq road, which according to Babar leads to the point "where the water of Andarab meets Surkh-ab (Qizil su)". At this point is located, Doshi. There is a direct route from Doshi to Balkh. The route first

---

86 Holdich, Gates of India, p. 414.
87 BN, p. 205.
88 Holdich, Gates of India, p. 87.
89 The Kushan pass is at the altitude of 14,350'.
90 BN, p. 205.
follows Surkh-ab to reach upto Baglan and then turn towards the plateau to reach Aibak pass. The Aibak Balkh route has already been discussed. The route between, Doshi and Baglan is earlier than Andarab-Baqlan route via Narin.

The western most routes through Hindu Kush range passes via Shibr-tu pass. As mentioned earlier Shibr-tu does not pass through the Hindu Kush range but turns and avoids the range. Therefore two pass-routes are available to cross Hindu Kush after passing Shibr-tu. According to Babar, one route was through Ab-dara (water-valley) which was open even during the winter season when all other passes through Hindu Kush are impassable because of snow.\(^9^1\) This route was taken by Nasir Mirza\(^9^2\) (1507) and Humayun\(^9^3\) (1546) even while they were coming from Badakhshan - since they were travelling during the winter months. The other route was through Bamian and Saighan. During the ancient and early medieval periods this route must have been the most important route since it passed through Bamian, which undoubtedly was, a place of great significance, probably more important as a Buddhist centre than Kabul, more valuable as a central trade-market ... than the Indian city, as Kabul was called".\(^9^4\) Bamian lost its significance as a trading and cultural centre but remained important due to its location along the routes leading to Kabul.

\(^9^1\) Ibid.
\(^9^2\) Ibid., p. 321.
\(^9^3\) AN, I, p. 504.
\(^9^4\) Holdich, \textit{Gates of India}, p. 262.
The major route connecting Kabul and Balkh passed through Bamian. The route between Bamian and Balkh ran via Aq Rabat, Gumbazak pass on to Saighan. From Saighan, the route to Kahmard branched off leading to Dandan Shikan pass. The route from Saighan, after crossing Kahmard region, runs along the Darra Suf river and then, through Darra Gaz, reaches Balkh. Babar followed this route up to Darra Suf then turned towards Herat.

Thus there were three major routes between Kabul and Balkh passing through Andarab, Doshi and Bamian. The choice between these three routes depended upon the severity of the season of the journey and other circumstances. The full account of the journey through Andarab is available only when Humayun led an unsuccessful expedition to Balkh.

In the beginning of 956 AH (February 1549) when the season had become milder. Humayun sent one of his confidants to Kamran with the information that he was proceeding against Balkh in accordance with the agreements and that M. Kamran should co-operate in this and meet him when he should arrive at the borders of Badakhshan. Orders were also sent to Mirza Hindal, Askari, Sulaiman and Ibrahim to make arrangements for carriage and to prepare their men and join quickly.

95 Habib, Atlas, Notes, Sheet 1A-B, p. 1.
96 BN, p. 295.
97 Please see Kabul-Khurashan Route (4.1.4).
98 AN, I, p. 543.
The expedition started but because of arrangements and the disposal of business and the arrival of Haji Muhammad Khan from Ghazni, there was a delay of nearly a month in Calak\(^{99}\) (see Map 4.6). When all the necessary, arrangements for the expedition were made, Humayun marched to Istalif\(^{100}\). Humayun marched slowly as he waited to be joined by the Mirzas. When he heard that they had started, and that M. Kamran was getting ready, he went by Panjshir\(^{101}\) and encamped at Andrab.\(^{102}\) Thence he went to Nari\(^{103}\) where there is a "meeting of the ways".\(^{104}\) Having crossed the Nari pass they traversed the plain of Nilbar,\(^{105}\) the spring beauty of which is famous and pre-eminent above that of all other parts of Badakhshan. Near the flowery spot, Mirza Hindal and Sulaiman "did homage and were encompassed with favours".

\(^{99}\) \textit{Ibid.} Humayun stayed in this meadow only 2 miles away from Kabul to supervise the arrangements of the army.

\(^{100}\) \textit{Ibid.}, p. 544.

\(^{101}\) \textit{Ibid.} Humayun must have followed the route along the Panjshir river to reach Andarab through the pass of Khawak.

\(^{102}\) \textit{Ibid.}

\(^{103}\) \textit{Ibid.}

\(^{104}\) From Narin, three roads lead to three important regions of the period. One road leads to Badakhshan, another to Balkh and the third one to Kabul. Humayun travelled through all of them during his expedition to Balkh and Badakhshan from Kabul.

\(^{105}\) \textit{AN, I}, p. 544. The location of Nilbar plain is not shown in any of the maps, consulted, but with the help of description its approximate location is shown in Map 4.6.
Based on Akbar Nama 1549

100 Miles

50 Kms.
Here at Sulaiman's request, Ibrahim was permitted to go to Badakhshan so that he might protect the country and look after the local army. 106

From the neighbourhood of Baqlan, 107 Mirza Hindal and Sulaiman and a number of other experienced men were sent on in advance to "set free from the Uzbeks the town of Aibak, a dependency of Balkh which is famed for its cultivation, the abundance of its fruits, and the excellence of its climate." 108 Next day the advance force arrived at Aibak. 109 The ruler of Balkh had sent a number of experienced men to guard Aibak, but in two or three days Aibak fell into the hands of Mughals. 110 Though the climate of Aibak and its abundance of fruit were a motive for staying, yet the chief reason was the non-arrival of Kamran. 111 However, two or three days later, they passed Khulm 112 and halted at Baba Shahu. Next day they encomted near the shrine 113 which is a well-known land mark.

106 AN, I, pp. 544-545.
107 Ibid., p. 545. Baqlan is located on the eastern bank of Qunduz river.
108 Ibid.
109 Ibid. The advance force must have been sent long after passing Baqlan as it reached on the next day.
110 AN, I, p. 546.
111 Ibid.
112 Ibid., p. 547. Khulm lies north-west of Aibak. The route between these two places is mostly along the Zindan river. Khulm, lies about 50 miles on the straight line east of Balkh.
113 This is Mazar-i-Sharif of the modern maps. It is be-
A slight engagement took place between the advanced guards of the Uzbek army and Humayun's forces, which the Uzbeks lost. Next day the Uzbeks again gathered with great force and tried to be victorious. Humayun's army was able to drive the front ranks of the Uzbeks across the canals and into the Outer defence (Kucaband) of Balkh. But Humayun after gaining the initial advantage, had to return without conquering Balkh due to confusions and difference of opinion among his nobles. There was a strong fear among a group of nobles that Kamran, who had not joined Humayun as promised, might have gone to Kabul to capture it. So it was decided that they should go back to Kabul and leave the conquest of Balkh to the future. Humayun aware of this general feeling was helpless and ordered his army to march in the direction of Dara-gaz. "This compulsory retreat to Daragaz, which happened also to be on the route to Kabul, was represented as a return thither, and the march of M. Kamran was on every one's tongue. Men lost heart and departed

Cont'd. f.n. 113

lieved that it is the shrine of Hazarat Ali. His tomb is said to have been discovered during the reign of Sultan Husain Baiqra.

114 AN, I, p. 547.
115 Ibid., p. 548.
116 Ibid.
117 Location of Dara Gaz is shown in some maps on the Balkhab south of Balkh. Lahori also mentions the route through Dara Gaz from Bamian to Balkh.
118 It seems, Humayun was not interested in taking Dara
in different direction." In these circumstances Humayun must have marched desperately to go back to Kabul.

Three days later Humayun halted at the top of the pass of the Four Springs (Chahar Chashma) and here Muhammad Qali Shaikh Turkman who had hit on the right road heard of the royal party and joined it. Humayun from Chahar Chashma might have taken Abdara pass road, to reach Ghorband after one night's halt. He reached at Khwaja Siyaran on the next night. Thence he went to Qara Bagh and from there to Mamura. From Mamura he went in an auspicious hour to Kabul.

4.1.4 Kabul-Khurasan Route

During the period under study, Khurasan was ruled by Mughals, Uzbek and Persians. Under the rule of Sultan Husain

Cont'd... f.n. 118

Gaz, Dara Gaz, Ghorband route in normal conditions. He followed this route due to confusion and compulsion.

119 AN, I, p. 549.
120 Humayun must have marched along Balkh-ab to reach upto Dara Suf. From this region he must have moved to a tributary of Zindan river along which Chahar Chashma is located.
121 Humayun was familiar with this route as he had travelled by this route earlier.
122 AN, I, p. 552. They must have marched really fast indeed to reach Ghorband.
123 Ibid.
124 Ibid. Dih-i-Mamura is near Kabul.
125 Ibid.
Mirza, who died in 1506, Khurasan became very famous for "its pomp and splendor and learning ... and the fame of the Herat and its people was spread over the world". This was the period, when Mughals were being defeated by Uzbeks in their Central Asian homelands. There was an exodus of Mughals towards South of Amu Darya in general, and to Khurasan in particular. Thus in the beginning of the sixteenth century Harat was closely linked with all the Mughal kingdoms of Afghanistan - Kabul, Qandahar, Balkh, Qunduz and Badakhshan.

The links between Kabul and Khurasan were based on political, social and economic compulsions. In fact there were three routes connecting Kabul and Herat i.e. the central, the northern and the southern. The study of these routes, will perhaps provide the best example of the impact of physical factors on the regional linkages.

Of these three, the central route was the most direct between the two famous cities of the medieval period viz. Kabul and Herat at the same latitudes (Kabul 34° 31N, Herat 32° 20N). This route was along the river Hari-Rud, the Valley of which is very narrow. The straight line distance between these two cities is about 450 miles. The Hari-Rud valley route, which was extremely difficult to traverse, even during summers, was only slightly longer than this distance. But it was never recognized as a trade route.

although military expeditions passed that way. It always presented "a geographical problem of great interest".  

The snow in this region closes all the roads from the middle of November to the middle of February and even after its disappearance the deep clayey tracts are unpassable even for travellers on foot. The travel during the winter season was possible only by seasoned travellers like Babar who though never mentions about the hardships of other routes, describes the problems he faced while travelling through this route. Thus, the most direct route between Kabul and Herat was extremely difficult to traverse, even in favourable climatic conditions.

The route lying north of Hari-Rud Valley, was not as direct as the first one. This route avoids Hindu Kush and reaches Kahmrad after crossing the passes of Gumbazak and Dandan Shikan and joins Balkh-Herat route at Balkh-ab. This route was quite circuitous as it avoids the high altitudes of Band-i-Turkistan and Koh-i-Baba. This route in comparison to Hari-Rud Valley route was less difficult though fairly circuitous.

The third route, connecting Kabul and Herat was longer than the other two routes but it was easiest to travel. This route used to connect almost all the important medieval cities of Afghanistan-Kabul, Ghazni, Qandahar (at times Zarang) Farah and Herat. It was most frequented by the

127 Holdich, Gates, p. 256.
caravans as compared to any other route west of Indus (perhaps Kabul-Attock sector of Kabul-Delhi route became the only exception during the reigns of Akbar and Jahangir.) This route has been divided in this study into two sections i.e. Kabul-Qandahar section and Qandahar-Khurasan section and will be discussed at appropriate places. Here we shall discuss only the first two routes between Kabul and Herat.

We have traced both these routes on the basis of their description in Babar Nama. Babar's visit to Khurasan was in response to the call of Sultan Husain Mirza to all the Timurids to join his army and make a united efforts to deal with the Uzbek menace. Babar readily agreed to join them, but on his way he learned that the Sultan was dead. He was also informed that his two sons acting jointly as his successors were eager to carry out the plan. So he pushed on. When he reached their camp he found that the princes were worthless and quite incompetent to lead a campaign of great magnitude. Babar perhaps without informing the Mirzas fled from Khurasan during the winter of 1507, through a little known, dangerously frozen mountainous route, to reach Kabul. This route is described later in this section.

Babar while going towards Khurasan took the usual road upto Ushtur-shahr (see Map 4.7) and there left his baggage

129 The common route between Kabul-Ushtur-shahar was through Qarabagh and Charikar.
KABUL-KHURASAN ROUTES
Based on Babar Nama
1506-7

10 0 • 70Kms.

10 0 50 Miles
to travel light. He reached Fort Zohak by way of Ghorband and Shibr-tu pass. From the Zohak he "crossed the pass of the little dome (Gumbazak-Kutal), trampled through Saighan, went over the Dandanshikan pass and dismounted in the meadow of Kahmard." He stayed in Kahmard for a few days and his army fetched corn from Ghuri and Dahana. Here he got the news of Sultan Husain Mirza's death but it was decided that they should move on to save the reputation of the Timurid dynasty. He later "went up the trough of the Ajar Valley, over to Tup and Mandaghan, crossed the Balkh-water and came out on Saf hill." Babar stayed for a few days in the meadow of Saf-hill and then "went right on

130 The ruins of Zohak occupy the corner of a volcanic wall, which separates a valley so named from that of Bamian.

131 The Gumbazak for is also mentioned by Lahori as the boundary between Balkh and Kabul. From its position on the route, it can be identified with Katar Sum pass of modern maps.

132 Dandan shikan, means "the tooth breaker", which shows the difficulty of the pass. This pass separates Saighan from Kahmaro wood reports its north face to be exceedingly difficult.

133 BN, p. 274.

134 Ibid., p. 295.

135 Ibid.

136 Ibid. The two tributaries of Balkhab are Yakah Aulang and Darra Yusuf. The correct name of the second is however Darra Suf.
through Gurzwan, Almar, Qaisar, Chichik-tu and After Fakhruddin's death into the Bam Valley, one of the dependencies of Badghis. From there Babar reached Murgh-āb to meet the Mirzas.

Babar's meetings with the Mirzas were not always cordial. He felt that they were giving him less respect than he deserved. He was also not happy by the decision of the Mirzas "to winter where it was convenient and reassemble next summer in order to repel their foe." They also persuaded Babar to winter in Khurasan. But he was not interested in staying in Khurasan for a long period as he mentions that "Kabul and Ghazni were full of a turbulent and ill conducted medley of people and hordes, Turks, Mughals, clans, and nomads, Afghans and Hazara. The roads between

137 There is a significant variation in the name of the territory of Gurzwan or Gurziwan. In Holdich's Gates of India it is referred to also as Gurkan, Juzjan, Jurkan, Jirghan and Guzwan (pp. 250-255).

138 Almar is shown in the maps to the south-west of the Maimana.

139 Qaisar is also shown on the modern maps - west of Almar. In fact all the places mentioned in Babar Nama, on this route between Suf-darra and Murgh-āb are along the modern route between Sar-i-Pul and Herat.

140 Chichik-tu lies on the modern maps along the route.

141 Bam river valley is shown on the maps.

142 The territory of Badghis is also shown on the map.

143 BN, p. 296.

144 Beveridge identified it with a fortified place at the crossing of the river by north-east road. Babar when in Dara-i-bam, was on a tributary of Murbh-āb. BN, p. 297, f.n. 1.

145 BN, p. 300.
us and that not yet desirably subjected country of Kabul were, one the mountain road, a month's journey even without delay through snow or other cause 146 - the other, the low country road, a journey of 40 or 50 days. 147 & 148

Babar asked for the permission to leave for Kabul but the Mirzas came to his tent to pursue him to stay in winters in Khurasan. 149 Babar agreed to stay as he was interested in visiting Herat, which according to Babar "had become under (Sulaiman) Husain Mirza, whose orders and efforts had increased its splendor and beauty. 150 So from Murgh-ab, Babar reached Herat through Chihil-dukhtaran 151 and Tash-rabat. 152

146 Babar followed this mountain road i.e. Hari Rud Valley route but it is not possible to ascertain the number of days he took to reach Kabul. He might have reached Kabul in more than a month as the road was covered with thick sheet of snow.

147 It is not clear as to which route Babar refers: the route he followed to reach upto Herat or the route via Qandahar. But in all probability he was referring to the route via Qandahar because he was not sure about the number of days required to reach Kabul through this road. He must have been sure about the route, he followed to reach Herat from Kabul.

148 [BN, p. 300.]
149 [Ibid.]
150 [Ibid.]
151 Chihil-dukhtaran (forty daughters) is shown in the modern maps.

152 According to Beveridge "This may be the Rabat-i-Sanghi of some maps on the road between the "forty daughters and Herat, or Babar may have gone out of his direct way to visit Rabat-i-sang-bast, a renowned halting place at the Carfax of the Heri-Tus and Nishapur-Mashhad road." (BN, p. 301, f.n. 1). Probably, Babar must have preferred the direct route to Herat rather than a longer route only to visit Rabat-i-sang.
He stayed in Herat for some time and visited all the places of interest but again his anxiety grew about Kabul. His uneasiness was also due to the inconsiderate behaviour of the Mirzas, who pressed Babar to stay in Herat but provided him no winter-quarters nor made any winter - arrangements for him. 153

Thus, on the pretext of finding winter quarters they got out of the town on December 24th 1505 and went near Badghis. They moved so slowly that after many marches they could reach only Langar of Mir Ghiyas. 154 Some of his retainers joined him there while some others reached Kabul 20 days or a month later, 155 156 than Babar. At the Langar, they discussed which road they should take for the return journey to Kabul. Most of them agreed that since it was winter, the mountain-road is difficult and dangerous, the Qandahar road, though a little longer is safe and easy. 157 But Qasim Beg vetoed the idea and so they took the mountain road.

154 "The alms house or convent" according to Beveridge "was founded here in Timur's reign." (BN, p. 307 f.n. 1). Langar lies north east of Qadis on the road between Qala Nau and Qaisar.
155 Babar reached Yaka-aulang from Herat in about 50 days (Dec. 24, 1506 - Feb. 14, 1507) and might have reached Kabul only after 10 more days. But his retainers still took 30 days more to reach Kabul. Either they started late or took the longer route (which obviously they did).
156 BN, p. 307.
157 Ibid., p. 308.
From the Langar of Mir Ghiyas they reached Chach-Charan\(^{159}\) (Chaghcharan), guiding past the border villages of Gharjistan. The route between these two places is described by Babar as follows: "From the alms house to Gharjistan was an unbroken sheet of snow, it was deeper further on,\(^{160}\) near Chach-Charan itself it was above the horse's knees."\(^{161}\) Babar bought the whole of Zunnun Beg's\(^{162}\) store of provision.

The march after Chach-Charan was still more difficult as Babar mentions "A march or two further on, the snow was very deep, being above the stirrup, indeed in many places the horse's feet did not touch the ground."\(^{163}\) Their guide

---

158 Ibid. Holdich mentions that "from time immemorial efforts have been made to reach Kabul by the direct route from Herat which is indicated by the remarkable lie of Hari Rud Valley... From Herat eastwards, past Obeh as far as Daoatlyar, there is no great difficulty to be overcome by the traveller, although the route diverges from the main valley for a space... But winter here is severe." The difficulty of the route, travelling in winter is clear from Babar's account.

159 From the Lauger to Hari-rund Valley, Babar's route may well have been the track which, passes through the villages on the southern border of Gharjidan and goes to Ahangaran.

160 The altitudes in this part of mountain range are higher than 10,000 feet at many places and in the month of January the journey must be impossible.

161 BN, p. 308.

162 Zunnun Beg was a noble of Herat.

163 BN, p. 308.
had lost the road and could not lead them. To find the road they had to dismount and clear it. Babar further writes about the difficulties of the route in the following words. "One day the snow was so deep and the way so uncertain that we could not go on; there being no help for it, back we turned, dismounted where there was fuel, picked 60 or 70 good men and sent them down the valley in our tracks to fetch any one so ever of the Hazara, wintering in the valley bottom who might show us the road."  

They, however were not able to bring any guide and were forced once again to try their luck by taking the road by which they had come back. Babar, who "combined the vigour and hardihood of the Turks and Mougols with the dash and coverage of the Persians and who was a fine fencer a good archer and superb horseman", writes about the hardships of this road in these words, "much misery and hardship were endured in those few days, more than at any time of my life."  

They went on for nearly a week, trampling down the snow and not getting forward more than two or three miles a day. They used to go forward for 7 or 8 yards, stamping the snow down at each step. The man leading would then stand still, exhausted by the labour, and another would go for-

164 The Hazaras and Turkman Hazaras, used to come down to the river valleys of this region during winter season.
165 BN, p. 308.
166 Tripathi, p. 55.
167 BN, p. 309.
ward. In this way, they got out of that place in three or four days to a cave known as Khawali-quti (Blessed cave) below the Zirrin pass.

That night the snow fell in such an amazing blizzard with cutting winds that every man feared for his life. The storm became extremely violent by the time they reached the cave but Babar did not go into the cave because he thought "some of my men in snow and storm, I in the comfort of a warm house! the whole horde outside in misery and pain, I inside sleeping at ease! That would be far from a man's act, quite another matter than comradeship! Whatever hardship and wretchedness there is, I will face; what strong men stand I will stand; for as the Persian proverb says, to die with friends is a nuptial." This was indeed, the character of Babar, which helped him in establishing the Mughal Empire in India later on.

Next day the snow and wind having ceased they made an early start and got to the pass again stamping down the road in the snow. About the route Babar writes "The proper road seems to make a detour up the flank on the mountains and to go over higher up, by what is understood to be called the Zirrin-pass. Instead of taking that road we went straight---

168 Ibid., p. 310.
169 Zirrin pass, lies above the Bakkak-pass and carries the regular road for Yaka, aulang.
170 BN, p. 310.
up the valley-bottom."\(^{171}\) It was night before we reached the farther side of the (Bakkak) pass and we spent the night there in the mouth of the valley."\(^{172}\) Next morning they moved down the valley, by bad slopes and sudden falls, knowing and seeing it could not be the right way. By the evening they got out of the valley. About this journey he makes an interesting observation. "Though for a few days we had suffered greatly through the depth of the snow, yet its depth in the end, enabled us to reach our destination ... why? How otherwise should we have traversed those pathless slopes and sudden falls?"\(^{173}\)

They reached Yaka-aulang\(^{174}\) where people welcomed them and provided them "warm houses, fat sheep, grass and horse-corn, water without stint, ample wood and dried dung

\(^{171}\) According to Beveridge 'The right and wrong roads are shown by the Indian Survey and Military maps. The right road turns off from the wrong one at Daulat-yar, to the right, and mounts diagonally along the south rampart of the Hari-rud valley to the Zirrin-pass which lies above the Bakkak-pass and carried the regular road for Yaka-aulang." \(^{172}\) BN, p. 310, f.n. 2. Possibly, Babar, due to higher altitudes of Zirrin pass was avoiding it and so moved on the unusual path through the valley, which was covered with thick snow. Another question is that why from the neighbourhood of Bakkak, they did not go via Besud and Unai passes directly to Kabul? Possibly this route was not known to them as during the medieval period Bamian-Kabul route became very common due to the fact that Bamian became a more important Buddhist centre than even Kabul (Holdich, \textit{Gates of India}, p. 262).

\(^{173}\) Ibid., p. 310.

\(^{174}\) The Yaka-aulang or Yakulang Valley is a continuation of the Band-i-Amir, or river of Balkh; between the
for fires!" \(^{175}\) They stayed there one day happy of heart and easy of mind and marched 2 yighach (10-12 m) next day, and dismounted. They went on, through Bamina, crossed by Shibr-tu and dismounted before reaching Janglik. \(^{176}\)

The Turkman Hazaras were wintering outside their own valley, on the Ghorband road. They were the perennial highway men on the only pass to the north which did not close entirely in winter. \(^{177}\) Babar drove them out of the road, with difficulty and went to Timur Beg's Langar. \(^{178}\) Riding next dawn from the Langar they dismounted in Ushtur Shahr and finally reached Kabul via Zammayakhshi and Minar.

It is relevant to note here that the present Kabul-Herat route map of Afghanistan shows a close resemblance with Babar's map of the same route. The main difference between Babar's route and the present direct route (Hari Rud Valley) is that the later did not go to Bamina. This is perhaps due to the decrease in the significance of Bamian during the recent past.

Cont’d. f.n. 174

Yaka-aulang and Bamian Valley is a high flat watershed (Holdich, Gates of India, p. 257).

\(^{175}\) "It seems from the way Babar was received at Yakah Aulang, while coming from Herat, that it was then in the principality of Kabul" (Habib, Atlas, Notes, p. 2).

\(^{176}\) BN, p. 311.

\(^{177}\) For the Hazaras also see Kabul-Bamian route. Babar prior to his visit to Herat raided Hazaras wintering in Bamian Valley and adjoining areas.

\(^{178}\) It is not possible to identify this Langar.
4.1.5 Qandahar-Khurasan Route

Herat, the capital of Khurasan "was but a gateway to Kandahar and to Kabul in the days when Kabul was India."\(^{179}\) The Herat-Qandahar route remained important throughout the medieval period as it used to connect Herat with Kabul by the easiest road. Apart from this, there was a constant flow of traffic between India and Persia via Qandahar and Multan. The traffic from southern Persia also joined it, on or near Farah. It is, however, not possible to ascertain the volume of the traffic on this route.

Between Herat and Qandahar, the straight line distance is about 280 miles, but there was no direct route across the intervening wilderness of Taimani hills occupied by the Hazaras of Chahar Aimak.\(^{180}\) During the reign of the Ghori monarchs,\(^{181}\) an earlier trade route which was well known and much frequented had lost all its significance. Ghur itself was among the dead cities of Asia.

Reconstruction of Qandahar-Khurasan route is based on the account of Humayun's march from Persia to Qandahar, in 1545, when he was coming with the Persian soldiers to

\(^{179}\) Holdich, Gates of India, p. 526.

\(^{180}\) Ibid., p. 87.

\(^{181}\) Holdich mentions that "during its later history is it clear that Ghur was often governed from Herat, but in earlier medieval days Ghur possessed a distinct capital and a separate entity amongst Afghan Kingdoms." Gates of India, p. 219.
conquer Qandahar, which was in possession of his brother. Unfortunately he did not start his travel from Herat but reached Herat-Qandahar road below Farah - near Helmand. However, the whole route has been reconstructed with the help of the accounts of his earlier journey which he made while he was going to Persia to seek help from the Shah.

The description of both of these journeys is available in *Akbar Nama* and *Jauhar*. The details of the route, however, are limited due to the lack of author’s knowledge of the region. Moreover, the region through which the route passed was hardly settled.

The route which Humayun followed between Helmand and Herat is as follows:

Humayun crossed Helmand and halted at a lake (see Map 4.8) into which its waters flow. There he spent some days in that pleasant country. Thence he proceeded to Sistan. Humayun was interested in visiting Herat so he took the road by the fort of Uk. When Humayun came

---

183 *Jauhar*, pp. 90-93 and 113-114.
184 *AN*, I, p. 415. This lake is known as the Lake Hamun or Sea of Zaranq.
185 Ibid. *Jauhar*, p. 91. Humayun had already reached the Sistan so it might be that from the Lake he proceeded towards the city of Sistan. Raverty speaks of Zarang as being called the city of Sistan.
186 It is not possible to find out Uk in the modern maps. Raverty in the translation of *Tabqat-i-Nasiri* locates it between Farah and Zaranj and mentions that it has been in ruins for many years. *T.N.*, pp. 34 and 1122 fn.
QANDAHAR KHURASAN ROUTE
Based on Akbar Nama & Aftabchi
1545

Map 4.8
near Farah he got the message that the King of Persia regarded his advent as a great gain and was delighted at it.187 Between Farah and Herat at every stage one of the nobles and grandees of Khurasan came out to meet him and waited upon him.188

Humayun, while proceeding towards Qandahar from Persia first reached Tabas,189 or Tarq190 and from there marched towards Sistan. He stayed there for five days.191 Perhaps it was the same place where he stayed for a few days while going to Persia (Herat). From Sistan he moved towards Garmisir, where Mir Abdul Hai of Garmisir came out of the fort of Laki192 and submitted.193 A number of devoted men were sent to take Bast or Bist194 which belonged to the Garmisir and appertained to Qandahar.195 The fort was besieged and captured. From Bist they moved to Qandahar and with some difficulty conquered it in March 1545.196

187 AN, I, p. 432.
188 Ibid.
189 Jauhar, p. 113.
190 AN, I, p. 447.
191 Jauhar, p. 113.
192 Laki is on the eastern bank of Helman river and at present is a small settlement.
193 AN, I, p. 447.
194 Qala Bist is located near the confluence of the Arghandab with the Helmand.
195 AN, I, p. 457.
196 Ibid., p. 459.
It is clear from the above description that the route followed by Humayun was not the most direct one between Herat and Qandahar. Humayun never travelled, directly between these two places. In fact, on both occasions he went via Sistan. This was not necessary when travelling directly between Herat and Qandahar. The direct route between these towns must have been closer to the present national highway, leaving Farah to the west and approaching Qandahar by Washir and Girishk.

References to the Herat-Qandahar route in Babar Nama and Tarikh-i-Rashidi do not provide any detailed account of the route. According to Babar, when he was planning to go back to Kabul from Herat during the winter season he was told that "the Qandahar road though little longer, is safe and easy." But Babar was dissuaded by his nobles to go by this relatively longer route. The Qandahar road became unsafe after a short while when the Uzbeks occupied Khurasan. Mirza Haider in Tarikh-i-Rashidi mentions that his father was planning to go for Haj and to do so he reached Qandahar from Kabul. From Qandahar he moved towards Farah where he was told that the "high roads and passes were in the dangerous state, being obstructed and even closed."

It has been mentioned earlier (section 2.2.1) that

197 Ibid., p. 308. At another place Babar mentions that "the road from Kabul into Khurasan passes through Qandahar; is quite level, without a pass", BN, p. 205.

