CHAPTER II

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The evolution and pattern of inter-regional linkages can not be understood without analysing the spatial structure of the region under consideration, the spatial variations that characterize them and disparateness in the levels of their relative development. The different aspects of a region's spatial structure which directly influence inter-regional linkages and which need to be studied are physical, socio-economic and politico-administrative. These determine both the qualitative and the quantitative attributes of these interactions. In this chapter we shall attempt to analyse the salient features of the spatial structure of North-West India and would highlight those factors which were crucial in determining the type and level of inter-regional interaction that took place in this region during the times of the Early Mughals.

The North-West India, during the times of the Early Mughals, with an estimated area of about 262,661 miles was large enough to have significant regional variations. Physically speaking this region, due to its extent and location has all possible physical and climatic variations. The region includes in its boundaries; parts of Himalayas, the highest mountain in the world; the valley of Kashmir, one of the most beautiful river valleys of the world; fertile plains
of Punjab; and some of the driest and hottest regions of the world. (See Map 2.1)

The impact of physical conditions and variations over man, during the medieval period, can not be denied. The impact of the physical environment may be found on each aspect of human life, economic, social and political. Unfortunately, the type of data required for the identification and delineation of economic regions is not available for the period under study. The same is also true for the data and information about the distribution and interaction of the social groups. However, it is evident that there was a significant regional variation in the social and economic structure within this region.

Politically speaking, the North-West India, during the period under study has been one of the most disturbed areas of the country. It was only towards the end of the 16th century that Akbar could establish his mastery over the whole of this region, which resulted in the political and administrative stability within this region. This region like other parts of the country, had also been divided into hierarchical administrative divisions.

The distribution of physical, social, economic and political phenomena can not and should not be studied in isolation, as these are interrelated and interdependent. Thus, in this chapter an attempt has been made not only to study the spatial variation of physical, cultural (socio-economic) and political phenomena but to analyse the inter-
relationship and interdependence between them.

The chapter has been divided into three sections. In the first section an attempt has been made to understand the major physiographic feature of this vast region and for this the whole region has been divided into two major river basins i.e., the Indus and the Helmand − Arghandab river basins. In fact the whole North-West India was lying in the Indus River Basin, excepting the Sarkar of Qandahar, which was a part of Helmand−Arghandab River Basin. Both of these river basins have been sub-divided into various Physiographic Regions to understand the regional structure reasonably. While discussing the physiographic divisions and sub-divisions an attempt has been made to identify physically suited areas for socio-cultural interaction and economic development.

In the second section of the chapter, an attempt has been made to divide the whole region into cultural regions in terms of the areas of attraction, or perennial nuclear regions; the areas of isolation or culs-de-sac and areas of relative isolation. These terms are suggestive of the role of both physiography and cultural lineaments in the evolution and persistence of cultural regions through the process of endogenous development and diffusion of cultures. The relationship between the economic base of a region and the process of cultural evolution and diffusion is quite obvious since culture is a super-structure on the structure of the economy. Thus economically prosperous areas would tend to be culturally dynamic. In this section, an attempt has been
made to identify the cultural regions of the above mentioned three types, with the help of historical and physical information available to us. After identifying these regions an attempt has also been made to locate the tribal homelands within this region. An attempt has also been made to understand the impact of natural environment on the economy, history and culture of these tribal groups living in the areas of isolation. Finally we have tried to analyse the factors responsible for the development of inter-regional linkages.

The third section of the chapter deals with the political-administrative divisions in North-West India. The political-administrative map of the region has been reconstructed with the help of the information mainly provided in the Ain-i Akbari for the year 1595. On the basis of Ain's information (and supported by Babar Nama and Akbar Nama) the whole region has been divided into subas, sarkars and in case of Kabul even upto tumans or parganas. The delineation of these boundaries was done with the help of physiographic features and physiographic divisions. In this section an attempt has been made to establish the relationship between physical, cultural and political-administrative regions.

2.1 PHYSIOGRAPHY AND PHYSICAL REGIONS

The knowledge of physical setting is a basic requirement for the understanding and analysis of the spatial structure of the region. Physiography, climatic conditions, qua-
lity of the soil, natural vegetation and mineral resources of a region not only have influenced its economic development but also have determined to a great extent the course of its political and cultural history. The regions physically suitable for economic development usually attracted people from other regions and ultimately became politically strong.

In this section, an attempt has been made to study the prominent physiographic features of the region and to divide the whole region into physical regions and sub-regions. In this study North-West India has been divided into two major divisions - Indus River Basin and Helmand and Arghandab River Basin. These river basins, then have been divided into major physical regions and sub-regions. While describing these regions an attempt has been made to highlight the major physiographic features of the region and to identify the fertile broad river valleys suitable for settled agriculture and economic development. The size, volume and characteristics of the important rivers have also been discussed to estimate their utility for agriculture and for transport and navigation.

2.1.1 The Indus River Basin

The Indus originating in the Himalaya and Hindu Kush mountains is among the great rivers of Asia, and has a catchment area of 1,165,000 sq. kms. To get an idea of this vast river basin it is necessary to note some of the salient features of the rivers of this system - which may be divided
into three sections.

a) Rivers of Punjab (receiving water mainly from the Himalayas). The Jhelum is the most westerly of the five major rivers of Punjab. It is known as Veth in Kashmir and as Vehat in the Punjab plains. These names correspond to the name Bihat given to this river in the Mughal times. Issuing from a deep pool at Vernag in Kashmir. Jhelum becomes navigable just below its source and flows north-west through Srinagar in a lazy stream for 120 miles into Wular lake and beyond it into Baramula. From Baramula the character of the Jhelum suddenly changes, and for the next 70 miles upto Kohala, it rushes down a deep gorge, which is formed by the Kajnag mountains on the right and the Pir Panjal on the left. After receiving waters of Kishanganga, a little above Kohala it turn sharply to the south and loses its character as a mountain stream a little above the Jhelum settlement. After flowing through the plains of Punjab it finally pours its water into the Chenab at Trimmu.

The Chenab (more properly Chinab or river of China) is formed by the union of the Chandra and Bhaga. Near Kishtwar the river breaks through the Pir Panjal range, and then receives the drainage of its southern slopes. At Akhnur it becomes navigable and after Sialkot it is joined from the west by Tawi, the stream on which stands Jammu. After its junction with Jhelum, the united stream is called Chenab and is joined on the north by the Ravi and on its south by the Sutlej. Below its junction with the latter, the stream is
known as the Panjnad.

The Ravi rises near the Rotang pass in Kangra, and flows north-west through the southern part of Chemba. After reaching the Kashmir border it turns to the south-west. Though the Ravi, like the Jhelum, has a course of 450 miles, it has a far smaller catchment area, and as a stream is really of little significance.

The headwaters of Bias are divided from those of the Ravi by Bara Bangahal range. About the Hariki ferry, it falls into the Sutlej. The Bias has a total course of 390 miles and out of it only for about 80 miles or so, it is a true river of the plains, and its floods do not spread far.

The confluence of the Beas and Sutlej at Hari ki-pattan took place about A.D. 1780. According to Cunningham, for many centuries previously the point of junction had remained constant just above the ferry of Bhao-ki-pattan between Kasur and Firozpur.

The Sutlej is the greatest river of the system after the Indus and for its source we have to go back to the Mansarovar Lake in Tibet. The Sutlej has a course of 900 miles, and most of its catchment area lies in the hills.

1 This junction is mentioned by various Mughal Chroniclers, including Abul Fazl and Aftabchi. Though the confluence of Beas and Sutlej near Firozpur had been long established, yet even at the latter date the Beas continued to flow down their old channel, as mentioned by Abul Fazl. "For the distance of 12 kos near Firozpur the rivers Beas and Sutlej unite and these again, as they pass on, divide into four streams, Hur, Bare, Dand and Nurni, all of which rejoin near the city of Multan." Ain, II, p.

b) Kabul River (receiving water mainly from Hindu Kush). The Kabul river is the most important tributary of the Indus from the west. The Kabul River Basin is separated from Amu Darya Basin by the high Hindu Kush mountain system. Broadly defined, Hindu Kush is a mountain system, nearly 1000 miles (1600 kms) long and about 200 miles (320 kms) wide, running north-east to south-west. The Safed Koh, a conspicuous mountain range, separates Kabul river basin from Kurram basin and at present makes the boundary between Afghanistan and Pakistan.

The Kabul river rises near Unai Pass (about 14000 feet or 4270 m high) 40 miles west of Kabul city. It is fordable as far as Kabul city. At a short distance beyond this, it receives the Logar from the south, and thence forward becomes a rapid river with a considerable volume of water. About 40 miles below Kabul city it receives the Panjshir from the north and 15 miles downstream the Tagao. The Surkhab meets it from the south 20 miles below the united streams of the Alinagar and Alishang. Just below Jalalabad it is joined by the Kunar from the north and thereafter it is a larger river.

Between Kabul city and Jalalabad the river is fordable in places but after it has been swelled by the waters of Logar the fords are not always practicable. Both at Sarobi (opposite Naglu) and at Jalalabad there are alternative fords and ferries. From Dobandi (or Nisatta) to attok, the Kabul is navigable by boats of 40 to 50 tons.
The Panjshir river, a tributary of the Kabul river also has an important valley. The river is about 200 miles (320 kms) long and rises near Anjuman Pass trends southwards through alternating narrow gorges with high walls and relatively broad, open (1/3 to 3/4 mile (1/2 to 1 km) wide) valleys where terraced agriculture flourishes. At Gulbahar, the Panjshir shifts to south-east and joins the Kabul north of Lataband Pass near Sarobi.

The Logar river (about 125 miles (200 kms) long) flows out of the mountains of the eastern Hazarajat; courses through the relatively wide Logar Valley, sometimes called the "granary of Kabul", and strikes the Kabul river 6 miles (9 kms) east of Kabul.

The Kunar River begins in Afghanistan as the Bashgal high in Nuristan and flows through a wide valley until pinched in at Arnawai (Arandu in Pakistan). A ranging torrent through its length in Afghanistan, the Bashgal joins the Kunar river proper, pushing through the mountains of Chitral (also the name of a river) in Pakistan. Below Chiga Serai the river valley widens to about 1/2 miles (2.4 kms). The flow plain near the Jalalabad valley exceeds one mile. The Kunar feeds many canals and Karez and joins the Kabul near Jalalabad.

Swat, a tributary of Kabul is formed by the united waters of Gabral and Ushu. The former rises on the east of Badugai pass, and the latter comes down from the higher hills of Bashkar to the north. From Kalan the Swat river flows
almost due south for about 68 miles (110 kms) but at Manglaur turns abruptly to the south-west and west for 24 miles (38 kms) where it is joined by the Panjkora. Swat river joins the Kabul at Nisatta after a total course of about 400 miles. Fed by glaciers and snow it has a considerable volume in the summer months but shrinks after the middle of September, until in mid-winter it is fordable almost every where.

An important characteristic of the Kabul river and its mountain-bred tributaries, the Kumar, Swat etc. is that they flow through well fixed channels with little apparent variation from century to century. All the southern tributaries of Kabul from Logar river upto Indus are however, not of any significance though they are numerous in number.

C) Other Tributaries of the Indus: Of the other tributaries of the Indus from the west, the Kurram river rises at the eastern base of the Sarkai Pass and then flows between the Tor-Ghar hills on the west and Matungi hills on the east. From Kharlachi it flows south-east for about 55 miles (88 kms) till it reaches Thal. It then turns southward and after receiving the Kaitu river, it enters Bannu. Traversing Bannu region with a south-easterly course it cuts its way through a narrow gorge, known as Darra Tang and falls into the Indus opposite Mianwali. In its course through the Kurram Valley it is mainly fed by streams from the Safed Koh.

One of the very important tributaries of Kurram is Tochi, which rises near Spider Nari in the Upper part of
Farmul. During the first part of its course it is in many places a difficult defile hemmed in by steep banks; but after passing Shirania, it flow through an open plain which is well cultivated.

Another important tributary of the Indus is the Gomal, which rises near Sarwandi, on the Koh Nak range. It flows in south-eastern direction to enter Pakistan at Domandi, where Kundar joins it. Between Domandi and Murtuza the Gomal receives the water of Wana Toi (north bank) and Toi Khula (south bank). The Gomal also receives zhob's water, a stream as large as that of the Gomal. After leaving the hills, the natural course of the Gomal is to the south-east i.e., along the foot of the lower Shirani hills, and thence towards Kolachi.

It is clear from the above discussion that the main rivers of the Indus basin and their tributaries are different from one another. These rivers are not only different from the point of view of their nature, length, volume and their economic utility but also from the point of view of their usefulness as means of transport and communication. For example, some rivers have been useful for navigation while others not; many have been fordable while others have proved as difficult barriers.

Physical Regions of the Indus River Basin

The large expanse of the catchment area of the Indus is characterized by significant physical and climatic varia-
tions. Elevations of the Hindu Kush mountains in the north and north-east of the region are higher as compared to southern ranges of Himalayas. South of the Himalayas and Hindu Kush, there is a broad sub-montane region. West of the Indus, are beautiful valleys of the rivers coming out from the Hindu Kush, the Safed Koh and the Sulaiman mountains. East of the Indus and south of the Punjab hills, lie the plains of Punjab and Sind. South of these plains is the delta of the Indus river. In this vast Indus Basin there are salt ranges and fairly large deserts.

Though it is difficult to delineate this vast and diverse basin into distinct physical regions, however, the following broad regions have been identified for the present study:

1. Northern Mountain Complex
2. Kabul Basin
3. Sub-Montane Indus and Baluchistan Ranges
4. Indus Plains

2.1.1.1 Northern Mountain Complex

The physical personality of the majestic Himalayas, representing a typical fold mountain system prevails over the physiographic details of the Northern Indus Basin. This region consists of huge mountain ranges interspersed by longitudinal valleys. The major mountain ranges of the region are - the Karakoram, the Ladakh, the main Himalaya or Zaskar, and the Pir Panjal. Between these ranges are
the longitudinal valleys of the Gilgit, the Shyok, the Indus and the Jhelum. The most distinguishing features of this region are its snow capped and jagged peaks, wide valley glaciers of stupendous size, rapidly flowing mountain streams and seemingly unfathomable deep gorges. (See Map 2.2)

The Karakoram:

Karakoram rather than the Pamir, is the Roof of the world. It is a mass of rock and ice extending for 250 miles (402 kms) from the Shyok to the Hunza, with the greatest assemblage in the world of giant peaks - 33 of them being over 24000 feet (7315 mt). It culminates in the tremendous keeps of three Gasherbrum summit, all are over 26000 feet (7925 mt) and finally K. 2 itself. K. 2 (mt. Godwin Austen) with an elevation of 28250 feet (8610 mt) is exceeded only by Everest. The passes are rarely lower than the summit of Mt. Blanc and several are over 18,000 feet. The West Muztagh, at 19030 feet (5800 mt) is certainly the highest trade route in the world.

Baltistan, the country between the Northern Shigar and Nubra though very harsh is slightly more favoured than Ladakh, with a (152 mm.) precipitation of 6 inches and more glaciers. The valleys at 8000 - 10000 feet have few patches of pine and deodar on their slopes. Willow and polar grow along the streams. Agriculture depends on the snow melt,

which lies from mid-December to mid-March. In winter many villages get sun shine for barley an hour or two a day, but in summer the heat in the narrow rock-walled valleys, especially around Skardu is intense. The hot summer enables a wide variety of fruits - peaches, melons, grapes, and above all apricots.

To the east conditions get progressively worse. Around Panggong there are a few fields of barley and peas on the fans at 14000 feet (4265 mt.) or a little more. On the plateau, north-east of Panggong, even pastoralism is difficult.