198 TR, p. 201.
the town of Qandahar emerged as leading trade centre, only during the late medieval period, though the Qandahar region remained important from the ancient times. The importance of Herat-Qandahar route increased tremendously during the period of Early Mughals after the emergence of the Kabul-Ghazni-Qandahar axis.

4.1.6 Kashmir-Maryul\(^{199}\) (Ladakh) Route

There are references to prove that Kashmir had trade links with the surrounding territories through well known though extremely difficult pass-routes. During the period under study Mirza Haidar, Babar's cousin, travelled extensively in the territories which surround Kashmir. He not only conquered Kashmir but also Maryul (Ladakh or Leh region) Nubra, Baltistan etc. In fact he reached upto Lhasa or Utsang. The ancient route between Kashmir and Ladakh\(^{200}\) (Maryul) had also been traversed and recorded by Mirza Haidar. Though the description of the route is very scanty

199 Maryul or Ladakh region is referred to as Tibbat-i-Buzurg or Great Tibet by Abul Fazl. This name was not known to Mirza Haidar, who uses the name Maryul, specifically for the region of the Indus Valley and Ladakh Range as Nubra is considered lying outside it, though within Tibet, Sheh (Shay) was the capital of Maryul at the time of Mirza Haidar, though in 17th century Leh became the capital of the region.

200 This route at present is a national highway and was traversed by many European travellers. It is not necessary to discuss it in detail as the road between Srinagar and Leh is well known to us. The distance between Srinagar and Leh is 259 miles.
yet it indicates that this route was well known to the local people. The use of this and other passes of the region was limited due to difficult terrain, extremely cold climate and the subsistence economy of the surrounding territories.

Mirza Haidar left Nubra to conquer Kashmir with the help of the army sent by the Sultan Said Khan and joined his own forces in the district of Maryul. From Maryul he set off by forced marches, in the direction of Kashmir. 201 They passed through the well established route between Maryul and Kashmir (see Map 4.9). "On the road chief men of Tibet submitted and joining us, greatly increased the number of our army" 202 mentions Mirza. They employed as their guides some of the Balti Tibetans who lived in the Valleys of Kashmir.

They crossed the pass of Kashmir, known as Zoji(la). 203 The Chief of Kashmir had already heard of the approach of their army and were occupying the narrow defile of Lar. 204

201 TR, p. 423.
202 Ibid.
203 This pass is called Zoji la by the Tibetans and the Ladakhis. By others it is commonly called the Dras Pass. The height of the pass is 11,300 feet. An important characteristic of it is the there is great rise to this level from the Kashmir side (2000 feet in a miles) but very slight fall (1000 feet in 20 miles) on the Ladakh side. The road is fit for laden horses during summer, but during 4-5 winter months from December the snow on the Zoji La pass makes it impossible but men and make it difficult for them (Drew., F., p. 532).
204 The narrow and difficult defile mentioned immediately
KASHMIR-MARYUL ROUTE
1531
Based on Tarikh-i-Rashidi
Mirza after crossing the pass of Zuji had sent forward 400 men, "when they reached the narrow defile, they found it occupied by the Kashmir army, a few of them were stationed as outposts at its upper end.\textsuperscript{205} Soldiers of Mirza Haidar's army made a charge on these pickets and forced them to flee. On the second day after this affair they alighted in Kashmir.\textsuperscript{206}

4.1.7 \textbf{Kashmir-Badakhshan Route via Maryul}

The route linking Kashmir with Badakhshan and passing through the heart of Himalayas and Pamirs was indeed very unusual. This route was perhaps being used by the local people for short distance travel. Mirza Haidar in despair, however, decided to travel on the route which mostly passes through permanently frozen mountain ranges. Though the route passes through north of Karakoram range,\textsuperscript{207} altitudes are usually higher than 15,000 feet. The route commonly used by the travellers going from Ladakh (Maryul) to Badakhshan during the sixteenth century was through Kashghar. Mirza Haidar mentions that no one among them had ever travelled from Tibet to Badakhshan excepting by way of Kashghar.

Mirza Haidar's decision to travel through this vaguely known route was based on the information he gathered from Jahan Shah one of his retainers who had deserted him and

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{205} TR, p. 423.
\item \textsuperscript{206} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{207} For Karakoram range see section 2.1.1.1.
\end{itemize}
fled to Yarkand. Jahan Shah "once related that he had heard, from the people of the mountain districts of Yarkand, that from a place called Tagh Nak, there was a by-path leading to the Pamir's of Badakhshan." Mirza Haidar, however, started with one question in mind, "can one travel by a road one has never seen and knows not?" 208

Mirza Haidar moved off 209 with twenty-seven men. They suffered much from want of supplies, from the weakness of the beast of burden, from the difficulty of the road and from the cold. Mirza mentions that "although it was now the season of Virgo, the cold was so severe, that a place we came to, called Kara Kuram, 210 (see Map 4.10) as the sun sank, the river (which is a large one) froze over so completely, that wherever one might break the ice, not a drop of water was forthcoming." 211 They could not get water throughout the night. The route upto the Karakoram was known to them as it was on the route to Yarkand, which they frequently traversed. One of them said "I remember once noticing a spring at about half a farsakh's distance from here." 212

---

208 \textit{TR}, p. 465.

209 Mirza Haidar started from Maryul (Ladakh) instead of Kashmir.

210 Kara Koram pass lies at the eastern end of the Kara Koram range. This pass is at the altitude of 18,290'.

211 \textit{TR}, p. 465. This is common in high altitude regions. It is due to the significant difference between the temperatures of day and night.

212 \textit{TR}, p. 465.
KASHMIR-BADAKHSHAN ROUTE
Based on Tarikh-i-Rashidi

Kilometres

0 50 100 150

Miles

50 25 0 50 100

Map 4.10
They got water by making a hole in the middle of the ice. Due to the cold, one of the strongest of all the beasts died from lockjaw as she could not drink the water.

They reached Tag Nak\textsuperscript{213} with difficulty and with much hardship. At this point one of Mirza's associate Iskandar Sultan asked for his permission to leave. Mirza Haidar tried to dissuade him but, "he being worn out with the suffering of journey and the misfortune in Tibet"\textsuperscript{214} insisted on his demands. Ultimately Mirza Haidar allowed him to go with four attendants. A few of their horses had become useless from want of shoes but fortunately they killed a wild kutas or Yak. They used its skin to make coverings for the feet of their disabled horses and its meat they ate and carried away, as much as was possible.\textsuperscript{215}

From this information which Mirza Haidar had gathered from Jahan Shah, he reckoned that it would be another six days before they should come to a cultivated region; but on

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{213} It appears on some maps as Takanak, and is a spot on Yark and river just below Kulamuldi where the track to Kugiar and Yarkand leaves the valley of that river. According to Elias, "Mirza Haidar's party branched off from the direct route to Yarkand at Ak-Tagh, then followed down the Yarkand river past Kulan-ului, Tagh-nak etc...." \textit{TR}, p. 464, f.n. 1. But it is probable that they did not go to Ak-Tagh as there is another route through the valley of Raskam river, on the west of Ak-Tagh route. On the modern maps the routes to Badakhshan and Yarkand bifurcate at the point which Mirza Haidar mentions. Mirza Haidar might have traversed this route upto Tagh-Nak.
\item \textsuperscript{214} \textit{TR}, p. 465.
\item \textsuperscript{215} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 466.
\end{itemize}
the third day after their separation from Iskandar Sultan, at about breakfast time they met with some people who received them with great cordiality. They told Mirza Haidar that their valley is known as Raskam and that from here to the Pamir (Little Pamir) was five days journey. When they arrived at the place (Raskam) all of them took a rest, after the trials of so many years.

Raskam was regarded by its people as having been under the rulers of Kashghar for four hundred years. They took care of everything and tried to provide all possible comfort to the fugitive prince of the dynasty. Mirza Haidar mentions their hospitality as follows "they took over all our broken horses and gave us strong ones in their stead... They supplied us in the most hospitable manner, with such meat and drink as they had to give .... At every place we

---

216 The difference in the time mentioned by Jahan Shah and the time taken by Mirza may be due to the speed with which the party might have been travelling. It seems Mirza's party was travelling with double speed on this difficult tract.

217 Raskam is a tributary of Yarkand river. Raskam range lies north of the Valley of Raskam. Considering the description of the TR it seems that the Valley of Raskam was inhabited by the people with some resources. The name of the capital is not mentioned by Mirza Haidar.

218 Pamir actually refers to the high and relatively flat valleys between the mountain ranges, where the Kirghiz graze their flocks. The travel in the Pamir, which begins east of Qala Panja is difficult even with the hardy yak used by the Kirghiz nomads.

219 TR, p. 466.

220 Ibid.
came to, I was joined by all the men, women and children of the district.\footnote{Ibid.} In this manner Mirza Haidar was escorted to Pamir or rather Little Pamir in seven days time.\footnote{Ibid., p. 467.}

When they reached Wakhan,\footnote{"Two relatively wide valleys exist in Wakhan: one at Ishkashim (two miles across, three miles long); another at Qala Panja (less than a mile in all direction)", Dupree, L., Afghanistan, p. 6.} which was the frontier (Sar-hadd) of Badakhshan, they met a follower of Rashid Sultan and gave him some Turki verses which Mirza had composed. From Wakhan they reached Badakhshan and passed the winter there in perfect comfort.\footnote{They might have stayed at Qila Zafar, the capital of Badakhshan.}

The description of this route indicates that it was very circuitous and nearly impossible to travel because of the distances. Mirza Haidar at one place mentions that the difficulties of travelling in the mountainous regions are due to the scarcity of provisions and the terrible severity of the cold, while the roughness of the paths is almost beyond conception. Thus one can understand that in the presence of easier routes, between Kashmir and Badakhshan which were via Pakli, Attock and Kabul, this route remained little known and unfrequented throughout history.
4.1.8 Kashmir-Kishtwar Route

The territory of Kishtwar, which lay on the south-east of the Kashmir Valley was an independent state during the times of Early Mughals, prior to its subjugation during the times of Jahangir (1620). Even after defeating and capturing the Raja of Kishtwar, Jahangir did not include the territory in the Mughal Empire. However, Kishtwar became a suzerain state of Mughals. Though Kashmir is separated from Kishtwar by the Pir Panjal range, this region had developed linkages through its passes.

The routes between Kashmir and Kishtwar have been described in Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri. This description is based on the expedition of Dilawar Khan, the Governor of Kashmir, to Kishtwar in 1620. The route between Srinagar and Desu is not given in the Tuzuk as the routes in the valley of Kashmir have been well established. According to Jahangir, Dilawar Khan started from Srinagar with a force of "10,000 horse and foot, to conquer Kishtwar". He left one of his brother with a force at Desu, (see Map 4.11) which is near the Kotal (Pass) of Pir Panjal. He divided his

225 T.J., II, pp. 135-140.
227 Ibid. The village is situated on the right bank of the Brinnar stream at the foot of the western slope of Chingam (Sinthan) pass.
228 Ibid. From Desu they could have reached Kishtwar at least through three passes e.g. Sinthan or Chingan, Singpur or Marbal and Kin Gali.
KASHMIR-KISHTWAR ROUTE
Based on Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri
1620

Map 4.11
forces at Desu into three divisions. He himself marched with a force by the road of Sanginpur and send his son Jalal, with a force as an advanced guard to his own force. The road between Desu and Kishtwar was not suitable for the horses, but by way of precaution, Dilawar took some with him but left nearly all his sipahi's horses behind, and sent them to Kashmir (Srinagar).

The forces of Jalal and Jamal which had been sent by two different roads reached Narkot, one of the enemy's strongholds. But forces of Kishtwar at Narkot could resist the power of Mughal forces and were forced to retreat. The army then moved on to the Maru river. There a battle was fought in which the Raja's forces were defeated. After this defeat, Raja crossed the river "by a bridge and stopped

---

229 Ibid. It is Singpur pass. The pass on the Pir Panjal range is located at an altitude of 11,550 feet above sea level. It is also known as Marbal.

230 Ibid. Jalal must have followed the Sinthan pass route which is the most direct between Desu and Kishtwar.

231 The routes and more so, the bridges on the rivers in this area were not practicable for the horses.

232 T.J., II, p. 136. The village is situated near the top of spur above the right bank of Kidar Khol stream.

233 Ibid. Maru is tributary of Chandra Bhaga river.

234 It was not possible for the Mughal army to cross the river without the bridge. Jahangir gives, in detail, the description of the attempts made by the soldiers of Dilawar Khan to cross the river.
at Bhandarkot, which is on the other side". The forces of the Raja made the crossing of the river impossible for the Mughals by breaking down the planking of the bridge.\textsuperscript{235} It took Mughal forces months to cross the Chenab river by constructing a Zampah,\textsuperscript{236} secretly during the night.

The Raja was made prisoner. All his people fled. Dilawar Khan crossed the river with the victorious army and went to Mandal Badr,\textsuperscript{237} which was the capital of the country, and was 3 koss from the river.

4.2 THE ROUTES OF FIRST ORDER

In the absence of consistent information and date on the flow of traffic and goods on the routes during the period of the Early Mughals, it is not possible to use any quantitative method to ascertain the route hierarchy in the region. But with the help of the information collected, it is possible to state with some certainty that the areas of attraction or perennial nuclear regions, because of favourable physical conditions, were more suitable for the development of agriculture. As has already been mentioned, favourable conditions helped the communities living in these

\textsuperscript{235} T.J., II, p. 137.

\textsuperscript{236} Ibid. For Rope bridges please see the section 3.3.1.1.

\textsuperscript{237} Ibid., p. 138. There is no place of this name at present. The location of the Mandal Badr seems to tally with the location of the settlement of Mughal Maidan, present town of Kishtwar lies further south.
areas to produce more than their own consumption and hence created some surplus which led to development of industries and allied activities in these regions.

Relatively speaking, the areas of attraction were economically better off and their diversified socio-physical base led them to produce different commodities in varying quantities. This disparate production of various commodities coupled with the existence of surplus and deficit regions led to the establishment of close links between the areas of attraction. Apart from these economic reasons some political and administrative factors also necessitated the loser links between these areas of attraction which also became administrative regions by this time. As has already been observed the frontiers of Mughal Empire; Kabul and Qandahar were exposed to powerful Uzbeks and Persian. To keep them under control, it was necessary for the Mughals to keep closer contacts with these regions. It was because of this region that Akbar and later Jahangir stayed in Lahor for years instead of living in Delhi or Agra.

Thus there is strong evidence to posit that the areas of attraction during the period under study were closely linked with one another and the routes connecting them may be called as the routes of the First Order. Two routes of this region may be put into this category e.g., Kabul-Delhi/Agra route and Kabul-Qandahar route. The Kabul-Delhi/Agra route was connecting most of the areas of attraction of the
period. Starting from west, it connected the Kabul region with the Nagarhara or the Jalalabad region, then the Gandhara or the Peshawar region and then across the Indus, the Upper Indus Plains or the Punjab region which in their turn were closely linked with Delhi-Agra axis.

The other route i.e. between Kabul-Qandahar was in a way the extension of Delhi/Agra-Kabul route but Qandahar remained with the Mughals for only a brief period and the control of the Mughals over this route was never complete. The Kabul-Qandahar route passed through the Ghazni region, which with all its economic limitation has been identified as an area of attraction, mainly due to its location.

4.2.1 Kabul-Delhi/Agra Route

The Kabul-Delhi or Kabul-Agra route has been the most important route in North-West India, during the period of the Early Mughals, due to obvious reasons. This route linked Kabul, the suba headquarter as well as a commercial and trade centre of prime significance, with the changing capitals of Hindustan and attracted caravans from all the surrounding countries. During the period under study the capital of India changed many times. Delhi was the capital of Hindustan for short durations during the periods of Babar, Humayun and Akbar. Agra and Fatehpur Sikri became the capitals during the period of Akbar who finally made Lahor, his capital city during his stay in it between 1585-
1598. Lahor also remained the Mughal capital of Hindustan during the period of Jahangir. Thus, the Kabul-Delhi/Agra route remained most strategic throughout the period under study.

This long route may be divided into three sectors for a better understanding. Though the division is superficial but it gives an idea of the basis of the changing fortunes of trade and communication on this route. For instance Kabul-Attock sector of this route in many ways was different, from the Attock-Lahor or Lahor-Delhi/Agra sectors of the routes. Physically speaking the Kabul river basin, through which Kabul-Attock sector passes is a thoroughly rugged region. The Attock-Lahor sector, mostly passes through Potwar Plateau, while Lahor-Delhi/Agra sector passes through a dead plain. Moreover, during most of the period under study the Kabul-Attock sector of the route was not under the direct control of the Kings of Hindustan. Since this whole route was not under the control of one ruler, its administration and maintenance was never satisfactory.

Babar knew the Kabul-Attock sector of this route very well as he was ruling the Kabul region since 1504. During the times of Humayun, when he was the King of Hindustan, the Kabul region and hence the Kabul-Attock sector of the route was under the control of his brother Kamran. After the defeat of Humayun, the Kabul-Attock sector of the route remained under the rule of the Mughals i.e. Kamran and
Humayun, though Hindustan was not under their control. After the death of Humayun, Akbar's brother, Mirza Hakim, got the Kabul region and it was only after the death of Mirza Hakim in 1585 that the whole route came into the effective control of Akbar.

It is interesting to note that Akbar immediately though unofficially shifted his capital to Lahor to take care of this route and to consolidate and conquer the territories of Sind, Kashmir, Balochistan and Qandahar. He returned to Agra in 1598 only after consolidating the North-West India and establishing full control over the Kabul-Attock sector of this route. The route was subsequently almost secure for trade and travel. This was no mean achievement. It was significant duly politically but also from the economic point of view as this route was handling almost all the overland foreign trade of the Mughal Empire because the sea route was by now under the control of the Europeans.

The relative significance of this route further increased with the decline of the Multan-Qandahar route, which perhaps was the most important route of the early medieval period linking India with Persia and countries west of it. The decline of Multan-Qandahar coincided with the construction or renovation of the Bengal-Peshawar route (known as the Grand Trunk Road) by Sher Shah Suri. Sher Shah and after him Akbar and Jahangir continuously improved
the travel conditions on this route, by constructing sarais at reasonable intervals; digging wells, putting mile (Kosa) stones on the route and planting trees on both sides of the route for shade.

This route, however, was never free of problems and hazards. The most significant problem, it seems, on the route was not due to the physical conditions of the route but the hostile attitude of the tribals, through whose homelands this route passed. It seems, from the sources consulted that, there were many tribal groups lying along the route, and perhaps only waiting for the caravans to come to be plundered by them. Some of the important tribal groups lying along the Kabul-Lahor sector of the route were; Khizr Khail, south of Jalalabad; Afridis near Bara (south of Pesha­war); Yusufzai, in Swat region; Khatur and Dilazak near Attock, east of Indus; Chakkar (Kakar) in Potwar Plateau and Koh-i-Jud; and Gujjar in the neighbourhood of Gujrat. According to the accounts of the Kings or their chroniclers these tribal groups were thoroughly plundered time and again but were not prepared to mend their habits. The reasons could be two-fold. Firstly the tribals, who lived in solution for centuries, were not really interested in any outside influence, which could change their social structure; and secondly, the tribals, as mentioned earlier, were occupying the areas of isolation or the areas of relative isolation. In both cases, the physical conditions of their homelands were not
suitable for economic development. Moreover they were exposed to natural hazards. Thus it was economic compulsion rather than their hostile attitude which forced them to capture what ever they could get from travellers and traders. Their plunder by the forces of Kings, must have increased their misery and hence forced them again to recover their loss from travellers. It seems that even a King like Akbar, intelligent, liberal, foresighted and considerate, could not understand the real problems of these tribal groups. Thus the problem of tribal unrest could not be solved. Akbar and Jahangir could only manage to control this problem for some time.

At this point, it is necessary to make it clear that the Khaibar-pass route was not the only way to reach the Indus from the city of Kabul. Caroe considers it improbable that with unbridged rivers, the Khaibar route would have been the easiest, or even the most direct, between the places named. It is interesting to note that prior to Babar's final invasion to India in 1525, the route which invaders used to reach Indus from Kabul was not the Khaibar-pass route. According to some scholars, former invaders of India, who based their operation on Kabul (and there have been many of them, from Greek Alexander to the Turk Babar) preferred this line (north of Kabul river, through Swat region) to Khaibar and invariably prefaced the advance of Delhi by the preliminary subjugation of Bajaur, which lay on the frank
of their advance. Thus it is clear that it was only during the period of the Early Mughals that Khaibar-pass route emerged as the national highway-linking Kabul with Delhi/Agra and even further.

During the period of Early Mughals, the Kabul-Delhi/Agra routes were traversed most. All the Early Mughals travelled through this route; though the detailed account of all their journeys is not available to help in the reconstruction of route maps. However, with the help of available accounts of their journey, it is not difficult to observe a certain pattern emerging in their travels. Unfortunately, though there are various reference to the caravans passing through this route in the contemporary sources, no travel accounts are available of these journeys. William Finch who has written about the route between Agra and Kabul, describes the Agra-Lahor sector, on which he had travelled, in some detail, but only mentions the stages for the rest of the route.

Based on contemporary sources, the following journeys or expeditions have been mapped and described:
2. Babar’s Expedition against Yusufzais of Swat (1519).
3. Babar’s Final Expedition into Hindustan (1525).
4. Humayun’s Expedition to Hindustan (1554-55).
5. Akbar’s Expedition to Kabul (1581).
6. Akbar’s Expedition to Attock (1585-86).
7. Akbar’s Expedition from Kabul to Lahor (1589-90).
8. Jahangir's Expedition to Kabul (1607).

4.2.1.1 Babar's Expedition to Bhira and Khushab (1519)

Though Babar traversed the Kabul-Begram sector of the Kabul-Delhi route many times, it was only in 1519 that he ultimately crossed the Indus river. This was Babar's second campaign to Hindustan, in which the aim was to conquer Bhira-Khushab regions. These regions of Punjab were conquered by Timur and remained in Timurid possession till 1504. Babar had his own justification to conquer these territories. Babar's campaign against Bhira and Khushab was not a planned one, as before his crossing of Indus we found him in the Swat region\textsuperscript{238} capturing Bajaur fort and establishing his mastery over the Swat region. Ever since Babar conquered Kabul he had a wish to capture these territories. He mentions, "ever since we came into Kabul it had been in my mind to move on Hindustan, but this had not been done for a variety of reasons".\textsuperscript{239} Babar also decided to conquer the Bhira and Khushab regions when from the conquest of Bajaur and subjugation of tribals of Swat they could get nothing substantial. He himself mentions that "nothing to count had

\textsuperscript{238} There is a break of nearly 11 years (1508 to 1519 AD) in Babar's autobiography, which was not intended, he was trying to compose the annals of 1508 before his last illness and death. (Beveridge's note BN, p. 347).

\textsuperscript{239} BN, pp. 377-378.
fallen into soldier's hand during the three or four months." 240
That is why Babar thought that "something might fall into
their hands if riding light they suddenly reach Bhira." 241
Babar's well-wishers, however, tried to pursue him not to
invade Hindustan, when they reached Maqam. 242 Their argu-
ment was that as "one part of the army stayed behind in
Kabul; a body of effective braves was left behind in Bajaura;
a good part of this army has gone into Lamghan because its
horses were worn-out; and the horses of those who had came
this for, are so poor that they have not a day's hard riding
in them." 243 Babar although found these arguments rea-
sonable, did not change his plan to cross the Indus, perhaps
mainly due to economic compulsions and sent Mir Muhammad
the raftman, with some others to examine the Sind (darya)
above and below the ford. 244

From Maqam (Mardan) Babar went for hunting of rhino-
ceroses on the Swati side (see Map 4.12A) which was known

240 BN, p. 378.
241 Ibid.
242 Ibid., p. 377. It is possibly Mardan of the maps. It lies some 39 miles north-west of Attock and 33 miles
north-east of Peshawar or Bagram. It was chief towns
of Samah region (Gazetteer of the NWF, II, p. 707).
243 BN, p. 378.
244 Ibid. The ford referred to here is the Hund or Ohid
ford. The village of Hund is situated on the right
bank of the river Indus about 16 miles above its
junction with the Kabul river (for more details please
see the section 3.2.2).
KABUL-DELHI ROUTE
(BEGRAM-KHUSHAB SECTOR)
Based On Babar Nama
1519

Map 4·12A
as Karg-Khana\textsuperscript{245} (Rhino-home). On the 17th February 1519, the horses and baggage camels crossed through the ford and the camp bazar and foot soldiers were put over on rafts. They, after crossing the river\textsuperscript{246} by after-noon, went on until one watch of the night had passed (about 9 p.m.) and subsequently dismounted near the water of Kacha-kot.\textsuperscript{247}

Marching on the next day they crossed the Kacha-Kot water and after passing Sangdaki-pass\textsuperscript{248} dismounted. They started from there at dawn and crossing the Suhan-water\textsuperscript{249} they dismounted at the Mid-day Prayer. Those behind kept coming in till midnight. It was indeed a very long and tiresome journey and even Babar realized it as he mentions "the march had been mighty long and as many horses were weak and out of condition, a great number were left on the road."\textsuperscript{250}

From this camp they marched next day and dismounted at the

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{245} Ibid. The name is mispelled as it is infact Swabi. According to Caroe, the scene of exploit may have been the Razzar reed-bed, new largely cleared or the low hills of Topi towards the River Indus (The Pathans, p. 162). The rhinoceros, however, no more are found west of Indus.
\item \textsuperscript{246} Ibid., pp. 378-379. Please see the section on fords, 3.2.2.
\item \textsuperscript{247} Ibid., p. 379. The Kacha-Kot or Haru river is a small tributary of Indus.
\item \textsuperscript{248} Ibid. It is not possible to identify this pass. But it is a certain that Babar might have turned sharp south after crossing the Kacha-Kot river as he reached the pass and Suhan river so soon.
\item \textsuperscript{249} Ibid. It is a tributary of Sind river which is generally fordable.
\item \textsuperscript{250} Ibid.
\end{itemize}
Mid-day Prayer amongst fields of densely growing corn in Kalda-Kahar, which according to Babar was some 20 miles north of Bhira, a level land shut in amongst the Jud mountains.

They rode from Kalda-Kahar at dawn next day and when they reached the top of the Hamtatu pass a few local people waited on him bringing a humble gift. They dismounted near the foot of the pass at breakfast-time and then moved again and dismounted on the east of Bhira on the bank of the Behat. Babar, at this point, describes the history of Bhira and Khushab regions to justify his claim on the region. On 22nd February, Babar visited Bhira and on the next day the headmen and Chauderis of Bhira were summoned and a sum of 400,000 shahrukhis were agreed on as the price of peace, and collectors were appointed. On

251 Ibid., p. 381. It is Kallar Kahar of modern maps. There is lake of the same name. Babar must have stayed near the lake.

252 Ibid., p. 379. Babar describes the Koh-i-Jud or Salt range at length and tried to explain how the range got its name from the tribe Jud which dwell in the region.

253 Ibid., p. 381. It is not possible to identify this pass.

254 Ibid. Bhira is situated on the left bank of the Behat river has been a flourishing commercial town.

255 Ibid., pp. 381-388. Babar describe how the region was under the control of descendents of Timur. Khushab Town lies on the right bank of river Bihar. Between Bhira and Khushab the river is navigable.

256 BN, p. 383.
27th, so much rain fell that water covered all the plain.
A small brackish stream flowing between Bhira and the garden
in which the army lay had become like a great river.257
They had to abandon the camp. Boats were brought from the
river and in these boats most of the army brought their tents
and baggage over. They ultimately found a ford two miles
from the earlier one and rest of them crossed the river.258

After setting the affairs of Bhira-Khushab region
and sending an envoy, for peace to Ibrahim Lodi.259 Babar
marched towards Kabul on 13th March.260 They dismounted in
Kaldah-Kahar, where the next day Janjuhas, the old foes of
the Kakars261 came and requested Babar to take action against
Hatikakar as he was a bad man and had killed his brother,
Tatar Kakar a few days earlier. Babar agreed to punish Hati,
who had his quarter at Parhala.262 They reached Parhala
next day and entered the fort after some resistance from
Hati Kakar. After setting the affairs of Kakar's (Ghakkar's)

257 Ibid., p. 384.
258 Ibid.
259 Ibid.
260 Ibid., p. 382.
261 Ibid., p. 389. The tribe is better known as Ghakkar.
Their territory has already been discussed.
262 Ibid., p. 390. Pharhala lies on the eastern bank of
one of the tributary of Suhan river on the ridge of
the hill south of Rawalpindi.
territory they moved towards the camp and reached there on 19th March. Next day marching from that camp at beat of drum (i.e. one hour before day) they dismounted at breakfast time below Sangdaki-pass. At mid-day they crossed this pass, crossed the torrent and dismounted on the rising ground. Marching from there they crossed the Indus.

Proceeding from the camp (on the Indus) on 26th March they reached Bagram and went to see Gur-Khattri (see Map 4.12B). On the next day when they dismounted at Ali-masjid, a Dilazak Afghan of Yaqub-Khail brought an offering. Marching from Ali-masjid they dismounted at Yadabir and from there they reached Jui-shahi the same day.

263 Ibid., p. 391.
264 Ibid., p. 392.
265 Ibid. The detail of the crossing of the Indus has already been discussed (3.2.2).
266 Ibid., p. 394. Bagram was the name of Chief City of the Parshawar district of Babar. It was only during the times of Akbar that district also known as Bagram.
267 Ibid. A holy place for Jogis and Hindus who used to come from long distances to shave their heads and beards there (BN, p. 230).
268 Ibid. Ali Masjid at an altitude of 2,433 feet above sea level is located at the commanding centre of the Khaiber Pass. The route between Ali Masjid and Jamrud starting point of the pass in fact, follows the true Khaiber only for a short distance. The pass beyond Ali Masjid is but a narrow gorge between precipitous Cliffs and steep rocky mountain sides. For Khaiber pass see section 3.2.1.3.
269 Ibid. The location of Yadabir is shown approximately.
270 Ibid. Though it is not possible to locate the posi-
KABUL-DELHI ROUTE

KABUL-BEGRAM SECTOR
Based on Babar Nama
1519

Map 4.12.B
by the Mid-day Prayer and then dismounted. On 29th marching from Jui-shahi at dawn, they ate their mid-day meal in the Bagh-i-wafa. At the Mid-day Prayer they started from there and about the evening Prayer time forded the Siyah-ab at Gandamak and after crossing the Surkh-ab they

271 Ibid. According to Babar, the Bagh-i-wafa (Garden-of-fidelity) was laid out by in him in 1508-9 on a rising ground-facing south and having the Surkh-rud between it and fort Adinapur (BN, p. 208). The Bagh-i-wafa remained prominent throughout the period under study. During the journeys made by Babar, Akbar, Jahangir and perhaps Humayun, Bagh-i-wafa (Bagh Wafa) was always a halting place. It was perhaps, laid down just across the Surkh-rud, opposite Adinapur and now known as Bala Bagh.

272 Ibid. Perhaps the tributary of Surkhab along which Gandamak is located has been referred to as Sujab-ab. A bridge was constructed, perhaps, at this point, during the times of Shahjahan (Habib, Atlas, Sheet IA-B).

273 Ibid. Gandamak has been one of the most important place on the Kabul-Attock route and as mentioned above the earlier the travellers had to ford the river near it before a bridge was constructed on it.

274 Ibid., p. 395. Surkh-ab is the most important tributary of Kabul river, from the south. The Surkh-ab's deltaic mouth was a land of gardens. A bridge was also constructed on this river during the times of Shahjahan and perhaps was at the same place which is shown on the maps as Surkhpul.
dismounted at Kark\(^{275}\) and took a sleep. Riding before shoot of the day from Kark, Babar went with 5 or 6 others by the road taking off for Qara-tu\(^{276}\) in order to enjoy the sight of a garden there. The rest of the party went by the other road to await him at Quruq-sai.\(^{277}\) They reached Kabul at the Mid-day Prayer on 30th March.\(^{278}\) The distance

\(\text{Ibid.}\) The approximate location of the Kark has been shown on the map. It might be close the Pezwan Pass on the main road between Candamak and Jagdalak.

\(\text{Ibid.}\) Qara means dark and the literal meaning of Qara-tu is dark town. Though it is not possible to locate Qara-tu because apart from Babar Nama no other sources (which have been consulted) throw any light on the location of this pass. In Babar Nama, however there are various references to Qara-tu and Quruq-sai as they were along the alternative route between Jagdalak and Kabul. With the help of all these references to these place it is possible to locate the approximate position of Qara-tu and Quruq-sai.

\(\text{Ibid.}\) There are various references to Quruq-sai in Babar Nama to show its approximate location near Qara-tu. At one place Babar mentions that he established a settlement at Qara-tu below Quruq-sai (BN, p. 208). At another place Babar mentions that from Jagdalik he made "an excursion up the Valley-bottom of the Barik-ab towards Quruq-sai." (BN, p. 414). Babar also mentions about a route between Kabul and Mandrawar through Quruq-sai in these words "if people come by Quruq-sai, one road goes on through the Diri-pass, crosses the Baran water at Bulan, and so on into the Lamghanant" (BN, p. 209). There is at least one reference to Quruq-sai in AN (III, p. 534) but does not throw any light on the exact location of the place. However, with the help of above references to Quruq-sai it is not difficult to locate it on the western side of Bakik-ab valley on the road leading to Kabul Khurd.

\(\text{Ibid.}\) As compared to other marches between Indus and Kabul this journey of Babar was extremely fast.
between Indus river and Kabul was covered by Babar only in four and a half days.

4.2.1.2 Babar's Expedition Against Yusufzais of Swat (1519)

Babar started from Kabul determined to check and ward off the Yusufzais²⁷⁹ of Swat, changed his plan on the way and returned only after plundering Yusufzais of Hashtnagar. Thus, this expedition of Babar throws more light on the Kabul-Begram (Purshawar) sector of the Delhi-Kabul route and hence has been included in this section. This expedition of Babar provides perhaps the most detailed account of the halting stages on the route since Babar travelled leisurely stage by stage.

Babar started from Kabul on Thursday, the 8th September 1519 and dismounted in the meadow on the Dih-i-yaqub side of Kabul.²⁸⁰ Babar had to stay there for a few days due to the dislocation of his right thumb and marching on Wednesday the 14th September, he passed through But-Khak²⁸¹

²⁷⁹ BN, pp. 408-409.
²⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 409. There are quite a few references to this (Dih-i-yaqub) place in Babar Nama but without the map of the city of Kabul it is not possible to locate it. It is however, clear that it was in the environs of Kabul (BN, p. 200 f.n. 4).
²⁸¹ Ibid. But-Khak lies 12 miles east of Kabul on the Kabul-Attock route. This was one of the most constant halting place on this route being one stage before Kabul.
(see Map 4.13) and as usual dismounted on But-Khak water. On Friday he dismounted at Badam-ehashma. Next day, the party dismounted on the Barik-āb, but Babar reached the camp after a visit to Qara-tū. From Barik-āb they went on march by march till Wednesday, the 20th September and dismounted in the Bagh-i-wafa where they stayed the next day. On Friday they marched out and dismounted beyond Sultanpur. At this place Dilazak Chiefs came and informed

282 Ibid. Beveridge identified it with Luhugur (Logar) and say that according to tradition, But-Khak (idol dust) was so named because there Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni had idols, brought by him out of Hindustan pounded to dust (BN, p. 409, f.n. 3). The identification of But-Khak water with Loghar stream however, is incorrect as Babar must have already crossed Loghar before reaching But-Khak as it lies west of the settlement. There is a stream east of But-Khak, Babar might be referring to that as But-Khak water.

283 Ibid. Badam-chashma was located between But-Khak and Barik-āb on the main road. The pass of Badam-chashma (BN, p. 208) was perhaps Lata band pass of modern maps as suggested by its location on the main road.

284 Ibid. Barik-āb is an affluent of Kabul river and the settlement of the same is along its eastern bank about 47 miles from Kabul. It has been a constant halting place during the journeys recorded in the period under study.

285 Ibid.

286 Ibid. Babar must have stayed at Jagalak and Gandamak in between Barik-āb and Bagh-i-wafa.

287 Ibid. Though it is not possible to identify and locate Sultanpur, perhaps, it has disappeared in due course of time. But it is clear from the references to it that Sultanpur was located between Bagh-i-wafa and Jalalabad. As noted earlier, with the emergence of Jalalabad as a prominent settlement with Daroga's seat in it, during the period of Akbar, Jui-shahi lost its significance. The same may be said about Sultanpur, which lost its significance during the second half of the sixteenth century.
KABUL-SWAT ROUTE
Based on Babar Nama
1519
Babar that "there was a large horde (aulus) in Hash-naghar and that much corn was to be had there." Babar consulted his nobles and after the meeting it was decided that, "As... there is much corn in Hash-naghar, the Afghans there shall be over-run; the forts of Hash-naghar and Parashawar shall be put into order; part of the corn shall be stored in them and they be left in charge of Shah Mir Husain and a body of braves. 289

Marching on next day, they reached Jui-shahi and dismounted there. 290 On Sunday, the 25th September they marched from Jui-shahi and dismounted at Qiriq-ariq 291 (forty conduits). On Monday they started at dawn from there and dismounted at Garm-chashma 292 and resuming their journey again, encamped at Yada-bir. 293 Riding on the next morning, they dismounted below the Khaibar-pass. 294 Bayazid came there by the Bara-road after hearing about Babar's arrival there. He brought the information that "the Afridi Afghans were seated in Bara with their goods... and that they had grown a mass

288 BN, p. 410.
289 Ibid.
290 Ibid.
291 Ibid. It is not possible to identify this place.
292 Ibid., p. 411. Garm-chashma means hot-spring. In the absence of dated maps it is not possible to identify this place or hot spring.
293 Ibid.
294 Ibid.
of corn which was still standing. Babar paid no attention as his plan was to attack Yusuf-zai Afghans of Hash-naghar.

Marching on at dawn across the pass they passed through the Khaibar-narrows and dismounted at Ali-masjid. At the Mid-day Prayer they rode on, leaving the baggage behind, reached the Kabul-water at the second watch (midnight) and there slept awhile. A ford was found at day light, they had forded the water when news came from their scout that the Afghans after hearing their arrival, were in flight. They went on, passed through the Sawad-water and dismounted amongst the Afghan corn-fields. But the outcome of this expedition disappointed Babar as he mentions that "not a half, not a fourth indeed of the promised corn was had". He further writes that "the plan of fitting-up Hash-naghar, made under the hope of getting corn here, came to nothing." However, after the raid, they dismounted after fording the water of Sawad to its Kabul side.

Marching next morning from the Sawad water they crossed the Kabul-water and dismounted. Once again the Begs

295 Ibid.
296 Ibid.
297 Ibid.
298 Ibid.
299 Ibid.
were consulted and it was decided that the Afridi Afghans about whom Bayazid had spoken "should be over-run, Purshawur fort be fitted up on the strength of their goods and corn, and some one left there in charge".\textsuperscript{300} Marching at dawn, in accordance with the arrangement made on the Kabul-water they passed Jam\textsuperscript{301} and dismounted at the outfall of the Ali-masjid water.\textsuperscript{302} But at this place, Babar was informed that the Sultan Said Khan had come with designs on Badakhshan. This forced Babar to change his plans of attacking Afridi Afghans and to victual the fort of Purshawur. He decided to go back.\textsuperscript{303} They marched on next day, crossed Khaibar-pass and dismounted below it.\textsuperscript{304}

From below the pass at day break, they had their mid-day meal in Dih-i-ghulaman (Basaul)\textsuperscript{305} and after feeding their horses rode on again at the Mid-day Prayer. That

\textsuperscript{300} Ibid., p. 412.

\textsuperscript{301} Ibid. It is modern Jamrud, in fact it referred as Jam only by Babar in all other sources, AN, T.J. etc. it is referred to as Jamrud. It has already been mentioned that Jamrud remained important due to its location at the beginning of Khaibar-pass.

\textsuperscript{302} Ibid. According to Beveridge, Massan also describes this place as "a spot where the water supplying the revelet (of Ali-masjid) gushes in a large volume from the rocks to the left." (\textit{BN}, p. 412, f.n. 1).

\textsuperscript{303} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{304} Ibid., p. 413.

\textsuperscript{305} Ibid. According to Beveridge Manucci gives an account of this place (\textit{BN}, p. 413, f.n. 1). Jahangir stayed at a place Basawal in 1607 on his way to Kabul.
night they moved on till the second watch (mid-night) got a little beyond Sultanpur, there they slept a while, then rode on again to raid the Khizr-khail Afghans, who were understood to have their seat from Bahar and Mich-gram to Kara-su. Babar earlier justified the attack on Khizr-khail Afghan in these words. "Many improper things the Khizr-khail had done! when the army went to, and fro, they used to shoot at the laggards and those dismounted apart, in order to get their horses. It seemed lawful therefore and right to punish them." Anyway the army reached the homelands of the Khizr-khail and captured their goods and small children. Next day they dismounted at Qilaghu, where owing to this punitive raid, the Waziri Afghans who never had given their tribute well, brought 300 sheep.

On Tuesday, the 10th October came Afghan Chiefs leading the Khirilchi (and) Samu-khail. The Dilazak Afghans entreated pardon for them, Babar pardoned them and set the captured free. Their tribute was fixed at 4000 sheep.

---

306 Ibid.
307 Ibid.
308 Ibid.
309 Ibid.
310 Ibid. It is possibly, Qala Ghato of 19th century maps and Gata Qala of modern maps.
311 Ibid.
312 Ibid.
After setting these matters they marched on Thursday and dismounted at Bahar (Vihara?) and Mich-gram. The next day they went to the Bagh-i-wafa and enjoyed its beauty. They started from the garden on Monday and dismounted at Gandamak. Next day they dismounted at Jagdalik and from there Babar made an excursion up the valley-bottom of the Barik-ab towards Quruq-sai. From this place Mulla Abdul Malik Diwana was sent ahead to take the news of Babar's arrival into Kabul. At sun-set they rode off and reached Kabul at midnight.

4.2.1.3 Babar's Final Expedition into Hindustan (1525)

After the expedition to Bhira and Khushab in 1519, Babar raided Punjab again in 1520 and 1524. It is not possible to reconstruct the route of these two campaigns as

---

313 BN, p. 414. Location of Bahar is shown in some of the nineteenth century maps. However, it is not possible to identify Mich-gram, which must be close by.

314 Ibid.

315 Ibid.

316 Ibid. It is about 24 miles from Gandamak. The distance from Kabul by the new road is 58 miles and by the old road 66 miles.

317 Ibid.

318 Ibid., p. 415.

319 Ibid.
Babar could not complete his biography for this period. The detailed descriptions, however of Babar's fifth and final expedition into Hindustan is available in Babar Nama which enabled us to reconstruct the Kabul-Delhi route for the first time. Babar for this expedition, followed a much northerly route in Attock-Delhi sector, perhaps to avoid any possible clash on his way to Delhi. This fact is significant as it shows that the alternative routes in the plains of Punjab were not difficult to find and follow even by a large army.

Babar started from Kabul for Hindustan on Friday, the 17th November 1525 and crossed the small rise of Yak-langa and dismounted in the meadow to the west of the water of Dih-i-Yaqub. After staying there for two days, for the convenience of the army they marched on, halted one night and then dismounted at Badam-chashma (see Map 4.14 A).

On Wednesday, when they were at Barik-ab, the younger brother of Nur Beg, who himself remained in Hindustan, brought gold ashrafis and tankas to the value of 20,000 shahrukhis, sent from the Lahor revenues by Khwaja Husain. On Friday, the

320 Though Babar gives somewhat different reason for adopting this unusual route for the expedition.

321 BN, p. 445. According to Beveridge "This is the Logar affluent of the Baran-water (Kabul river) Masson describes this halting-place" (BN, p. 445, f.n. 2).

322 BN, p. 446.
KABUL-DELHI ROUTE
KABUL-ATTOCK SECTOR
Based on Babar Nama
1525

Map 4.14 A
24th November they dismounted at Gandamak\textsuperscript{323} and the next day halted at Bagh-i-wafa\textsuperscript{324} and stayed there for few days, waiting for Humayun's arrival.

On Sunday, the 3rd December, Humayun arrived in the morning and they marched in the evening and dismounted in a newly laid garden between Sultanpur and Khwaja Rustam.\textsuperscript{325} Marching on Wednesday they got on the raft and reached Qushgumbas\textsuperscript{326} to join the camp. Starting off the camp at dawn, Babar with few companions went on a raft and there ate some confectionary (majun). When Babar reached Giriq-ariq from this excursion, which has always been their encamping ground, he found no sign or trace of the camp.\textsuperscript{327} Babar thought that "Garm-chashma (Hot spring) is close by; they may have dismounted there."\textsuperscript{328} So they moved from Giriq-ariq, but by the time they reached Garm-chashma it was too

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{323} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{324} Ibid., p. 447.
\item \textsuperscript{325} Ibid. It is not possible to locate Khwaja Rustam's position in any of the maps or any other reference to this place in any of the source. The place is however has been shown without locating its exact position.
\item \textsuperscript{326} Ibid. "Bird's dome, opposite the mouth of Kunar water S.A. War, Map p. 64" Beveridge BN, p. 229 (f.n. 4). The map mentioned by Beveridge is not available to us so it is not possible to show its exact position.
\item \textsuperscript{327} BN, p. 448.
\item \textsuperscript{328} Ibid.
\end{itemize}
late so they tied up the raft and slept awhile.\footnote{329} At the day-break they reached Yada-bir,\footnote{330} where after sometime, army-folks began to come in. Babar realised that when he reached Qiriq-ariq in search of a camp, it must have been there but out of his sight. Marching on that evening, they dismounted at Ali-masjid.\footnote{331} About the camping ground Babar mentions that, "the ground here being very confined, always used to dismount on a rise overlooking the camp in the valley bottom. The camp fires made a wonderful illumination there at night."\footnote{332} Next day they dismounted near Bigrum\footnote{333} (Peshawar), where the camp remained next day, Babar went to Karg-awi\footnote{334} on the 11th December. They dismounted on the Kabul-water.\footnote{335} With two night halts on the way they reached the water of Sind\footnote{336} (Indus) and there dismounted on Thursday.

On Saturday, the 16th December, they crossed the Sind-water, then crossed the water of Kacha-kot (Haru) and dis-
mounted on the bank of the river (see Map 4.14 B). The bega, pay-masters and diwans who had been put in charge of the boats, reported to Babar that "the number of those came with the army, great and small, good and bad, retainer and non-retainer, was written down as 12,900." They had made five marches from the Sind-water; after the sixth, they dismounted on a torrent, in the camping ground of the Bugial below Balmath Jogis hill which connects with the Hill of Jud. About the five early marches Babar mentions that "the rainfall had been somewhat scant in the plains, but seemed to have been good in the cultivated lands along the hill-skirts, for these reasons we took the road for Sialkot along the skirt-hills." Opposite Hati Kakar's country we came upon a torrent, the waters of which were

337 Ibid. Beveridge, suggests that Babar might have encamped near the Indus, after crossing the Haru river, as the word used for the river is darya, which he uses only for large rivers. (BN, p. 454, f.n. 1).

338 BN, p. 452.

339 This is Kakar (Gakkar) clan known as Baragowah. Located in the same area during the times Jahangir also.

340 BN, p. 452. A notable place in the salt range, not only due to its ancient sanctity and of its being resorted to by the devotees from all parts of India, but also because of its geological formation, the elevation and consequent coolness of the climate. It remained prominent also due to its location near the Jhelum ford.

341 As mentioned earlier Babar gives, climatic rather than strategic reason for his adopting a route along the sub-mountain region rather than more established route, passing through Lahor etc.

342 Beveridge, thinks that presumably this was near Par-
KABUL-DELHI ROUTE
Attock-Delhi Sector
Based on Babar Nama
1525

Map 4.14B
standing in pools. These pools were all frozen ever".343

Marching on, they crossed the Bihat water at a ford
below Jilam (Hihlam) and there dismounted.344 From this
place Babar sent off two messengers to Lahor with the
message "do not join battle; meet us at Sialkot345 or Par­
srur."346 After this they moved forward, halted one night,
the next dismounted on the bank of the Chinab (Chan-ab).
Babar mentions that, "As Buhlulpur347 was Khalsa, we left
the road to visit it. Its fort is situated above a deep

Cont'd... f.n. 342

hala, which stands, where the Suhan river quits the
hills, at the eastern entrance of a wild and rocky
gorge a mile in length". BN, p. 452 (f.n. 2) Babar
visited this place in 1519.

343 BN, p. 452.

344 Ibid., p. 453. The modern town of Jhelum is located
in the western or right bank of the Jhelum (Behat)
river about one hundred miles north west of Lahor.

345 Sialkot is an ancient town and according to tradi­
tion the town was founded by Raja Shal, mentioned in
the Mahabharat, as an uncle of the Pandava princes.
It lies about 22 miles from Jammu.

346 Ibid. It is Pasrur of modern maps. It is about 20
miles south-east of Sialkot. It became an important
town during the times of the emperor Jahangir, who
constructed a large tank and a canal to supply it
with water.

347 Its name suggest, that it was established or renamed
by Bahlul Lodi. It is mentioned in Ain and located
on large maps west of Chenab.
ravine, on the bank of Chin-ab". From Buhlulpur they went to camp by boat.

On Friday, 29th December, they dismounted at Sialkot where a person came from the Labor begs to say that they would arrive early next morning to await on Babar. Marching early next day, they dismounted at Parsur. From Parsur they reached Kalanur on the next day and from there they crossed the Biah-water (Beas) opposite Kanwahin and dismounted. From there they marched to the foot of the valley of Fort Milwat and captured the fort. Marching on, they crossed a low hill of the grazing ground of Milwat and went into the (Jaswan) dun. From dun they reached Rupar, it rained very much and became so cold that a mass of starved and naked Hindustanis died mentions Babar.

---

348 BN, p. 454.
349 Ibid., p. 458. The town of Kalanaur was a place of great importance during 14th to 16th century. It was at this place that Akbar got the news of Humayun's death.
350 Ibid. Probably it is Kahnuwan of modern maps.
351 Ibid., p. 459. There are some fine old temples with most Chaste Ionic or Greaco-Indian fluted columns at least 2000 years old, situated on the edge of a stupendous precipice, and making a most extensive view of Chenab, Jhelum and Ravi Valleys. (Ross, David, The Land of the Five rivers and Sindh, p. 153).
352 Ibid., p. 461. Babar further mentions that "In this date a running-water of Hindustan, along its sides are many villages; and it is said to be the pargana of the Jaswal."
353 Ibid., p. 464. Rupar stands on the left bank of the Sutlej and has been an important halting place during the medieval period, due to its location on the bank of the river Sutlej.
354 Ibid.
Their next encamping ground was Karal\(^{355}\) opposite Sirhind. After having halted one night on the way, they dismounted on the bank of the torrent\(^{356}\) of Banur and Sanur, which is known as Kakar (Ghaggar). From the bank of the Ghaggar they encamped at Ambala\(^{357}\) and marching from Ambala they dismounted by the side of a lake. Their next camp was at Shahabad,\(^{358}\) and after halting for two nights, reached the bank of the Jun-river (Kamna) and encamped opposite Sarsawa.\(^{359}\) Babar crossed the Jun-river at a ford and visited Sarsawa. From the encamping ground they marched forward and after halting one night on the way reached Panipat on Thursday, the 12th April 1526.\(^{360}\) After a well-contested battle, Babar defeated the forces of Ibrahim Lodi on 20th April, 1526.\(^{361}\) From Panipat, he moved towards Delhi and reached there on 24th April,\(^{362}\) a few days later became

\(^{355}\) Ibid. Probably it is Kurali, south of Rupar.

\(^{356}\) Ibid. It is Ghaggar in its upper course.

\(^{357}\) Ibid., p. 465. Ambala town is said to have been founded by Amba Rajput during fourteenth century.

\(^{358}\) Ibid., p. 466. It lies south of Ambala and on the left bank of Markanda.

\(^{359}\) Ibid., p. 447. This ancient town of Saharanpur district is associated with a saint revered by Hindus and Muslims.

\(^{360}\) Ibid., p. 469.

\(^{361}\) Ibid., pp. 472-475.

\(^{362}\) Ibid., p. 475.
4.2.1.4 **Humayun's Expedition to Hindustan (1554-55)**

After settling the affairs of Kabul and Qandahar, Humayun started from Kabul to recapture the throne of Hindustan, about the middle of November 1554. Both Abul Fazl, and Jauhar Aftabchi describe this expedition, but in both cases the route between Kabul and Attock has sketchily been discussed and so it is not possible to reconstruct the map of that sector. The account of the expedition provides sufficient information about the route followed by Humayun and his army after the Indus to reach Delhi.

Humayun must have followed the usual route between Kabul and Jalalabad. But from Jalalabad, he went down the river Kabul on a raft upto Begram (Peshawar) where he encamped towards the end of December 1554. On 31st December, they encamped at the bank of river Indus, known as Nilab (see Map 4.15) and stayed there for three days. Bairam Khan, came from Kabul to join the army at this place. Humayun, also got the news that "Tatar Khan Kashi, who had been appointed with a large force to guard the fort of Rohtas".

363 Ibid., p. 476.
365 AN, I, p. 622.
366 The Rohtas stronghold was originally built for the purpose of over powering the warlike and powerful Ghakkar. Sher Shah, is said to have expanded a million and a half in its construction to keep guard.
KABUL-DELHI ROUTE
ATTACK-DELHI SECTOR
Based on Akbar Nama
1554-55
had, in spite of the strength of the fort etc. fled merely on hearing of the uprearing of the royal standards on the borders of the Indus. 367

A letter was sent to Sultan Adam Ghakhar to join the army of Humayun. Adam Ghakhar, humbly declined the offer as he had recently made a treaty with Sikandar Lodhi, who also took Adam's son with him. 368 Humayun, in the mean while, reached the neighbourhood of Parhala, 369 with the hope that Adam Ghakhar will join the army and moved towards Rohtas 370 without him. When they reached Chenab, Humayun ordered to encamp on an elevated ground and from there Shihab Khan and others were sent to Lahor to control the situation. 371 The army then moved on to the town of Kalanur 372 and from this place Bairam Khan and others were sent against Nasib Khan, who was stationed at Harhana (Hariana) 373 while, Humayun himself with the remaining army went on to Lahor and reached there on 24th February 1555. 374

Cont'd. f.n. 366

on Humayun. It is interesting to note that the fort was given up without resistance.

367 AN, I, p. 622.
368 Ibid.
370 AN, I, p. 622.
371 Ibid., p. 623. Aftabchi p. 162. Abul Fazl, however, says that they were despatched from Kalanur.
372 AN, I, p. 623.
373 Ibid., p. 624. Hariana lies north-east of Jalandhar on the foothills.
374 Ibid.
From Lahore, Humayun sent Shah Abul Maali and others to crush Shahbaz Khan who had collected a number of Afghans in Dipalpur to fight the Mughal forces. The Mughal forces defeated the Afghans after a hot engagement. In the mean while when Bairam Khan arrived near Pargana Harhana (Hariana), Nasib Khan Afghan made a small resistance and fled. Bairam Khan reached Jalandhar as instructed. The Afghans there fled without any resistance. Bairam Khan halted in Jalandhar and assigned parganas in the neighbourhood to the various officers and sent them to their several posts. Sikandar Khan was appointed to Maciwara. He presuming that he had it in hand, advanced further, and took possession of Sirhind. Much property fell into his hands. But when the Afghan soldiers came from Delhi, Sikandar Khan left Sirhind and reached Jalandhar. Bairam Khan did not approve of this and asked him to go back to Sirhind.

Sikandar Khan and others on reaching the borders of Pargana Harhana made a small resistance and fled. In the meantime when Bairam Khan arrived near Pargana Harhana, Nasib Khan Afghan made a small resistance and fled. Bairam Khan reached Jalandhar as instructed. The Afghans there fled without any resistance. Bairam Khan halted in Jalandhar and assigned parganas in the neighbourhood to the various officers and sent them to their several posts. Sikandar Khan was appointed to Maciwara. He presuming that he had it in hand, advanced further, and took possession of Sirhind. Much property fell into his hands. But when the Afghan soldiers came from Delhi, Sikandar Khan left Sirhind and reached Jalandhar. Bairam Khan did not approve of this and asked him to go back to Sirhind.

---

375 Ibid. Dipalpur during the medieval times was a prominent town. At the time of Timur's invasion it was second only to Multan in size and importance.

376 Ibid.

377 Ibid., p. 625. The kingdom and city of Jalandhar has always been celebrated for its fertility. It is mentioned by Ptolemy under the name of Kulindrine. Hwen Tsang stayed here for four months. It remained important throughout medieval period.

378 AN, I, p. 625. It is Machiwara of modern maps.

379 Ibid.
Machiwara, did not think it advisable to cross the Sutlej. As the rainy season was near at hand the proper thing to do, they thought "was to secure the ferries and to halt. When the violence of the rain was over, and the air had become temperate, they could cross the river". However, Bairam Khan and some other nobles decided to cross the river at once.

There was a big fight between the Afghans and the Mughals near Machiwara in which Mughal forces pushed Afghans back and proceeded towards Sirhind, where Humayun also reached from Lahor on 29th May. A great battle was fought at Sirhind in which Afghan forces were defeated and Humayun after arranging the matters of Sirhind, proceeded by way of Samana towards Delhi. But on account of the pleasant climate of Samana and the violence of the rains, he ordered a halt there for some days. Humayun reached Delhi on 20th July 1556 and on 23rd entered the city and established himself on the throne.

380 Ibid.
381 Ibid., p. 626.
382 Ibid., p. 627.
383 Ibid., p. 634. It is curious that Humayun moved towards Samana from Sirhind to reach Delhi as Samana is away from the more direct route between Sirhind and Delhi. Humayun must have gone to Samana to wait and observe the political developments after the defeat of Afghans at Sirhind.
384 Ibid.
4.2.1.5 Akbar's Expedition to Kabul (1581)

Mirza Hakim, with the plan to capture the throne of Hindustan, crossed the Indus in the month of December, 1580. His first target was Lahor which he could not capture due to the strong defence of the guard at the fort. Akbar was quite prepared to meet an invasion. He left the capital on 6th February 1581, (see Map 4.16A) with probably the largest army that he had ever led in his life. Father Monserrat who accompanied Akbar on this expedition writes that the army was well disciplined and every thing moved like clockwork. The news of the strength of Akbar's army (50,000 cavalry and 500 elephants besides numerous infantry and artillery) unnerved Mirza Hakim and he fled to Kabul. Akbar received the news of Hakim's retreat when he was near Sirhind but he decided to continue the expedition against Mirza Hakim.