The Ladakh:

Ladakh is one of the most elevated regions of the world. The high plain predominates in the east, diminishing gradually westward. In the southeast of Ladakh lies Rupshu, a country of great brackish lakes and with a uniform height of about 13500 feet ( ). Cultivation there is difficult but a little beardless barley is raised. The small population consists mainly of nomadic shepherds. In Ladakh proper towards north cultivation between the height of 9000 to 15000 feet (2745 to 4575 mt) is done by means of manuring and irrigation. The people are divided into shepherds or Champañas, who pursue pastoralism on the upland valleys too high for cultivation, and the Ladakhis who, cultivate the land around the villages in the valleys.

The climate is dry and healthy and the atmosphere of
the Indus Valley is remarkably clear. At Leh the mean maximum temperature for July, the hottest month is $24^\circ\text{C}$ ($76^\circ\text{F}$) and the mean minimum for January, the coldest month is $-15^\circ\text{C}$ ($5^\circ\text{F}$). Average annual precipitation is 3.3 inches (8.3 cm.). The vegetation is confined to valleys and sheltered spots. Irrigation is skillfully managed, the principal products being wheat, barley, millet, buck wheat, peas, beans and turnips.

The Great Himalaya and the Zaskar Range:

The Great Himalaya may be taken as commencing in the Indus bend; across the river in Swat. From Zojila to Indus the really high ground (over 15000 feet, 4570 mt) is broken into a number of district massifs of which Naga Parbat is by far the most conspicuous. It lies east of the great break of Sutlej/Spiti Valley, a distance of 250 miles (402 kms) in which there are several peaks over 21000 feet (6400 mt).

Between the Great Himalaya and the Indus the same lines are well shown in the Zaskar Range and its reticulate drainage pattern, e.g. the southern Shigar, the head stream of the Zaskar River, and the Valleys of inland drainage in Rupshu. The higher Zaskar peaks are seated upon a broad plateau like range, much dissected at about 19500 feet (5945 mt.).

The Valley of Kashmir:

Between the Great Himalaya and the Pir Panjal lies the valley of Kashmir, a great basin about 85 miles by 25
(135 by 40 kms) with a floor which, in the Jhelum flood
plain, is only 5200 feet (1585 mt) above see level. Among
the most striking features of the Valley of Kashmir are the
flat-topped terraces known a Karewas, a term applied to
Pleistocene sediments of which they are composed. These
deposits consist of clays, sands and silt of undoubted
lacustrine origin, in which bands of marl and of loessic
silt, together with lenticles of conglomerate from old de-
ltaic fans, bear witness to many fluctuations of level.

Though not greatly significant in area the variability
of the valley provides a picturesque land scape. According
to Lawrence "every hundred feet of its elevation brings
some new phase of climate and vegetation, and, in a short
ride of thirty miles one can pass from over-powering heat
to a climate delightfully cool, or can escape from weari-
some wet weather to a dry and sunny atmosphere". The Valley
is very fertile and it is said that there is not a fruit or
a vegetable that can not be grown in Kashmir which will grow
in a temperate climate.

The Pir Panjal:

The Pir Panjal is in a sense a bifurcation from the
main Himalayas farther east. The massive Permo-Carbonife-
rous limestones, metamorphics, and intrusives from a broad
swelling platform at about 13000 feet (3960 mt), on which
lies a serrated residual crest, the highest monadnocks reach-

ing 15500 feet (4725 mt). The passes lie as a rule at 11000-12000 feet (around 3500 mt).

The Pir Panjal snow comes mostly in winter from west or north-west, and the southern aspects are more exposed to warm air-currents from the plains. The southern flank is wetter than the northern and the slopes here are too steep for soil formation. The larger coniferous forests are mostly to the north. The lower levels of the ranges in the west carry a fair population. The climate is quite cold. The terraced irrigation is not difficult and rice can be produced. The region on the whole proves to be essentially negative and acts as a barrier.

2.1.1.2 The Kabul Basin

The mountains of this region were presumably subjected to the same orogenic movements which uplifted the Himalayas proper and folded and distorted the original sedimentary deposits, laid down in the Tethys Sea and extensive Middle Eastern Mesozoic marine basins. Most of the valleys (such as Ghorband, Kabul, Panjsher) are marked by fault lines. Although, many valleys are narrow, some wider intermontane basins do permit agriculture. Frequent earth quakes, about fifty shakes of varying intensity per year, still occur.

Five major valleys dominate the human geographic pattern of the Kabul Basin.

The Kabul Valley is an area of high level basins, with
altitudes varying from 5000 to 12,000 feet (1500 to 3600 mt). Filled with probable Neogene and Pleistocene sediments these basins are surrounded by mountains of old rugged crystaline and metamorphic Palaeozoic rocks. The Paghman Range sits north-west of Kabul, with the Safed Koh to the south-east and Koh-i-Baba rising in the west. The Kabul river flows to Jalalabad through Tang-i-Gharu, one of the most spectacular gorges in Afghanistan.

The second major valley, Kohistan - Panjsher, includes the wide basin of Koh-Daman and Charikar and leads to the steepsided valleys of Nijrao and Tagao where farmers practice terraced agriculture. This region consists mainly of faulted, dissected limestone, with some intrusive epiololites bordered by gneisses rocks in the east. The Panjshir Valley serves as the major north-south route.

The third major valley, Ghorband, lies in an east-west direction from Charikar to Shibar Pass. Here the sedimentary deposits are flatter and with higher terraces than Panjshir. Farther west near Bulola there is limestone, and near Baniyan, sandstone and conglomerate cliffs are encountered. Further east, the formations become increasingly indifferentiate metamorphies.

The fourth is Kafiristan (now known as Nuristan) a region of wild, narrow mountain valleys. This region consists of five major north-south valleys (from east to west; Bashgal-Landai Sin-Kunar River complex, Waigal; Pech-Parun-Kautiwa, Alinagar-Kulam, Darrayi-Nur), and about thirty
east-west lateral valleys. In fact this region has two subdivisions; Alishang-Alinagar river valley region and Kunar valley region. As compared to Kunar Valley the Alishang Valley region has very limited cultivated land.

The fifth is the Swat Valley which is about 130 miles (209 kms) long and has an average width of 12 miles (19 kms). The mountainous region of the north is known as Kohistan (mountain country). The southern parts have low altitudes and consist of long main valleys, which are intersected by ravines and glens bringing down the drainage of the ranges on the either side. The level plains on the banks of the river are cultivated as are the hill sides. Above these is a pine-clad range.

The climate of Swat plains is significantly different from that of Kohistan. In this region snow usually begins to fall in October, blocking most mountain passes for at least part of the winter. The permanent snow line varies between 10000 and 120000 feet above sea level. The winter snow line creeps down to about 6000 feet. Blizzards dominate the winter months, and snow locks most passes above 7000 to 8000 feet. In the spring (March-May) the snow melts and rushing streams become raging torrents. The winter months (December-March) are intensely cold and snowy in the mountainous areas of the region, although much less snow falls in the main basins, such as Kabul, Panjshir and Ghurband. Spring temperatures increase tremendously. Freezing weather is found in April in the highest passes, but below
7000 feet temperatures are more comfortable, averaging 55° to 65° F (13° to 18°C) at noon.

The last is the vale of Peshawar which forms a semi circle of low land of some 2200 sq. miles (5698 sq. kms) of hill girt except in the east where only a low sandstone ridge separates it from the Indus. In the Peshawar region, rainfall averages some 20 inches (508 mm) in the centre, decreasing south and west, increasing east and north. Perennial water from the two main rivers, Kabul and Swat, has long provided irrigation, so much so, that formerly seasonal streams have now a permanent flow from seepage and discharge. Water logging and salinity are problems towards the east.

2.1.1.3 Sub-Mountain Indus and Baluchistan Ranges

The Sub-Mountain Indus Region consists of the following sub-regions:

a) The Trans-Indus plains: Kohat and Bannu. 5
b) The Potwar Plateau, east of the Indus.
c) The Salt Range, making off the southern boundary of the region both in Bannu and Potwar, and cut through by the Indus at the head of the Kalabagh re-entrant. 6

5 Spate includes Peshawar plain in this region. Spate, p. 495.
6 This division is not foolproof; but for that matter Spate is also not satisfied with the divisions, he suggested. The three plains of Peshawar, Kohat and Bannu which he included in this region, according to him may be included within the Northern Hill Region, Spate, p. 495.
For this division the salt range scrap is taken as the southern boundary and sub-Himalayan Kashmir as the north-eastern limit.

The Trans-Indus Plains: Kohat and Bannu

If we include the Peshawar Plains into the Kabul Basin, only the Kohat and Bannu low lands remain in this region.

The Kohat plains is in fact the valley region of not one but two rivers. This plain is drained by the Kohat, Toi, Tiri Toi and their feeders. These two rivers generally run from west to east, parallel to the Kabul river, while their tributaries have a tendency to run north and south. The tributaries of the Kohat Toi are Hangu, Khankai, Kachai, Narai, Sumari and Walai, while Gurguri, Kharbuza and Surtang Sir are the tributaries of Tiri Toi.

The Kohat plain is higher than Peshawar and Bannu i.e., around 1500 feet (460 mt.) and is much broken by west/east lime-stone ridges. The filling of the uneven limestone floor varies from lacustrine clay to gravel and boulder fans; there are many springs in the limestone, and the water table is generally high. The climate of the Kohat region is agreeable for the greater part of the year. During the winter months the air is cold, dry, and bracing. The average rainfall is about 16 inches (400 mm) which comes during the months of July, August, September and December.

The Bannu low lands, about 500 feet (152 mt) in height, lying south of Kohat plains, are a basin enclosed by moun-
tains into which converge the Kurram, the Tochi and numerous other hill streams. This region is much braided and has broad boulderstrewn channels which are dry for most of the year but can erode when in flood. In the lower part of the valley there is a great admixture of sand in the soil but proceeding up to the Kurram valley, the sand decreases. Rainfall is nearly 10 inches (254 mm) and is evenly distributed. It allows year round cropping, but with the emphasis on winter wheat. There is much fallow and scrub, and sand-dune country.

The Potwar Plateau:

The Potwar Plateau covers an area of 4000-5000 sq. miles (10360-12950 sq. km) at about 1200-1900 feet (366-580 mt). There are a few outlying spurs of the salt range in the south. In general it is open undulating country developed mainly on sandstone Siwaliks and mantled by varying thickness of loessic silt which erodes easily into deep canyons. Most of the hills and rivers are bordered by belts of intricately dissected ravine lands locally known as Khudder.

The streams are generally deep-set owing to rejuvenation, and of little or no use for irrigation. Agriculture depends mostly on rainfall of 15-25 inches (381-635 mm). Temperatures are extreme and snow though rare, is not unknown. Soils are often sandy, or stony near the daman and wind-blown sand from the stream-beds is a menace to agric-
culture. The most favoured area is the Chach, a strip some 20 by 10 miles (32 by 16 km) along the Indus, north-east of Attock. Rawalpindi is the most important town of the region. Some 30 miles away are the ruins of Taxila, the greatest of the Buddhist universities of India.

The Salt Range:

The ramparts of the Salt Range, sinuous in outline and exceedingly complex in detail, sharply mark off the region from the Punjab Plains. They reach nearly 5000 feet (1525 mt) at Sakesar but in general are not much over half that height. The southern face is remarkably steep and dissected into jagged spurs and crests which are separated by wild ravines. For most part, it is an intensely arid and forbidding country, even though rainfall is higher than in the surrounding plains, reaching 20 inches (508 mm) at Sakesar. There is some agriculture in the little intermont basins, but human interest in the subregion is centered on the enormous deposits of rock-salt, perhaps the most massive in the world.

The Baluchistan Ranges:

The arid basin and hills of Baluchistan in the eastern portion of the great Iranian plateaus is sharply marked off from the Indus Plain by Kirthar and Sulaiman ramparts. In the north-east the Gomal river or Salt Range may be taken as a rational limit, beyond which the strongly trellised
drainage patterns of Baluchistan are replaced by transverse valleys direct to Indus, giving a distinctly different human or strategic emphasis.

The mountains or ranges of this region may conveniently be divided into two different divisions - Northern and South-Eastern. The Northern Ranges consist of the region lying between Toba Kakar Range in the North-West and Sulaiman Range in the east. This region may be further divided into three sub-divisions, Toba Kakar Range, Loralai - Zhob ar and Sulaiman Range.

The Ranges which lie between the Kundar and the Zhob tributaries of the Gomal are known as the Toba Kakar Hills. The ranges run generally in south-west - North-east direction between Chaman, in the south to Gomal in the north. There are many ridges between the Kundar and Zhob rivers on Toba Kakar hills - Zamki Ghar (8015 feet) Tswarlasguna (8785 feet) and Spin Ghar (8712 feet) etc. North-west of Kundar river, in the mountains, lies the watershed between Indus and Helmand (which forms the national boundary between Afghanistan and Pakistan in this area).

South from the Gomal runs the great series of eche-lonned ridges, known as the Sulaiman Ranges. The dominating mountain of the Sulaiman Range, which rises to over 11000 feet, is known as Takht-i-Sulaiman and lies only 30 miles (48 km) south of Gomal river. The mountain itself is better known locally as the Kaisargarg, the name of the highest northern peak. The Sulaiman Range has summits gene-
rally at 6000 - 7000 feet (1830-2135 mt). At about 36°N the Sulaiman begin to swing westward, until finally it points towards the Quetta node.

Looped between the Toba Kakar and Sulaiman Range lie the trellis-patterned basins of the Zhob and Beji. Consisting of nested folds of cretaceous and Ecocene limestones and sandstones, they produce in Loralai, an extraordinary landscape of innumerable scraps and hogsbacks, small plateaus and mesas, and steep craggy out-crops with the talus slopes littered with boulders half the size of the field which are very small. A few greener patches in small alluvial or detrital basins occur set in these arid hills.

The South-Eastern Ranges exhibit a marked contrast either side of the 66° 15'E. The most striking difference is found in the Kirthar range, rising from 4000 feet (1220 mt) in the south to about 8000 feet (2440 mt) in the north. There are only few gorges which break this range, such as those of the Mula and Gaj rivers. Though Mula gorge was used by the withdrawing Alexander's army, they are now useful only for the local traffic.

The Kirthar is full of deep fissures and ravines and affords grazing to large herds of cattle. Ranges lying south and east of the Kirthar Range are known as the Sind Kohistan. A unit by itself, it has deep broad valleys running parallel in the north-south direction. With scanty rains and limited cultivation, it covers all the lower ridges and undulating plains of rapidly withering rock. It has six
ranges, Lakhi, Kambhu, Badhar, Bhit and Dunbar and two plateaues called Mol and Myhar.

2.1.1.4 The Indus Plains

South of the Himalaya and the Salt range lies the vast plain stretching south to the Arabian Sea. As it is drained by the Indus and its tributaries, it is usually called the Indus plain. Its northern part is known as the Punjab - the land of five rivers. The lower Indus plain, below Mithankot, where the Indus carries not only its own water but also that of its five tributaries is known as Sind. The Sind plain differs from the Punjab plain in that it has been formed by the changing course of a single great river and the deposits are of a comparatively recent origin. It is hence better to divide this region into two main sub-divisions: The Upper Indus Plain and The Lower Indus Plain.

The Upper Indus Plain (Punjab)

The whole area forms an immense plain, some 350 miles (northwest/southwest) by 450 miles (northeast/southwest) (565 by 725 km. respectively). The elevation of this plain is generally under 1200 feet (366 mt), most of it lying under 600 (183 mt). The fall is naturally steepest (about 15 feet per mile) in the sub-montane strip; over most of the area it is 1 feet and in the extreme south-west only 6 inches.

The region is a great mass of alluvium brought down by the Indus and the Five Rivers, which from west to east
are Jhelum, Chenab, Ravi, Beas and Sutlej. The interfluves called doabs or 'two waters', are given names compounded from those of their confining streams and are, in the above order, Jech a Chag (Chenhat) Rechna, Bari and Bist (Beth Jalandhar).