Akbar after resting in the delightful gardens of Sirhind385 for a few days, crossed the Sutlej at Maciwara by a bridge.386 When Akbar crossed the river his plan was to visit Nagarkot,387 about which he heard a lot. When a

385 AN, III, p. 509.
386 Ibid.
387 Ibid., p. 511. The town of Kangra, anciently known as Nagarkot, is built on the slopes of a hill on either side of the Ban-Ganga. Jahangir visited the town, and one of its gates is called, the Jahangiri Darwaza.
DELHI-KABUL ROUTE
DELHI-ATTOCK SECTOR
Based on Akbar Nama
1581
watch of the night had passed, Akbar in order to rest, en-
camped in the town of Desuha. During the night Akbar
changed his programme to visit Nagarkot and crossed the Beas
by a bridge between Khokowal and Kanwahan and arrived
at the pleasant city of Kalanur. A bridge was made over
the Ravi and the river was crossed. The Cenab (Chenab)
was crossed at Ramgarh. The Bihaat was crossed by a
bridge between Jhelam ferry and Rasulpur. He stayed for
some days near Bihar to enjoy hunting. Akbar also visited
the city and the ancient fort of Nandana. He also visi-
ted the shrine of Balnath Tillah. It was loftily situated

388 Ibid. It is Dasuya of modern maps and lies few miles
east of the river Beas.

389 AN, III, p. 511. It is not possible to identify this
place. Abib in the Atlas, (4A) shows a place Khok-
karwal, it can be Khokowal but it is quite far from
the Kanwahan towards south.


391 Ibid.

392 Ibid., p. 513.

393 Ibid. It is probably Ramnagar of modern map.

394 Ibid.

395 Ibid. Possibility it is Nandanpur of Ain. It is
Nandan of modern maps, lying west of the river
Behat, south-west of Balanath Tila.
near Rohtas. According to Abul Fazl "it is so old that its beginning is not known. It is regarded as the prayer-spot of Balnath Jogi, and is held in veneration, and visited by many people." Akbar also visited the fort Rohtas on his way to Sind-sagar which according to Abul Fazl, was known as Nilab. No place, excepting Kharbusa, has been mentioned by Abul Fazl, between Rohtas and Indus.

Akbar encamped on the banks of the Indus and remained for quite some time arranging the affair of frontier regions. Raja Man Singh was sent to Peshawar as Mirza Hakim did not reply to Akbar's message wanting to settle terms. The foundation stone of the fort of Atak Banares was also laid by Akbar during this period. After staying for about a month or more on the bank of Indus, Akbar decided to proceed towards Kabul and encamped at the place where the Indus and Kabul river meet. According to Abul Fazl,

396 AN, III, p. 514.
397 Ibid.
398 Ibid.
399 Ibid., p. 515. The location of Kharbuza (Khurbuzy) is shown in 19th century map, north-west of Rawalpindi.
400 AN, III, p. 518. After sending Raja Man Singh Akbar also despatched prince Murad with a strong force by the end of June 1581.
401 AN, III, p. 520. The place is known as Attock. Akbar chose the name Attock Benaras in accordance with Katak Benaras (Cuttak, in Orissa). The other frontier town on the east of the empire.
402 AN, III, 523. Akbar must have crossed the river Indus, near Attock.
Akbar left "the main camp with an immense quantity of baggage on the banks of the Indus, and gave the command of that spot to Qasim Khan." 403

Akbar moved from this place and encamped on the bank of the Kabul river on the next day, 404 at Daulatabad 405 (see Map 4.16B). Then they halted near Bigrum 406 and Akbar spent some time in Gorkhattari 407 and stayed in the fort of Bigrum. About this region Abul Fazl mentions that "this country is called Parshawar, and the general public also calls the city by this name." 408 When Mirza learnt that Akbar had halted near Bigrum and the army was advancing under the command of the Prince, he prepared himself for battle. When Akbar perceived this, he resolved to reach this immediately and left Salim in charge of the main camp with an order that the camp should proceed on slowly, stage by stage. 409

Akbar, himself halted at Jamrud 410 in the evening.

403 Ibid.
404 Ibid., p. 524.
405 Ibid. Daulatabad is mentioned frequently in AN and TU but it is not possible it in the modern maps. However, with the help of the descriptions of the place in these sources it is possible to locate it, approximately.
406 AN, III, p. 528.
407 Ibid.
408 Ibid.
409 Ibid.
410 Ibid., p. 529.
Next day at dawn, he went on rapidly and passed through the
difficult defile of the Khaibar\textsuperscript{411} and rested for a while in
the neighbourhood of Daka\textsuperscript{412} by the bank of the stream
(Kabul). At the end of the day, when the air was cooler he
proceeded to make a night-march and the next day halted at
Lajipur.\textsuperscript{413} In the morning he reached Jalalabad.\textsuperscript{414} Next
day he reached Bagh Safa\textsuperscript{415} and then halted at Gandamak. At
this place a false report of the defeat of Prince Murad,
who was sent earlier to capture Kabul, reached Akbar at
Gandamak.\textsuperscript{416} Akbar however, moved on and halted at Surkhab\textsuperscript{417} and the next day at Jagdalak.\textsuperscript{418}

At the time when they were moving from Surkhab to

\textsuperscript{411} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{412} Ibid. The distance between Jamrud and Daka, which
lies on the right (southern) bank of the Kabul river,
at the end of Khaibar defile is 33 miles. Settlements
to the west of Daka are very scanty due to the sandy
area some fifty miles in length and entirely surroun-
ded by high and dry mountains.

\textsuperscript{413} Ibid. Approximate location has been shown on the
map. The place is not marked on any of the maps
consulted.

\textsuperscript{414} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{415} Ibid. In this region various gardens were planted by
the Mughals but the names of the gardens have changed
in due course of time. Thus it is not possible to
identify which of the present day gardens was known
as Bagh-safa. However, its approximate location has
been shown on the map.

\textsuperscript{416} AN, III, p. 530.

\textsuperscript{417} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{418} Ibid., p. 521.
Jagdalak swift messengers brought the news of victory. At this stage Kaur Man Singh and many other officers did homage. Next morning Akbar marched on and the prince (Murad) and other high officers paid their respects. Akbar in an auspicious hour on 29th (9 or 10th August 1581) seated himself in the citadel of Kabul and stayed there for twenty days.

4.2.1.6 Akbar's Expedition to Attock (1585-86)

Mirza Hakim died on 30th July 1585 leaving behind him two minor princes and a disturbed Kabul. There was a danger of civil war in Kabul and of a threat of invasion from Uzbeks, who already had conquered Badkhshan the previous year. Thus Kaur Man Singh was asked to proceed rapidly to Kabul with a force to control the situation. Akbar himself started for Punjab and reached Delhi on 11th September 1585.

419 Ibid., p. 539.
420 Ibid.
421 Ibid.
422 Ibid., p. 540.
423 Ibid., p. 703.
424 Ibid., pp. 704-705.
425 Ibid., p. 705.
The imperial army proceeded from Delhi by Sonpat (see Map 4.17) and Panipat and on 13 Mihr (about 24th September) reached Thanessar. Akbar also dispatched Mir Sardr Jahan Mufti and Banda Ali Maidani to Kabul in order that they might go quickly and soothe the people. Akbar proceeded by Shahabad and Ambala and halted on 18th at Sirhind. He enjoyed the delightful gardens there, which were famed for their beauty.

On the 24th Mihr, Akbar crossed the Sutlej at Macwara by a bridge and halted his army near Dihakdar. He went on by Hadiabad, Jalandhar and Sultanpur. On 1st Abad he made a bridge over Biah at Jalalabad and

426 Ibid. All these places are still prominent and are lying on the main route linking Delhi with Punjab. The distance between all these places was between 25-28 miles. It seems that these places were developed as convenient halting places for the army and for the traders and the travellers by this time.

427 Ibid.

428 Ibid. All these places are still along the national high way.

429 AN, III, p. 706.

430 Ibid. It is not possible to locate Dihakdar in the maps. However, with the help of the description given by Abul Fazl it is possible to show the approximate location of the place in the map.

431 Ibid. Haideabad lies few miles south-east of Jalandhar.

432 Ibid.

433 Ibid. It is not clear why Akbar deviated from the main route to reach upto Sultanpur which is far off from the main road.

434 Ibid. Jalalabad is not shown in the modern maps, but
crossed his troops. Akbar himself crossed on an elephant. On 6th he reached Kalanur 435 and enjoyed himself in the garden. On 14th Akbar crossed the Cenab by a bridge in the territory of Parsarur (Pasaur) and encamped near Sialkot. 436 On 24th the army encamped near Rasulpur 437 and on 27th crossed the Bihat by a bridge. On 7th Azar they encamped at Rohtas 438 and Akbar climbed the hill of Balnath 439 and interviewed some of the ascetics. From Rohtas Qasim Khan was sent on to level the road upto Indus. After wards he was to make the Khaibar and the road to Kabul passable for carriages. In a short time he accomplished this.440

Many of the nobles were of the opinion that Akbar should not go beyond Rohtas. But Akbar's plan was to settle the issue of Kabul and to crush the forces of tribals creating problems for the passangers on the Khaibar highway, so

Cont'd. f.n. 434

it is there on the Hugel's Map. It is also possible that settlement was established by Akbar himself, which lost its significance in due course of time and vanished.

435 Ibid., p. 707.
436 Ibid., p. 703. There is some mistake in this information as both Pasrur and Sialkot lie east of Chenab. Akbar must have stayed in Pasrur and Sialkot only after that he could have crossed the Chenab river, near Sialkot.
437 Ibid., p. 709.
438 Ibid.
439 Ibid.
440 Ibid.
he went on and reached Rawalpindi⁴⁴¹ on 25th (7th December, 1585). On 2 Dai, Akbar encamped at Hasan Abdal⁴⁴² and from there forces were despatched to Kashmir. Zain Khan Koka was also sent off, to guide the Yusufzai and to conquer Swat and Bajaur.⁴⁴³ From Hasan Abdal, Akbar reached Atak Benares⁴⁴⁴ (Attock on Dai (23rd December, 1585). According to Abul Fazl, Akbar completed his journey (from Fatehpur Sikri to Attock) of slightly more than 305 miles in four months and 1 day and in sixty five marches.⁴⁴⁵

According to Abul Fazl, Akbar spent three months and twelve days pleasantly in Attock Benares.⁴⁴⁶ In fact, Akbar's stay in Attock was far from pleasant, as in an expedition against Yusufzai, died one of his most close friend and companions, Bir Bar (Birbal). The shock of the defeat and sorrow of the death of Birbal was so much that for two days Akbar did not meet anybody and remained in confinement.

---

⁴⁴¹ Ibid., p. 709. The region where Rawalpindi is located has remained important throughout the historical past, due to its strategic location, though the town is not of ancient origin but since medieval period it attained prominence.

⁴⁴² Ibid., p. 714.

⁴⁴³ Ibid., p. 715.

⁴⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 717.

⁴⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 744.
4.2.1.7 Akbar's Expedition from Kabul to Lahor (1589-90)

Akbar visited the beautiful valley of Kashmir in 1589. While in Kashmir, he decided to go to Kabul to settle some of the outstanding matters. He returned from Kabul and reached Lahor in 1590 where he stayed till 1598 to protect India, especially the North-West from any possible attack by Uzbeks. Akbar, in his return journey, started from Kabul in the middle of November (13th or 14th) and encamped at Safed Sang, in the environs of Kabul. From there when he reached Begram, (see Map 4.18A) it was reported to him that Raja Todar Mal had died on 8th November 1589. He got the news of the death of Raja Bhagwan Das when he was at Barihab.

When the camp was at Gandamak, Akbar gave orders to the officers to arrange stations for holding of a gama-rgha hunt in the plain of Arzana. Next day he passed from

447 Ibid., p. 861. Safed Sang is shown in same maps, south of Kabul.

448 Ibid. There were three Bigrams, one near Peshawar, another near Qandahar and this one east of Kabul. All these Begrams were close to important cities. This needs to be explained.

449 AN, III, p. 863.

450 Ibid.

451 Ibid. There is no place of this name. However, north of Baran river there is place Zerana, close to Mandraur. The difference between these two places in persian script is very little. Moreover the description of the hunt also suggest that it was after Mandraur.
KASHMIR-KABUL ROUTE
ATTACK-KABUL SECTOR
Based on AkborNama
15 89

Map 4.18 A
the Bagha Wafa\textsuperscript{452} and came to Kushkul.\textsuperscript{453} Abul Fazl, mentions a few places where Akbar stayed and visited which are not possible to identify. However, by this time arrangements of the hunt were completed and all officers were sent off in order to guard the stations.\textsuperscript{454} Abul Fazl, describes the hunt as follows, "on the side was Nimla and on the other side Daka, which is a distance of the twelve Kos.\textsuperscript{455} And beasts were driven from the mountains to the plain of Arzana.\textsuperscript{456} They enjoyed hunting for two days. After the hunting, Akbar reached Jalalabad after visiting Lamghanat on the way.\textsuperscript{457} He passed from the Tuman of Sandaur\textsuperscript{458} to Masaudabad.\textsuperscript{459}

\begin{itemize}
\item\textsuperscript{452} Ibid.
\item\textsuperscript{453} Ibid. It is not possible to identify this place.
\item\textsuperscript{454} Ibid., p. 865.
\item\textsuperscript{455} Ibid. The knowledge of Abul Fazl about this region seems to be incomplete and inaccurate. The distance between Daka and Nimla, even if we take crowsfly distance, is more than double, mentioned by Abul Fazl.
\item\textsuperscript{456} Ibid.
\item\textsuperscript{457} Ibid. As mentioned above, Akbar from Arzana hunting ground reached Jalalabad via Lamghanat which means Mandraur. This justifies the identification of Arzana as Zerana.
\item\textsuperscript{458} Ibid. It seems to be an error. The tuman may be Mandraur, which was the real Lamghanat.
\item\textsuperscript{459} Ibid. It is not possible to identify this tuman.
\end{itemize}
Akbar from there encamped near Allah Baqa\textsuperscript{460} and after two days encamped at Barik Ab\textsuperscript{461} at the Khwaja Yaqut Serai. While hunting near Daka,\textsuperscript{462} Akbar met with an accident and was hurt. He recovered soon and continued the journey. The army crossed the Indus by a bridge\textsuperscript{463} (see Map 4.18B) on 10th Bahman (20th January 1590). On the 22nd Akbar encamped at the Serai of Zainuddin Ali\textsuperscript{464} and spent two days in the pleasure of hunting. Next day he halted at Hasan Abdal.\textsuperscript{465} On 2nd Isfahdarmuz, near Kahuriya\textsuperscript{466} news came of the death of Rajah Gopal Jadun. On the 9th Akbar came to Rohtas.\textsuperscript{467} The Jhelum was crossed after making bridges in two places near Rasulpur\textsuperscript{468} on 12th. While Akbar was encamped, near

\textsuperscript{460} Ibid. There is no place of this name in any of maps and in any other source. The only possibility is that it was also a distortion for Ali Baghan, where Jahangir stayed in 1607 during his visit to Kabul.

\textsuperscript{461} Ibid. It is not possible to locate this Barikab in any of the maps or sources. The only place with some resemblance with this name is Barikao of the map prepared during the times of Amir Abdur Rehman.

\textsuperscript{462} AN, II, p. 866.

\textsuperscript{463} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{464} Ibid., p. 868. It is not possible to identify this Serai.

\textsuperscript{465} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{466} Ibid. It is not possible to identify this place.

\textsuperscript{467} Ibid., p. 869.

\textsuperscript{468} Ibid.
KABUL-DELHI ROUTE
ATTCK-LAHORE SECTOR
Based on Akbar Nama
1590
Hilan 469 he met with another accident, a fall from the elephant, but he continued his journey and crossed the Cinab by the two bridges at the passage of Bani Kabin.470 Akbar entered the city of Lahor on 2nd Farwardin.471 Abul Fazl mentions that "From Kabul to Lahore he traversed 196 Kos, 28 Poles, in four months less by two days and in 53 marches. The whole expedition lasted 10 months, 14 days.472

4.2.1.8 Jahangir's Expedition to Kabul (1607)

Jahangir visited Kabul in 1607. He gives the following reason for this visit. "When I was at ease about Khusrau's disturbance, and the repulse of the Qizil-bashes, who had invested Gandahar, had been brought about in a facile way, it came into my mind to make a hunting tour of Kabul, which is like my native land. After that I would return to Hindustan, when the purpose of my mind would pass from design to action."473 Thus, Jahangir, started from Lahor on 7th Zilhijja and stayed in the Dil-amiz Garden, which was on the other side of the Ravi for four days.474

469 Ibid.
470 Ibid., p. 870. It is not possible to identify this place.
471 Ibid., p. 871.
472 Ibid. This expedition was a long one as Akbar visited Kashmir and Kabul during this period.
473 T.J., I, p. 90.
474 Ibid.
On Monday, the 11th, he marched from the garden and encamped at the village of Harhar,\textsuperscript{475} 3½ kos distant from the city (see Map 4.19A). On Tuesday they halted at Jahan­
girpur,\textsuperscript{476} which was one of Jahangir's fixed hunting places. The king ordered the jagirdar of the \textit{pargana} to build a strong fort in the village of Jahangirpur. On Thursday, the 14th he encamped in the \textit{pargana} of Chandala.\textsuperscript{477} Thence on Saturday, making one stage in the middle he came to Hafizabad.\textsuperscript{478} Having reached Chenab in two marches on Thursday he crossed the river by a bridge which had been built there. Jahangir's camp was pitched in the neighbourhood of \textit{pargana} of Gujarat.\textsuperscript{479} About the origin of Gujarat Jahangir mentions: "At the time when ... Akbar went to Kashmir, a fort had been built on that bank of the river. Having brought to this fort a body of Gujars who had passed their time in the neighbourhood in thieving and highway robbery, he established them here. As it had become the

\begin{footnotes}
\footnote{475} \textit{Ibid.} It is not possible to find this place in any of the maps consulted but it can be located with the help of the distance mentioned by Jahangir.

\footnote{476} \textit{Ibid.} There is no place at present with this name. May be Jahangirpur became Shekhopur later on as Jahangir was also known as Shekho during his prince­hood.

\footnote{477} \textit{T.J., I, p. 91.}

\footnote{478} \textit{Ibid.}

\footnote{479} \textit{Ibid.}
\end{footnotes}
KABUL-DELHI ROUTE
ATTOCK-LAHOR SECTOR
Based on Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri
1607

Map 4.19A
abode of Gujars he made it a separate **pargana**, and gave it the name of Gujarat."  

On Friday, the 22nd Zilhijja the camp was pitched at Khawasspur, five kos from Gujarat. This settlement was established by Khawass Khan, a slave of Shir Khan Afghan. Thence, with two halts in the middle they encamped on the bank of the Bihat. That day it rained so heavily that old men remembered no such. From the flooding of the river and the force of the wind and rain, the bridge broke. Jahangir along with the ladies of the harem crossed the river in a boat. About the bridge he mentions that as "there were few boats, I ordered the men not to cross in these but to rebuild the bridge. It was finished in a week and the whole army crossed with ease."  

On Saturday the 1st of Muharram (18th April, 1607) they left the bank of the Bihat, and with one day between reached the fort of Rohtas which was built by Shir Shah Khan Jahangir praised the strength of the fort and says, "this fort was founded in a cleft of the ground and the strength of it cannot be imagined. As the place is near

---

480 Ibid.
481 Ibid.
482 Ibid., p. 92.
483 Ibid.
484 Ibid.
485 Ibid., p. 96.
the Ghakkar territory, and they are a proud and rebellious people, he had looked to this fort specially as a means of punishing and defeating them.\footnote{486}

On Tuesday, having travelled four kos and three-quarters he encamped at Tila.\footnote{487} Thence he came down to the village of Bhakra.\footnote{488} In the Ghakkar language Bhakra means a jungle. Jahangir came the whole way from Tila to Bhakra in the middle of the river-bed which had running water in it. On Thursday they halted at Hatya.\footnote{489} According to Jahangir they call the place Hatya because it was founded by a Ghakkar named Bati\footnote{490} (elephant). From Margalla to Hatya the country is called Pothuwar.\footnote{491} From Rohtas to Hatya is the place and abode of of Bhugyals\footnote{492} who are related to and of the same ancestry as the Ghakkars.\footnote{493}

Marching on Friday they travelled 4½ kos and encamped

\footnote{486}{Ibid.}
\footnote{487}{Ibid. It is Tita of Balnath of AN.}
\footnote{488}{Idid. The place is not shown in the modern maps but in the old maps (19th century) one place Bukrala is shown north of Rohtas.}
\footnote{489}{TJ, I, p. 97.}
\footnote{490}{Babar in 1519, went to Parhala, the capital of Chak-kars (kakar) to punish Hati Kakar.}
\footnote{491}{It is known as Potwar Plateau. For details please see, physi-ographic divisions (Section 2.1.1.3).}
\footnote{492}{They are descendants of Sultan Buga.}
\footnote{493}{TJ, I, p. 97.
at Pakka. This place according to Jahangir is called Pakka because the sarai is of burnt brick. Jahangir found the station, strangely full of dust and earth. Jahangir mentions that, "the carts reached it with great difficulty owing to the badness of the road. They had brought from Kabul to this place rivaj (rhubazb), which was mostly spoiled." On Saturday, they marched 4½ kos and encamped at the village of Khar, which according to Jahangir, in Ghakkar language is a word for rent and breakage. On Sunday, they halted at Rawalpindi, the village (Pindi) was established by Rawal.

On Monday, they encamped at the village of Khar-buza. About this name Jahangir provides an interesting information as he mentions "the Ghakkars in earlier times had built a dome here and taken tolls from travellers. As the dome was shaped like a melon it became known by that name." Next day, he halted at Kala-pani which in

---

494 Ibid. The location shown in the map is only approximate.
495 TJ, I, p. 98.
496 Ibid. The location of Khar or Khor is approximate. Beveridge, H. in the footnote mentions that it is near Manikyala tope (TJ, I, p. 98, f.n. 1).
497 TJ, I, p. 98.
498 Ibid. The place is marked in Elphinstone's map also. Akbar in 1581 also stayed at that place.
499 Ibid.
500 Ibid. Perhaps it is Kala Serai of some maps, southeast of Hasan Abdal.
Hindi means black water. About the Margalla pass which lies close to this place Jahangir mentions that "in Hindi nav means to beat and galla is a caravan, the name therefore means the place of the plundering of the caravans. The boundary of the Ghakkar country is here."\(^{501}\) On Wednesday, the 12th they encamped at Baba Hasan Abdal.\(^{502}\)

On the 15th they halted at Amrohi\(^{503}\) which was a wonderfully green place with no ups and downs. About this village Jahangir gives a lot of information which also explains its disappearance from the scene. "In this village and its neighbourhood there are 7,000 or 8,000 households of Khaturs and Dalazaks. All kinds of mischief and oppression and highway robbery take place through this tribe. I ordered the government of this region and Attock to be given to Safar Khan, son of Zain Khan Koka, and that by the time of the return of the royal standards from Kabul they should march all the Dalazaks to Lahore and capture the head men of the Khaturs and keep them in prison."\(^{504}\)

On Monday, the 17th, a march was made, and with one stage in between they halted near the fort of Attock on the

\(^{501}\) \textit{Ibid.}, pp. 98-99.  
\(^{502}\) \textit{Ibid.}, p. 99.  
\(^{503}\) \textit{Ibid.}, p. 100. \textit{It is not possible to find this on any of the maps. The village has also been destroyed when the tribal were punished.}  
\(^{504}\) \textit{Ibid.} Jahangir mention afterwards that "After performing that service and the conquest of those rebels ... and sending them off towards Lahore, he (Zafar Khan) came..." \textit{IJ}, I, p. 127.
bank of the river Nilab. The water of Nilab (Indus) was low during that time (it was 4th or 5th May) and accordingly a bridge had been made with eighteen boats, and they crossed over easily, but not all of them. Jahangir, realised that Suba of Kabul could not support a large army, therefore, only the immediate attendants of the court were allowed to cross the river. Jahangir himself with few others, mounted on to a raft, crossed the river Indus safely and encamped on the bank of the river Kama. According to Jahangir, "The Kama is a river that flows by the gasba Jalalabad." With one stage in between, they halted at the serai of Bara (see Map 4.19B). Jahangir mentions that "on the other side of the river Kama there is a fort which Zain Khan Koka built at the time when he was appointed to subjugate the Yusufzai Afghans, and called Naushahr."  

They encamped at the serai of Daulatabad on Thursday, the 25th and next day in the garden of Sardar Khan, 

505 *TJ, I, p. 101.*  
507 *Ibid.* The river Kabul, in the Kama region must have called as Kama river during that period.  
509 *Ibid., p. 102.*  
511 *Ibid.* Its location is approximate.
DELHI KABUL ROUTE
ATTACK - KABUL SECTOR
Based on Tuzuk-I-Jahangir
1607

Map 419B
which was made in the neighbourhood of Peshawar.\textsuperscript{512} On Thursday, the 27th, they arrived at the halting-place of Jamrud,\textsuperscript{513} and on Friday, at the Khaibar Kotal and encamped at Ali Masjid.\textsuperscript{514} On Saturday Jahangir traversed the tortuous Pass and encamped at Gharib-Khana.\textsuperscript{515} At the stage of Daka\textsuperscript{516} \textit{gilas} (cherries) were brought from Kabul for the King. On Tuesday 2nd Safar, they encamped at Basawal,\textsuperscript{517} which was on the bank of the river.

It is not clear whether Jahangir stayed or not at Ala Bughana\textsuperscript{518} but he recalls that "on the mountain of Ala Bughana, at the time when my revered father went to Kabul, I had a \textit{gamargah} hunt, and killed several red deer."\textsuperscript{519} On Wednesday (10th Sagar) Jahangir encamped at Surkhab,\textsuperscript{520} thence he halted at Jagadalak.\textsuperscript{521} On Friday, the 12th, he

\textsuperscript{512} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{513} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{514} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{515} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{516} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{517} Ibid., p. 103.
\textsuperscript{518} It should be Ali Baghan. In AN perhaps the same place is referred to as Allah Bega (\textit{AN}, III, p. 865).
\textsuperscript{519} TJ, I, p. 103.
\textsuperscript{520} Ibid., p. 104.
\textsuperscript{521} Ibid.
encamped at Ab-i-barik\textsuperscript{522} (Barik-ab) and Saturday at Yurt-i-padshah.\textsuperscript{523} On Sunday, they halted at Khurd Kabul\textsuperscript{524} (Kabul Khurd). From there he encamped at Bikrami\textsuperscript{525} (Bigram). They entered the Shahra garden of Kabul on Thursday, the 17th of Safar.\textsuperscript{526} After staying for some time in Kabul he returned to Lahor, hunting at various places including the ground of the Arziana plain, where Akbar hunted in 1589.\textsuperscript{527}

4.2.1.9 \textbf{William Finch's Journey from Agra to Lahor (1611)}

One of the most interesting and useful narratives dealing with the reign of Jahangir is that of William Finch, who landed with Hawkins at Surat on 24th August 1608 and stayed in India for nearly four years.\textsuperscript{528} Finch observed the manners and customs of the people and described many aspects of Indian life in a way that no other traveller did. Finch provides not only a detailed account of the routes, with all its stages but throws light on the real travelling conditions of the frequently used routes in the country. Fortunately, he describes the Agra-Lahor route on which he

\textsuperscript{522} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{523} Ibid. It is not possible to identify this place.
\textsuperscript{524} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{525} Ibid. It is Bigram of AN.
\textsuperscript{526} Ibid., p. 105.
\textsuperscript{527} Ibid., p. 125. Perhaps it is Zerana.
travelled to sell indigo which he had purchased at Biana, on behalf of his company.

Travelling by way of Delhi, Ambala and Sultanpur, he reached his destination in early February 1611. Lahor was at that time second only to Agra in importance (this is confirmed by other travellers, who travelled after the decline of Delhi) as it virtually became the permanent residence of the Mughal Kings (Akbar 1585-1598 and Jahangir). The account of Finch's journey to Lahor gives us an idea of the real problems faced by a trader or traveller on this route, which obviously the Mughal King did not face. Moreover, unlike the Mughal kings, who travelled on this route either under political compulsions or for pleasure, Finch took the most direct and established route between Agra and Lahor.

Finch started from Agra on 9th January 1611, to recover debts and carried twelve carts laden with indigo in the hope of a good price (see Map 4.20A). The places he passed were Rownoeta\(^{529}\) (Rankota) which was 12 courses (Kos); Badeg Sara,\(^{530}\) 10 courses (Koss); Acabarpore\(^{531}\) (Akbarpur); 12 courses which according to Finch was a great city famous for antiquities of Indian gosains or saints. From Akbarpur

---

\(^{529}\) Foster, W., *Early Travels in India 1583-1619*, p. 155.

\(^{530}\) Ibid.; This cannot b

\(^{531}\) Ibid.
KABUL—DELHI ROUTE
AGRA-LAHOR SECTOR
Based on William Finch
1611

Concanna Saray
Lahore
Khan Khanghoo
Sarai
(sultanpur)
Fellipore
(Vàyrowal)

Sultanpoore
PHILLIUP KI SARAI
Pullocque Saray

Dorapay
(Doraha)

Hottawar Saray
(Aliwa Sarai)

Syrinam
(Sirhind)

Amballa
(Ambala)

Shobad
(Shahabad)

Tanassar
(Thanesar)

Carmall
(Karnal)

Panneput
(Paripot)

Ganowre
(Ganour)

Nalora
(Norelo)

Ferredabade
(Faridabad)

Pulwoll
(Palwol)

Hodol
(Hocol)

Acabarpore
(Akbarpur)

Agro

Map 420A
he reached Houdle\textsuperscript{532} (Hodal) 13 courses; where at the entrance of the Sarai was a fair fountain (i.e. well) three stories and one hundred steps, Pulwool\textsuperscript{533} (Palwal) 12 courses; Ferreedabade\textsuperscript{534} (Faridabad) 12 courses; Dely\textsuperscript{535} (Delhi) 10 courses. Finch described the ruined city of Delhi at length and mentioned about its nine castles and fifty two gates, which were inhabited by Guggers. He also mentions Humayun's tomb which was well kept, covered with rich carpets. He also writes that "the Kings of India are here to be crowned, or else they are held usurpers."\textsuperscript{536}

From Delhi Finch reached Nalero\textsuperscript{537} (Narula) which was 14 courses. On their way they met faujdar of Delhi with some 2000 horses and foot, in pursuit of thieves. William Finch mentions that "some part of this way was theevilish."\textsuperscript{538} However they reached Gonowre\textsuperscript{539} (Ganaur) 14 courses and then "Panneput" (Panipat) 14 courses where at the entry was place a manora (minar) with the heads of some hundred

\textsuperscript{532} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{533} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{534} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{535} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{536} Ibid., p. 156.
\textsuperscript{537} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{538} Ibid., p. 157.
\textsuperscript{539} Ibid.
theives newly taken." From Panipat he reached Carmall (Karnal) which was 14 courses long full of theives, Finch, however, was saved on account of his "place language". The next was Tanassar (Thanesar) 14 courses where there was a castle, a good tank and near that were temples, famous throughout India. Next stages were, Shabad (Shahbad) 10 courses, Amballa (Ambala) 12 courses; Hollowa Saray (Aluwa Sarai) 14 courses.

From the Hollowa Saray, Finch moved on to Syrinam (Sirhind) 7 courses, which had a fair tank with a summer house in the middle and a beautiful garden. From there they passed to Dorap (Doraha) 15 courses, Pullocque Saray (Phillaur-ki-Sarai) 13 courses, Nicodar (Nakodar) 12 courses, Sultanpoor (Sultanpur) 11 courses; Fetipore (Sahibpur) 14 courses.

540 Ibid.
541 Ibid., p. 158.
542 Ibid.
543 Ibid.
544 Ibid.
545 Ibid. It is not possible to locate this sarai.
546 Ibid.
547 Ibid.
548 Ibid. Phillaur, which was never mentioned by any of the writer earlier, it seems, established by this time a permanent ferry.
549 Ibid.
550 Ibid.
551 Ibid.
(Fatehpur) 7 courses. Finch gives in detail the revolt of prince Khusrau against Jahangir and mentions that this place was established in the memory of the victory of Jahangir over his son. From Fatehpur he moved on to Hoghe Moheede,552 10 courses, Cancana Saray553 (Khankhanan Sarai) 12 courses and reached Lahor,554 7 courses on 4th February.

Finch describes the Lahor city as, "one of the greatest cities of East, containing some 24C. in circuit by the ditch which is now casting up about it, and by the kings command now to be enclosed with a strong wall. In the times of the Potans it was but a village, Multan than flourishing till Hamanin (Humayun) enlarged this. The town and suburb is some 6c. the inhabitants most Beneans and handicrafts men, all white men of note lying in the suburbs."555 Finch also mentions in detail about the court of Jahangir, the nobles, palaces etc. in detail.

Finch, describes few events of the period which are useful from the point of view of this study. First he mentions that on 28th February 1611 arrived to Persian Ambassador (Yadgar Ali Sultan) with a great caravan. Finch got the information from them that the way to Qandahar was

552 Ibid., p. 160. It is not possible to locate this sarai.
553 Ibid. Approximate location is given.
554 Ibid.
555 Ibid., p. 161.
now clear, as the war between Persians and Turks had ended.\textsuperscript{556} Finch also mentions that on 17th of May, "came news of the sacking of Kabul (Kabul) by Potan (Pathan) thieves which kept in the mountains, being eleven thousand foot and one thousand horses; the Governor thereof being at Gelalabade (Jalalabad) about other affairs and the garrison so weak that they spoiled the city and returned with great booty. The king for better awing of these rebels, hath placed twenty three ombraes betwixt Lahor and Cabul; and yet all will not serve, they often sallying from the mountains, robbing caravans and ransacking towns."\textsuperscript{557} Significantly, on 18th of August arrived another great caravan from Persia, by whom Finch had news of "affaires betwixt the Turk and Persians; he having destroyed the country about Tauris (Tabiz) reached the citie, and filled up the wells to hinter the Turks armie; the merchants by this means (to our griefe) not daring to adventure beyond Candhar."\textsuperscript{558}

This information gives us an idea of the conditions of the routes in the North-West India, connecting Lahor, Kabul and Qandahar. Though the routes were still not totally secure but the king and the administration were trying to keep the tribals in control and to make journies safe to strengthen the economic links between India and Persia and other surrounding countries.

\textsuperscript{556} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{557} Foster, p. 167.
\textsuperscript{558} Ibid.
Though Finch did not travel beyond Lahor but he provides us with the stages on Lahor-Kabul route which are as follows:

"From Lahor to Cabull, passing the Ravee, at 10c. (see Map 4.20B) stands Googes Saray559 (Kacha Serai), beyond which 8c. Emensade (Aminabad) a faire city; thence to Chumaguckur560 (Chima Gakkar) 12c., a great towne. To Guzuzat (Gujarat) 14c., a fair citie of great trade; at 7c. of this way you passe the river Chantrow (Chenab), near a corse over. To Howaspore (Khawaspur) 12c. To Loure Rotas (Rohtas) 15c., a citie with a strong castle on a mountaine, the frontier of the Potan Kingdom 15c. To Hattea (Hatya) 15c. To Puckow (pakka) 4c. To Raulepende (Rawalpindi) 14c. To Collapanne (Kalapani) 15c. To Hassanabdall 4c., a pleasant towne with a small river and many faire tanks... To Attock 15c. a citie with a strong castle, by which Indus passeth in great beautie. To Pishore (Peshawar) 36c. To Alleck Meskite (Ali Masjid) 10c. the way dangerous for rebels, which are able to make ten or twelve thousand men. To Ducka (Daka) 12c. To Beshoule (Basawal) 6c. To Abareek (Bariku) 6c. To Aleboga (Ali Boghan) 9c., by which runneth cow (the Kabul river) a great river which comes from Cabul (way still theevish). To Gelalabade (Jalalabad) 4c. To Loure-Charebage 4c. Budde-Charbag561 6c. To Nimda (Nimla)

559 It is not possible to locate this place in maps, however, its location has been given approximately.
560 It is Jamia Ghakhar of Habib's Atlas (Sheet 4B).
561 Loure and Budde Charbag must be used for small and big Charbagh.
8C. To Gondoma (Gandamak) 4C. To Sureroood562 (Surkhab) 4C., a saray with a small river which looks red and makes to have good stomack. To Zagdelee (Jagdalak) 8C. To Abereek563 (Ab-i-barik) 8C. To Dowaba (Doaba) 8C. a great mountain in the way, 4C. ascent, to Butta Cauke (Buthhak) 8C. To Cam­ree564 (Bikrami) 3C. To Cabul 3C. It is great and fair citie, the first seate of this kings great grand father, with two castle and may sarayas".565

It is significant to note that the stages given by Finch between Gujarat and Kabul are more or less the same as given by Jahangir, who travelled four years earlier (1607). It seems that Finch was able to collect this information from some one who travelled with Jahangir. De Laet, who came to India during the end of Jahangir's reign also gives us stages of various routes, including Agra-Lahor and Lahor-Kabul routes. He must have depended on Finch's account. In this study, therefore, maps have not been reconstructed on the basis of De Laet's account.

562 The Surkh-rud is also correct as rud is stream.
563 The place was popularly known as Barikab, but Jahangir used persian style to call it Ab-i-Barik, which Finch also copied.
564 Foster must have seen the spelling of this place from Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri where it is Bikrami instead of Bigram.
565 Foster, pp. 167-168.
4.2.2 Kabul-Qandahar Route

The significance of Kabul and Qandahar, as the most strategically located frontier towns of the Mughal Empire has already been discussed. Political and strategic significance apart, these towns were also of immense importance from the point of view of foreign trade on land. During the times of the Early Mughals, all the routes to India from Central Asia, Persia and countries of West Asia were converging on either of these towns. This obviously added extra significance to the Kabul-Qandahar Route. The flow of traffic must have increased immensely when they were under the effective control of friendly rulers. Though Qandahar became a part of India for a brief period (1595 to 1622) both Kabul and Qandahar were under the rule of the Mughals for most of the period under study.

The Kabul-Qandahar route passed through Ghazni, another city with a glorious past. The Kabul-Ghazni axis (section 2.2.1) has already been discussed while identifying the cultural regions of North-West India. In the present discussion it seems appropriate to extend this axis upto Qandahar. The Kabul-Ghazni-Qandahar axis, in fact emerated during the ancient period and provided stability to the already developed Herat-Qandahar axis, which in its turn, emerged as a part of the continental axis established by the empires of West Asia. But it seems that after a short while the Kabul-
Ghazni-Qandahar axis lost its significance. It was only after the emergence of Timurids on the scene, from the later part of 14th century, that large scale migration of Afghan tribes took place along the Kabul-Ghazni-Qandahar axis.

Babar came to this region at a very crucial time when Afghanistan was under the threat from the Persians, Uzbeks and Mughals. The political situation was very fluid and it remained so for about half a century. During this period there was a great set back to the foreign trade of India, through land routes. The significance of Kabul and Qandahar, as centres of trade and commerce dwindled considerably. However, despite the atmosphere of political instability and hostility, caravans frequented the Kabul-Qandahar route.

The Kabul-Qandahar road was one of the best possible routes for the travellers, passing through a mountainous or hilly region. This route according to Holdich was, "a straight highroad hardly to be matched for excellence by any of the best roads in Europe of equal length." The route between Kabul and Qandahar maintained its importance due to its geographical location. Between Kabul and Ghazni the route was mostly along the Loghar river (although the alternative western route was also not difficult). After which there was a slight ascend, which in fact is the watershed between Indus and Helmend-Arghandab river system. After Ghazni the route was along the Tarkak river. The altitude
of Qandahar is more than 1000 metre lower than Ghazni but the slope here is gentle throughout.

There are other alternative routes along the other tributaries of the Helmand-Arghandab river system between Kabul and Qandahar but the above mentioned route was most frequently used. Descriptions of Kabul-Qandahar route are not available as Babar used to travel very fast without halting at many places. There were also only few towns and villages along the route the distance between two places usually being more than 300 miles.

On the basis of the description available in the contemporary sources four maps have been prepared for this route. Out of these four routes only two were completely traversed:

1. Babar's Expedition to Qalat-i-Ghilzai (1505).
2. Babar's Expedition against Ghilji Afghans (1507).
3. Babar's Expedition to Qandahar (1507).
4. Humayun's Expedition to Kabul (1545).

4.2.2.1 Babar's Expedition to Qalat-i-Ghilzai (1505)

After consolidating power in Kabul, Babar started for Qandahar in the middle of 1505566 (see Map 4.21). From Kabul he reached Qush-nadir (variation nawar) but on dismounting there he got a strange fever.567 When he got well there was

566 BN, p. 246.
567 Ibid., p. 247.
a great earthquake.\footnote{568}{The earthquake was felt by the people in Agra on July 5th 1505 (Erskin's \textit{History of India}, I, 229 note).} The quake was so severe that it grounded many settlements, killed many people and made many roads impassable.\footnote{569}{Due to which their plan to go to Qandahar was postponed.} The journey was again resumed after Babar's illness and after the repair of the fort. They were undecided at the time they dismounted below Shinz\footnote{570}{According to Raverty's Notes (Index S.n) it is on the Kabul Ghazni road. It is being plotted approximately on the map.} whether to go to Qandahar or to overrun the hills and plains. After Council it was decided to move on Galat-i-Ghilzai.\footnote{571}{At Tazi, it was decided to move on Galat-i-Ghilzai.} There was some confusion in the camp as some of the Begs deserted Babar. From Tazi after settling the matter they proceeded to Qalat and attacked at once and from all sides, without their mail and without siege appliances.\footnote{572}{Tazi is located on the north-east of Qalat-i-Ghilzai on the Tarnak river.} Fighting

\begin{enumerate}
\item[Ibid.] The earthquake was felt by the people in Agra on July 5th 1505 (Erskin's \textit{History of India}, I, 229 note).
\item[Ibid., p. 248.]
\item[Ibid., p. 248. According to Raverty's Notes (Index S.n) it is on the Kabul Ghazni road. It is being plotted approximately on the map. It seems that Babar and his nobles were in dire need of money and goods and that is why there was confusion over the area from which they can obtain that.
\item[BN, p. 248. It was also known as Qalat-i-Tarnak as it is lying on the western bank of Tarnak river. Qalat-i-Ghilzai had a strong mud fort (\textit{Ain}, II, p. 403). Its name Qalat-i-Ghilzai became popular as this Qalat is in the predominantly Ghilzai region.
\item[BN, p. 248. Tazi is located on the north-east of Qalat-i-Ghilzai on the Tarnak river.
\item[BN, p. 248. As mention above, Qalat had only a mud fort so, Babar attacked the fort without using techniques required to attack real forts.]
\end{enumerate}
continued till the afternoon prayers than those in the fort asked for peace and surrendered.

As the move on Qalat had been made under the insistence of Jahangir Mirza and Baqi Chaghaniani, Babar gave Qalat in the charge of Jahangir Mirza. Mirza did not accept it and Baqi also could give no good answer in the matter. "So after such a storming and assulting of Qalat, its capture was useless." They returned to Kabul after over-running the Afghans of Sawa-sang and Ala-Tagh on the south of Qalat.

4.2.2.2 Babar's Expedition against Ghilzi Afghans (1597)

Babar's expedition against Ghilzi Afghans was not through the proper Kabul-Qandahar route. Babar followed a route lying east of Ghazni to reach Kattawaz. This route was unknown to all of them as it was located in the mountainous tribal region away from the main communication line. Babar's description highlights the fact that this region, slightly away from the Kabul-Qandahar route, was not really known to outsiders. This expedition of Babar has been included to show that alternative routes between Kabul and Qandahar were known to Babar.

574 BN, p. 249. It seems that Jahangir Mirza was not interested in taking the charge of fort of Qalat as it was close to Qandahar which was still under the control of Shah Beg, the elder brother of Muqim who was holding the Qalat fort.

575 Ibid., p. 248. Approximate location of these places is shown in the map.

576 As mentioned earlier, the tribe is better known as Ghilzai.
ded to show that alternative routes between Kabul and Gandahar were not suitable for the movement of large numbers of people.

Babar started from Kabul to raid the Ghilzi Afghans (see Map 4.22) but when he dismounted at Sar-i-dih news was brought that a mass of Mahmands was lying in Masht and Sihkana one yighach (circa 5 miles) away from them. Some of the nobles suggested that "the Mahmands must be over-run." Babar, however, rejected the idea of raiding his own peasants. Riding at night from Sar-i-dih they crossed the plain of Kattawaz in the dark. Babar described vividly the journey in these words, "... a quiet black night, one level stretch of land, no mountain or rising-ground in sight, no known road or track not a man able to lead us! In the end I took the lead. I had been in these parts several times before; drawing inferences from those times... with some anxiety, moved on, God brought it right! We went straight to the

577 According to Beveridge, Sih-kana lies south-east of the Shorkach, and near Kharbin. Sar-i-dih is about 25 to 30 miles south of Ghazni. A name suitng the pastoral wealth of the tribe viz. Mesh-Khail, Sheep-tribe is shown on maps somewhat south from Kharbin. (BN, p. 323, f.n. 3).

Of these above-mentioned places, Sih-kana cannot be located. Sar-i-dih (village head) had a working dam (band) and perhaps is shown on the maps as Band. (BN, p. 219). Babar visited this place earlier also (BN, p. 240).

578

579 Ibid. Kattawaz plain lies south-east of Ghazni and east of Ab-i-Istada.
KABUL-QANDAHAR ROUTE
Based on Babar Nama
1507
Qiaq-tu and the Aulaba-tu torrent,\textsuperscript{580} that is to say straight for Khwaja Ismail Siriti,\textsuperscript{581} where Ghilzis were lying.\textsuperscript{582} They dismounted near the Aulaba-tu torrent and next morning got out of those low hills and valley-bottoms to the plain on which the Ghilzi lay. Ghilzi Afghans were ruthlessly killed and a pillar of their heads was set up.\textsuperscript{583}

Marching from Khwaja Ismail, they dismounted once more at Aulaba-tu. Babar ordered the \textit{begs} to separate one-fifth of the enemy's spoils as his share which came out at 16,000;\textsuperscript{584} Next day a hunting circle was formed on the plain of Kattawaz and deer and wild asses were killed. Turning back from that raid, they went to Kabul and there dismounted.\textsuperscript{585}

\subsection*{4.2.2.3 Babar's Expedition to Qandahar (1507)}

Shaibani Khan captured Herat in 1507, and without much difficulty became the master of the whole of Khurasan. It

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{580} In the absence of detailed map of the region, it is not possible to identify the torrent. There is, however, no significant river in this region.
\item \textsuperscript{581} Perhaps, this refers to the mountain of Khwaja Ismail which Babar describes as "low, scant of vegetation short of water, treeless, ugly and good for nothing." (\textit{BN}, p. 223). But it is not possible to identify it, due to change in the names.
\item \textsuperscript{582} \textit{BN}, p. 323.
\item \textsuperscript{583} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 324.
\item \textsuperscript{584} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 325.
\item \textsuperscript{585} \textit{Ibid.}.
\end{itemize}
was feared that Shaibani would next concentrate his attention on Kabul and Qandahar and his first move would be directed against Qandahar. At the request of the Arghuns of Qandahar (Shah Beg and his younger brother Mirza Muqim) Babar hurried up to take charge of Qandahar before the impending attack of Shaibani.586

On their way to Qandahar, when they reached Ghazni, Babar's aunt with her daughter came from Herat587 (see Map 4.23). In Qalat-i-Ghilzai "the army came upon a mass of Hindustan traders, come there to traffic and, as it seemed, unable to go on."588 Babar mentions that "the general opinion about them was that people who, at a time of such hostilities, are coming upto an enemy's country must be plundered."589 With this, however, Babar did not agree and said, "what is trader's offence?"590 Something by way of peshkash (offering) was taken from each trader when they dismounted on the other side of Qalat.591

---

586 Ibid., p. 330.
587 Ibid.
588 Ibid., p. 331. This reference to the presence of traders of India in Qalat shows the intensity of commercial links between India and these parts. In fact, it shows the mutual commercial dependence of these regions.
589 Ibid. According to Beveridge, "there may have been an accumulation of caravan on their way to Herat, checked in Qalat by the news of the Auzbeg conquest (BN, p. 331, f.n. 2).
590 BN, p. 331.
591 Ibid.
KABUL–QANDAHAR ROUTE
Based on Babar Nama
1507
Babar wrote letters to Shah Beg and Muqim for the settlement of Qandahar and other matters among themselves. But "they returned a rude and ill mannered answer, going back from their dutiful letters they had written".\textsuperscript{592} Babar, however, decided to move on towards Qandahar and reached near Shahr-i-Safa\textsuperscript{593} where Babar's army panicked due to a false alarm, perhaps, of an attack. March by march they moved on to Guzar.\textsuperscript{594} There Babar tried again to discuss the matter with the Arghuns, but they paid no attention to him and maintained the same obstinate attitude.\textsuperscript{595}

Babar was informed that the head of the torrent (\textit{rud-lar}) which come down to Qandahar, being towards Baba Hasan Abdal and Khalishak,\textsuperscript{596} a move might to be made in that direction, in order to cut off all these torrents. From Baba Hasan Abdal, they marched to Qandahar and in a well planned battle conquered it. They got all the wealth which

\textsuperscript{592} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 332.

\textsuperscript{593} \textit{Ibid.} Shahr-i-Safa lies some 40 miles south-west of Qalat and north-east of Qandahar on the main road.

\textsuperscript{594} \textit{Ibid.} According to Beveridge "If the word mean ford, this might well be the one across the Tarnak carrying the road to Qara (maps). Here Babar seems to have left the main road... for one crossing west into the valley of the Argand-ab". \textit{(BN, p. 332, f.n. 3)}.

It is possible that Babar, who was still negotiating with the Arghuns, preferred not to reach directly to Qandahar, had taken the western alternative route.

\textsuperscript{595} \textit{BN}, p. 332.

\textsuperscript{596} \textit{Ibid.} Baba Hasan Abdal is shown in the maps as Baba
Arghuns accumulated in Qandahar. About the wealth Babar mentions that "such masses of white money had never been seen in those countries; no-one indeed was to be heard of who had seen so much". 597 Babar gave the Qandahar country to Nasir Mirza and returned for Kabul after staying in Qush-Khana meadow and Qara-begh. 598 They reached Kabul with masses of goods and treasure, great honour and reputation. 599

4.2.2.4 **Humayun's Expedition to Kabul (1545)**

Humayun after settling the affairs of Qandahar, marched to subdue Kabul which was under the possession of Kamran. At this time a large caravan came from Hindustan and the merchants had made good bargains by purchasing Iraq horses from the Turkomans (the Persian auxiliaries of Humayun). According to Abul Fazl, the leaders of the caravan came and represented that their horses be taken into the service of the grand army and order be given for payment after the conquest of Hindustan. Humayun gladly accepted this proposal.

Cont'd... fn. 596

Wali. The same saint has given his name here, and also to his shrine east of Attock, where he is known as Baba Wali of Qandahar. It is not possible to locate Khalishak.


598 *Ibid.*. It is not possible to locate Qush-Khana meadow. Qara Bagh lies some 40 miles south of Ghazni, along the main road.

and gave purchase bounds to the owners. But the more probable account is given by Jauhar who says that the horses were forcefully taken by Humayun but they were given the purchase-bounds. The horses in question were more than one thousand in number. Humayun came himself to the ridge near Baba Hasan Abdal (see Map 4.24) and ordered to make arrangements for the march. From there Dawa Beg Hazara led them to the fort of Tiri during the night. Tiri or Tirin was a Hazara strong hold and when the army arrived there, the headmen brought, according to their ability, horses and sheep as presents. Humayun stayed there for several days.

From Tirin, Humayun proceeded towards Kabul by an unusual route perhaps to avoid any confrontation with the supporters of Kamran, who were still holding the fort of Ghazni. Though the details of the route taken by Humayun are not given in any of the contemporary sources, it is clear that they followed a western route through mountainous Hazarajat region. Through this route they reached Yurt of

600 AN, I, p. 476.
601 Jauhar, p. 117.
602 Jauhar gives the number of horses as 1700.
603 Tiri is referred to as Tirin in Lahori IAC sheets and in the 1968 official map.
604 AN, I, p. 476.
605 Abul Fazl mention that "the confidential officers represented that the winter was at hand, and that it was
KABUL-QANDAHAR ROUTE
Based on Akbar Nama & Jauhar
1545
Shaikh Ali, 606 which was in the neighbourhood of Paghman and Arqandi. 608 Kamran after strengthening the fort came out from Kabul and encamped near Yurt of the Babus Beg. Humayun's army had passed the defile of the "Khwaja's ridge" 609 and had halted in the neighbourhood of Arqandi. When Kamran realized that he can not face the army of Humayun, he went off to Ghazni via Bini Hisar. Humayun took Kabul on 10th November 1545 without a battle. 610

4.3 THE ROUTES OF SECOND ORDER

It has already been observed that the routes of the First Order, during the period under study, were passing through regions which have been identified earlier as the areas of attraction. Apart from these areas a few other areas in North-West India had fertile lands with suitable climatic conditions for agricultural production and a fairly developed industrial. These regions, however, have been

Cont'd., f.n. 605
impossible for them to convey the women and children and the baggage along with them into the hill-country". AN, I, p. 472.

606 Yurt is shown on the old map, west of Unai pass. Although the name of Yurt is not given but it suits the location.

607 AN, I, p. 478. Paghman region lies west of Kabul city.

608 Ibid. It known as Arghand; now and is located West of Kabul.

609 Ibid. It is possibly Safed Khak pass, few miles south of Arghandi.

610 Ibid., p. 480.
identified as the areas of relative isolation due to their distance from the main communication lines. We have seen that the Agra-Delhi-Lahor-Kabul-Qandahar route had been firmly established as the main communication line during the time of Akbar. The valley of Kashmir and Thatta or Sind region are perhaps the best examples of this category of areas of relative isolation.

The beautiful valley of Kashmir, quite extensive and productive was annexed to the Mughal Empire by Akbar, who temporarily made it a sarkar of the suba of Kabul. It was made a suba during the times of Jahangir. Even when Kashmir was a part of the suba of Kabul it enjoyed a special status, mainly due to its scenic beauty and a quite different cultural history. It shows that Kashmir, although surrounded by high mountain walls, was in the process of becoming a significantly important part of the Mughal empire by the turn of sixteenth century.

Like Kashmir, the Sind or Thatta region was also annexed to the Mughal Empire during the times of Akbar. Sind was not as fertile as Kashmir but it was connected with Lahor and Multan with a fairly developed road network and through the broad and navigable Indus. After its conquest, Thatta too was grouped with the suba of Multan for administrative purposes. In fact, it was given a special status and was made a separate suba later on.

Both these regions were quite closely linked with
Lahor. The route between Lahor and Kashmir via Pir Panjal Pass was developed by Akbar and Jahangir to the extent that it was known as the Imperial Highway. The low lying Pakli or Jhelum gorge route was also developed to connect Kabul with Kashmir and for travel during the winter season. Both of these routes may be identified as the routes of second order.

The route between Punjab and Sind region was perhaps developed prior to the establishment of the Indus valley civilization. The travel between these two regions was never a problem, it was only a question of time. Moreover, for cheaper travel and transport there was, the mighty Indus. The route between Sind and Lahor, thus may be identified as the route of the Second Order.

The route between Qandahar and Multan which after the development of Delhi-Lahor-Kabul route lost most of its significance, may also be identified as the route of Second Order. The reasons of loss of significance of Qandahar-Multan route has already been referred to at various places in this study. Here it can be noted that after the consolidation of Kabul, the Mughals were able to control the traffic on the Lahor-Kabul sector and so the journey on this route became far more easier and safer that it was on the Multan-Qandahar route. Even at the height of its utility, it seems that Multan-Qandahar route never attained the status of the route of First Order as it was passing through an area of
isolation with a very rugged terrain.

Though there are various references to this route in the contemporary source but no detailed travel account is available which can be mapped and hence described. However, with the help of various references to this route, it is possible to show this route with important stages in between. (see Map 4.1) Moreover, while describing the passes through the Sulaiman Range (3.2.1.3) the possible routes between these two places have already been discussed quite thoroughly.

4.3.1 Kashmir-Lahor Route via Pir Panjal Pass

There were two developed roads, linking Kashmir with the Plain of Punjab - Bhaimbar and Pakli. However, of these two routes Bhinbar or Pir Panjal route was more direct. Though this route was under frequent use since ancient times but during the times of Akbar and Jahangir it achieved a rare glory. Jahangir used the Pir Panjal route quite frequently on his trips to Kashmir as he and his queen Noor Jahan were very fond of this 'paradise among the hills'.

There are various references to prove that Pir Panjal route was under constant use for different functions from ancient times. Though most of these references are insufficient for the reconstruction of the route maps but this inadequate is made up by the descriptions given in great
detail by Abul Fazl and Jahangir. Abul Fazl, accompanied Akbar, on his visit to Kashmir through Pir Panjal in 1589. The description of the route in Akbar Nama provides plenty of geographical information about it. Even distances of every march are given, though not always with absolute accuracy. The description of the route is also given, in detail, in Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri which provides an idea about how in thirty years between (1589-1620) or so this route became an imperial highway with lot of facilities (at least to the King and Begums). The description of the route by Jahangir also highlights the fact that there was a limit to its improvement. With all the possible efforts of the King, he could not go by this route due to heavy snow-fall which came a few days before his planned journey to Kashmir.

As mentioned earlier, due to the rugged terrain of the area, it was one of the most difficult routes mentioned both in Akbar Nama and Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri. Though during the period under study it was the easiest route leading to Kashmir, it had its own dangers and difficulties. Both Abul Fazl and Jahangir describe its difficulties quite frequently.

In order to understand the significance of the route, it is better to know the purpose for which this route was being used during that period. With the help of various references it can be safely assumed that this pass route was being used for the following purposes:

a) Military Expeditions: Akbar developed this road spe-
cifically for use during military expeditions. Although, there were other uses of this route yet Kashmir's detachment from India and the impregnability of the mountain rampart necessitated the construction and maintenance of a route which could be used in any eventuality.

b) Trade: The Pir Panjal pass-route played a fairly important role in boosting up Kashmir's trade with other regions of the Mughal Empire. Known as the salt route till very recently as salt was brought into the valley through this line of communication, it was frequently used for transiting other goods as well into and from the valley by the traders who had their bases in Lahor, the entrepot of North-Western India, during the period of Early Mughals.

c) Pilgrimage and Excursion: The Kashmir Valley with its numerous shrines attracted pilgrims from all over India. There is evidence to show that the pilgrim traffic passed through this route during the medieval period. For excursions to Kashmir the Mughals preferred it for its obvious pinch of adventure and for the scenic beauty. On the authority of Sufi one comes to know that Jahangir paid eight visits to Kashmir, mostly by this route, in the company of his father, or, during his own regime.

d) Transhumance: The nomadic herdsmen, such as the Gujjars, who move about in the mountainous regions on the periphery of the valley have frequently used this route in
the past as they still do at present. A heavy traffic of these transhumant tribes is handled by the Pir Panjal pass route in their trans-Himalayan trekking every year.