The only breaks in the alluvial monotony of the plains, on either side of the Chenab, are little groups of arid broken hills near Sangla and Kirana. These are very small in extent but rise in jagged pinnacles, 1000 feet above the plains (their highest point is 1662 feet or 512 mt) and lie within 40 miles (64 km) of the salt range.

In the active flood plains of the rivers, known as Khadar or bet, erosion and deposition take place on a large scale during the summer floods. The actual banks of the rivers are naturally a little higher than the Khadar, owing to salt deposition in floods. The riverain or bet lands are agriculturally valuable but exposed to flooding. The higher and more arid parts of the doabs, often mere waste when not irrigated, are known as bar.

The Sind Sagar Doab consists of a mantle of wind-blown sand which is highly permeable. The surface is rough and covered with shifting sand-dunes. There are high sand hills in the centre and the south, and narrow belts of level land

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7 With the help of irrigation the old dreary wastes of the doabs have been converted into extremely prosperous agricultural lands. The soil is generally fertile, but more than three-fourths of the Sind Sagar Doab is still a desert or semi-desert.
called *patti*, which are trenched shallowly below the adjacent land in the north and west. Similarly, Cholistan, south-east of the Sutlej in Bahawalpur, is an arid waste of shifting sand. Occasionally, among the sand hills there occur flat stretches of firm soil.

West of Indus in the Derajat, the *bet* is narrower or absent, the main channel often abutting directly on the high bank. Beyond this lies the *daman* of the Sulaiman Ranges. East of the Sutlej lies the *Thar*, with a ring of irrigable *khadar*, 5-25 miles (8-40 km) wide between the desert and the river.

The influence of the westerly depression extends right across the Punjab dying down around the Yamuna. Peshawar has a rainfall of 5.2 inches (13 cm) between January and March but Lahor gets only 2.7 inches (6.8 cm). The immediate foot of the hills gets around 35 inches (90 cm). This falls to about 20 inches at Lahor, only 25 miles from the hills. The whole of the southern half gets under 10 inches of unreliable and often torrential rain.

In the plains the temperatures are extreme. The range of temperature in Lahor is nearly 40°F (under 55°F in January to nearly 94°F in June). Frosts are normal in January in the north and not uncommon even at Multan. Dust-storms are a predominant feature of the hot weather, but as they are accompanied by a marked drop in temperature (about 20°F) and rise in relative humidity, they are less feared.
The Lower Indus Plains (Sind)

In the lower plains, the Indus, with the waters of five big tributaries flows as a gigantic river, which, during the flood seasons, is several miles wide. The river flows very slowly and the silt carried by it is largely deposited on its bed, thereby raising it above the level of the sandy plain. The land on either side is, therefore, protected by the construction of embankments or bunds. The Sind plain is different from the Punjab plain as it has been formed by the changing course of a single river, the Indus, and the deposits are of a comparatively recent origin.

The Central Sind plain, between the left bank of the Indus and the Thar desert is a level alluvial plain laid down by the Indus. In the east it merges into desert where the landscape is dominated by sand dunes. West of the Indus lies the high Kirthar piedmont plain which slopes gently to the river. The Lower Indus plain may be divided into three sections: the western valley, the eastern valley and the Delta. The western valley is formed mainly of older alluvium called bhangar. Soils are finer towards the south, fertile in itself, but useless due to waterlogging and salinity. There are small lakes. The Eastern Valley is in a sense the older delta, a great doab or recent alluvial sands and clays, falling from 250 feet to 50 feet in 200 miles and crossed by innumerable meander-scars and long narrow depressions (dhoros), apparently fragments of old drainage systems now disrupted by the shifting course, desiccation and sand encroachments.
The Delta merges southwards into the great mud and salt wastes of the Rann of Kutch. Changes in the distributaries have been numerous, facilitated in the north by sandy micaceous surface. The coast is fringed with dead creeks and dead ports. There are great stretches of tall grass and a few cultivable patches; but on the whole the Indus Delta is a savage waste.

Compared with the Upper Indus plain, the climate of lower Sind is less extreme. The summers are hotter and the winters milder. In fact the dominating feature of the Sind climate is heat and aridity. The average rainfall in this region is less than 10 inches, but an interesting feature is that it almost never rains but pours; Karachi has recorded 12 inches in 24 hours. The natural vegetation of thorn scrub merges into thickets of babul and tamarisk along the inundable riverain tracts.

2.1.2 Hilmand - Arghandab River Basin

Southwest of Kabul river system, which forms a part of greater Indus Basin lies Hilmand-Arghandab, entirely an inland system. This region, apart from Indus Basin, was part of the Suba of Kabul during the period under study. Thus, it is necessary to discuss, atleast in brief, some of the physical characteristics of the region.

The 800 miles long (1300 km) Hilmand River rises out of the southern watershed by the Koh-i-Baba Range near Kabul, and flows in a generally south-westerly direction until it
approaches the Iranian border, where it takes a sharp turn and empties into the marsh lakes and Lagoons of the Hamun-i-Hilmand, lying mainly in Iran. The Hilmand has no outlet to the sea, and millennia of evaporation have produced many salt flats, such as the Gaud-Zirreh in the Sistan Basin. Seasonal water of snow-melt keeps the rivers of Hamun-i-Hilmand fresh, but the lakes overflow and spread salts to other parts of the depression. The mountains of Hazarajat hem the Hilmand into narrow valleys with gorge like cliffs. Above Girishk, the topography changes and wide terraces of former flood plains dominate, until they break out into the deserts of south-western Afghanistan. Several tributaries join Hilmand; Kaj Rud and Tirin in Hazarajat, Rud-i-Musa Qala south of Kajakai, and several intermittent streams south of Girishk.

The only other major river in the system is the Arghandab. The headwaters of this 350 miles (560 km) long river squat the granitic masses of the eastern Hazarajat. Less that 50 miles (80 km) north of Qandahar, the Arghandab flows into open country. Low hills separate the river from Qandahar before it eventually reaches the Hilmand at Qala Bist. West of Qandahar the Kushk-i-Nakhud and Garm Ab, pour their water into Arghandab from the north. The Arghastan river on the east runs parallel to the Arghandab for about 175 miles (280 km). Arghandab joins Dori river which is about 200 miles long, south-east of Qandahar. The Dori in its turn flows on to join the Arghandab west of Panjwai.
The Tarnak, about 200 miles (320 kms) long and sandwiched between the Arghandab and Arghastan, drains the Kalati-Gilzai region. The Ghazni Rud, about 150 miles (240 km) long, mainly waters the Ghazni area. Its principal tributary, the Jilga, flows out of Paktya Ab-i-Istada, a brackish lake and receives the run off from the Ghazni Rud. This lake is the source of the Lora river and is 17 miles long and 7 miles wide (27 kms and 8 kms respectively).

The Farah Rud, farther north-west about 200 miles (320 kms) long, has its watershed in the Paropamisus Mountains and flows through the desert to the Hamum-i-Sabari (or Sabiri). The Rud-i-Ghar joins the Farah Rud near Kumrak before it debouches into the stony desert of Dasht-i-Narmung. Further south, the Malmun river joins the Farah Rud. The Harut Rud originates from the mountains, south east of Herat, and passes through the Shindan to reach the Hamun-i-Sabari.

In between the Farah and the Hilmand lies Khash Rud which is about 300 miles (480 kms) long. It originates from western Hazarajat and flows upto Chakansur during the flood season. Near Dilaram the Khash Rud becomes a series of isolated pools during the dry season. Even more affluent Arghandab can dry up into a series of unconnected pools in unusually dry years.

**Physical Regions of Hilmand-Arghandab River Basin**

Hilmand-Arghandab basin, which in a way includes Farah Rud system also, is a fairly large region. Physiographically it is a diverse region, but without sufficient productive
lands. All the important rivers of this region, as mentioned earlier, originate in the north which is by far the most elevated area of the basin. Elevations are higher in the eastern region as compared to the western. The southern half of the basin is low lying and most of it is desert. The basin may be divided in the following six physiographic divisions:

i) The Koh-i-Baba and Hazarajat Mountains  
ii) Eastern Mountains and Foothills.  
iii) Southern Sandy Deserts  
iv) Sistan Basin and Hilmand Valley  
v) Western Stony Deserts  
vi) Farah Low lands

2.1.2.1 The Koh-i-Baba and Hazarajat Mountains

These mountains in fact are known as the Central Afghanistan Mountains. West of Shibar Pass, the Koh-i-Baba mountain range, a rugged, barren elevated table land which is the backbone of Afghanistan contains sources of several important river systems: the Kabul, Hilmand-Arghandab and Hari Rud. The highest-peaks in these mountains vary between 14000 and 17000 feet (4270 and 5180 mts) with the summit of the Koh-i-Baba range at Shah Foladi, about 20 miles from Ak Sarat Pass. Slopes in the north area gentler than those in the south.

The mountain chain which is separated by Hilmand river from the Koh-i-Baba mountains is relatively lower in altitude
but sufficiently broad and wide. The terrain is very rugged and the river valleys are choked with boulders and gravels laid down in winter and moved along with great rapidity by spring snow melts. The few wide valleys are usually inhabited and cultivated. Those at high altitudes are used as summer grazing lands for livestock.

2.1.2.2 Eastern Mountains and Foothills

This region is formed as the Tarnak and Arghastan rivers of Hilmand debouch into the plains and semi-desert becomes desert, with agricultural villages studding the toothpaste squeezes of the rivers and tributaries. The area mainly embraces, Qandahar, Ghazni and much of Pakliya.

Elevations are higher in the north as compared to the south (Ghazni 7186 feet; Qalat-i-Ghilzai, 5130 feet and Qandahar 3310 feet). The Tarnak river, narrow in parts but widening at times to an impressive extent, with a fertile valley, is suitable for settlement and orchards.

2.1.2.3 Southern Sandy Deserts

South of the Hilmand River lies Registan, the "land of sand", an area of shifting sand dunes with an underlying pebble conglomerate floor. The moving dunes reach heights between 50 and 100 feet (15 and 30 meters). However, some fixed dunes exist in central Registan. The level areas between the dunes, called pat (which means desert in Baluchi), menace travelers. Treacherous sandy-clay mush when wet, pat
becomes a hard topped pan when dry, but remains mushy underneath.

2.1.2.4 **Sistan Basin and Hilmand Valley**

Most of the low lying (average elevation about 1700 feet or 520 metres) Sistan Basin lies in Iran. The eastern boundary of the Sistan Basin penetrates the edge of the Dasht-i-Margo (Desert of Death) along a sharp scrap with the height varying from 30 feet (9 metres) to several hundred feet. The Sistan Basin is a zone of intermittent lakes and fresh water and brackish marshes. Interspersed between stony and sandy desert it forms a part of the great inland Hilmand drainage basin. The river flows into the Hamun-i-Hilmand, a series of marshes and connecting lakes. Fresh water overflows from the Hamun and empties into the Gaud-i-Zirreh, an ephemeral brackish lake.

The modern lakes are surrounded by level fertile plains which are the ancient beds of extinct lakes. Spring floods often cover wide areas, and the uncontrolled Hilmand flushes down-stream from the mountains. The vicious 'bad-i-sad-o-bist-roz' (wind of 120 days), a seasonal natural phenomenon, emphasizes the inhospitality of the south eastern Hilmand Basin. Born of the different pressures between northern plains and southwestern low-land deserts, the winds whip down the natural corridor along the Irano-Afghan border, stirring up violent sandstorms from Herat to Baluchistan.
2.1.2.5 Western Stony Desert

Dasht-i-Kash, Dasht-i-Margo and adjacent areas are varnished-pebble-strewn deserts, which seldom rise over 3000 feet (915 mt) above sea level and are hot, waterless and barren. Spring flash floods cut deep depressions in the sandy clay and silt underlying the heavily cemented, blackish wind-polished basaltic pebbles. Seasonal overflow from the Hilmand creates shallow ponds throughout the fringes of the desert. Great diurnal changes of temperatures occur, and water sometimes freezes at night in summer in spite of noon maximum of 120°F (45°C) or higher.

The region is mostly uninhabited and relatively unexplored. Limited flora and fauna can survive in either the Sistan Basin, Western Stony Deserts or Southern Sandy Desert. Desert plants are xerophytic and adapt to extremes of aridity and salinity.

2.1.2.6 Farah Low Lands

Actually an extension of the Khurasan Region of the Iranian Plateau, the Herat-Farah complex consists mainly of mountain ranges and low hills, sporadically rugged but generally rounded, separated by broad, flat valleys. The region is intensively cultivated wherever water is available.

Winter (December-February) finds freezing temperatures common at night. Warm spells do occur, however, and temperatures above 70°F (21°C) have been recorded for December-January, and 80°F (26°C) in February. Spring (March-May)
is more variable than winter and has some freezing temperatures in March. The average temperature, however, gradually increases to about 70°F (21°C) in May. Day temperatures in the hot, dry summer (June-September) sometimes reach 120°F.

2.2 CULTURAL REGIONS AND DISTRIBUTION OF TRIBES

In the earlier periods of human history, when technology was not quite developed, the influence of the physical environment over man, must have been tremendous. Subbarao, aptly remarks, "The essence of human civilization is the progressive emancipation of man from the clutches of nature as a result of a persistent analysis of its processes and agencies and his final mastery and escape from its adversities. Hence, the environment loses its strangle-hold on man with the gradual evolution of technology."8

The cultural regions of North West India during the period under study, had a fair correspondence with the physical regions. During the medieval period, development and diffusion of cultures in a region was strongly influenced by its physical condition. Hence the concept of cultural regions, implied in this study, is not the one that is used by geographers today but a more fundamental and basic one.9

The region under study is divided into three types of cultural regions: areas of attraction or perennial nuclear

9 Subbarao used this concept to divide India into cultural regions.
regions; areas of isolation or cul-de-sac and, areas of relative isolation. These terms are suggestive of the role of both physiography and cultural lineaments in the evolution and persistence of cultural regions through the processes of endogenous development and diffusion of cultures. The relationship between the economy of a region and the processes of cultural evolution and diffusion is quite obvious, since culture is a superstructure on the structure of economy. Thus, economically progressive or prosperous areas would tend to be culturally dynamic.

Geographers are now of the view that no region is rich and no region is poor, every region is rich in its own way and every region is poor in its own way. But, in certain given conditions and at certain moments in history, some regions have been more suited for economic development, than the others. The reasons are obvious. Every region has some inherent natural resources which provide possibilities of certain type of economic development within the region. A region's natural and physiographic characteristics may also hinder or limit economic development, if knowledge about their availability or their utility is limited. A good example is the supremacy of the fertile river valleys over mineral regions prior to the industrial revolution because in the pre-industrial world, development potential was defined in terms of potential for settled agriculture.

During the period of the Early Mughals, or prior to it, the areas favourable for settled agriculture became
economically more prosperous than other areas and people were attracted into them. Cultural interaction followed, resulting in cultural diffusion and the emergence in them of a dynamic culture. In contrast the areas of isolation, where settled agriculture could not be practised, remained economically backward and hence culturally isolated. The areas of relative isolation had their insularity frequently broken by movements resulting in a curious amalgam in them of the new cultural mosaic intertwined by the relic of an earlier cultural phase.

2.2.1 Areas of Attraction

The concept of areas of attraction or nuclear regions has changed significantly with a major shift in the economic base from agriculture to industry. Prior to the industrial revolution, generally the river valleys, as mentioned earlier, with fertile soil, suitable climatic conditions and adequate communication facilities i.e., endowed with factors which helped promote settled agriculture, were the areas of attraction.

These agriculturally rich areas always attracted people from outside. The later migrants were in many cases conquerors, who possessed superior technology of exploitation of natural resources and had better ideas of organisation of space. These migrants were absorbed in the cultural milieu of these areas but in this process the existing culture changed significantly. Easy communication lines
within these areas of attraction were conducive to the development of a strong socio-economic and political base in these regions. Good communication links with other areas of attraction, provided on the other hand, the required dynamism to the economy and culture of these areas.

To identify the presently less known areas, as the areas of attraction in past historical periods is paradoxical though justified. Holdich, in the introduction of 'Gates of India' also tries to explain this anomaly. To him the fact that the areas of attraction of the earlier historical period had become less known and less important during the British period, was due to the fact that as the Europeans entered India by the way of the sea it took them a long time to rediscover the best known areas of the ancient and the medieval periods. To him the fact that the areas of attraction of the earlier historical period had become less known and less important during the British period, was due to the fact that as the Europeans entered India by the way of the sea it took them a long time to rediscover the best known areas of the ancient and the medieval periods. Prior to the arrival of the Europeans by the sea, nearly all the ethnic elements entered the Indian sub-continent through regions lying mostly in Afghanistan. The agricultural production in some of these regions was not really much, but due to their location close to the trans-continental communication lines, they were highly suitable both for trade and transport. These areas had also been the melting pots of various racial, linguistic and cultural groups and very often gave birth to mixed and new cultures. Spate called these areas of attraction as the 'perennial Nuclear Regions'. They were known as the Jana-

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11 O.H.K. Spate, pp. 177-82.
padas in the Puranic literature.

The following regions may be identified as the areas of attraction during the period under study. Starting from the east, most of the Indo-Gangetic plain, consisting of fertile valleys with sufficient rainfall or irrigation facilities and with a network of fairly good transportation lines, became the high population concentration. Of this the Gangetic plain (with Delhi-Agra region at its western border), had been the most prominent throughout the Medieval period and was the seat of political power. Spate attaches great importance to the Delhi-Agra axis and recognizes the strategic significance of the Delhi gate, which had more than seven sites - from Indraprasta to New Delhi. To him it was the theatre of the great warfare of the Mahabharata between the Kurus to the west and the Panchala to the east of the Yamuna; but at least seven less legendary and more decisive battles have taken place, a few marches north of Delhi, where the great highway from the north western entry, along the well-watered sub-montane Punjab strip, approaches the Yamuna. 12 In fact, the traditional Hindustan becomes accessible only after the Delhi gateway is crossed. (See Map 2.3)

Within this extensive region several civilizations flourished. The Indus Valley civilization, an urban-focused agricultural civilization, was the most ancient of these. It is believed to have been destroyed by the Aryans who reached the Indus Valley around 1500 B.C. Aryans, subsequently took nearly one thousand years to reach and occupy the Gangetic

12 Ibid., p. 179.
plain, which was till then thickly forested. After the occupation of these lands by the Aryans, the significance of this region never declined.

The Indus Valley civilization, developed, flourished declined and fell but the importance of the Indus Valley remained supreme.\textsuperscript{13} Right from the period of the Indus Valley Civilization, this region has been an area of attraction for the conquerors, traders, empire builders and large agricultural groups.

The Upper Indus Plain or Punjab region also retained its socio-economic significance during the medieval period. It had gradually increased its importance both politically and strategically because of the frequent invasion from the north west. It was open to cultural and political influences from central and south-west Asia and became the stepping stone for the invaders who were to conquer Hindustan. Lahore and Multan, two important urban centres in this region, retained their importance throughout the medieval period. With their strategic location they developed as the leading trading centres of the period.

The entire Punjab was, however, not an area of attraction during the period under study. It had large patches of infertile lands, where agriculture was not possible without irrigation facilities. It is, however, not easy to identify

\textsuperscript{13} Many scholars attribute the decline of this great civilization mainly to significant changes in the river courses and fall in humidity and rainfall in this region.
these areas of low productivity or of lesser attraction since sufficient information is not available about them. Probably, the areas near the main rivers and their tributaries were more productive and densely populated as compared to the central parts of the Doabs. Eastern Punjab, with a relatively higher rainfall, was also more fertile than its western counterpart.

The Valley of Peshawar may be identified as another area of attraction. Known widely as Gandhara it formed an important region since the ancient times. It is correctly described by Strabo, as lying along the river Kobes or Kabul. Ptolemy also places the Gandaroe in the region lying along the banks of the Kophes (Kabul) immediately above its junction with the Indus. All the Chinese pilgrims unanimously place it to the west of the Indus. The capital which they call Pu-lu-sha-pula or Para-sha-pura is stated to be three or four days journey from the Indus and near the south bank of a large river.

Babar considered Parashawar region as a part of Hindustan, and possibly, Khaiber as the boundary between the Kabul region and Hindustan. Peshawar Valley has been an area of attraction throughout the historical past. Though at times,

14 A. Cunningham, The Ancient Geography of India, p. 40.
15 Ibid.
16 Ibid.
due to tribal unrests which rendered the Khaiber route dangerous, this region lost its relative significance.

West of Peshawar Valley, across Khaiber is the Jalalabad region or Nagarahara. It is Nagora of Ptolemy,18 lying south of Kabul river. Hwen Thsang refers to it as Na-ki-lo-ho,19 while Babar as Ningnehmar, but, mentions that it is sometimes written as Nagarhar in history."20 During the period between 2nd to the 7th centuries A.D., the Jalalabad region was one of the most sacred spots in the Buddhist world. To this region came countless pilgrims from various parts of the world to worship at its many holy temples.21 Today the entire Jalalabad Valley is littered with the remains of countless ruins.

The Jalalabad Valley, remained an important region during the medieval period. According to Babar, this region was distinctly different from the Kabul region. He writes, "After descending this pass, another world comes into view, other trees, other plants (or grasses), other animals and other manners and customs of men."22 These differences in fauna and flora were due to lower altitudes and hence a warmer climate. Abul Fazl refers to a significant climatic change in this region as he mentions that, "Babar states that the snowfall in the direction of Hindustan does not

18 A. Cunningham, p. 37.
19 Ibid.
20 BN, p. 207.
22 BN, p. 208.
pass the crest of Badam Chashmah. This doubtless was the case in those days, but at the present time it extends to the crest of the Nimlah and indeed as far as the Khaibar pass. 23

This change in climate, might have affected agricultural production adversely. During Babar's time the region was growing good crops of rice and corn, excellent and abundant oranges, citrons and pomegranates. 24 But according to Abul Fazl there were various delightful fruits though agriculture was not very prosperous. 25 These differences, however, may be attributed mainly to the perceptions of Babar and Abul Fazl about a productive region. Babar's seat of power was located in the hilly region of Kabul with limited agricultural production while Akbar's capital was in the fertile Delhi-Agra region. Thus, Abul Fazl found the Jalalabad region relatively less productive as compared to the fertile plains with which he was acquainted.

It will have not be improper to identify Jalalabad or Nagarchar region as an area of attraction although during certain periods this region became unsafe due to political disturbances within it. Not only the fertile valleys of Nagarhara, but also the adjoining valleys of the northern tributaries of the Kabul, with easy communication lines and pleasant climate, may be identified as an area of attraction.

24 BN, p. 208.
25 Ain, II, p. 405.
Further, west lies Kabul, by far the most important region, west of the Indus. Not only its fertile cultivable land and pleasant climate but its location close to the Trans-Continental communication line joining China with the Indus Valley, where civilization dawned, gave it a very unique position throughout the historical past. During ancient and medieval periods, nearly all the ethnic and cultural groups which entered India, passed through this region. It has been a confluence of various cultural groups - Chinese, Central Asians, Persians, Arabs and of course Indians.

The district of Kabul is first mentioned by Ptolemy, who called the local people Kabolitoe and the capital city as Kabura. Strabo and Pliny had called this city as Ortospana. It is very close to the Sanskrit word Urddhasinana that is the "high place", or lofty city. The Chinese pilgrim Hwen Thsang also gave the same name to Kabul district. Cunningham suspects that there has been some accidental interchange of names between the province and the capital.

During the Kushan period Kabul region became very significant. Buddhist missionaries following the caravans along the Silk Route spread Buddhism from its homeland through Kabul region to China and the lands of Far East. However, when decadence sapped the power of both China and Rome and gravely disrupted the trade upon which Kushan prosperity

26 Cunningham, p. 28.
27 Ibid.
28 Ibid.
depended the significance of Kabul region was considerably reduced. During the following centuries it remained under the political control of Sassanian-Samanid, Ghazanavids, Ghorids, Mongols and Timurids, etc. During this entire period although this region was not politically as important as the surrounding territories, it never lost its strategic and economic significance due to its location.

At the time of Babar's conquest, Kabul was an important region, though Babar did not consider it suitable for the production of grain. During this period Kabul became a prominent trading town. "To Kabul caravans came from Kashghar, Farghana, Turkistan, Samarkand, Bukhara, Balkh, Hisar and Badakhshan", mentions Babar. Between 1504 and 1525, Kabul, the city Babar loved, remained the seat of his power, which was growing west of Indus. After the conquest of Hindustan, it became the most important frontier region of the country, and remained so for more than two centuries.

About 85 miles (136 kms) southwest of Kabul city lies Ghazni town which experienced fluctuating fortunes. At times it reached unmatched glories and then suddenly lost most of its significance. In the 7th century, it was a thriving Buddhist centre and at the time of Hwen Thsang's arrival was one of the two capitals of the Kingdom of Arachosia. Ghazni fiercely resisted the advance of an Arab army in 683 A.D. but the town was razed to the ground in

29 BN, p. 203.
30 Ibid.
869 by Yaqub Saffari from Seistan. Subsequently, Yaqub's own brother rebuilt the town which later on became the capital of a powerful empire under Ghazni Kings. The empire then consisted of Kabul, Bost, Balkh, Herat, North-West India upto the Punjab region.

Babar was not really impressed by the town of Ghazni as he considered it as a, "very humble place", and wondered how the, "rulers in whose hands were Hindustan and Khuranganat (Khurasan) should have chosen it for their capital."\footnote{Ibid., p. 219.} He noted that Ghazni had little cultivated land but found its grapes better than those of Kabul, and melons more abundant. Its apples according to him were "very good.\footnote{Ibid., p. 218.} Babar mentions that, "Agriculture is very laborious in Ghazni because, whatever the quality of the soil, it must be newly top-dressed every year. It gives a better return, however, the entire crop goes to Hindustan and yields excellent profit to the growers."\footnote{Ibid.}

With the help of available informations it is clear that like Kabul, Ghazni also remained important mainly due to its location. Ghazni is very close to Kabul and between these two great political centres there is no great physical obstacle to be encountered. So at the time of its glory Ghazni enjoyed all of Kabul's privileges. During the Ghaznavid period, the Tochi formed the shortest connecting link
between their capital Ghazni and "those plains of India from whence the material financial support of the unstable kingdom has ever been derived." 34

The position of Kabul and Ghazni is comparable to Delhi and Agra or Lahor and Multan. Though Kabul and Ghazni belong to two different geographical zones, still it will not be inappropriate to call this zone as the Kabul-Ghazni axis. As between Delhi and Agra during the medieval period, the seat of power shifted from Kabul and Ghazni. However, this whole region remained important throughout.

Lying to the south-west of the Kabul-Ghazni axis, outside the Indus basin and in the heart of the Hilmand-Arghandab system is Qandahar, which may also be identified as an area of attraction. Although, early history of Qandahar is shrouded in mystery, still there is little doubt that Alexander followed the Arghandab to the neighbourhood of the modern Qandahar in Arachosia. From Qandahar he took the historica straight high-road to Kabul. The name of Qandahar has not been mentioned in any of the ancient sources but three extremely important Ashoka Rock Edicts have been found near it. 35 During the later period, the region might have been significant not only due to the fact that the best route from Khurasan to India via Kabul passed through it, but also due to the cultivable land available in the valleys

34 T. Holdich, India, New Delhi, 1975, p. 79.
of the various tributaries of Arghandab and Hilmand. The productivity of the region, however, was restricted by the Registan (desert) lying south of Dori and Arghandab.

The significance of Qandahar, during the Mughal period, increased considerably due to its location between the traditionally Indian Kabul and the Persian Kingdom. Qandahar region in general and the city in particular became more important and prosperous during the 16th and 17th centuries. The Mughals were maintaining a cavalry of 12 to 15 thousand here because the frontiers of Persia were very close. Grain was available here in abundant quantities but was very expensive owing to the presence of crowds of strangers.36

Thus we find that most of these areas of attraction remained prominent throughout the historical past due to some distinct physical characteristics and locational factors inherent in them.

2.2.2 Areas of Relative Isolation

The concept of 'Relative Isolation' is rather difficult to explain. In 'areas of relative isolation' as compared to in 'areas of isolation' physical conditions are less defined and more varied. For a better understanding, these areas may be divided into two broad categories on the basis of their physical attributes. Firstly, those areas where conditions are not suitable for settled agriculture but due to their nearness to the areas of attraction or the

36 De Laet, The Empire of the Great Mogal, Delhi, 1975, p. 70.
main communication lines, they remain in contact with more
dynamic communities living in the areas of attraction.
Secondly, those areas which have sufficient productive lands
with suitable climatic conditions for agricultural produc-
tion but are away from the main communication lines and are
usually surrounded by inaccessible regions. Physical condi-
tions in these areas are nearly as good as those of the areas
of attraction but communities living in these areas seldom
come into close and constant contact with the dynamic commu-
nities.

To the first category i.e. areas of relative isolation
belong the following regions:
A) Hilly areas, south of the Himalayan complex and north
of Upper Indus Plains (Punjab). In these hills, which are
close to the plains, the narrow river valleys were occupied
by different communities, who, due to their proximity to
the areas of attraction, remained in close contact with more
dynamic communities of the Punjab plains.
B) The hills of the Peshawar, Jalalabad and Kabul regions,
west of the Indus, on either side of the Kabul river but
away from the main valley. In these hilly areas there are
no significant river valleys with productive soils, and,
except for fruit production, they are not suited for settled
agriculture. However, due to their nearness to the areas of
attraction and main communication lines, they may be identi-
fied as the areas of relative isolation. Narrow river valleys
of the Panjshir, the Ghorband and the Loghar also fall into
this category.
C) The Valley of the Tarnak river and other tributaries of the Hilmand, closer to Qandahar. These areas provide sufficient land for agricultural production but are away from the broad cultivable lands on the foothills.

D) The region, on either side of the Tarnak river upto Ghazni and beyond, along the Kabul-Qandahar route. This region though, not very fertile had remained in contact with a more dynamic culture throughout the period under study and acted as an area of relative isolation.

To the second category of the areas of relative isolation belong the Lower Indus Plains (Sind). There are extensive fertile lands along the Indus river with irrigation facilities. This region produces sufficient food for the inhabitants but is surrounded by inaccessible areas at least on three sides and lies away from the main communication lines. Hence it remained relatively isolated. In this region one finds an interesting mixture of the new and old cultural trails. It has continuously received waves of new and dynamic cultures, though these new cultures got eventually absorbed in the cultural ethos of the region.

The Valley of Kashmir, is perhaps the best example of the second category of the areas of relative isolation. The land of Kashmir is of such surpassing beauty that it justifies its superlative praises. It is considered to be one of the few regions in the world which never seems to disappoint the expectations it has aroused in its visitors. The valley is flat and fertile with good irrigation facilities. There
is not a single fruit or vegetable that does not grow in its temperate climate. It is reputed for its silk and saffron since a long time.

Spate's observations on Kashmir are worth noting here, "if anywhere on earth presents the semblance of the Happy Valley of Rasselas, it is the Vale of Kashmir, but however, pleasant the prospects, the human history of the region has been less attractive." The human history has been less attractive, mainly due to the location of the Valley away from the main communication lines connecting the areas of attraction. The physical conditions in this valley otherwise have been ideally suitable for the development of an area of attraction.

The contiguous areas in the lower Sind region but outside the Indus Basin, e.g. Pashang, Shal (Quetta) and Mash-tang also fall in this category. Though, this whole region lies on a high altitude, but, due to many favourable physical attributes, it has been more important and developed than the other hilly areas of the region. It lies close to the Bolan Pass, which was used frequently by armies and merchants to reach Bhakkar or Multan from Qandahar.