4.3.1.1 Akbar's Expedition to Kashmir via the Pir Panjal Route (1589)

Akbar had nurtured a desire to visit the beautiful valley of Kashmir. After settling the major problems of the empire, he thought it an appropriate time to visit the valley, though his advisors tried to persuade him not to go to such a distance and put himself in a remote region. 611 Akbar sent three thousand stone cutters, mountain-miners, and spitters of rocks, and 2000 beldars (diggers) under Qasim Khan to make the mountainous road to Kashmir practicable. 612

Akbar started from Lahor on 28th April 1589, marched one Kos and 12 bambus (poles) and after crossing the Ravi (see Map 4.25) encamped near the serai of Nadhu Singh. 614 After travelling 2 Kos 50 poles he encamped near Shahdara 615

611 AN, III, p. 817.
612 Ibid.
613 Four hundred bambus or poles made a kos, each bambu being 12½ gaz. As one gaz of Akbar was of 33 inches, length of a kos comes about two and half miles (2 miles 4 furlongs 183 yards and 1 foot).
614 AN, III, p. 887. It is not possible to locate this serai which must have perished in due course of time.
615 Six miles from old city of Lahore, on the west bank of Ravi. It contains Jahangir and Nur Jahan's tombs. (Beveridge, H., AN, III, p. 818, f.n. 1).
LAHOR-KASHMIR ROUTE
Based on Akbar-Nama
1589

10 0 M 

Talwandi
Sitoram

Aminaba?
Sialkot

Shahdara
Lahore

Sudhara
Talwandi
Sitoram
Aminabad

Map. 425
and by travelling 4 Kos 41 poles reached the village of Jora. 616 From this village he marched 3½ Kos 72 poles and alighted near Aminab. 617 After an interval of one day he marched 4⅔ Kos and encamped in the territory of Sitaram. 618 At dawn he marched 4½ Kos 35 poles and halted at Talwandi. 619 Then after one day he passed Sudhira 620 and encamped in the bank of the Chinab. It was a march of 6 Kos 41 poles. The river was crossed by a bridge, the march being 1½ Kos 51 poles. Then he reached Gunacor, 621 a dependency of Sialcot after travelling for 4 Kos 5 bambus. Next day Akbar marched 4½ Kos 41 bambus and encamped at Dikri, 622 a dependency of Sialcot. After two days he marched, 4⅓ Kos 60 bambus and halted at Jaipur Kheri 623 a village of Bhimbar. On 19th May

616 AN, III, p. 818. Beveridge, identified it with Juahir-pul of Indian Atlas, which seems to correspond to Shah Daulapul on the Dig river, 22 miles north of Lahor (f.n. 2).

617 AN, III, p. 818.

618 Ibid. It is Saharam in I.O. MS. It is not possible to find this place in the maps. Its location on the basis of its distance from Aminabad is being shown in our maps.

619 AN, III, p. 818. The approximate location of Talwandi is also being shown in our map.

620 AN, III, p. 818. It is Sadhra of modern maps.

621 Ibid. It lies south-east of Jalindhar and is the place where Bairam Khan was defeated (Beveridge f.n. 8).

622 AN, III, p. 819.

623 Ibid. It is Jypore of the maps.
1589 he went with few attendants to see the pass of Bhimbar which Kashmiris call Kajiwar and other hill men Adi-Dat. 624

Akbar resumed his journey and traversed the defile between the Serai Jogi 625 and Naushahra, 626 which was known as Ghati Badu. 627 He travelled 13¼ Kos. Next morning the ravine of Ghazikot, 628 between Naushahra and Serai Cingiz, 629 was traversed with difficulty. After passing Rajouri, 630 Akbar halted at the tents of Qasim Khan who was proceeding with the work of making the road clear and level. 631 The march was 8 Kos 9 poles.

From Rajauri there are several roads leading into the

---

624 Ibid. It is Adidak of Bate's Gazetteer which is 6 miles of north of Bhimbar. The altitude of Adidak is 2800' while Bhimbar is only 1060' above sea level.

625 AN, III, p. 821. Serai Jogi could not be identified.

626 Ibid. It is on the right bank of Tohi river at an altitude of 1800' above sea level.

627 Ibid. Most probably, the word Badu has been used for Zainu-l-abadin, the glorious king of Kashmir. In Kashmir he is still known as Bar Shah or Bad Shah, which means 'The Great King'. It is near modern Saidabad.

628 Ibid. The ravine of Ghazikot is identified near the top of the small hill between Naushara and Serai Cingiz.

629 Ibid. It is better known as Chingas Serai. In that old serai there is a mosque and the grave entombing Jahangir's entrails.

630 Ibid. Rajauri, like Naushahra and Chingas serai is on the right bank of river Tohi and has an altitude of 3094 feet.

631 Ibid. As Akbar reached Rajauri in the last week of May, so snow in the process of melting made the roads unusualble without repair.
valley of Kashmir. Abul Fazl, mentions it in the following words: "As several roads led from this place and each was full of snow, experienced men were sent off to make enquiries and a council was held. It appeared that the best route for a large army was by the defile of the Hasti water. As it was a difficult passage on account of the large amount of snow and rain, His Majesty chose the Pir Panjal route".

The next camp was fixed near Laha, a dependency of Rajauri. The distance between Rajauri and Laha was measured as 3½ Kos 13 poles. Next day they marched 1½ Kos and reposed near Thana. The village is at the foot of the defile of Ratan Panjal. According to Abul Fazl, from Thana the Kashmir language begins. He mentions that according to Akbar, "countres are divided from one another by hills, rivers, deserts, and language. For the first (three) of these Bhimbar is the boundary of Kashmir, and for the last, this station is."
Next day Akbar crossed the Patan Panjal pass. The camp was pitched at Bahramgalla, the distance covered was 2½ Kos 5 poles. Abul Fazl found Bahramgalla a delightful place... (with) few equals for climate and variety of flowers. Many of them climbed the pass on foot, most probably due to steep slopes and a difficult climb. Next day they marched 2 Kos 55 poles and encamped at Pushiana. Abul Fazl describes the details of the route and its beauty at length.

Abul Fazl writes that after Pushiana the route was filled with snow for more than two kos. He further described, "... His Majesty's fellow travellers were much frightend, but the encouragements of His Majesty soothed them somewhat. As it is the custom for pedestrains, where

637 Ratan Panjal pass is localid at a distance of 5 miles from Thana and Bahramgalla. The altitude of the pass is 8,200' above sea level. The climb is quite difficult.

638 The village is situated in a deep gorge at the foot of the pass near the confluence of Chitta Pani (Suran or Punch river) with the Purni stream.

639 AN, III, p. 822.

640 Ibid. It is modern Poshiana, on the west side of this Pir Panjal pass. There are ruins of the old serai, a little above the left bank of the road. The altitude of the village is about 8,350' above sea level.

641 AN, III, p. 822.

842 Ibid., p. 823. The route was filled with the snow for only 1½ to 2 miles when I travelled on the route in June 1973. It seems that during 1589, it snowed more than usual, or the snow line during that period was lower than today - a case of climatic change.
going over the snow to use shoes woven out of ropes or rice-straw, most provided themselves therewith, but this was a thing which His Majesty did not approve."

Next day they crossed Pir Panjal Pass and encamped at Dund which was near the pass of Nati Barari. The march from Poshiana to Dund was $3\frac{1}{2}$ kos 20 poles. There was snow in the way. Abul Fazl describes the difficulties of the pass route in these words, "Shall I describe the severity of the cold? Or shall I tell of the depth of the snow, and of the bewilderment of the nature of India? Or shall I describe the heights and hollows of this stage?"

Gujjars, the nomadic herdsmen, who move about in the mountainous regions on the periphery of the valley use these shoes of ropes of rice straw and of Jutta (made from ropes).

AN, III, p. 823.

Ibid. There is much controversy about the origin of the Pir Panjal word. In fact Pir Panjal are two separate words. Pir in Persian means an old man or a saint of 'Faqir'. There is a grave on the top of the pass of a saint. Panjal is identified by Stein as of Pancala, for the modern word he used Pantsal instead of Panjal. It could have been applied either to the whole of the great southern chain of mountain or its central portion about the Pir Panjal Pass. The pass is at the altitude of 11,400 feet above sea level.

Ibid. Dund is not marked in the maps. It must be before Aliabad serai as the given distance indicates. After Pir Panjal pass, the slope is gentle on the Kashmir side and conditions are good for encampment up to a place half miles south-west of Aliabad serai where gorge of a small tributary of Rembiara presents a serious hinderance. So Dund must be near the pass itself much before the gorge.

Ibid. There is much variation in different MSS, Nati
write of the fountains, the trees, the flowers?"  

It is obvious that for the people of the plains of India, who had never visited the mountainous areas, Pir Panjal range was extremely difficult to cross and to make the journey still more difficult it snowed and hailed while they were crossing the pass. Next day they traversed Nati Barari which according to Abul Fazl was the most difficult of all the ranges and encamped at Hirpur. The distance between Dhund and Hirpur is given as 4½ kos. According to Abul Fazl, they crossed forty-four bridges in all up-to Hirpur. Summing up the difficulties of the journey Abul Fazl writes that "the hills between this (Hirpur) place and Bhimbar had now been overcome and were forgotten. To speak briefly, from Bhimbar to Hirpur there is a continuous range of hills which for narrows and difficulty and for ascent and

---

Cont'd.. f.n. 647

Barari, Nari Barari and Tari Barari. In TJ, it is Bari Brari. Perhaps the gorge of the tributary of Rembiara river generally known as Pir Panjal river with steep wall like sides, half a mile south-west of Aliabad serai might have been known as Nati Barari during that period.

648 AN, III, p. 823.

649 Ibid., p. 824. Hirpur is a small and scattered village lying about 7 miles south-west of Shupian. There is old Mughal serai and level ground available for encamping.

650 Ibid. It is difficult to tell the exact number of bridges on this sector of the route. There were 17 bridges only between Bahramgalla and Poshiana on Suran river and the river forded 7 times. Drew and Bates
descents is unrivalled."651

From Hirpur, which is in the Kashmir valley the route is plain and easy upto Srinagar. Akbar after travelling for 3½ kos 81 bambus halted at the village of Kasu.652 Next day 3½ kos 13 poles were traversed and they halted at Khanpur.653 On 5th June, 1589, Akbar marched for 1½ kos 18 poles and reached the city of Srinagar. According to Abul Fazl, "From Lahor, the capital, to this place (Srinagar) 97 kos 7 poles were traversed in 24 marches."654

4.3.1.2 Jahangir's March from Kashmir via the Pir Panjal Route (1620)

Jahangir started his return journey from Srinagar on 27th of Mihr. It was Monday night. Before leaving Srinagar, Jahangir had directed his officers that "from Srinagar to the end of the hilly country buildings should be erected at each

Cont'd.. f.n. 650

give the number of bridges as 30 between Bahramgalla and Poshiana. It is possible that many new bridges were made on this route for the Imperial visit, which are no more there.

651 AN, III, p. 824.
652 Ibid., p. 825. It is not possible to identify this village.
653 Ibid. There is a Khanpur Serai marked in the map south­south-west of Srinagar, but it is further off than 1½ kos. It is about 12 miles from Srinagar.
654 Ibid., p. 827. Abul Fazl gives the name of only 23 place instead of 24 mentioned. The total distance is also 89½ kos. He must have omitted some place, perhaps
stage for the accommodation\textsuperscript{655} needed for him and the royal ladies. He marched from the neighbourhood of the city of Srinagar and encamped at the village of Pampur,\textsuperscript{656} which was famous for its saffron fields (see Map 4.26). From Pampur they moved on Friday and the camp was pitched at Kanpur.\textsuperscript{657} Although the buildings at this stage had been completed but these were still damp and there was a smell of lime so they stayed in tents. Next day they halted at Kalampur\textsuperscript{658} and on Sunday, the 3rd of Aban, Jahangir reached Hirpur,\textsuperscript{659} and passed the night at this stage.

The Kotal of Bari Barari\textsuperscript{660} was crossed, on the next day and Pir Panjal pass was considered as the proper place for encampment.\textsuperscript{661} Jahangir describes the difficulties of the pass in these words "of the roughness of the pass and the difficulties of the road what shall I write? It is difficult.

Cont'd., f.n. 654

between Hirapur and Srinagar to mention. However, this distance of 97 kos and 7 poles comes out to be 252 miles.

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{655} TJ, II, p. 178.
  \item \textsuperscript{656} Ibid., p. 177. The town of Pampur is situated on the right bank of the Jhelum, about 8 miles south-east of Srinagar.
  \item \textsuperscript{657} TJ, II, p. 178.
  \item \textsuperscript{658} Ibid. Kalampur is marked on some maps on the road between Srinagar and Shupian.
  \item \textsuperscript{659} TJ, II, p. 178.
  \item \textsuperscript{660} Ibid., p. 179. For various names and for their possible location see Akbar's Expedition on this road.
  \item \textsuperscript{661} TJ, II, p. 179.
\end{itemize}
LAHOR-KASHMIR ROUTE
JALALPUR - SRINAGAR SECTOR
Based on Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri
1620

Map 426
cult for thought even to cross it. In these last few days snow had repeatedly fallen, the hills had become white, and in the middle of the path in some places ice had formed, so that the hoof of the horse had no hold and a rider could only pass with difficulty."  

On Tuesday, the 5th, going by the pass of Pir Panjal the camp was pitched at Poshana. Although on this side there is a descent, yet as it is high, most of the people passed it on foot. Next day the camp was pitched at Bahramgalla. Near this village there is a waterfall and a very fine spring, which was noticed by Jahangir. According to the Tuzuk, Jahangir ordered to make a terrace for him to sit, as from this place the sight of the waterfall is beautiful. Jahangir gave orders that "they should engrave on a stone tablet the date of the crossing, and place it on the top of the terrace (suffa)". Bi-dadal K. composed the couplet, "and this mark of my fortune remains on the path.

662 Ibid.
663 Ibid. It is Pushiana of Abul Fazl.
664 Ibid.
665 Ibid. This waterfall now known as Noori Chamb, is on the left bank of Suran river. Jahangir constructed here a bathing spot for Noor Jahan. It has a spacious plateform and on the left-side of the fall there is a room for taking bath.
666 At Noori Chamb (waterfall) the terraced plateform is still there but there is no stone tablet.
of poetry as a memorial on the tablet of time."door 667

On Thursday, the village of Thana 668 became the encamping place. Jahangir observed the difference between Bahramgalla and the places through which he had passed earlier on the road as he mentions that "... from this stage (Thana) a great difference was apparent in the climate, the language, the clothing, the animals and whatever properly belongs to a warm country. The people here speak both Persian and Hindi. Evidently Hindi is their real language, and they have acquired Kashmiri on account of the proximity of Kashmir. 669 Briefly, one enters India at this place."670

On Friday, they encamped at Rajouri. 671 About the river 672 at Rajaur, Jahangir mentions that the water becomes much poisoned during the rainy season. By drinking it people get swelling (bugma) under the throat, and grow weak and yellow. He encamped, at Naushahra, 673 on Sunda. Jahangir

667 TJ, II, p. 179.
668 Ibid., p. 180.
669 This statement of Jahangir seems to be correct, as people of Bahramgalla still understand the languages which Jahangir refers to. Thana should not be a part of Kashmiri speaking region, as mentioned by Abul Fazl.
671 It is Rajauri of AN. It is ancient Rajapuri, Abberuni's Rajawari and modern Rajori. During the times of Hindu kings, it was the capital of a small hill state, situated immediately to the south of Pir Panjal range and often tributary to Kashmir.
672 TJ, II, p. 181. In fact, this is river Tahi, while many of the travellers and writers mention this river as Tawi.
673 TJ, II, p. 181.
mentions that by the order of Akbar "they had built a stone fort and there is constantly here, by way of station (thana), a body of men from the governor of Kashmir."674 Next day they encamped at Chanki Hatti 675 and on Tuesday at Bhimbar. 676 That was the end of their journey through the mountainous terrain.

Jahangir proceeded towards Girjhak 677 and in five marches encamped on the banks of Bihat. 678 Jahangir participated in hunting and various other sports on the way to Lahor where he reached on 5th Muharram of AH 1030 (20 November 1620). 679

4.3.2 Kashmir-Kabul Route via Pakli

The Pakli route, better known as Jhelum gorge route, although quite difficult to traverse has been used by traders, pilgrims, travellers since ancient times. The Great Chinese pilgrim, Hwen Thsang who entered the Valley of Kashmir from

674 Ibid.
675 Ibid.
676 Ibid.
677 Ibid., p. 182. Girjhak is said to be the ancient name of Jalalpur.
678 T.J., II, p. 182.
679 Ibid., p. 183.
the West in September 631 found a stone gate at the entrance of the valley. He stayed for the night in the monastery of Hu-se Kia-lo or Kushkava.680 This place is mentioned by Abu-Rihan, who makes Ushkara the same as Baramula, which occupied both sides of the river.681 Alberuni describes the route as "best known entrance to Kashmir". Identification of the starting point of his itinerary is yet to be done but it is clear that the route which he mentions is not other than Jhelum gorge route. This was the most direct route between Kashmir and Kabul after crossing Indus at Ohind (Hund) or Attock.

Though, both Akbar and Jahangir travelled through this route but did very little to develop it as they preferred the Pir Panjal route, which was closer to their seat of Empire - Agra or Lahor route was used by Akbar in 1589, when he was returning from Kashmir and had a plan to visit Kabul. Abul Fazl, who was with Akbar on this journey, gives a detailed account of the Kashmir-Kabul route. Jahangir also accompanied Akbar in this journey. Jahangir, however, described this route when he again went to Kashmir through it in 1620. Though, it is clear from the contemporary sources that the Pir Panjal route became far more important than the Pakli route after the inclusion of Kashmir in the Mughal

680 Cunningham, A., p. 77.
681 Ibid., p. 84.
Empire, the latter route, however, did not lose its status as a leading trade route.

For a better understanding, of the significance of this route it is necessary to know the functions for which the route was being used during the times of the Early Mughals.

a) Trade: owing to the extremely confined nature of the gorge, communication along it must have always been troublesome and risky in the medieval times. Nevertheless it must have been used for the trade between Kashmir and Persia and Western Turkistan (via Kabul) especially in light goods as handling heavy goods by this difficult and rugged route was almost impossible. There are various references to prove that this route was being used for trade and commerce during the period under study. For example, Jahangir refers to a large number of merchants, living at Baramula, the gate of Kashmir. The Kotal near Kishan Ganga was known as Pimdarang (cotton delay) signifying the fact that the route was being used to carry cotton.

b) Military expeditions: It seems probable that the military importance of Jhelum gorge route was far smaller than that of the Pir Panjal route. It was only from the Afghan occupation of Kashmir that this western route attained real prominence. Since this route does not pass through higher altitudes, it is the only one that is almost free from snow in winter and is of great importance during winter seasons.
c) Travellers and Pilgrims: The real function of this route during the ancient and medieval times has been confined to receive visitors and pilgrims since early time. Hwen Thsang and Ou-K'-ong entered Kashmir from the west of this route, and it is by this route that many learned scholars and Sufis from Persia and Turkistan came to the valley. It was also well known to Alberuni. There are frequent reference to this route in the works of Kalhana, Srivara and Jonaraja.

4.3.2.1 Akbar's Expedition from Kashmir to Kabul (1589)

Akbar decided to travel by the Pakli route as he was planning to go to Kabul. Hashim Khan, the son of Qasim Khan was sent to repair the Pakli road, around July 3, 1589. Many stone-breakers and diggers accompanied him. After sending these people Akbar decided to go to Maraj by boat so that he could sit and enjoy the scenery. Special boats were prepared for the King and his entourage of near friends and relations. More than a thousand boats were put in readiness. There was almost a city upon the waters.

While returning from Maraj, Akbar encamped after pass-

682 This route passes through the Sarkar of Pakli, so it was called as Pakli route. The route is better known as Jhelum (Bihat) gorge route and was the shortest route to reach Kabul from Kashmir.

683 AN, III, p. 835.

684 Ibid.
ing through Srinagar around 19th of July. On the way, his boat collided with a bridge but fortunately no damage was done. After two days more he travelled 4 kos 60 poles and encamped at Shihabuddinpur. Here Sultan Qoresh of Kashghar arrived and was received with royal favours. His lineage goes back to Chingez Khan. On 23 July Akbar travelled (by boat) 3½ kos 12 poles and arrived near Sopur. On the way he visited the garden of the Bagh Safa which Mirza Haider had laid. Next day he travelled 4½ kos, 72 poles, and halted near Patan. He disembarked here and went on by land (see Map 4.27).

After three halts (three days) they resumed their march and travelled 3½ kos, 60 poles, and encamped near Nau-

685 Ibid., p. 840.

686 Ibid. Shahabuddinpur is now known as Shadipur and lies about 12 miles north-west of Srinagar, near the junction of the Sindh river.

687 Ibid. It shows apart from other things that the route between Kashghar and Kashmir was under the common use that is why Sultan Qoresh came to meet Akbar in Kashmir.

688 Ibid., p. 845. According to Beveridge, the text has Satpur, but probably the place is Sopur at the south-west Corner of the Wular lake (f.n. 2).

689 Ibid. The reference to Bagh Safa is there in Tabagat-i-Akberi and Ferishta in connection with the burning of the building of Bagh Safa by rebellious Kashmiris (f.n. 2).

690 Ibid. Patan lies on the Srinagar-Baramula road but far away from Bihat river thus it is difficult to explain how Akbar reached Patan by boat. The only possibility is that the Patan stands at the head of a small canal and the passage is navigable but in the height of the rainy season.
Abul Fazl, mentions that in Kashmir "there are porters who carry immense burden, and traverse hills, as if they were plains. These men transported much baggage. It was a wonderful sight." Akbar set out next day at dawn, and having travelled 2 kos, 20 poles encamped, at Barahmula. Abul Fazl, describes Baramula as the gate of Kashmir. He writes, "on one side there is a sky touching hills, and on the other the Bihat tumultously rushes towards India. Between the two there is a narrow path. Since a long time, the rulers have made a gate there and the guards admit no one without passport."

When Akbar was in Baramula, Zain Khan Koka arrived from Pakli and did homage. Akbar sent him forward in order that he might make a strong bridge over the Indus. They left the Bihat and encamped after travelling of a kos.

691 Ibid., p. 846. Beveridge identified it with Nurpur and says that it can also be Tarap of maps as in Persian script the difference is only of dots (fn. 2) in the script.

692 Ibid., III, pp. 846-847.

693 Ibid., p. 847. Baramula, during the medieval times was settled only on the right bank of the Jhelum river.

694 Ibid. The significance of Baramula was due to its location along the Jhelum gorge - the only possible route for the large number of travellers and traders from west.

695 Ibid., III, p. 847.

696 Ibid. The word 'left' is perhaps not correct. In fact they must have crossed the Bihat as the route they followed was along the right bank of the river.
plus 20 poles. After one day they travelled 3 kos, 20 bambus and halted near Khanpur.\textsuperscript{697} On the next day Akbar halted at the village of Kanpula,\textsuperscript{698} after travelling 4 kos and 60 poles. The description of the way is given by Abul Fazl as follows: "It snowed for most of the way up to this place. One side there is a lofty mountain. The one on the right, in returning, was bare of trees; the other was full of Cypresses and pines, though the distance between these two places was very small."\textsuperscript{699}

At dawn he started again and marched $3\frac{3}{4}$ kos, 60 poles and halted near Pahunar,\textsuperscript{700} a dependency of Dajan Kharu.\textsuperscript{701}

\textsuperscript{697} Ibid. Though there is a Kanpur just below the Baramula on the left bank of the Jhelum but it can hardly be Kanpur of Stein's and Montgomerie's maps. Possibly this was Zeehanpure of Montgomerie's map which is on the right bank of Jhelum on the west of Baramula. In Persian script, there is hardly any difference between these two words ( )

\textsuperscript{698} Ibid., p. 848. Beveridge identified it as Kanelwar of Bates. But it seems impossible as Bates Kanelwar lies in Lat. $33^\circ$ 48 N, Long. $75^\circ$ 12' E which is far away from the route. The location of the place is shown approximately.

\textsuperscript{699} AN, III, pp. 848-849.

\textsuperscript{700} Ibid., p. 849. Beveridge identified it as Bhaniyar on the right bank of Harpatkai river at its junction with the Jhelum. But it is not possible as the distance between Baramula and Bhaniyar is about 12 miles, while according to distances given by Abul Fazl it is nearly 30 miles. Pahunar should be closer to Kuarrrast pass.

\textsuperscript{701} Ibid. According to Beveridge "Dajan is a clerical error of Dacan and the compound word Dajankharu, i.e. right and left" (f.n. 2). In fact Dacan or Dakshin is not left but south which in this case is the same.
About this part of the region Abul Fazl mentions that "In going from Baramula up to the river Kishan Gang the country on the right hand is called Dajanpara, and that on the left is called Kharu." Next day they travelled $3\frac{1}{2}$ kos and 89 poles and encamped at the village of Mahipura. There were many ups and downs in the way including the most difficult pass, the Kuarmast on the route.

Next day early in the morning he resumed his march and after travelling $4\frac{3}{4}$ kos, 26 poles through defiles he halted near Bulias. From Bulias to Kishangang lies the territory of Mastang. Next day, he marched 4 kos and after crossing the Bulias pass camped near Naupara. Abul Fazl describes the route and its difficulties in these words, "The road was almost unparalleled for difficulty, narrowness, and

702 **AN, III, p. 849.**

703 **Ibid.** It is Paipara in I.O. MS. 236. It may be Haira between Riwand and Kahai, as this place is on the right bank of Jhelum and in Persian there is a fair chance of this variation ( ). The name might also have changed in time. The given distance of this place from Bulias also supports this assumption.

704 **AN, III, p. 849.** It is Kakaramast of Elphinstones map. Bourbel writes it as Kumarmust.

705 **Ibid., p. 850.** It is Peliasa of the map, Montgomerie and Bourbel. Stein calls it as Buliasa, which in his view was Bolyasaka of ancient times. Jahangir mentions it as Bhulbas.

706 **AN, III, 850.**

707 **Ibid.** Perhaps it is Naushahra about three miles east of Garhi.
height and hollows."708

After a march of 4 kos, 10 poles, Akbar, encamped near Barka709 and crossed the river Kishan Gang710 by a bridge and after travelling $3\frac{1}{2}$ kos, 82 poles encamped near Sikri.711 It was 11th August, 1589. Next day a formidable pass $3\frac{1}{2}$ kos long was traversed, and the encampment was made near the Nain Sukh river.712 After one day Akbar passed the defiles of Batras.713 He travelled 5 kos, 30 poles and encamped at Gahi,714 a dependency of Pakli. Abul Fazl mentions that from here a plain became visible, and provisions after being very dear were now cheap.715

708 AN, III, p. 850.

709 Ibid. It is Parka in I.O. MS. 236. It is identified as Prak, on the right bank of Jhelum, at a distance of 10 miles from Muzafferabad. These two words are very much alike in Persian script.

710 Ibid. Kishan Ganga river was the boundary between the territories of Hastang and Pakli. There is much confusion about this word. There are many other words used for Hastang, as Pushang, Shahbang, Sahmak.

711 Ibid. It is probable that this place was on the right bank of Kishan Gang, north of Muzafferabad.

712 Ibid., p. 851. It is known as Kunhar. It is probable that Akbar encamped on the left bank of the Nain Sukh.

713 Ibid. Beveridge, identified it as Batrassigalli west of Garhi Habibulbh of Hazara Gazetteer, p. 138 (f.n.3).

714 Ibid. It not possible to identify this place.

715 Ibid.
Next day 4 kos, 80 poles were traversed and they encamped near Dadhal.\textsuperscript{716} The following day, traversing 3 kos, 90 poles, Akbar encamped at Garhaha.\textsuperscript{717} The next camp was made at Dahakari,\textsuperscript{718} after travelling for 4\frac{1}{4} kos, 3 poles, by the road, which was narrow and full of streams. They started early in the morning and travelled 3\frac{3}{4} kos, 80 poles and halted between Khora and Manikzhal, which was a seat of the Dilazaks.\textsuperscript{719} Next day he travelled 4 kos and halted near Serai of Saiyed Pir Sabz.\textsuperscript{720} The next camp was made near the serai of Zainuddin Ali, after passing Baba Hasan Abdal.\textsuperscript{721} On that day he travelled 4\frac{1}{4} kos, 50 poles. Next morning he crossed the river Tarabardi\textsuperscript{722} and passed the Serai of Bahadur and halted. This march was 3\frac{3}{4} kos. On 24th

\textsuperscript{716} Ibid. Beveridge, identified it as Dodyal, 25 miles from Abbottabad (f.n. 4). This identification seems correct.

\textsuperscript{717} AN, III, p. 851.

\textsuperscript{718} Ibid., p. 853. Approximate location is shown in the map.

\textsuperscript{719} Ibid. It is not possible to locate Khora and Manikzhal Dilazak Afghans must have migrated east of Indus from their homeland. During the period under study they are found scattered here and there and lost their identity in due course of time. See, tribal distribution of Dilazaks.

\textsuperscript{720} Ibid. It is possibly Sawajpeer of the map north of Hasan Abdal.

\textsuperscript{721} Ibid. \textit{Situated on the top of a steep hill, contains the shrine of Baba Hasan Abdal. It is also known as Panja Sahib, in consequence of the mark of the hand of Guru Nanak the founder of the Sikh religion.}

\textsuperscript{722} Ibid. It should be Haru river.
August 1589, he travelled, 4½ kos and encamped by the river Indus near Atak Benares. From Srinagar to this place in 96 kos, 77 poles.