Lastly there is a long strip of land between the Sulaiman Range and the Thar Desert, in the Sind Sagar Doab, which though sufficiently productive, lies away from the areas of attraction. North of this strip, across the salt range (on both sides of the Indus) lie the fertile plains of Bannu (west of Indus) and parts of Potwar Plateau (east of

37 Spate, p. II, 438.
Indus). These may also be identified as areas of relative isolation.

2.2.3 Areas of Isolation

It is not really easy to identify the areas of isolation as the concept is a qualitative and a relative one. Moreover, during the period under study, lot of cultural synthesis was taking place and many new areas were brought into the cultural main stream. Still for the present study, certain areas away from the main communication routes and with a rugged terrain, extreme climate, unproductive soils, forested lands, may safely be identified as the areas of isolation. With these extreme physical conditions, these areas have proved to be "negative" for settled agriculture. The primitive technology available here also deterred other economic activities from developing. Thus, the negative physical conditions coupled with the distance from the main communication lines, kept these areas away from any meaningful socio-cultural interaction with the outside world.

Communities which occupied these areas of isolation, not only became economically poor, but also remained in socio-physical isolation for ages. The reasons are obvious. Infertile and unproductive lands did not support agriculture and so the production was insufficient. This resulted in the economic backwardness of the region. These economically backward regions with limited known natural resources, never attracted people from outside. Though, within these areas,
there was a lot of movement, many wars were fought and positions changed. However, due to extreme physical conditions, the socio-physical isolation of the region persisted. Even today these areas are inhabited by economically backward communities.

On the basis of physical conditions the areas of isolation within the North-Western India may be divided into two broad categories:

i) The Mountainous areas with high altitudes, snow covered peaks, rugged terrain and extremely cold climatic conditions, and,

ii) The Desertic areas with sandy soils, high temperatures, strong winds and extremely insufficient rainfall.

To the first category of the areas of isolation belongs the whole of the Northern Mountainous region, excepting the Valley of Kashmir. This extensive mountainous region, as discussed earlier, consists of huge mountain masses with four large mountain ranges, though between them are longitudinal valleys of the Gilgit, the Shyok the Indus and Jhelum. With the exception of the Jhelum Valley, popularly known as the valley of Kashmir, no other valley ever permitted high population concentration due to their narrowness, low temperatures, high altitudes and a great distance from the main communication lines. The surrounding snow covered mountain ranges and the rugged terrain made these river valleys so inaccessible that communities which occupied them remained in isolation. Away from these valleys, life in the mountains was impossible.
Most of the Kabul Basin also belongs to the first category of the areas of isolation. North of the Kabul river, mountainous areas with high altitudes, rugged terrain and narrow gorges, never attracted people from outside in large numbers. The ranges, south of the Hindukush were sufficiently rugged to hinder any meaningful socio-economic interaction from the outside world. As mentioned earlier, all the tributaries of Kabul river, in their upper reaches, had insufficient cultivable lands and so never attracted agricultural communities from outside. South of the Kabul river, on the higher altitudes, the Safed Koh region has also been an area of isolation. This region has been occupied by independent tribal communities and has had a very poor economy.

South of the Safed Koh, up to the Arabian Sea, the area lying west of the Indus is mountainous, with only few broad river valleys. People who lived in these mountains or hills remained in socio-physical isolation. However, their isolation was never as perfect as that of the communities which occupied the Northern Mountainous region. It seems that, throughout the historical past, there was a lot of movement within these areas. However this did not leave any considerable effect on the basic economic structure of these areas. Apart from the plains of Kohat and Bannu, all other areas are hilly, with very little land for agriculture. These areas have been occupied by small tribal groups. Some of the tribal groups became powerful for a brief period and
occupied some fertile plains and became rich, but their own home lands remained economically backward.

Apart from the Ghazni-Gandahar area, most of the northern Hilmand-Arghandab basin belongs to the first category of the areas of isolation. Koh-i-Baba and Hazarajat Mountains were negative for settled agriculture and were never occupied by large agricultural communities. Most probably during the time when the tribal communities established large empires in this region, it must have gained some importance and might have been an areas of relative isolation. However, during the times of the early Mughals, these regions had become true areas of isolation.

Outside the region, areas lying between Kabul and Balkh and Badakhshan are mountainous. The temperatures are very low, soil is infertile and terrain is rugged and bars easy communication. Although throughout the period under consideration these regions were traversed by various communities for different purposes, they were never occupied by them and hence remained areas of isolation.

The Thar desert, which belongs to the second category of the areas of isolation, never attracted people from outside due to obvious reasons. Though, this extensive desert lies outside the region under study, it played a very crucial role in the development of the cultural history of North-West India. Adverse physical conditions, very high temperatures with high diurnal ranges and sandy soil, which without rains is absolutely unproductive, limited the possi-
bilites of human survival only to certain oasis present in this area. Climatic conditions and scarcity of water not only made human existence rather impossible but also made human movements immensely difficult. These difficulties kept the desert people away from any meaningful socio-economic interaction with the outside world and separated the Lower Indus Plain from the Gangetic Plain.

Another desert lies in the heart of Upper Indus Plains and in the Sind Sagar Doab. More than three-fourths of this region is a desert or a semi-desert. The surface is rough, soil is infertile and is covered with shifting sand dunes. The population is naturally sparse. Like the Thar, this desert also has kept the Derajat region away from the rest of the Upper Indus Plain.

Another sandy desert known as Registan lies sough of the Hilmand river. Like other deserts, physical conditions here are not suitable for settled agriculture and human settlement. Though this region lies just to the sough of Qandahar, it never attracted outsiders and remained in isolation. This Registan has its counterpart in the south of Chagai Hills in Baluchistan. In fact, the whole region, south of Hilmand and upto the coast of Arabian Sea had remained an area of isolation.
2.2.4 Distribution of Tribes

During the period under study tribal identity was quite strong even in the areas of attraction, where several communities lived together. In the areas of isolation, however, tribal groups had their distinct homelands. The reason of concentration of tribal groups in the areas of isolation is quite apparent. Communities which occupied (by force or by option) the negative areas, remained economically backward, physically isolated, politically independent and culturally distinct. On the other hand, their counterparts, which migrated to the areas of attraction, lost their cultural identity to a great extent and intermingled with the other communities.

The tribal groups, usually, prefer to stay in isolation in their traditional homelands. But at times they are forced to move out of their homelands. The same happened in North-West India. We find that political rivalries or population and economic pressures within a group, compelled a section of certain tribes to move out of their traditional homeland. In most of the cases the occupied another negative area and again lived in isolation. However, certain tribes migrated to the areas of attraction or relative isolation. There are many references to the fact that certain tribal groups were forced to leave their traditional homelands by their powerful neighbours.
It is not difficult to find that within the historical times, certain tribal groups when attained power conquered surrounding territories and at times established great empires by conquering areas of attraction. But in this process they came in the contact of other more culturally dynamic communities living in the areas of attraction and hence in the long run lost their tribal identity to a great extent. The contemporary sources are full of references to all these types of migrations.

The role of tribal groups in structuring the socio-political condition in North-West India cannot be exaggerated, as no ruler could really conquer them. They are found plundering caravans, even at the height of Mughal power, which were passing through the well guarded imperial highway. The tribals were compelled to do this not out of bravery or wickedness but to a great extent out of desperation. Infact these tribals were forced to do these acts as the physical environment of their homelands was so harsh that they were unable to produce the minimum food for their requirements despite all their efforts.

In this section, an attempt has been made to locate the tribal homelands, as they were, during the times of early Mughals (see Map 2.4). This is a difficult exercise. Many of the tribal groups mentioned by Babar and Abul Fazl, are now no more, and it is not possible to locate them. They
have lost their tribal identity in due course of time. Most of the important tribal are, however, still there, though some of them have migrated en-masse to other areas or have changed their names.

An attempt has been made in this section to understand the processes and causes of the tribal movement in the region. To trace their areas of origin we have briefly discussed their genealogies. In this region, we found tribals of at least four distinct ethnic origin. The most important of them being Pathans, occupying nearly the whole suba of Kabul, west of Indus; the Hazaras of Mongol origin in the sarkar of Kabul and Qandahar; the Baluch and Rajput tribes occupying the hilly and desertic fringes of Thatta region. For a better understanding of the tribal regions all the tribal groups have been discussed separately.

2.2.4.1 Yusufzai

Yusufzais are regarded as the truest and finest exponents of the Afghan way of life.38 Their history after the occupation of the Swad region is full of courage, determination and that of valour. But prior to this we found them moving out of their home to occupy other areas and then leaving them, after defeat. According to various chronicles Yusufzais, the leading sect in the Khahay tribal confederacy

arrived in Peshawar valley having set out from the neighbour-
hood of Qandahar and journeyed by way of Kabul. 39

Abul Fazl mentions about the Yusufzai migration in
these words: "From there 40 Qandahar and Qarabagh they came
to (the district of) Kabul and became powerful." 41 This
migration from an area with limited resources to a more re-
sourceful area might have been due to power attained by the
Yusufzais. 42 In fact, Yusufzais were instrumental in rais-
ing Mirza Ulugh Beg to the throne of Kabul. Initially they
were treated by the king with great distinction 43 but per-
haps due to their independent attitude "M. Ulugh Beg Kabuli
massacred them by strategem." 44 According to Abul Fazl,
those who survived "took refuge in the Lamghanant." 45 After
that they settled in Hashtnagar. 46

39 Mountstuart Elphinstone, Kingdom of Caubul, Vol. II,
(First Edition 1815), Karachi, 1972, p. 9; Caroe, p.169.

40 According to Caroe the "actual starting points given
are Nushki, Mukur and Garah, said to have been their
original habitat in the neighbourhood of Kandahar." The Pathans, p. 169.

41 Abul Fazl, Akbar Nama, Vol. III (Reprint) Delhi, 1973,
p. 715.

42 But Elphinstone thinks otherwise as he mentions that
"They were expelled from Garra and Nashky about the
end of the thirteenth century or beginning of fourteenth
century" Kingdom of Caubul, p. 9.

43 Elphinstone, II, p. 10.

44 AN, III, p. 715.


46 Ibid.
According to Abul Fazl, the Yusufzais migrated to the Sind region in the fifteenth century as he mentions that, "It is nearly one hundred years that they settled in Swad and Bajour."\textsuperscript{47} At the time of Yusufzai arrival, the Swad and Hashtnagar area was occupied by Sultani\textsuperscript{48} and Dilazak\textsuperscript{49} tribes. Yusufzais, initially served the earlier settlers of the region but later on took possession of the choice lands of the region.\textsuperscript{50} Abul Fazl, found some of the earlier inhabitants in the same region as he mentions that "upto the present day some of the former inhabitants spend their days in distress in the defiles and from love for their native land are unable to leave."\textsuperscript{51}

In the tribal chronicles the Sultanis are referred to as Dehgans (villagers) and have been mentioned as occupying the Hashtnagar with Dilazaks. These Dehgans were subject to the Sultanis of Swad, who had their capital at Manglor.\textsuperscript{52} It is possible, with the help of the above information, to suggest that at the time of Yusufzai arrival in this area, Bajaur region was predominantly occupied by Dilazaks, while

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{47} Ibid.
  \item \textsuperscript{48} Ibid. Elphinstone, II, p. 11; Caroe, p. 175.
  \item \textsuperscript{49} BN, p. 367; Elphinstone, II, p. 11; Caroe, p. 175.
  \item \textsuperscript{50} AN, III, p. 716.
  \item \textsuperscript{51} Ibid.
  \item \textsuperscript{52} Caroe, p. 175.
\end{itemize}
in the Swad region another tribe was living and was ruled over by Sultans.

Yusufzai was perhaps the most important tribal group of this region during the period under study. Babar married a Yusufzai lady perhaps to establish good relations with this strong tribe, but it hardly helped in improving the relations between Mughals and Yusufzais. Abul Fazl, mentions about the Yusufzais and their territory quite often as this tribe created many problems for the administrators. Description of Yusufzai homelands however, are generally vague and incorrect. According to Abul Fazl the Yusufzais had their strongholds in the hill country of Swad and Bajaur, many of them live in the plains. Regarding the extent and boundaries of Yusufzai homelands he further mentions "Indus surrounds them on two sides. On the two other sides they have Kabul river and the northern hill country. The length of their country is 30 kos, and breadth 15-20. There are delightful valleys and beautiful tracts."

53 About his marriage with the Yusufzai lady Bibi Mubarakah Baber mentions "In order to conciliate the Yusufzai, I have asked for a daughter of one of my well wishers Malik Sulaiman Shah" BN, p. 375.

54 AN, III, p. 717.

55 Ibid. The statement that "Indus surrounds them on two sides" is incorrect. In fact, Indus river lies on the east of Buner district of Swad region. Though Buner district of Swad has been mentioned separately by Abul Fazl, but nowhere he mentions about Yusufzais as living in this region. So it is difficult to know that whether like other district of Swad (Bajaur and Swad) Buner was also occupied by Yusufzais or not.
The inaccurate and insufficient geographical knowledge of the Mughal army lead to their humiliating defeat in this region. As mentioned earlier the hills of Swat and Bajaur were not suitable for settled agriculture and thus the Yusufzais found it necessary to occupy the plains of Samah and Hashtnagar. The occupancy of fertile Samah and Hashtnagar regions created problems for the Mughals, ruling Delhi and Kabul. It not only deprived the Mughal officers to get revenue from these region but the Yusufzais also started attacking the caravans which used to pass through Khaibar pass. This was a real threat to the rulers. According to Abul Fazl, "They had caused much injury to traffic and intercourse. The Kabul rulers had not the strength to chastise them and the rulers of India on account of pressure of other business .. had not attended this matter."56

Akbar tried to punish them, but in the process thousands of soldiers of the army including great scholar and Akbar's favourite Birbal were killed. This defeat of the strong imperial army may be attributed primarily to the difficult topography of Yusufzai lands and the ignorance of the commanders of the geography of the region. The relations between the Mughals and the Yusufzais may be summed up by saying that the Yusufzais were attacked, killed and may be crushed but never ruled over effectively by the kings of India or Kabul. Their hilly lands, might not have been fer-

56 AN, III, p. 733.
tile enough to provide them sufficient food but its topo-
graphy protected them from any permanent danger from outside.

2.2.4.2 Muhammadza

North of Kabul river, in the Swad region the Muhammadzais have also been living with the Yusufzais. The rela-
tionship between these two tribal groups had been very
interesting as both of them occupied their present homelands
simultaneously, in the fifteenth century. They are not
closely related to each other, although they had a common
great grand-father, Kharshbun. It is believed that Muham-
madzais joined the Yusufzais when the latter were on the
move after their massacre in the Kabul region.

Yusufzais and their clients Muhammadzais moved towards
Ningrahar. Leaving Muhammadzai in Ningrahar for the time
being, the Yusufzais, proceeded in extreme distress towards
Peshawar by the Khaibar route. But after conquering the
whole Swad region (Swad, Bajaur and Buner) and Hashtnagar,
the Yusufzais assigned Hashtnagar to Muhammadzais. If we

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57 According to Caroe, Kharshbun or Krishyun who was the
son of Sarbam had three sons, Kand, Zamand and Kasi.
Kand got two sons, Ghorish and Khakhay, Yusufzais are
descendants of Khakhay. Muhammadzais on the other hand
are descendants of Zamand. The Pathans, pp. 12-13.

58 Caroe, p. 175. About the original homelands of Muham-
madzais, much is not know, possibly they belonged to
the region south of Kabul and north of Qandahar.