Akbar crossed the Indus by the bridge which had been constructed below Attock, on 31st August 1589. He marched 28 poles and halted near the Serai of Khairabad. Abul Fazl mentions that 'those (people) who were wearied with the journey, and those who loved the shade and their homes, expected that after such troublesome journeys His Majesty would not go to Kabul, and that his only design was to hunt and recreate himself on the bank of the Indus.' But Akbar proceeded towards Kabul and after three days halts, marched 3 kos, 25 poles and halted near Elias-garha. The camp was near Gorkhatra when Shah Beg came from Swad and requested the King to visit Begram which was in his fief.

723 Ibid. The road between Hasan Abadal and Attock has not been clearly mentioned and most of the places mentioned cannot be identified.

724 Ibid. The approximate distance between these two places must be the same as was between Lahor and Srinagar i.e. 250 miles.

725 Ibid., p. 855. The settlement of Khairabad is just across Indus opposite Attock.

726 AN, III, p. 855.

727 Ibid. It is not possible to identify this place.

728 Ibid. It is Gur-Khattari of BN.

729 Ibid.
On 11th September, Akbar traversed the Khaibar and halted at Daka. Qasim Khan who was sent to repair the road did his job efficiently as Abul Fazl mentions that "Qasim had so improved the road, which camels and horses used to traverse with difficulty that carts passed through easily." On 14th September Karam Ullah came from Malwa and did homage near Khwaja Yaqut Sarai. At the stage of Safed Sang the idea of travelling rapidly occurred to Akbar so "he left the great camp under the charge of Prince Murad, to come on slowly, and at the close of the 8th (18th September) he urged on his steed." At mid-day he rested near Barik Ab. When half the night had passed, he renewed his journey and on the 10th he illuminated Kabul by his advent." Abul Fazl mentions that, "on the whole way, Turks and Tajiks came forward on both sides with presents and offerings..." From Attock Benares to Kabul is 92½ kos, 41 poles, and they were traversed in 21 days and 18 marches.

730 Ibid., p. 856.
731 Ibid.
732 Ibid. This place could not be identified.
733 Ibid.
734 Ibid.
735 Ibid.
736 The distance between Attock and Kabul is slightly less than the distance between Srinagar-Lahor or Srinagar-Attock. But due to better condition of the road, the time consumed on the journey was significantly less.
737 AN, III, p. 857.
Prince Murad arrived with the family and household on the 15th.

4.3.2.2 Jahangir's Expedition from Hasan Abdal to Kashmir (1620)

When Jahangir decided to visit Kashmir he sent off Nuruddin Quli to repair as far as possible the ups and downs of the Punch route and to prepare it, so that the passage of the laden beasts over difficult hill tops might be accomplished with ease and that the men should not undergo labour and hardship."738 But when Jahangir was near Karohi, a pargana on the bank of Bihat, he received a written report from Nuruddin Quli that "he had repaired the Punch road, and levelled the defiles as far as possible, but that snow fell for some days and night, and lay on the Kotals to the depth of three cubits."739

Jahangir was interested in seeing the spring and the sprouting of bloom so he could not wait for the route to be cleared and decided to proceed by way of Pakli and Damtur.740 He, therefore, reached Hasan Abdal, and stayed there for two days741 as he writes that beyond this, "hills, passes, and many ups and downs were before us, the passage of the camp appeared a difficult matter.742 It was decided that some

---

738 TJ, II, pp. 97-98.
739 Ibid., p. 121.
740 Ibid.
741 Ibid., p. 123.
742 Ibid.
Begums should delay for some days, and come on at leisure. Some officers and servants went by the Punch road. Jahangir and with some privileged courtiers and necessary servants proceeded towards Kashmir via Pakli route on Friday, the 17th of Isfandarmuz. They marched 3½ kos and halted at the village of Sultanpur (see Map 4.28). Next day after marching 4½ kos, Jahangir halted at the village of Sanji. From this place began pargana of Hazara Qarlugh. On Sunday, marching 3½ kos, they halted at the village of Naushahra. About the beauty of the place which is in the territory of Dhantur, Jahangir mentions that "As far as the eye could reach there were green meadows interspread with the thal Kanwal (hibiscus) and other flowers in bloom. It was a very beautiful sight.

On Monday, after travelling 3½ kos, he halted at the village of Salhar and on Tuesday, marching 3 kos they halted at the village of Malgalli. That day there was a

743 Ibid.
744 Ibid. It is on the southern bank of the Harro river (Elliot VI, p. 367).
745 Ibid., p. 124. Elliot has Hazara Farigh.
746 Ibid. It is on the eastern bank of the river Dhor.
747 Ibid., p. 124.
748 Ibid.
749 Ibid. There is a variation in the name of this place. It has been approximately located on the map.
KABUL-KASHMIR ROUTE

BARAMULA-HASANADAL SECTOR

Based on Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri

1620
drizzling rain till the end of the march. The next day also it rained. In the morning snow fell and as most of the roads had become very slippery, the weak animals fell in every place and could not rise again and 25 of Jahangir's own elephants were bent to assist them. They halted for two days on account of the snow. On Friday, the 24th they marched 4 kos and pitched at the village of Sawadnagar. Jahangir mentions that on this road too, there was much mud. Next day they halted near Pakli, the distance covered was 3½ kos.

On Wednesday, 29th, having marched 5½ kos, and crossing by bridge the Nain Sukh, he encamped near the left bank of the river. These two bridges were made on the two branches of the Nain Sukh. Next day, having marched about 3½ kos a halt was made on the bank of Kishan Ganga. About the route, Jahangir mentions that "on this road there is a Kotal of great height, the ascent being 1 kos, and the descent 1½ kos, which they call Pim darang. The reason for this

750 TJ, II, p. 125.
751 Ibid. Elliot has Tawadkar.
752 Ibid. Perhaps, they encamped near the Pakli river. The name of the capital of the Sarkar of Pakli is not found in any of the contemporary sources. Perhaps it was Dhudial or Dadhal.
753 TJ, II, p. 127.
754 Ibid.
755 Ibid., p. 128.
name is that in the language they call cotton (pambal) pim. As the rulers of Kashmir had placed a superintendent there who took duties from loads of cotton, and delay takes place here for the collection of the duty it has became known as the Pimdarang (cotton delay). 756

There was an old bridge over Kishan Ganga, 54 yards long and 1½ yards wide, which the footmen crossed. According to the orders of Jahangir, another parallel bridge was prepared which was 53 yards long and 3 yards wide. "As the water was deep and swift, they took the elephants across without loads and the footmen and horses crossed, by the bridge." 757

On the Saturday, the 2nd (Farwadin), 11 March 1620, having marched 4½ kos, Jahangir halted at the village of Bakkar. 758 On the road there was no hill pass (Kotal) but it was rather stony. 759 Jahangir very vividly describes the Jhelum gorge route in the following words: "from this place to Kashmir the road is along the bank of river Bihat. There are hills on both sides, and in the bottom of the valley the water flows with great force, boiling and ranging. However large an elephant may be he cannot hold his feet firmly in

756 Ibid., p. 128.
757 Ibid.
758 Ibid., p. 130. It is Barka or Parka of AN and identi-fied as Prak.
759 TJ, II, p. 130.
it, but immediately rolls over, and is carried away. There are also water dogs in the river."760 There, next day after travelling 4½ kos, they encamped at Mausaran.761

On Monday, marching 2½ kos, he pitched at Bhulbas.762 Jahangir describes the difficulty of the road in these words, "they said these hills were very narrow and difficult to pass", and they could be crossed by a crowd of men only with great trouble.763 When Jahangir reached the Kotal of Bhulbas, snow and rain began to fall. On Tuesday after traversing 2 kos Jahangir alighted at the village of Kahai.764 From this stage according to Jahangir they "entered within the boundary of Kashmir."765

On Wednesday, after marching 3 kos his camp was pitched at the village of Rwand.766 On Thursday, the 7th, after crossing the Kotal of Kuwarmat, which was the most

760 Ibid.
761 Ibid.
762 Ibid., p. 131. It is Buliasa of AN and is identified with the Peliasa of maps.
763 TJ, II, p. 131.
764 Ibid., p. 132. It is Kathai on the right bank of Jhelum about four miles from Bhulbas or Buliasa.
765 TJ, II, p. 131. It is highly probable that the traditional boundary of Kashmir was the pass of Buliasa as mentioned by Abul Fazl (AN, III, p. 850). Jahangir also mentions that "In the same Kotal of Bhulbas, Yaqub, S. Yusuf K. Kashmiri fought with the victorious army of my father, of which Raja Bhagwan Das, father of Raja Man Singh, was the leader". TJ, II, p. 132. It is possible that the Kotal was the boundary but Kahai was the first Kashmiri settlement on the road.
766 TJ, II, p. 132. It lies at a distance of about ½ mile
difficult pass on the Jhelum gorge route\textsuperscript{767} they encamped at the village of Wachaha.\textsuperscript{768} The distance covered was 4\frac{1}{2} kos. On Friday the 8th, having travelled nearly 4 kos, he halted at the village of Baltar.\textsuperscript{769} There was no Kotal on the road. On Saturday, 18th March 1620 Jahangir marched 4\frac{1}{2} kos and crossed over at Baramula. About this town he mentions that, "It is one of the noted towns of Kashmir and 14 kos distant from the city (Srinagar), situated on the bank of Behat. A number of the merchants of Kashmir live in it."\textsuperscript{770}

On Sunday, when two watches of the day had passed he arrived at Shihabuddinpur.\textsuperscript{771} On Monday, 20th March, Jahangir alighted at the building lately erected on the bank of the Dal Lake.\textsuperscript{772} Jahangir mentions that "From Hasan Abdal

Cont'd... f.n. 766

west of Kuwarmust pass.

\textsuperscript{767} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 133. Abul Fazl also mentions the same.

\textsuperscript{768} \textit{Ibid.}

\textsuperscript{769} \textit{Ibid.} Beveridge identified it as Buniyar, which is on the left bank of the Jhelum. He is of the opinion that perhaps Jahangir crossed the river at Uri. On the map it is Baniyar on the right bank of Harpathi river at its junction with Jhelum. On 1.0 Ms., p. 181, it is Butiyar ( ).

\textsuperscript{770} \textit{TJ, II}, p. 133.

\textsuperscript{771} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 135.

\textsuperscript{772} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 139.
to Kashmir by the road I came, is a distance of 75 kos; this was accomplished in nineteen marches and six halts - that is, in twenty-five days."!

4.3.3 Sind-Lahor Route

The lower Indus plain or Sind region has been fortunate to possess both overland and river routes. The overland route mainly converged on Thatta and Lahri Bandar or radiated from important cities and towns along the river, towards east and west. The most important of all the routes was Thatta-Lahor route, connecting Lahore with Lahri Bandar, the most important port of the Sind region. An alternate route was from Thatta to Umarkot, thence onward either to Bhakkar or to Jaisalmer. But before describing, Thatta-Lahor route in detail, it is better, to discuss some of the other routes, linking Sind with surrounding regions.

Apart from Thatta-Lahor route, two other important routes, which have been discussed in this study are; Thatta-Badin-Cutch-Gujarat and Bhakkar-Siwi-Qandahar route, leading to Iran and Central Asia. Siwistan was also well connected with other cities of Sind via the river and through two roads across the Lakki hills. The hill crossings were known

773 Ibid. This distance is slightly less than mentioned by Abdul Fazl, which was about 84 kos. It may be due to the relative direct route followed by Jahangir as compared to that of Akbar.

774 TJ, II, p. 139.
as Baqi-ji (of Baqi Tarkhans) and Ganah (in the form of an oil press formation).

The main road linking the capital town of Thatta with the most important sea port of Lahri Bandar, was not always safe to travel. This forty mile route between the two cities was often threatened with marauding bands of the Baluch and Samijah highway men, who became so bold towards the end of the seventeenth century that they plundered caravans having 250 beasts and 500 merchants.\textsuperscript{775} The road along the Lakki hills used to be submerged by the river during the rainy seasons and routes across the hills Baqi-ji and Ganah were infested by Baluches.\textsuperscript{776} The route via Umarkot was preferred only when the other routes proved dangerous or impassable due to rains.\textsuperscript{777} However, the route was difficult to be used during the summers due to unbearable high temperatures. The water on the route was scarce and brackish. The wells were so deep that drawing water was very troublesome. At the same time, it was necessary to carry seven days supplies for the two stages viz. Thatta to Umarkot and Umarkot to Jaisalmer.

The overland routes in Sind due to a number of obstacles, physical or manmade, were unsuitable for movement of


\textsuperscript{776} Khan, p. 177.

\textsuperscript{777} Manrique was advised to adopt this route as late rain in winter had made other roads impassable.
heavy cargo which was mostly sent through the river route. Within the Sind region, bulk of the goods, nearly for eight months of the year were transported through boats. The same was true of the traffic between the Punjab and Sind. The distance between Lahor and Thatta could be covered from 12 to 18 days time. The merchants from Agra and other distant places found it cheaper to bring their goods overland to Multan. From Multan to Thatta all transport charges including custom did not exceed one rupee per maund. In the same way from Siwistam to Thatta the freight charges amounted to ½ rupee per maund, while overland freight between Lahri Bandar and Thatta for a distance of 40 miles was Re. 1½ per camel. However, the journey upward was slow and costlier than the downward journey. The distance from Thatta to Lahor was covered in 6 or 7 weeks time, while a large crew had to be employed for tracking the boat against strong currents and opposite winds.

The Lahor-Thatta route, as mentioned earlier, was the most important route of the Sind region both overland and by the river. About the land routes, one thing should be kept in mind, that the roads mentioned in the contemporary sources

778 Khan, p. 178.
779 Hamilton, p. 76.
781 Hamilton, p. 76.
were not regular roads like those of the modern period. Though there are various references to Lahor-Thatta route but for the period under study only the accounts of Khan-Khanan's expedition to Sind are detailed enough to be plotted on the maps. For a better understanding of the route, two versions of Khan-Khanan's expedition to Sind have been consulted and plotted. Abul Fazl, discusses this expedition in detail. To supplement this information, Mir Muhammad Masum's account of this expedition has also been plotted separately. Masum who was from Bhakkar, gives a brief but clear and accurate account of this expedition in which he himself participated.

4.3.3.1 Khan-Khanan's Expedition to Sind (1590-91)
Based on Akbar Nama.

A choice army was appointed under the command of the Khan-Khanan to conquer Qandahar. But Khan-Khanan left the near road by Ghazin and Bangash, and took a long route in order to look after his jagirs i.e., Multan and Bhakkar (see Map 4.29). But it seems that Khan-Khanan requested Akbar to change the plan and to conquer the Sind before Qandahar. 783

782 AN, III, p. 917. There are various references to this route in the contemporary sources but unfortunately there is no detail account of the Lahor-Multan-Bazigash-Ghazni-Qandahar route in any of the sources.

783 AN, III, p. 917.
LAHOR-SIND ROUTE
Based on Akbar Nama
1590-1

Map 4.29
Near Multan the Baluchis waited on him and made promises. 784
Near Bhakkar he drew up his forces. 785 There they got the
news that fire had broken out in the fort of Sehwan 786 and
consumed the provisions. 787 On hearing this the troops went
on rapidly by land and water. Those who went by water passed
under the fort of Sehwan and took Lakhi. 788 According to
Abul Fazl, Lakhi is "like Garhi in Bengal and Barahmula in
Kashmir", that is to say entry point or the gate of the
country.

Khan-Khanan reached the fort of Sehwan to capture it.
The fort was situated on the bank of the Indus on the top of
a ridge. Near it was a lake, 789 eight kos in length, and
six in breadth. Abul Fazl mentions that "three branches of
the river join it. It is a place of refuge for the garrison.
Some men live on islands in it and some in boats. 790 Jani

784 AN, III, p. 918.
785 Ibid.
786 Ibid. This region is known as the Sehwan or Siwistan.
There has been a lot of confusion about the identification of Sibi or Siwi and Siwistan. Sehwan was located
on the western bank of Indus, while Sibi or Siwi lies
too far to the north-west.
787 Ibid. "Between the towns of Laki and Sehwan the mountain
has a nearly precipitous face about 600 feet high
towards the Indus, between which and the precipice
there was at one time a road, though in some places so
narrow that only a single camel could pass at a time.
The defile was swept away in 1839" Gazetteer of Scinde,
p. 686.
788 AN, III, p. 918.
789 Ibid. It is Ranchhar Lake lying west of Sehwan.
790 AN, III, p. 919.
Beg, the ruler of Sind prepared himself for the battle against the Hugbals and constructed a fort at the pass of Nasirpur. He strengthened it by war boats and a park of artillery. According to Abul Fazl "the army was doubtful about advancing." At this time Rawal Bhim the ruler of Jaisalmer and Dalpat D. Rai Singh commented, "our intention was to have come by Bhakkar. Having lost our way we are coming by way of Umarkot. Khan-Khanan left the work of taking the fort and of making the road and set off by land and water. Maqsud Aga and some men were left at the ferries so that the garrison might be alarmed, and the route be in some measure safe. When the Mughal army reached within six kos of the enemy, he out of precaution put up four walls. A great battle was fought in the river in which Jani Beg's forces were defeated. Four ghrabs full men and stores were captured. In one of them was the ambassador or Ormuz.

---

791 Ibid. From Abul Fazl's language it seem that fort was constructed at Nasarpur but Mir Masum clearly mentions that the fort was constructed at Bohari, north-west of Nasarpur.

792 Ibid. It is Nasarpur of the modern maps. It was founded by Amir Nasr, one of the officers of Firoz Shah Tughluq along the Indus. The significance of the place declined due to change in the course of the river Indus.

793 It is interesting to note that, the ruler of Jaisalmer lost the route of Bhakkar. It shows clearly that the route between Jaisalmer and Bhakkar was not being used by even the local people.

794 AN, III, p. 919.
795 Ibid., p. 120.
796 Ibid.
797 Ibid.
ing to Abul Fazl, "the rule is that the Governor of Ormuz leaves one (ambassador) at Tatta, in order that there may be a feeling of security among the merchants. Mirza Jani had brought him (along) in order to proclaim that so many tribes had come to help him."798

The Mughal troops after succeeding in the river-fight lost the initiative when they delayed in advancing and in the meanwhile Jani Beg was able to strengthen his forces.799 The fort, near Nasirpur, however, was besieged by the Mughal army. But Sind forces were confident on account of the strength of their position, the number of men, the abundance of their provisions and the help of the peasantry, and were waiting for rains. They thought that after the rains everything would be under water and the foreign army would be dispersed without an engagement.800 Khan-Khanan reported the circumstances to the King and asked for help. Rai Singh was sent off with some others by the river-route. Provision, guns, gun-powder etc. were dispatched.801

Mughals, however, were forced to abandon the siege due to the scarcity of provisions. A different plan was chalked out. All unnecessary stores were put into boats and sent to

798 Ibid.
799 Ibid., p. 925.
800 Ibid.
801 Ibid.
Sehwan. Most of the soldiers marched towards Thatta envisaging that by plundering they might get ample supplies. It would also spread consternation among the enemy and would them to get hold of the country. Khan Khanan took up his quarters in Jun, which is a central place. Some of the nobles were sent with a force to Agham in order that they might take the cultivated country and watch over Jani Beg. Some others were sent towards Badin, while most of them were sent to Thatta. According to Abul Fazl, "every detachment did good service, but the troop who were sent to Tatta could not get there as the people there set fire to the city."

Mirza Jani Beg came out of his fort and hastened to Sehwan, thinking that he might capture the boats that had been sent there. The Mughal troops, though less in number fought well and defeated the forces of Jani Beg. After

802 Ibid., p. 929.
803 Ibid., Tatta or Thatta was the capital of Sind and after the conquest of Sind the whole territory was known as the sarkar of Thatta.
804 Ibid.
805 Ibid.
806 Ibid.
807 Ibid.
808 Ibid., p. 930. The reason given in Masumi is somewhat different as Mir Masum mentions that as Sehwan fort was besieged, people were asked for the help from Jani Beg.
809 Ibid., p. 931.
the defeat, when he was returning towards the fort which he
had constructed near Nasirpur, he learnt that it was under
the control of Mughal forces. After a long contemplation
he approved of a place near Ampur, four kos from Hala-
kandi and forty kos from Sehwan. There on the bank of
the Indus he built a fort and surrounded it with a deep and
broad moat. Khan-Khanan went there and invaded the place
but could not take it. At this time the fort of Nirankot
which was a choice fortress in that country — was taken.
Abul Fazl mentions the circumstances as follows: "A set of
Arabs and Kurds, who were in the fort, quarrelled with the
governor Qasim Ali and brought in his head and became
loyal." The Mughal army increased their efforts to take the

810 Ibid., p. 938.
811 Ibid. Sonurpur in Malet's translation of Turikh-i-
Fasumī - Unarpur and Amarpur in Ellist VI, p. 251.
Most likely it is Unarpur, on the western bank of
Indus. The distance given in AN suits this location.
812 Ibid. Many considered it the old name of Haiderabad
which is wrong. In all probability it is old Hala,
few miles south-west of the (New) Hala.
813 Ibid.
814 Ibid. It served as the site for modern city of Hai-
derabad which was founded in 1768-69.
815 Ibid. This shows that in Sind people from different
country used to come and stay frequently. Reasons
were perhaps socio-economics.
place. When Jani Beg saw no hope he pleaded for peace which
was accepted by Khan-Khanan. Jani Beg agreed to surrender
the forts of Sehwan and to accompany Khan-Khanan to the
Mughal Court. 816 After the peace the victorious army took
its quarters in Sann, 817 20 kos from Sehwan. When the rains
came to an end they were in expectation of the arrival of the
Mirza but Mirza sent a message saying that "he would go to
court after collecting the autumn-revenue; also that the
agreement was that this side of Sehwan would be restored to
him but Puran (?) and Halakandi had not been given up." 818

Some confusion ensued, Khan-Khanan despatched forces
to different directions to force Jani Beg to court. 819 The
Mughal troops prevailed over Nasurpur. Khan-Khanan himself
reached Nasirpur and, proceeded as far as Tatta. 820 Mirza
again agreed to go to the court. 821 Khan Khanan went on to
Bandar Lahari after Tatta. 822 Mirza Jani Beg was received

816 AN, III, p. 940.
817 Ibid., p. 971.
818 Ibid.
819 Ibid., p. 972.
820 Ibid.
821 Ibid., p. 973.
822 Ibid. The city of Bandar Lahri, situated on one of the
mouths of the Indus, was the main sea port of the Sind
during the period under study. It had, come into
existence during the eleventh century and gradually
replaced the port of Debal which was situated on open
sea. During the early Mughal period the foreign ships
remained anchored at the mouth of the rivulet. Only
local ships belonging to the port were allowed to pro-
in the court with respect and was given a suitable mansab.\footnote{823}

4.3.3.2 Khan-Khanan's Expedition to Sind (1590-91)

Based on Masumi

At the time when Khan-Khanan was being sent to conquer Sind and subdue Balauchs, Mir Mohammad Masum, the author of Tarikh-i-Masumi joined the service of Akbar.\footnote{824} Akbar, after knowing that Masum was from Bhakkar gave Darbela, Kakra and Chando parganas of sarkar of Bhakkar to him with the consent of Khan-Khanan who had Bhakkar and Multan in his jagir and sent him to Sind with Khan-Khanan.\footnote{825} Mir Masum reached Bhakkar, where Khan-Khanan also came and stayed (see Map 4.30). As it was the season of hot winds and floods all of them stayed there for some days.\footnote{826}

From Bhakkar, first Masum was sent with others to Sehwan and after a few days, Khan-Khanan also joined them. People of Sehwan closed themselves into the fort. Khan Khanan called a council to decide what to do. It was resolved that as Sehwan was on the route to Sind and the army and boats would pass through it, it will be better to capture it

\footnote{822} Cont'd. f.n. 822

\footnote{823} Ibid., p. 979. There is a lot of variation in the contemporary sources about the mansab given to Jani Beg - it was between 3000 - 5000.

\footnote{824} Mir Mohammad Masum, Tarikh-i-Masumi, Urdu translation by Nabi Bakhsh, p. 346.

\footnote{825} Ibid., p. 347.

\footnote{826} Ibid.
LAHOR-SIND ROUTE
Based on Masumi
1590-1
first and then to proceed to Sind. 827 But when they started
the siege the news came that Jani Beg with a large army was
coming from Tatta. They abandoned the siege and moved in
the direction of Tatta. Jani Beg on hearing the news of
their move, constructed a fort at Bohri, 828 just above Nasar-
pur, near the river, and stayed there. When Khan-Khanan
reached six miles near this fort, Jani Beg despatched hundred
to two hundred war boats and numerous other boats, with
soldiers to guard both the banks of the Indus. 829 After a
bloody battle Jani Beg was defeated. 830

Next day 831 Khan-Khanan moved towards the fort which
Jani Beg built at Bohri but the fort was so strong that
Mughal forces were not in a position to capture it. Khan-
Khanan, then decided to send forces to different places—
Thatta, Sehwan, Badin, Fateh Bagh, Jun and Kakra. 832 Mir
Masum and others were sent to besiege the fort of Sehwan

827 Ibid.
828 Masumi, p. 348. As mentioned earlier, from Abul
Fazl’s description it seems that fort was built near
Nasarpur at an unknown place on the banks of the Indus.
829 AN, III, p. 349.
830 Ibid., p. 350.
831 Ibid. Masumi’s statement that Khan Khanan moved to-
wards the fort next day of their victory is some what
different from the description of the battle by Abul
Fazl, who was critical of Khan-Khanan’s delay to move
towards the fort after their victory.
832 Ibid., p. 352. The plan was to harass the people in
those areas to force Jani Beg to surrender.
when the people in the fort became desperate, they sent a letter to Jani Beg for help. Jani Beg was thus compelled to move in that direction&superscript;833 with a large army through the mountain route, &superscript;834 and war-boats and cannons through the river. Mughal forces came out of Sehwan and fought a major battle with the strong force of Jani Beg south of Lakhi. In this battle the Mughals managed to defeat Jani Beg. &superscript;835

After this defeat, Jani Beg constructed a strong fort, twenty kos away from the battle-field at Andpur. &superscript;836 The Mughal army reached there and besieged the fort. Jani Beg became desperate and requested for peace and promised to surrender 30 war-boats and the fort of Sehwan. &superscript;837 This request of peace was accepted by Khan-Khanan. Khan Khanan stayed in Sun &superscript;838 during the period of floods and in the beginning of winters moved towards Thatta. When they reached near Fateh Bagh, Jani Beg came to welcome them. After that Khan-

&superscript;833 Ibid. Abul Fazl, did not mention the siege of the fort of Sehwan which forced Jani Beg to move to that direction.

&superscript;834 Ibid., p. 353. It is significant to note that Jani Beg reached near Kakhi through the mountain route with a large army. The route perhaps was through west of Lakhi Range.

&superscript;835 Masumi, p. 354.

&superscript;836 Ibid. It is Ampur of AN. But in all probability it was Unarpur.

&superscript;837 Ibid.

&superscript;838 Ibid., p. 355.
Khanan visited Thatta and the port of Lahri Bandar. He then took Jani Beg to the court where Jani Beg was received with honour and was given the mansab of Panj hazari.

4.4 THE ROUTES OF THIRD ORDER

The routes connecting two areas of isolation and passing through an area of isolation would have been the routes of Third Order. The reasons why the route passing throughout the areas of relative isolation may not be considered as the route of third order are slightly complex. The regions which were identified as the areas of relative isolation on the basis of their proximity to the areas of attraction and the main communication lines were not much fertile and productive (otherwise they would have developed as the areas of attraction themselves) and hence had few surpluses to offer for export. Consequently they could not develop strong links with other areas of relative isolation.

The routes connecting two areas of relative isolation and passing through an area of attraction have not been considered in this study as they were generally using the routes of Second Order. For instance route between Kashmir and Sind was the combination of two Second Order routes viz. Kashmir-Lahor and Lahor-Sind routes. So the route between these two regions was the same but the exclusive traffic

839 Ibid., p. 356.
840 Ibid.
(between Sind and Kashmir) was not comparable to either Kashmir-Lahor or Lahor-Sind routes due to obvious economic and political reasons.

Thus in this study, the routes which were passing through the areas of isolation to link two areas of relative isolation with sufficient production (second type of areas of isolation) have been considered as the routes of Third Order. These routes, during the time under study were quite neglected and dangerous to travel. It seems that the powerful Mughal Kings were neither interested nor capable of developing and protecting these routes. The Mughals were interested only in the development, maintenance and protection of more strategic and economically viable routes. It seems they paid little importance to routes of only regional significance. Apart from this, as we have observed, most of the areas of isolation were nominally under the Mughal Empire. The Mughal rule and administration was very weak in these areas and so there was no question of the proper maintenance of these routes by the Mughal administration.

Physical problems apart we found that at the height of the Mughal power, the Sind-Gujarat route was full of dangers. This and other routes of regional significance, one can imagine, were not safe for travel by outsiders without the help of regional rulers or sardars.