59 Caroe, p. 178; Elphinstone, II, p. 46.
consider the present physical conditions it will be rather
difficult to explain how and why the Yusufzais assigned the
fertile lands of Hashtnagar to Muhammadzai who were less
numerous and weak as compared to Yusufzais and Doaba to
Gigianis, who supported Ulag Beg against Yusufzais, earlier.60

One can think of two possible reasons for this generous
allotment by Yusufzais. It is possible that after their
massacre in Kabul, the Yusufzais were interested in some
strategically safe areas, which they found in the hills of
Swad, Bajaur and Buner. The exposed regions in the plains
they allotted to Muhammadzais and Gigianis. On the other
hand probably, the Hashtnagar area was not under extensive
cultivation at that time. Thus the Yusufzais, assigned
Hashtnagar to Muhammadzai at the time when it was not safe
for them. Moreover it was not as well cultivated as today.

Though during Babar's period, the tribal pattern was
beginning to assume the present shape61 which it holds to­
day - Gigianis were in the Doaba, the Muhammadzais in Hasht­
 Nagar while Yusufzais were holding hills of Swad, Bajaur and
Buner and some of them were in the plains.62 But it was only

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60 Caroe, p. 175.
61 Babar found Muhammadzais in Hashtnagar living with
Yusufzais as he mentions "march along the Ambahar and
Pani-maní road, cross the Swad-water above Hasht-nagar
and surprise the Yusufzai and Muhammadí Afghans who
are located in the plain over against the Yusufzai
sangur of Muhura." BN, p. 376.
62 Caroe, p. 178.
after the Katlang battle (which probably was fought in 1525) and the expulsion of the Dilazaks from the region, the permanent distribution of land took place, perhaps in the year 1530.  

According to certain sources this area was brought under extensive cultivation only during Akbar's time. If it hence correct to assume that this region might have been under the full control of the king at that time. As mentioned earlier Akbar tried to control the activities of the tribals of this region, because the important (Khaibar-pass route) passed through it. It seems that the Muhammadzai, were generally able to pay the revenue imposed upon them, since the region they occupied had become quite productive. Abul Fazl describes the occasional disloyalty of Muhammadzais in the following words: "As there were no chosen troops there, the Gagiyani tribe and Muhammadzai tribe who had been always loyal, joined with Tarikis and Yusufzais, and proceeded to hunt Muhammad Quli Turkman, who was in Begram in order they might get possession of the whole region." Mughal troops, however, controlled their rebellion easily as for them confrontation with the Mughal was neither necessary nor possible - as they were living in the fertile plain region with easy communicational lines.

63 Ibid., p. 183.
64 AN, III, pp. 956-957.
2.2.4.3 Giagiani (Gagiani)

The Giagianis like the Yusufzais are also Khakhay Khel. Both of them supported the Ulugh Beg and raised him to the throne of Kabul. But when Ulugh Beg resolved to get rid of Yusufzai, he created differences between them. At the time of Yusufzai massacre the Giagianis supported the king and so remained in Kabul region for some time. They are said to have been expelled from the neighbourhood of Kabul by the king Babar. During the times of Babar they were still on the move. From Kabul region Giagianis came to Ningrahar and remained there for some time and then moved on to Peshawar region.

The migration of the Giagianis from Ningrahar to Peshawar region was due to the movement of the other main Kharshbun clan, the Ghoriah Khel who themselves found things too hot in the Muyur-Qandahar area. The Giagianis found

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65 Caroe, p. 173.
66 Ibid., p. 174.
67 Ibid., p. 175.
69 Babar found them in this region as he mentions "At this time the Giagianis Afghans were located in Peshawar but in dread of our army had drawn off to the skirt of hills." BN, p. 230.
70 The main sections of Ghoriah Khel according to Caroe are "the Khalils Mohamands and Daudzais." The Pathans, p. 177.
71 "The rule of the Timuid house was breaking down and local power was passing to the Tarins" Caroe, p. 177.
Ghorish Khel, Mohmands too much for them and so ultimately, sent their elders to seek pardon from the Yusufzais. To strengthen the Khakhay confederacy they were pardoned and assigned Doaba region. This explains why the Gigianis supported the Yusufzais at the time of their conflict with the army of Akbar.

2.2.4.4 Dilazak

Due to lack of authentic information about the tribal scene of the region, the Dilazak tube is shrouded in mystery. Genealogically speaking Dilazaks are Karlanri as are the Orakzaís and Utman Khels. Though many do not consider them Afghans or Pathans but Babar refers to them, more than once and he calls them Afghans. According to some tribal chronicles Dilazaks had moved intoעשאר from Ningrahär and the west, some centuries before Babar arrived to this region.

The first time, when Babar reached Swad region, Dilazaks had already lost most of their lands in that region to

72 Caroe, p. 178.
73 AN, III, p. 957.
74 Caroe, p. 21.
75 Ibid., pp. 21, 175.
76 BN, pp. 376-377, 394, 412-413.
77 Caroe, p. 176.
Yusufzais. At the time of Babar's first visit to Peshawar in 1505 in connection with the conquest of Hindustan it seems that Dilazaks still had some power in the region. Babar mentions that Darya Khan's son Yar-i-husain made a petition, saying "If royal orders were given for me the Dilazaks, the Yusufzai, and the Gigiani, these would not go far from my orders if I called up the Padshah's swords on the other side of the water of Sind."\textsuperscript{78}

This shows that the Dilazaks were still in possession of certain areas in the region. On the other hand like the Yusufzais and Gigianis they also were interested in keeping Babar away from the Swad region by offering their support, if he chose to conquer Hindustan. But it seems that the situation changed altogether for Dilazaks at the time of Babar's subsequent visit to this region in 1519. Dilazaks were, now, on the side of Babar and were sent by the king to negotiate with the Sultan of Bajaur.\textsuperscript{79} The became as Babar's advisers, and possibly to serve their own interest they advised the king to attack Yusufzai and Muhammadzai Afghans in Hashtnagar.\textsuperscript{80} They were hoping, that the king will possibly award them the Hashtnagar area in return for their losses.\textsuperscript{81}

\textsuperscript{78} BN, p. 231.
\textsuperscript{79} Ibid., p. 367.
\textsuperscript{80} Ibid., p. 376.
\textsuperscript{81} Caroe, p. 179.
Dilazaks also served in Babar's army when the king went to conquer Bhira and Khusha-ab regions and were awarded for that.\textsuperscript{82} During the same journey, Babar was offered 10 sheep, two ass-loads of rice and eight large cheeses by a Dilazak Afghan of Yaqub Khail.\textsuperscript{83} Though it is not possible to locate Yaqub Khail but it is clear that by this time Dilazaks were living mainly in the Peshawar region - south of the Kabul river.\textsuperscript{84}

It seems that during the reign of Akbar, the Dilazaks became even less significant as there is no mention of them in Swat and Peshawar regions in \textit{Akbar Nama}. However, according to \textit{Ain}, they were dominant in the Tuman of Alsai.\textsuperscript{85}

According to some tribal chronicles Kamran who was eager to strengthen his frontiers against his brother Humayun supported the Khalils and Mohmands and helped them in driving out Dilazaks even from the south Kabul river. In fact Dilazaks were driven across the Indus river.\textsuperscript{86}

There are reference to show that Dilazaks were living east of Indus during the times of Akbar and even Jahangir. Abul Fazl mentions about Dilazaks as living in the Sindh

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{82} \textit{BN}, p. 394.
\item \textsuperscript{83} \textit{Ibid}.
\item \textsuperscript{84} After the Khakhy settlement (1530) north of the Kabul river in Dilazaks are recorded to have been still in possession of all the valley territory south of that river, extending from the Khaibar pass as far as Khairabad on the Indus.
\item \textsuperscript{85} \textit{Ain}, II, p. 414.
\item \textsuperscript{86} Caroe, p. 186.
\end{itemize}
Sagar Doab. He mentions that Manikzhala "is a seat of the Dilazaks."\textsuperscript{87} In the \textit{Ain} they are referred to as a dominant caste in Hazara Qarlung (in the Sarkar of Sindh Sagar Doab of Lahor) pargana.\textsuperscript{88} Jahangir found Dilazaks between Hasan Abdal and Attock in the village of Amrohi and its neighbourhood. According to him "there are 7,000 or 8,000 households of Khaturs and Dalazaks"\textsuperscript{89} in the village and its neighbourhood. He also mentions that he ordered his officers that they should march all the Dalazaks to Lahore by the time of the return of the royal standards from Kabul.\textsuperscript{90} This was done because they were engaged in all kinds of mischief and oppression and highway robbery. This was carried to Jahan- gir's satisfaction\textsuperscript{91} and Dilazaks lost their identity forever.

2.2.4.5 Mohmand

Mohmans, like Dilazaks and Gigianis moved away from the region where Babar found them. Like Yusufzais they are the descendents of Kand, son of Kharshbun. Kand had two sons, Khakhay and Ghoriah. Mohmans belong to Ghoriah Khel while

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{87} \textit{AN}, III, p. 853.
\item \textsuperscript{88} \textit{Ain}, II, p. 328.
\item \textsuperscript{89} Jahangir, \textit{Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri}, Vol. II, Delhi, 1968, p. 126.
\item \textsuperscript{90} \textit{TJ}, I, p. 100.
\item \textsuperscript{91} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 127.
\end{itemize}
Yusufzais, Gigianis etc. belong to Khakhay Khel. 92 As has already been mentioned, according to tradition the tribes of the Ghoriah Khel confederacy, came from the neighbourhood of Qandahar. 93 When Mohmand (with their cousins, Khalils and Daudzais) found their original homelands unlivable, due to some significant political changes in the region, 94 they moved north in the footsteps of Khakhay and some of them pushed into Ningrahar. 95

Mohmands, were lying in the region south-east of Ghazni at the time of Babar's expedition against the Ghilzai Afghans, in 1507. When Babar reached Sar-i-dih "news was brought that a mass of Mohmands (Afghans) was lying in Masht and Sih-Kana one vighach (circa 5 m.) away" 96 from than. Against the wishes of his advisers Babar did not attack them. But next year a body of Mohmand Afghans was over run near Muqur. 97

Apart from the region between Ghazni and Qandahar, Babar mentions that Mohmands were widely scattered in the Kabul region 98 but it is highly probable that by this time

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92 Caroe, pp. 12-13, 169, 177 etc.
93 Ibid., p. 169.
94 The rule of Timurid house was breaking down, and local power was passing into the hands of Tarins. It is to be noted that Abdalis (Durranis) at that time were counted as Tarins.
95 Caroe, p. 178.
96 BN, p. 323.
97 Ibid., p. 345.
98 Ibid., p. 221.
they did not arrive in the Peshawar region. It was only during the period of Humayun's exile that Kamran established Mohmands and Khalils in the Peshawar region.\(^99\) In 1551 they even staged a fierce night attack on Humayun's camp in Ningrahar, though they were defeated in this attempt.

We found Mohmands well established in the Peshawar region during the times of Akbar. According to Abul Fazl, Mohamands with Ghoris had 10,000 households in Peshawar.\(^{100}\) They complained against the Yusufzais and Mandonr Yusufzais when Akbar reached Attock.\(^{101}\) But later on they joined hands with their neighbours and made Jalala as their leader. They even attacked and killed the fief holder of Peshawar Saiyid Hamid Bokhari. But for this, even Abul Fazl, considers Hamid Bokhari himself responsible who left the work of administration in the hands of Musa. "Musa from avarice pressed heavily on those tribes, and stretched out his hand against their property and their honour"\(^{102}\) mentions Abul Fazl.

It seems that these circumstances forced the Mohmands to join hands with the supporters of Jalala and made a commotion near Bikram. However, with the decrease of the powers of the supporters of Jalala in the Peshawar region, Mohmands again became obedient to the king of Hindustan.


\(^{100}\) AN, III, p. 777.

\(^{101}\) Caroe, p. 212.

\(^{102}\) AN, III, p. 777.
2.2.4.6 Afridi

Genealogically, Afridis like Dilazaks, Orakzais and Khattaks are Karbari. The Afridis have their tradition of an admixture of Greek blood. There is no reference to show that Afridis had migrated from any other region to the Khaibar area during historical times. Babar found Afridis in Bara, near Khaibar region. He was advised to attack them as "they had grown a mass of corn which was still standing." But Babar showed no interest and attacked Khizr Khel instead.

There are various references to Afridis in Akbar Name, mainly in connection with the Roshaniyya, better known as Tariki, movement. The leader of the movement, Jalala had many followers among the Afridis and he was given shelter by Afridis and Urakzais. Though Afridis were not able to face the imperial army but again and again they sided with Tarikis. Akbar was forced to send strong armies to crush the Afridis as they were lying near the most important Khaibar pass route. Obviously Akbar was interested in a permanent settlement of the problem of revolt in this part

104 Ibid.
105 BN, p. 412.
106 Ibid., p. 413.
107 AN, III, p. 795.
108 Ibid., pp. 810, 928, 983 etc.
of empire to keep a continuous contact with Kabul. With the help of numerous references to Afridis in Akbar Nama it is possible to say that it seems that Afridis were kept under control by the Mughal armies only by using force, otherwise they were too independent and could not be easily subjugated.

2.2.4.7 Orakzai

Orakzais like Afridis are Karlanri. They are descendants of Koday from his first wife, while Afrids are from Koday's second wife. Orakzai, like Afridis is a Khaibari tribal group. Though there is no direct reference to the Orakzai homelands in Babar Nama but Babar mention that "Mulla Apaq" had brought them (his people) in (to me), together with the Auruq-zai and other Afghans of the banks of the Sind. However there is no doubt that Orakzai than (as now) were settled, south of Safed Koh, below the Afri di region. The main concentration of Orakzais was in south Tirah region though they were also living in the Tumans of Bangash and Kohat.

There are various references to Orakzais in Akbar Nama showing that they were close associates of the Afri-

109 Caroe, pp. 20-21.
110 BN, p. 526.
111 Caroe, p. 21.
112 Ain, II, p. 411.
113 Ibid.
114 AN, III, pp. 795, 810, 928 etc.
dis. As mentioned earlier, like the Afridis they also supported the Tariki movement and gave shelter to Jalala and his supporters. In fact they were in better position to help Tarikis as they were lying away from the main communication line and so were less fearful of the imperial army. Their revolts against Akbar in support of Jalala have already been mentioned while discussing the Afridi revolts. Orakzais are said to have supported the Tariki movement after the death of Jalala also. The leadership of Tariki sect had gone to his nephew Ihdad on Allahabad who has been incorrectly mentioned by Jahangir as the son of Jalala.\textsuperscript{115} They were crushed by the Jahangir forces, for the time being.

2.2.4.8 Khattak

Khattaks are descended from Lawqman, the grandson of Karlanri of the Sarban branch of the Pathans.\textsuperscript{116} Khattaks, with Khalils are the only important tribes of the region which were not mentioned by Babar. Babar, however, refers to Kurani (Kerrani) tribe who with Kiwi, Sur Isa Khail and Niazai was cultivating Bannu lands.\textsuperscript{117} It is possible that Babar was referring to Khattaks or Shitakas or both as they are Karlanri tribes.\textsuperscript{118} Babar refers to other Karlanri

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{115} TJ, II, p. 85.
\item \textsuperscript{116} Caroe, p. 21; Gazetteer of the NW Frontier, Vol. II, p. 906.
\item \textsuperscript{117} BN, p. 233.
\item \textsuperscript{118} Caroe, p. 39.
\end{itemize}
tribe; Wazir and Bangash by name.

It was only during the times of Akbar that we first hear of the Khattaks. It is believed that when Akbar arrived in Attock, one of the Pathan Maliks who presented himself was a certain Akoray. Man Singh and other officers recommended him to the king and mentioned that if the king encouraged Akoray, he with his supporters could guard the Khaibar route for the king. Akoray was summoned and agreed to this commission in return for a jagir of the country from a point a few miles south of Attock bridge as far as the modern Nowshera. He also received the right to collect the tolls from this road. 119

Akoray immediately founded the small town of Akora on the south bank of the Landai river to demonstrate his newly acquired position. 120 There are records to suggest that it was only at this time that Khattaks came from the direction of Teri in the Kohat district (where Akoray himself had lands) to settle down between Attock and Nowshera. It is possible that this assumption was made with the object of explaining why we hear of no Khattaks before Akbar's time. 121

There is a problem to except the hypothesis that Khattaks were new comers to this region. Guarding kings highway was not a service which could be performed by tribesmen

119 Ibid., pp. 211-212.
120 Ibid., p. 212.
121 Ibid.
lacking local knowledge. So it is also possible that they were Dilazaks, a long established tribe, suffering no doubt from the Yusufzai aggression, and ready to accept Akbar's commission which would enable them to resist further encroachment. But one can not be sure of this, without any concrete information.

2.2.4.9 Turi

There are various theories about the origin of Turis. According to one of them, Turis are the descendents of Turkman. This theory is justified mainly by pointing to the similarity of the tribal name Turi and the appellation Turani. This theory is supported by Raverty. But Caroe doubts its validity. He has two reasons. Firstly, Turis live in a broad and fertile valley, in the centre of all the Karlanris - Afridis and Orakzais to their north-east, and Khataks, Bangash and Wazirs to their south and south-west. Secondly and more importantly the Turis, unlike the Ghaljis, have no appearance of Turkish antecedents. Caroe

122 The tribal chronicles, we know, speak only of Dilazaks in this region. According to Caroe "It is far more likely that the Khattaks are the people who in this context the chronicles like to call Dilazaks. Like the Dilazaks they too are Karlanris, like them they too fought with Yusufzais". Caroe, p. 191.

123 Caroe, p. 124.

124 Ibid.
rightly considers Turi/Khugiani/Zazis (Jajis), Karlanri Pathans like the Afridi and Khattaks.

Babar refers to Turis in connection with the Tuman of Bangash. "Bangash is another tuman. All round about it are Afghans highway men, such as the Khugiani, Khirilchi, Turi and Landar." Babar includes in Bangash all the lands bounded on the north by the Safed Koh (which he specifies) down to Bannu, hence covering the country now occupied by Khattaks of Teri.126

2.2.4.10 Khugiani

Khugiani, genealogically are similar to the Turis - both being Karlanris. Like Turis they are the decendents of Khugi, son of Koday.127 Babar includes them in the list of tribals, living close to the Bangash region. "All round it (Bangash) are Afghan highway men, such as the Khugiani, Khirilchi, Turi and Landar." Babar does not mentions about the exact area in which they live. But he mentions that as these tribal groups are "lying out of the way ... (they) do not pay taxes willingly." But at another place,

125 BN, p. 220.
126 Caroe, p. 157.
127 Ibid., p. 21.
128 BN, p. 220.
129 Ibid.
where he refers to Khugianis, he provides a better idea about their location. "... we marched from Jagdalik, the Afghans located between it and Lamghan, such as the Khizr-Khail, Shimu-Khail, Khirilchi and Khugiani, thought of blocking the pass." This brings us closer to their present homeland in Ningnihar.

Safed Koh, demarcates the boundary between Bangash and Ningnihar. Khugianis occupy lands on the north-western slopes of Safed Koh. To their south, across the highest reaches of Safed Koh, live their cousins Turis.

2.2.4.11 Shirani

Shiranis are generally considered as of the Ghurghusht branch of Pathans, though they belong to Sarbanris branch. In fact, Shirani married a Kakar woman and, according to tribal custom had to break all his relations with Sarbanris and joined the Ghurghusht branch (of his wives). Shiranis live next to the Kakars.

Abul Fazl, who considers them as Sarbanris, locate

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130 Ibid., p. 341.
131 Caroe, pp. 12, 20.
132 According to Caroe "It is contrary to Pathan custom to marry outside the tribe... If and when this is done, the foreign bridgroom is expected to cast in his lot with his wife's tribe, as did the Sheranis who live next door to the Kakars." The Pathans, p. 20.
133 Ain, II, p. 407.
them in the Sarkar of Daur, Bannu and Isakhel.\textsuperscript{134} Their main concentration, however, has been to the south of the Sarkar of Daur, Bannu and Isakhel, between Gomal and Vihoa torrents. Great part of their country is occupied by the lofty mountain of Takht-i-Sulaiman, and the hills which surround its base.\textsuperscript{135} Many parts of their territory were nearly inaccessible. The principle occupation of Shiranis is agriculture, which is carried on in the narrow river valleys.

2.2.4.12 Waziri

Waziris, like Afridis and Orakzais are Karlanris Pathans, but they are the descendents of Kakay: Sulaiman son of Kakay had two sons, Wazir and Malikmir. Waziris are the descendents of Wazir while Bangash are the descendents of Malikmir.\textsuperscript{136} Some of the important branches of Waziri Pathans are, Utmanzai, Ahmadzai, Mahsud, and Gurbaz.

The extensive country of the Waziris lies to the north of that of the Shirani and stretches northwards upto Safed Koh. The greater part of their territory (now known as Waziristan) consists of mountains covered with pine forests, but contains some cleared and cultivated spots. The lower hills are bare or only covered with bushes and low trees.\textsuperscript{137}

\textsuperscript{134} Ibid., p. 399.
\textsuperscript{135} Elphinstone, II, p. 73.
\textsuperscript{136} Caroe, p. 20.
\textsuperscript{137} Elphinstone, II, p. 79.
Due to more or less complete physical isolation of their lands they had very little contact with the outside world. Economically, they remained backward and hardly paid revenue to Mughal Kings. However, when Babar punished Khizr-Khail in 1519, Waziris also brought 300 sheeps as a tribute. Abul Fazl, refers to Waziris as a leading tribe of the Sarkar of Daur, Bannu and Isakhail.

2.2.4.13 Khizr Khail

The Khizr-Khail Afghans present, perhaps, the most serious problem of identification. It is not possible to find any reference to Khizr Khail in some of the most authentic studies of the tribes of this region. No doubt that there was a tribal group known as Khizr Khail which was scattered over a large territory, during the period under study. Both Babar and Abul Fazl refer to them. Perhaps the omission of Khizr Khail from the list of tribes of this region, prepared by Caroe, is due to his incomplete knowledge of the descendents of Wazir. He considers,

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138 BN, p. 413.
139 Ain, II, p. 399.
140 Both Caroe and Elphinstone, conspicuously avoid mentioning even the name of Khizr Khail.
141 BN, p. 413.
142 Ain, II, p. 411.
Musa, Mahmud and Mubarak as the sons of Wazir\textsuperscript{143} though according to other sources they were the sons of Khizri and grandsons of Wazir.\textsuperscript{144} The other son of Wazir was Lali. If this information is correct than it may be considered probable that the descendants of Musa (Utmanzai and Ahmadzai) Mahmud (Mahsul) and Mubarak (Gurbuz) might have been known, during the period under study with a common name - Khizr Khail.

In support of this conjecture, it may be pointed out that Babar in his detailed description of the tribal groups nowhere refers to Utmanzai, Ahmadzai, Mahsud and Gurbaz - the most important branches of the Wazirs. Abul Fazl, only refers to Utmankhail (Utmanzai) as serving the imperial army in Bangash.\textsuperscript{145} Babar refers to Khizr-Khails as having "their seat from Bakar (Vihara?) and Mich-gram to Kara-su."\textsuperscript{146-147} When they were raided "a few tribesman, being near the mountains,\textsuperscript{148} drew off to them and were left",\textsuperscript{149} mentions Babar. It appears that the Khizr Khails like many other tribal

\textsuperscript{143} Caroe, p. 21.
\textsuperscript{144} \textit{Gazetteer} - V, p. 2053.
\textsuperscript{145} \textit{Ain}, II, p. 411.
\textsuperscript{146} This region lies on the northern slopes of Safed Koh mountain, in the Ningnihar tuman.
\textsuperscript{147} \textit{BN}, p. 413.
\textsuperscript{148} Probably the mountain which has been referred to is Safed Koh.
\textsuperscript{149} \textit{BN}, p. 413.
groups, were in the process of settling down during this time. But in settling down they acquired a different name and hence we are unable to keep track of them.

2.2.4.14 Niazi/Isakhel

Niazis are the Lodi Pathans, descendents of Bibi Mato, daughter of Bitan Lodis are not considered full Pathans as their father was not a Pathan. Ibrahim Lodi had three sons, Niaz, Siani and Dotan. Niazis are the descendents of Niaz, while Lodis and Surs who established dynasties in Delhi are the descendents of Siani. The main sections of the Niazi are Isakhel and the Sumbals.

About Niazi settlements, there is no confusion. They were living in the region, where they are living now. Babar, in 1505, found Niazis and Isa-Khail, with other groups, cultivating Bannu lands. Niazi is a settled tribe living on both the banks of the Indus, in the neighbourhood of Kalabagh.

The kingdom of Sher Shah Suri at Delhi just touched the Indus only east of Bannu, where they succeeded after much trouble in extending their rule over the Niazis in

150 Caroe, p. 15.
151 Ibid., p. 145.
152 BN, p. 233.
what is now Isakhel. Abul Fazl, refers to Niazis as living on the eastern side of Indus. "When they reached the Indus near Sambala Zangi K. and other heads of Niazzi clan – who had their home near there – joined the victorious army. The latter crossed at the Copara ferry and reached the villages of the Isakhel."

2.2.4.15 Kakar

Genealogically, Kakars are Ghurghusht Pathans. The family tree of Ghurghusht, is shorter and most of the tribes belonging to this section of Pathans occupy the most negative lands which were lying far from the main communication lines. Among them, Kakars are by far the most important group, scattered over a large area. Kakars are "extending in a belt of varying breadth in a north-easterly direction from the Quetta district to the village of Manji on the banks of the Guwal, on the frontier of the Dera Ismail Khan district, a distance of about 250 miles as the crow flies."

This wide spread territory of Kakars was hardly known to Babar, that is why, there is no reference to Kakars in Babar Nama. This area was hardly of any consequence to Akbar

153 Caroe, pp. 139-196.
154 \textit{AN}, III, p. 194.
155 Caroe, p. 19.
too and so possibly no significant effort was ever made to conquer the lands of Kakar. Most of the Qandahar Sarkar was under a very loose Mughal control. Abul Fazl, refers to Kakars as living in the Duki Territory of Sarkar of Qandahar - though their settlements were spread over the territories lying towards the north.

2.2.4.16 Tarin

Tarins, the descendents of Sharkbun, son of Sarbanr are divided into two distinct branches, viz., Tor (Black) Tarins and Spin (while) Tarins. In the identification of Tarin area, there is no problem. Abul Fazl mentions that Tarins with Kakars occupied the territory of Duki. Perhaps these were Spin Tarins, as they still occupy these lands. While referring to Pishin territory Abul Fazl, strongly does not mention the name of important tribes, although his knowledge of this area and people might have been good. At present this area is occupied by Tor Tarin.

2.2.4.17 Abdali (Durrani)

The Abdali are Sarbanri Afghans, descendents of Sharkbun's son Tarin. They are the cousins of Spin and Tor

157 Ain, II, p. 402.
158 Caroe, p. 12.
160 Ain, II, p. 402.
At the time of Arab conquest of Bust, the then great city at the junction of the Helmand and Arghandab, in seventh century, Abdalis are said to be occupying the Zamin-dawar region. It is interesting that neither at this time nor indeed for another thousand years there is any mention of the great Abdalis. In absence of any reference to Abdalis in Babar Nama is quite strange. The only tribe Babar mentions as inhabiting territory roughly between Qandahar and Herat (where the Abdalis were when first they appear in history) are the Nukdaris. These Nukdaris were possibly not Afghans. Babar does mention his conquest of Zamindawar, a central Abdali possession, but says nothing about its inhabitants. Possibly at the time of Babar's arrival in this region, Abdalis were still better known as the Tarin, who were getting stronger with the decline of power of the Timurid house.

The emergence of Abdalis is closely related to the changing fortunes of the Qandahar city and region. Qandahar changed hands, throughout the period under study. At times it was under the rule of Mughals, and at time under the Per-

161 Caroe, p. 12.
162 Ibid., pp. 96-97.
163 Ibid., p. 97.
164 BN, pp. 200, 274 etc. Babar calls them Nikdiri.
165 BN, pp. 27, 337-339 etc.
sian kings, in between it was ruled over by the semi-independent governors. In 1587, when Shah Abbas the Great, ascended the Safawi thrown at Isfahan, Qandahar was a part of his dominions. More or less at the same time (in 1589) Malik Saddo was chosen chief of the Abdalis living around Qandahar. 166 This is the first historical reference to the Abdalis.

Shah Abbas assigned the responsibility of safeguarding of portions of the road from Persia through Herat to Qandahar, 167 just as Malik Akoray was given the job of safeguarding the Kabul-Delhi road near Khaibar. In a way the time as well as the reason for the emergence of the power of Abdalis and Khattaks were the same - although one group was against the Mughals while the other fought for them.

Towards the end of his reign, in 1595 Akbar however, got the possession of Qandahar. At this time, according to Abul Fazl, the Abdalis were occupying the regions east of Qandahar 168 where they are still living. But during the intervening period, Abdalis attained unparalled glory - as for the first time Pathans ruled over parts of Persia and India from their own lands, but then, instead of being called Abdalis they preferred to be known as Durranis. This event of establishment of a great empire also resulted in the ex-

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166 Caroe, p. 223.
167 Ibid.
168 Ain, II, p. 403.
pansion of their traditional territories in the Qandahar region. They pushed many tribal groups out of their homeland in the process of this territorial expansion.

2.2.4.18 Ghilzai (Ghilji)

The Ghilzais are the descendents of Bibi Mato, daughter of Bitan. They are called Matis and are not considered as full Pathans as their father was not a Pathan. There are many stories about the husband of Bibi Mato and the circumstances in which their first son was born. The Pathans consider the son as "the fruit of a clandestine and called Ghilzai - Ghil in Afghan language signifying thief, and Zai born a son." Lodis are considered more respectable although they are the descendents of the same parents from the second son, after their marriage.

In 1507 Babar was occupied in a foray against the Ghiljis. The Ghiljis were then as now occupying the upland plain of Khattawaz. He describes these nomadic Ghilzais thus, "...we got out of these low hills and valley bottoms to the plain on which the Ghilji lay with a good yighach".

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169 Caroe, p. 16.
170 Ibid., p. 17.
171 Ibid., p. 16.
172 Ibid., p. 18.
173 Ibid., p. 150.
174 According to Beveridge "this must have been one of
of road between them and us; once out on the plain would see their blackness, either own or from the smoke of their fires."\textsuperscript{175} Caroe attributes this blackness to the moving caravan of the Ghilzais and quotes a love song to show the effects of whirling dust on the face of the maiden.\textsuperscript{176}

Possibly, the Ghilzais were among the richest tribal groups of the region. Babar mentions this in no uncertain manner. "Masses of sheep fell to us, more than in any other raid."\textsuperscript{177} Babar estimates the number of sheep as one lakh (100,000) \textsuperscript{178} "the fifth came out at 16,000, that is to say, this 16,000 was the fifth of 80,000 sheep; no question however but that with those lost and those not asked for, a lak (100,000) of sheep had been taken."\textsuperscript{179}

The Ghilzai tribe saw many ups and downs during the later period, which changed their spatial distribution pattern significantly. In their hay days - their spread was significant but during the period of Durrani expansion they

\textsuperscript{Cont'd... f.n. 174}

those good yighach of perhaps 5-6 miles" (f.n. 5, BN, p. 323).

175 \textit{BN}, p. 323.
176 Caroe, p. 158.
177 \textit{BN}, p. 324.
178 The fifth taken was manifestly at the ruler's despo-

179 \textit{BN}, p. 325.
were restricted to relatively smaller areas. But in any case the core area of their concentration more or less remained the same. Their main seat of power was in Qalat-i Ghilzai, though many of their clans have been nomads. Strangely Babar mentions nothing about the varied class of the Ghiljis and "he seems quite unaware that Lodi Emperor whom he unseated, was himself of Ghalji descent." Abul Fazl referred to Ghilzais as the dominant tribe of territory of Qalat Tartuk.