4.4.1 Sind-Gujarat Route

The inland route between Sind and Gujarat, although
4.4.1 Sind-Gujarat Route

The inland route between Sind and Gujarat, although well known to the people of those regions from earliest times was never much frequented, mainly due to the difficult conditions of travelling on the route, as it was passing through the Rann of Cutch and the Thar desert. Water and food was extremely scarce along the route and travelling was further made difficult due to the extremely high temperatures during the day and terribly cold nights. The route understandably was unpassable during the summers, as it traversed mostly through the desert. During the monsoon season travelling became very difficult due to the marshy lands. However, there are references to show that this route was being used for different functions during the period under study. Even military expeditions were made through this route. For example, Shan Hasan Arghun of Sind had followed this route when he attacked Gujarat. \(^{841}\) The route was being used by the travellers and merchants but they were usually threatened by Rajput and Baluch tribes, who used to demand passage money from the travellers. \(^{842}\)

During the period of Early Mughals the route was not only being used by local travellers and merchants but also by foreigners. Some Englishmen had to travel through this route to reach Thatta from Gujarat as Portuguese were con-
trolling the sea route between Gujarat and Sind. Anthony Starkey, Steward of the Dragon, had been dispatched by this route to Persia and Aleppo, carrying letters for England. Starkey reached Thatta safely with his Indian attendant and wrote thence in hopeful terms concerning the prospects of trade in Sind. Both, however, died in Thatta shortly after the letters they were carrying fell into the hands of the Portuguese. No account of Starkey's journey is extant. 843

The descriptions of the Sind-Gujarat route is, however, available in the accounts of Nicholas Withington, who came to India as an attendant of Captain Thomas Best, in September 1612. In December 1613 Withington was called upon to undertake the remarkable journey to Sind via the land route. Since November 1613, the English at Ahmadabad had been hearing reports from caravans coming from the north that a ship had come to Sind and left some Englishmen there. Under the mistaken belief that the Englishmen were some of their own traders and that they were still in Sind the factors decided to send one of their own men to find them. 844

Withington has left for us a description of the terrible desert journey he endured. It lasted for fifteen days, each day, meant a racking twelve hour ride on camel back in a furnace of "scorching sun and burning sands." There were

844 R.C. Prasad, Early English Travellers in India, 1965, Delhi, p. 248.
no halting places, the travellers having to pitch their tents in the open, exposed to the severest extremes of heat and cold. No fresh provisions could be obtained, the men ate the food which they had brought with them while the animals nibbled at the small blades of desert grass. Water was so scarce that the fierce thirst of animals was slaked with the supply which the travellers had brought for their use. 845

Withington, somehow, managed to withstand these physical difficulties and had nearly reached Thatta, when the whole party was seized by a local chief who had undertaken to act as its guide and protector. The Indian merchants were hanged and their property appropriated, while Withington and his attendants escaped the same fate owing to the interest felt by the chief in the adventurous Englishman. They were taken up into the hills, then they were released and sent under escort back to Nagar Parkar. On the way their guardians robbed them afresh and they reached their destination in the greatest misery. Fortunately, he survived to describe this route and throw some light on the social and economic conditions prevailing in Sind during the reign of Jahangir. (See Map 4.31)

Withington left Ahmedabad on 13th December 1613, with four attendants. Outside the city walls the English party met a large caravan of merchants going to Sind and gladly

845 Ibid., p. 249.
GUJRAT-SIND ROUTE
Based on Nicholas Withinton
1613-14

Map 4.31
joined the travellers. They reached the village of Callwalla on 15th December and departed from there next day. They reached Carrya, 8 kos from Callwalla, and stayed there up to 18th (they were waiting for another caravan, due to the fear of thieves on the route) and reached Deccanura the same day. On 19th December after travelling 8 kos they reached Bollode, a fort under Newlocke Abram, who that day returned from battle, bringing with him 169 heads of the Coblis (Kolis), a thievish caste that live by robbing poor passengers on the highway. They reached Sariandgo fort after travelling 13 kos on 20th December. Next day, after travelling 10 kos they reached Raddinpoore, a big town with a fort and a company of brave soldiers. They

846 Foster, p. 208.

847 Ibid. Possibly it is Kalol of modern maps.

848 Ibid. It is Karana of modern maps. The distance given by Withington is in "course" which was perhaps the incorrect form of kos or coss.

849 Ibid., p. 209. It is perhaps Detraj of the maps.

850 Ibid. It is Vonod of the maps. Location suits the distances given by Withington.

851 Foster, p. 209. He may be referring to Nurullah Ibrahim Kabuli.

852 Ibid.

853 Ibid. It is not possible to identify this place.

854 Ibid. It is Radhanpur of modern maps.
stayed there for two days to collect provisions for the
desert journey as on the way nothing was available - not
even fresh water.

On the 23rd they travelled 7 kos and at night stayed
in the open fields. They met a caravan robbed of all
their belongings from Thatta. On 24th December Withington
sent one of his peons to Lawribander with a letter. The
peon promised to complete the job in ten days, but possibly
was killed. Next day, they lodged in the fields, by a
well of water, but it was so salty that they could not use
it. On the 26th also they camped near a well, with salty
water. They gave their camels the water which they brought
for three day but it was usual for them in their travel.
Next day again they stayed in the field.

On the 28th, they reached Negar Parkar, a poor town,
yet with good store of provisions for travellers. They
stayed in the town, (which used to pay yearly tribute to the

855 Ibid.
856 Ibid.
857 Ibid.
858 Ibid.
859 Ibid.
860 Ibid.
861 Foster, p. 209. The correct spelling is Nagar Parkar.
Hughtals)\textsuperscript{862} for one day to refresh themselves. They paid toll for their camels before leaving the town. According to Withington the inhabitants of the region between Nagar Parkar and Juno, which is half a days journey from Thatta, used to pay no revenue and acknowledged no king but themselves robbing and sparing whom they liked. At the time of the arrival of the Mughal army they used to burn their homes and hide into the mountains. They used to guard passengers, after taking from them what they pleased, and deported them to the border of their territories.\textsuperscript{863}

They travelled 6 kos and lay by a tank or pond of fresh water.\textsuperscript{864} On the 31st they travelled 8 kos and lay in the fields by a brackish well.\textsuperscript{865} On the first of January 1614 after travelling 10 kos they reached Burdiano.\textsuperscript{866} Here they paid custom for their goods and stayed for one day as many of them fell sick by drinking the brackish water.\textsuperscript{867} They had to carry that water on their camels for four days journey as there was no water available on the route.\textsuperscript{868} They travel-

\textsuperscript{863} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{864} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{865} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{866} Ibid. It is Bundhana of the modern maps.
\textsuperscript{867} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{868} Ibid.
led the whole night and covered a distance of 18 kos.\textsuperscript{869} On the 3rd January, they travelled till mid-night and covered 10 kos.\textsuperscript{870} Next day they covered 12 kos and here Withington fell sick and vomitted, because of infected water.\textsuperscript{871} On the 5th, after travelling 7 kos, they reached a place with three wells, two with saltish water and one with sweet.\textsuperscript{872} Next day they reached Nuraguimire,\textsuperscript{873} a petty town, 10 kos from the last place.

At Nuraguimire, the caravan which joined them at Raddingpoore, departed. There were left, two merchants, Withington, nine servants, and seventeen camels.\textsuperscript{874} This town was within three days journey from Thatta. They employed one escort to conduct them to Thatta. On 8th January they travelled 10 kos and reached Gundajaw, a little town full of robbers.\textsuperscript{875} From this place they somehow escaped by bribing the robbers and reached Sarrunne,\textsuperscript{876} a great town of the Rasbooches with a castle in it, some 14 course from Thatta.\textsuperscript{877}

\textsuperscript{869} Ibid.  
\textsuperscript{870} Ibid.  
\textsuperscript{871} Ibid.  
\textsuperscript{872} Ibid.  
\textsuperscript{873} Ibid. It is not possible to identify this place.  
\textsuperscript{874} Ibid.  
\textsuperscript{875} Ibid., p. 211. It is not possible to locate this place.  
\textsuperscript{876} Ibid. It is Sirani of maps. Rasbooches may be Rajputs (or Raj bachas).  
\textsuperscript{877} Ibid. It is coss as referred to earlier.
At this place he met a Bania, who arrived the same day from Thatta and informed Withington that there were no English traders in Sind. The merchants who had come to Lahri Sunder with Sir Robert Sherley had soon left and continued on their way to Sumatra. The only Englishmen now in Sind were Shorley and his retinue.\footnote{Prasad, p. 25; Foster, p. 212.} Although the Bania's story deprived Withington of his chief reason for proceeding with his journey, the English factor resolved to go on to Thatta without further delay. The Bania, however, warned him that though Thatta was only two days journey from Sarrunne (Sirani) the way was very dangerous. He strongly advised Withington to provide himself with suitable escort. In these circumstances, Withington appealed to the Raja of Sarrunne. The Raja agreed to go with him in person along with fifty of his horsemen.\footnote{Prasad, p. 250; Foster, p. 212.}

On 11th January 1614, they started for the last stage of their journey and encamped by the river-side that night. But in the morning instead of crossing the river they moved along the river about a mile and a half which led them into a dense thicket at the foot of a hill.\footnote{Foster, p. 213.} There the merchants were killed and their belongings were taken by the Raja and his men. Withington however, was spared as the Raja had developed some liking for him.\footnote{Ibid.} Withington was not allowed
to proceed towards Thatta but was sent under a strong escort to the Raja's brother, who lived in a mountain fortress some miles away. After being detained for over a month, here, he was dispatched to another Raja, who after a long detention, sent him on to Nagar Parkar under escort. Half way to their destination, the escort robbed Withington and his servants and left them stranded in the desert after stripping them of every thing. After a night march journey through the desert Withington fought his way to Parkar, whence a friendly Jania helped him to reach Ahmadabad.

This account of Withington, throws much light on the travel conditions through the desert (a negative region without any resources), where the Mughal rule was for the name sake only. It is understandable that like the Pathan tribal areas these negative regions were not really subjugated by the Mughal forces and were ruled over by their tribal chief who were forced by circumstance to earn their livelihood by looting the travellers.

4.5 CONCLUSIONS

After identifying, plotting and describing all the major routes (mentioned in the contemporary sources) which connected the surrounding territories with North-West India

882 Ibid., p. 214.
883 Ibid.
and linked various regions of North West India with one another it is possible to make the following observations:

i) The routes connecting, Kabul and Qandahar with the surrounding territories, like Khurasan, Persia, Balkh, Far­ghana and Badakhsan were well-known to the contemporary travellers and the rulers. These, mountainous routes, in most cases were quite arduous to travel but remained quite frequented even during the times of political uncertainty as they were handling almost all the foreign inland trade from India. The main routes apart, there were many alternative routes through Hindu Kush mountains, which were being used depending not only on the destination but also on the circumstances and the season of the travel. During this long and politically uncertain period it was found that these routes were used for various purposes and remained strategically significant throughout the period under study. These natural mountainous routes, it seems were neither heavily guarded nor were properly maintained as they did not lie in the territory of one ruler.

ii) The Delhi/Agra-Lahor-Kabul route during the period under study emerged as the most important route connecting almost all the areas of attraction of North West India. The Khaibar pass which was never used by the earlier invaders to reach India became the chief pass on the route. The bridge constructed over the Indus, near Attock, provided the required permanency to the Khaibar Pass route. The near subjugation of the Pathan tribal groups of Peshawar
and Khaibar regions made the Attock-Kabul sector of the route quite safe for travellers. The Mughals also made a lot of efforts to make the road between Attock and Kabul suitable for even wheeled traffic. The route between Delhi/Agra and Attock remained not well established since it passed through the plain and plateau regions. However, there was a good road between Agra/Delhi and Lahor, which developed as the second most important city of the India. The significance of Lahor was further enhanced by the fact that it was connected directly with all the regions of North-West India e.g. Kabul, Gandhar, Sind and Kashmir. It seems that Lahor-Attock sector of the route developed quite significantly during the stay of Akbar and Jahangir in the city. The emergence of Lahor saw the fall in the relative significance of Multan town and Multan-Qandahar route. With the spatio-temporal study of the route, it is also possible to note that Lahor was generally avoided by the kings travelling between Kabul and Delhi/Agra. At times the reasons for this were political but generally it was avoided due to the fact that the direct route was not only shorter but crossed the Punjab river in their upper reaches where they were easily fordable. However the route between Lahor and Attock was also well established and well maintained.

iii) The Multan-Qandahar route, which was perhaps more important than even the Kabul-Lahor route, during the early medieval period, lost its significance mainly due to
uncertain political conditions of Qandahar during the period when Mughals, Uzbeks and Persians were fighting to establish their supremacy over one another. Moreover, as the alternative Lahor-Kabul route had been developed and was being maintained properly, travellers and traders must have preferred that over the Multan-Qandahar route which was passing through the negative and rugged terrain.

iv) The Kabul-Qandahar route, was in a way the extension of Delhi-Lahor-Kabul route. This route was connecting the remaining important regions of North-West India i.e., Ghazni and Qandahar. This route was perhaps one of the best possible for travellers passing through a mountainous or hilly region. This route was being used by the travellers moving between Kabul and Iran and Khurasan. It was one of the most frequented routes of North West India.

v) After the conquest of Kashmir, the Pir Panjal route was developed by Akbar and Jahangir as an Imperial road, connecting Lahor with the beautiful valley of Kashmir. It was observed that due to the personal interest of Jahangir in Kashmir and his frequent visits to the valley, the route was being maintained by the Mughal administrators and engineers quite efficiently. The route, due to the high altitude of the Pir Panjal pass was not passable during the winter season, hence, the Jhelum gorge route, which was low lying, was also developed as an alternative route to Kashmir. The Jhelum gorge route, however, was
the shortest route to connect the sarkar of Kashmir with its suba capital Kabul. It was observed that in the absence of proper techniques and materials of road building, these mountainous routes were always in need of repairs.

vi) There were many possible land routes between the plains of Punjab and Sind. But it seems that the routes along the Indus and its tributaries were more frequented than the others due to obvious reasons. However, it was observed that overland routes in Sind were not suitable for the movement of heavy cargo due to number of reasons and it was mostly sent through the river route. Within the Sind region, bulk of the goods, were transported through boats or nearly. The same was true of the traffic between the Punjab and the Sind. The distance between Lahor and Thatta was being covered in 12 to 18 days. However, the journey upward was slow and more expensive than the downward journey.

vii) The well established, though difficult, route between Thatta and Qandahar has been referred to in many contemporary sources but unfortunately no detailed description of the route was found in any one of them. Thus instead of making a separate route map, the route has been shown in the general route map. However, it was observed that during the period under study the route was under constant use.

viii) It was found that the route between Sind and Gujarat was well known but it was full of dangers. The route was being used by the local tribes quite often. How-
ever, for the purpose of trade this route was not very commonly used by outside traders. The travel on this route was made difficult not only by the desert but also by the desert tribal groups. The route, it is observed was neither maintained nor guarded by the Mughal administrators who had little influence over the tribal groups living in the desert.
CHAPTER V

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS
In this study an attempt has been made to analyse the Inter-Regional linkages in North West India during the period of the Early Mughals. This has been done by identifying and understanding the physical, cultural and political-administrative regions of North West India during the period under study. The influence and impact of various factors in determining regional linkages have also been assessed. For this, economic, political and socio-cultural bases of the regional linkages have been discussed. The impact of physical and technological factors on the regional linkages has also been analysed. An attempt has also been made to identify, plot and critically describe all available travel accounts of the period in order to understand the spatio-temporal variation in the routes of North West India during the period of the Early Mughals. For this all possible contemporary sources with relevant accounts of routes connecting different regions were consulted and used to reconstruct the changing route-maps of North West India during the period of the Early Mughals. On the basis of this analysis the following conclusions emerge:

1. North West India, apart from the Candahar region, which remained with the Mughals for a brief period of time, consisted of the Indus river basin. Due to the significant
physical variations within the Indus basin, it was divided into four major physiographic divisions. It was found that the Northern Mountain Complex, one of the most rugged regions of the world, with inhospitable climatic conditions, was not suitable either for agriculture or for any other economic activity and thus was extremely sparsely populated, the only exceptions being the beautiful valley of Kashmir. The Kabul river basin, though generally hilly with rugged topography, had some beautiful river valleys with pleasant climate, productive soil suitable for agriculture and fruit production and for human settlement. The sub-montane Indus region with Baluchistan ranges was a complex region with innumerable hills, broad river plains, Patwar Plateau and Salt Range. Apart from Bannu and Kohat plains, and Potwar Plateau the whole region was extremely rugged and unproductive. Of the two plains of Indus, the Upper Indus Plain (Punjab) was far more productive than the Lower Indus Plain (Sind) due to the nature of soil and water supply. The Punjab region was not only the most productive region of North West India, but was among the most prosperous in the whole country. In the Hilmand-Arghandab river basin Ganda- har and Ghazni regions were the areas with suitable physical conditions for agriculture and fruit production, the other areas were either hilly or desertic.

2. While identifying and describing the broad cultural regions of the North West India, it was found that the impact
of physical factors in the evolution of the society and culture of the region had been very significant. The areas with productive soils, suitable climatic conditions, easy accessibility, remained more dynamic and were occupied by the people belonging to different ethnic origins while the areas with rugged terrain, infertile soil, extreme climatic conditions, were occupied by a single tribal group who preferred or were forced to live in isolation. In between these two extreme types of regions there were some areas, which had a unique mixture of the older and the new dynamic cultures. It was found that during the period of the Early Mughals, the fertile Punjab plains (except for the Sind Sagar Doab), the Valley of Peshawar, the Jalalabad region, the Kabul region, the Ghazni and Qandahar regions, were economically developed and culturally most dynamic, and so have been identified in this study as the areas of attraction. The regions lying close to the areas of attraction, with not so suitable physical conditions e.g. the Punjab hills, the hills of the Peshawar, the Jalalabad and Kabul regions and the valley of the Tarmak river and other tributaries of the Hilmand closer to Qandahar became the areas of relative isolation because of their proximity to the nuclear regions. The valley of Kashmir and the Sind region were also identified as the areas of relative isolation as they were lying away from the main communication lines, though otherwise they were quite suitable for agriculture and economic development. Most of the remaining region,
consisting of the Northern Mountain Complex, the Sub-montane Indus and Baluchistan region and the rugged and inaccessible regions of the Kabul Basin, have been identified as the area of isolation. This whole area was found to be occupied by different tribal groups living in varying degrees of isolation and without a sound economic base.

3. After the reconstruction of the politico-administrative map of North West India on the basis of Ain-i-Akbari and other contemporary sources, it was found that the politico-administrative divisions were formed on the basis of physical and cultural traits. It was found that the regions which were suitable for settled agriculture and other economic activities and were identified in this study as the areas of attraction also became politically significant. This was the main reasons why the major towns/cities of the areas of attraction emerged as either the suba or sarkar headquarters depending upon political and strategic considerations. The important towns in the areas of relative isolation generally attained the status of sarkar headquarters. Kabul, the most important city, west of Indus, became the suba headquarter, while Qandahar could attain the status of the sarkar headquarter. The other sarkar headquarters of the suba of Kabul were also important towns in their respective areas of relative isolation. Kabul and Multan, the most important cities of the Punjab region became suba headquarters although both lay very close to each other. This can be attributed to the economic prosperity of the region.
4. Finally on the basis of super-imposition of the physical, cultural and politico-administrative division of the region it has been found that the physical regions, directly and indirectly influenced the formation of cultural regions and in the cultural analysis were responsible in the emergence of the political-administrative divisions. The reverse process has been found to be true. Because of political imperatives few regions became prominent without a sound economic base within this region. The best example is that of Ghazni, which was not really a region with any genuine qualities of an area of attraction but due to the fact that it became the seat of power for the powerful kings, the town and the region of Ghazni was developed by the resources looted or collected from outside. However the inter-relationship and inter-dependence between the physical, economic, social and political phenomena in this region is quite apparent.

5. The regions suitable for settled agriculture with a sound and strong economic base, were the most economically prosperous regions of North West India during the period of Early Mughals. In these areas not only agricultural production was more but they were the producers of some of the most important industrial goods. The suba of Lahor, for instance was not only producing wheat, millet, cotton, indigo, sugarcane, poppy etc. in large quantities but was also a leading producer of cotton textile, silk products, chikan work and metal industries. The Multan region (which posses-
sed fertile lands in lesser abundance than Lahor) was producing wheat, millet, cotton, indigo, sugarcane and poppy and had been famous for its cotton textiles. The Thatta region, which was attached to the suba of Multan, was producing poppy and shal-i rice in large quantities. It was also famous for its cotton textiles and silk products. The Kabul region due to its limited productive lands was producing very little of foodgrains like small black coloured wheat. However to compensate this it was producing fruits in large quantities. It was also famous for its woollens which were in great demand. Qandahar was producing foodgrains in a very limited quantity due to lack of fertile lands suitable for the production of foodgrains but it was producing fruits in large quantities. The valley of Kashmir, with fertile soil, and excellent climate was producing rice in large quantities. Kashmir region was also the chief producer of saffon and mulbery. The fruits of Kashmir were in great demand in different parts of the country. Kashmir, due to the encouragement of the Mughal Kings, was able to increase the production of its woollen, shawls, silk industry, wood and ivory work. The chief towns/cities of these regions became the major centres of the trade and commerce during the period under study.

6. While discussing the significant political developments of the period, it became apparent that North West India, which remained in a politically fluid condition during the first three quarters of sixteenth century, got stabilized
during the second half of the Akbar's reign. Akbar was well aware of the strategic location of the region and tried to strengthen the Mughal defence by annexing Kabul in 1585, Kashmir in 1589, Sind in 1591 and Qandahar and Baluchistan in 1595 to the Mughal Empire. The political stability provided by Akbar and Jahangir helped in the development of inter-regional linkages in North West India and with the surrounding regions.

7. It was found that there came a qualitative change in the socio-cultural atmosphere of the country during the period of the Early Mughals. The socio-cultural synthesis of the various communities living in the country was the result of Akbar's deeprooted secular policies which united the Hindus and Muslims of the country. His benevolent attitude towards his opponents and parental love towards his subjects without distinction of sect and creed, developed confidence among different communities. Jahangir also followed the same policy with success. Hence, the conditions for socio-cultural interaction among the people belonging to different regions, religious, linguistic groups, castes and creeds etc., were perfect during the later half of the period under study. This obviously provided a significant boost to the strength of the inter-regional linkages in the country in general and the region in particular.

8. While discussing the physical determinants of regional linkages, it was observed that in the mountainous regions
the passes had played a decisive role in providing natural passages connecting two regions. After identifying, plotting and describing the known passes of the region it became apparent that there was a significant shift in the relative importance and frequency of use of the passes during the period under study. For instance the passes through the Sulaiman ranges which were used very frequently during the early medieval period lost their significance during the period under study.

9. The location and role of river fords has also been established as it was found that the journeys were always made through the plains of Indus keeping in mind the season of the travel. All the travellers, in the absence of the bridges over the major rivers of Punjab were quite conscious of the unfordable nature of these rivers during the rainy seasons. Thus in the plain regions of Punjab and Sind river fords invariably determined human movement and thus the regional linkages in the final analysis.

10. While discussing the technological determinents, it was found that during the period of the Early Mughals the technology of construction of permanent bridges over the major rivers was not developed. Semi-permanent wooden bridges, however, were made on some of the major rivers of Punjab during the reigns of Akbar and Jahangir, after the consolidation of Mughal power in the country. This is a pointer to the fact that it was not only a question of lack of technological know-how of bridge making but perhaps the
earlier kings were not really interested in opening the gates of India to outsiders, by making the bridges, when the North West was not in their control. Even during the times of Akbar and Jahangir the temporary boat-bridges were being constructed at the time of the crossing of the river. The technique of making pantoons was perfected by Akbar who took personal interest in their making.

11. Road-building and other similar activities were well planned and supervised by a public works department under the Mughals. Important roads and highways were well maintained but lesser routes were repaired only before the march of the emperor. As the emperors did not always follow well known routes, new roads and routes were built and connected to existing roads. Mughal technicians and road builders, though did their best to overcome the physical obstruction posed by the hilly nature of the North West India, but, in the absence of the scientific knowledge of the road building of proper material and tools, their methods changed little from the times of the Delhi Sultans.

12. It was also observed that the means of transport played a very significant role in determining the extent and volume of traffic on land. The use of carts, though was very common, but due to unbridged rivers in the plain regions and the rugged terrain in the hilly regions, was limited to short distance travels. Bulk of long distance traffic was moved by means of pack animals - elephants, camels, horses, bullocks and mules. During the rainy season in the plain
areas of Punjab and Sind, when roads and routes were inundated or even washed away, travel by boats along the rivers was the only convenient means of transport. The region of Sind was closely connected with Punjab through the Indus and its tributaries. The town of Lahor, located on the bank of the Ravi, was linked by the rivers of the Indus system with Kashmir and Multan and further down with Bhakkar/Sukkar and Thatta.

13. The routes connecting Kabul and Qandahar with the surrounding territories, like Khurasan, Persia, Balkh, Farghana and Badakhsan were well known to the contemporary travellers and the rulers. These, mountainous routes, in most cases were quite arduous to travel but remained quite frequented even during the times of political uncertainty as they were handling almost all the foreign inland trade from India. The main routes apart, there were many alternative routes through Hindu Kush mountains, which were being used depending not only on the destination but also on the circumstances and the season of the travel. During this long and politically uncertain period it was found that these routes were used for various purposes and remained strategically significant throughout the period under study. These natural mountainous routes, it seems were neither heavily guarded nor were properly maintained as they did not lie in the territory of one ruler.

14. The Delhi/Agra-Lahor-Kabul route during the period
under study emerged as the most important route connecting almost all the areas of attraction of North West India. The Khaibar pass which was never used by the earlier invaders to reach India became the chief pass on the route. The bridge constructed over the Indus, near Attock, provided the required permanency to the Khaibar pass route. The near subjugation of the Pathan tribal groups of Peshawar and Khaibar regions made the Attock-Kabul sector of the route quite safe for travellers. The Mughals also made a lot of efforts to make the road between Attock and Kabul suitable for even wheeled traffic. The route between Delhi/Agra and Attock remained not well established since it passed through the plain and plateau regions. However, there was a good road between Agra/Delhi and Lahor, which developed as the second most important city of the India. The significance of Lahor was further enhanced by the fact that it was connected directly with all the regions of North West India e.g. Kabul, Qandahar, Sind and Kashmir. It seems that Lahor-Attock sector of the route developed quite significantly during the stay of Akbar and Jahangir in the city. The emergence of Lahor saw the fall in the relative significance of Multan town and Multan-Qandahar route. With the spatio-temporal study of the route, it is also possible to note that Lahor was generally avoided by the kings travelling between Kabul and Delhi/Agra. At times the reasons for this were political but generally it was avoided due to the fact that the direct
route was not only shorter but crossed the Punjab river in their upper reaches where they were easily fordable. However the route between Lahor and Attock was also well established and well maintained.

15. The Multan-Qandahar route, which was perhaps more important than even the Kabul-Lahor route, during the early medieval period, lost its significance mainly due to uncertain political conditions of Qandahar during the period when Mughals, Uzbeks and Persians were fighting to establish their supremacy over one another. Moreover, as the alternative Lahor-Kabul route had been developed and was being maintained properly, travellers and traders must have preferred that over the Multan-Qandahar route which was passing through the negative and rugged terrain.

16. The Kabul-Qandahar route, was in a way the extention of Delhi-Lahor-Kabul route. This route was connecting the remaining important regions of North West India i.e. Ghazni and Qandahar. This route was perhaps one of the best possible for travellers passing through a mountainous or hilly region. This route was being used by the travellers moving between Kabul and Iran and Khurasan. It was one of the most frequented routes of North West India.

17. After the conquest of Kashmir, the Pir Panjal route was developed by Akbar and Jahangir as an imperial road, connecting Lahor with the beautiful valley of Kashmir. It was observed that due to the personal interest of Jahangir in Kashmir and his frequent visits to the valley, the route
was being maintained by the Mughal administrators and engineers quite efficiently. The route, due to the high altitude of the Pir Panjal pass was not passable during the winter season, hence, the Jhelum gorge route, which was low lying, was also developed as an alternative route to Kashmir. The Jhelum gorge route, however, was the shortest route to connect the sarkar of Kashmir with its suba capital Kabul. It was observed that in the absence of proper techniques and materials of road building, these mountainous routes were always in need of repairs.

18. There were many possible land routes between the plains of Punjab and Sind. But it seems that the routes along the Indus and its tributaries were more frequented than the others due to obvious reasons. However, it was observed that overland routes in Sind were not suitable for the movement of heavy cargo due to number of reasons and it was mostly sent through the river route. Within the Sind region, bulk of the goods, were transported through boats for nearly eight months of the year. The same was true of the traffic between the Punjab and the Sind. The distance between Lahor and Thatta was being covered in 12 to 18 days. However, the journey upward was slow and more expressive than the down ward journey.

19. The well established, though difficult, route between Thatta and Gandahar has been referred to in many contemporary sources but unfortunately no detailed description of the
route was found in any one of them. Thus instead of making a separate route map, the route has been shown in the general route map. However, it was observed that during the period under study the route was under constant use.

20. It was found that the route between Sind and Gujarat was well known but it was full of dangers. The route was being used by the local tribes quite often. However, for the purpose of trade this route was not very commonly used by outside traders. The travel on this route was made difficult not only by the desert but also by the desert tribal groups. The route, it is observed was neither maintained nor guarded by the Mughal administrators who had little influence over the tribal groups living in the desert.

One may conclude from this study that during the period of the Early Mughals, due to political stability, relative economic prosperity, social integration and technological advancement, strong inter-regional links developed within North West India and also with its surrounding territories. Many routes were developed, maintained and guarded to fulfil the requirements of the regions and the empire. The establishment of new routes and repair and maintenance of already existing routes, not only helped in strengthening the already developed regional linkages but also facilitated in spreading the influence of the Mughal Empire to some new territories and regions. It is regretted that due to the vastness of the area under investigation the study could not throw sufficient light on the intra-regional linkages, with
in various regions of North West India. It would hence be well worthwhile if, intra regional linkages within various regions of North West India are analysed with the help of local and regional histories. These studies, combined with the present study will certainly provide a comprehensive insight and understanding into the regional linkages of North West India. It may also be suggested that the inter-regional linkages of other regions of India during the period of the Early Mughals should also be studied to get an overall picture of the Mughal, society, economy and polity.