2.2.4.19 Hazara / Turkman Hazara

Apart from the Mughals, some other Mongol tribal groups like Hazaras and Turkman Hazaras were also living in the Kabul and Ghazni regions, during the period under study. There are various references to them in Babar Nama, Akbarname, Ain-i-Akbari and other contemporary sources. Babar found them scattered over large areas; west of Kabul in Ghorband and Hari-valleys; in the western mountains; and in the

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180 Caroe, p. 158.

181 Ain, II, p. 403. This Tartuk is possibly a clerical error. The only possibility is that as there were two Qalats in Sarkar of Qandahar Qalat-i-Ghilzai might have referred to as Qalat-i-Tarnuk, the river along which this town is located.

182 BN, pp. 214, 311.

183 Ibid., p. 308.

184 Ibid., pp. 200, 207.
It seems that during this period they were still in the process of settling down in specific areas.

It is believed that after conquering Kabul-Gazni region in the thirteenth century, no real attempt was made to clamp mongol power into this area except for establishing military colonies in the Central Ghor massif. These mongols today are known as Hazaras and Aimaqs. In fact there is no reference to Aimaq as a separate tribal group in the contemporary sources. The reason seem to be simple, Babar used the Turkish word aimaq meaning clan. Elphinstone is of the opinion that "The Eimauks and Hazaurehs are the same people, though separated since their conversion to Mahommedanism by the different sects they have adopted; the Eimauks being rigid sooness, and the Hazaurehs violent Shoeahs." The Hazarab however came into the contact of Persians in this region and except for a few groups of people who speak an archaic Mongolian dialect, most of them now express themselves in a rustic form of Persian.

186 Caroe, p. 136.
187 BN, p. 221.
188 Elphinstone, II, p. 203.
189 At the time of Babar, some of the Hazaras living in Ghur or Hazarajat region were speaking 'the Mughuli tonged. BN, p. 207. Caroe mentions that some of them still speak Mongolian dialect; Pathans, p. 136.
190 Caroe, p. 136.
The Hazara's concentration in the Ghorband valley was quite significant as both Babar and Abul Fazl mentions their presence in that region. Babar clearly mentions that in the tuman of Ghur-bund the "Hazara hold the heads of its valleys." At another time Babar found them wintering outside their own valley, on the Ghur-bund road. Abul Fazl, also locates them in the tuman of Ghorband. But at present we do not find them in any considerable numbers in this valley.

Babar while coming from Khurasan by an unusual route to travel in winters lost his route when he was mid-way to Kabul and sent men to fetch any one soever of the Hazara, wintering in the Fari-rud valley-bottom. This was perhaps near the tuman of Maidan as Abul Fazl, also locates them in the tuman of Maidan. The Hazaras are still living in this area.

2.2.4.20 Nohmardi

The Nohmardi or Nuhmardi, a strong section of the Samijahas, a tribe of Rajput origin, claimed to be born from

191 BN, p. 311. Babar refers to them as Turkman Hazaras.
192 BN, p. 214.
193 Ain, II, p. 415.
194 BN, p. 308.
195 Ain, II, p. 416.
nine Samijah men who went to reside in the hills. The hilly terrain isolated them from the Samijah tribes living in the plains. In due course of time their living habits and problems became quite different from their collaterals of the river valley. 197

Although, the Indus demarcated Sind into two ethnic regions; the west predominantly Baluch and the east largely Rajput; few Rajput tribes, mainly the Nohmardi section of Samijahs, over stepped this division in upper and central Sind. 198 They occupied the hills of Siwistan down the sarkar of Chakarhala. It is mention by Abul Fazl that "A third range runs from Sehman to Sewi and is called Khattar [Kirthar] where dwells a tribe named Nohmardi that can raise a force of 300 horse and 7000 foot. 199

The meagre resources of land in the Kirthar range faced Nohmardis to lead a nomadic life. The poor economic condition of the tribe also lead them to acts of rapine and brigandage against the tribes of the valley and greatly intensified their martial qualities. The Nuhmardis, infact, served as a strong check for any further migration of the Baluchs from Baluchistan towards Thatta. The authorities tried to keep a permanent watch over their movements. But rugged terrain of their region made these areas inaccessible and expeditions against them ineffective and so they could never

197 Ibid., p. 234.
198 Ibid., p. 198.
199 Ain, II, p. 339.
be thoroughly subjugated during the Mughal period. 200

2.2.4.21 Sodah (Sudhas)

The Rajput tribes were a very important element in the mixed population of Sind. 201 One of these tribes were the Sudhas. The Sudhas were the most numerous and powerful Rajput tribe which remained Hindus. 202 Modern scholars assign them a very ancient origin. 203 They were mainly concentrated in the region of Umarkot where they were ruled by their own princes called Rana. 204 Sudhas found themselves squeezed between the powerful state of Bikaner and strong rulers of Sind. The resources of their region, with Amarkot or Umarkot as the chief fort, were limited and insufficient. 205 The main area of their concentration was "from Bhakkar to Nasirpur and Umarkot." 206 In this region Jarijah, another tribal group, was also living. The rulers of Sind saw little charm in the

200 Khan, p. 234.
201 Ibid., p. 242.
202 Ibid., pp. 201, 243 etc.
203 Ibid., p. 243.
204 There are various references to the Rana of Amarkot, in the contemporary books, mainly in connection with Humayun's flight to Persia after his defeat in Hindustan. But there is a confusion about the name of Rana. Jauhar and Gulbadan Begum just write Rana (Tadhkirat-al-Waqiat, p. 74, Humayun Name, p. 56) Abul Fazl, refers to him as Rana Prasad (AN, I, p. 375) Mir Masum refers to him as Rana Birsal (Masumi, p. 243).
205 Masumi, p. 245.
206 Ain, II, p. 341.
thuls of the desert and seldom tried to subjugate the region. Possibly due to the geographical proximity and physical accessibility of this region, they were culturally closer to people living in the Sind region as compared to Rajputs of Rajasthan. They supported the Sammahs against Arghuns and later sided with Humayun - when the exiled king was desperate. They not only provided him the provisions but also arranged for him 7000 soldiers; 2000 Sudhas and 5000 Shanah or Samincha.

2.2.4.22 Jarejahs (Jarijahs)

Jarijahs are a branch of the Sammahs, so their origin like the origin of Sammahs is obscure. The claims of Sammahs to sovereignty as their birth right by stressing links with legendary figures, have given rise to various traditions and theories which have obscured their origin. However, most of the modern scholars usually regard the Sammah and their allied tribes as a branch of Yadav Rajputs. Nevertheless there are some scholars who suggest

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207 Khan, p. 244.
208 Jauhar, p. 74; Gulbadan, p. 57; Masumi, p. 243, AN, I, p. 375 etc.
209 Jauhar, pp. 74-75; Gulbadan, p. 58.
210 Nabi Bakhsh, Tarikh-i-Masumi, p. 410.
211 Abul Fazl described them to be the descendents of Jamshid, the legendary ruler of Iran (An, II, p. 341).
a Semitic origin for them.

Although there are many references to Jarijahs in Tarikh-i-Masumi, still they hardly throw any light either on their origin or the areas of their concentration. In the Sind region, Abul Fazl finds them living in between Bhakkar to Nasirpur and Umarkot. In this region one small section of Jarijahs might have been living with Sodahs as their main concentration was in Cutch.

2.2.4.23 Mazhari (Nazhari)

Mazharis, belong to the Rind section of Baluchis. Possibly during the period of Akbar, Mazharis were occupying the southern most part of the Kirthar range. Though, Abul Fazl's geographical knowledge of this region seems to be faulty, anyway according to him, next to the Nuhmardi tribe "there is another clan of the Baloch known as Mazhari with a force of a thousand men." He also refers to this region as famous for "a good breed of horses."

2.2.4.24 Kalmani (Kalmati)

Kalmati belong to the Baluch tribal group. During

\[213 \text{ Ain, II, p. 341.}\
\[214 \text{ Khan, p. 224.}\
\[215 \text{ Ain, II, p. 339.}\
\[216 \text{ Ibid.}\
\[217 \text{ Ibid.}\

the period of Akbar, they were occupying parts of Sind Kohistan (Sarkar of Chakarhala). In fact, this whole region was occupied by various Baluch tribes. Nuhmardi is the only important Rajput tribal group in this part of the Sind. The Nuhmardis, who were living, west of Kalmatis in the Kirthar range kept other Baluch tribal groups away from the Thatta region.  

Kalmati hence remained separated by Nuhmardis from other Baluch tribes, across Kirthar range.

The hills and possibly the plateau occupied by the Kalmati tribe were low lying and sufficiently accessible. This led to the development of relatively better economic conditions of the Kalmatis. The Kalmatis were so strong that they were in a position to muster twenty thousand cavalry. According to Abul Fazl, "a fine breed of camels is here indigenous." 

### 2.3 Political-Administrative Divisions

Akbar's empire was hierarchically divided into Subas, Sarkars and mahals. This division was based upon physical compulsions. The mahals were also known as Parganas. Some-

218 Khan, p. 221.

219 According to Abul Fazl, Kalmati were occupying Lakhi range (Ain, II, p. 339). It seems that due to poor geographical knowledge of Abul Fazl's description of the tribal groups of the region is confusing.


221 Ibid.
times local terms were also used for these units i.e., Tuman in Kabul and territory in Qandahar.

It has already been mentioned that North-West India, during the times of Akbar (1595) was divided into three subas viz. Kabul, Lahor and Multan. This political-administrative division of the region had a very strong physical basis, because, during the medieval period, when detailed knowledge of the earth's surface was not available, and methods of survey and mapping had not adequately developed, physical features appeared as dividing lines, already existing in nature. Physical features, such as a mountain range, the bed of a river stream, a marshy tract, the edge of a thick forest or a desert, were considered as playing two distinct and important roles, first, serving as barriers to contact and, second, providing protection from external attacks. (See Map 2.5)

Mountains were considered good political boundaries because they traditionally served as natural defence barriers. They were firmly fixed on the ground and were highly stable. During the period under study it is apparent that most of the political-administrative boundaries of the suba's, sarkar's and Tuman's were greatly influenced by the mountain ranges.

In the plain regions like Punjab and Sind, where there were no mountains, rivers provided the desired barrier. Although there are various disadvantages in selecting rivers as boundary lines between two countries, they do provide

identifiable barriers within a country. River boundaries are clearly marked, and are narrowly defined (almost linear) on the land surface as compared to the mountains and the hills. Wide unfordable streams offer a barrier to communication, and, as such possess some military value by providing a line of defence.223

The example of the rivers as boundaries can best be found in Akbar's subas of Lahor and Multan (traditional Multan region excluding Sind region) where sarkar boundaries were defined by the mighty rivers of Punjab. These rivers were obviously the most well marked feature in the plains to separate one sarkar from another.

In this region, deserts also played their role in delineating the boundary of the suba of Multan. In fact, Thar desert separates suba of Multan and Ajmer which was predominantly desertic). Another desert delimits the Qandahar region on the south and west.

The impact of physiography and climate on the political administrative boundaries was not always direct. In fact certain physical feature become notional cultural barriers and kept communities away from one another. This resulted in the emergence of distinct ethno-cultural regions, which influenced the mergence of certain political boundaries.

In this section, an attempt has been made to analyse the direct and indirect influence of the physical structures

223 Dikshit, p. 65.
on the formation of political boundaries within the region. For this purpose, suba of Kabul has been chosen for a micro level analysis. The other subas have also been discussed but in less detail.

2.3.1 Suba of Kabul

The suba of Kabul during the times of Akbar, was by far the largest suba of Hindustan (after the inclusion of Qandahar). The suba extended from 29° 50' to 35° 45' north latitude, and 62° 55' to 75° 45' east longitude. The suba of Kabul in the east was very narrow as compared to the west. Kashmir, Pakli and Swat were small in area when compared to the sarkars of Qandahar, Kabul and even Daur, Bannu and Isakhail. Suba of Kabul lay in between the high mountainous territories of the north and low lying Indus plains of the south. (See Map 2.5)

The suba of Kabul was bordered on the north-east by the territory of Great Tibet\textsuperscript{224} (Maryul). To the north of the sarkar of Kashmir lay little Tibet (Baltistan). West of Baltistan, north and north-west of Pakli, lay Balur. West of Balur, and north of the sarkar of Swat were the territories of Kator\textsuperscript{225} and Kashghar (Kashkar or Khitral). Adjoining Kator region, north east of Sarkar of Kabul, lay the territory of Kafiristan.\textsuperscript{226} The Hindu Kush mountain separated

\begin{itemize}
\item[224] A\textit{in}, II, p. 351.
\item[225] I\textit{bid.}, p. 391.
\item[226] I\textit{bid.}, p. 410.
\end{itemize}
sarkar as well as suba of Kabul from Balkh and Badakshan. 227 On the north of tuman of Panjshir, across the Hindu Kush lay the territory of Andrab of Badakhshan. North-west of the sarkar of Kabul lay the Kohmard territory of Balkh. Territories of Ghor 228 and Khurasan (Herat) lay east of sarkar of Kabul and north of sarkar of Qandahar. Sarkar of Qandahar was bounded on the west by the territories of Farah 229 and Sistan. South of the sarkar of Qandahar lay the extensive desert and mountainous region of the present Baluchistan. South-east of the suba of Kabul, in the Indus plains, lay the subas of Lahore and Multan.

It is rather difficult to provide a purely physiographic justification of the inclusion of these vast territories in a single suba of Kabul. In fact considerations were mainly political although they were greatly influenced by certain physical factors. For instance, Kashmir was conquered only in 1585 and was, temporarily, attached to the suba of Kabul. However, it was made into a separate suba under Jahangir. Similarly, according to Ain, Pakli was a sarkar of Kabul but subsequently, when Kashmir became a separate suba, Pakli was transferred to it. 230

Apart from these two territories, lying east of Indus, Qandahar which lies in a different river basin, was annexed

227 BN, p. 204.
228 Ain, II, pp. 399, 404.
229 Ibid., p. 399.
by Akbar only in 1595 and remained with the Mughals only up to 1622. The geographical reasons for the inclusion of these territories in the suba of Kabul were obvious, because, on the one hand the geographical conditions of Kashmir and Pakli were more or less similar to Kabul i.e., like Kabul these two territories were hilly. On the other hand, the physical conditions of Kashmir and Pakli were absolutely different from the southern Indus plain, i.e., the suba of Lahore. Qandahar might have been included in the suba of Kabul temporarily, since there is no significant barrier between these two "twin gates of India" - Kabul and Qandahar.

It is rather necessary, for a better understanding of the interrelationship between physical regions, cultural regions and political-administrative divisions of the suba of Kabul to first delineate the boundaries of the sarkars of Kabul. As noted earlier, political boundaries do not necessarily follow physical or cultural boundaries though they have a strong tendency to follow one another. It is better to take up each sarkar of suba of Kabul to find the exact nature of the space relation within them.

2.3.1.1 Sarkar of Kabul

The sarkar of Kabul, naturally, was the most important

231 Jahangir "added Qandahar to Thatta and handed it over to Mirza Ghazi". Tj, 1, p. 224. This also shows that Qandahar and Kabul were not considered as one integral unit.
sarkar of the suba of Kabul. Geographically speaking the sarkar of Kabul was confined to the Kabul river basin. During the times of Akbar it extended from Hindukush to Indus.

According to Abul Fazl "Its length from Atak Benaras on the Indus to the Hindu Kush is 150 kos, its breadth from Qarabagh of Qandahar to Cheghan Serai, 100 kos. It is bounded on the east by Hindustan; on the north-west by the mountains and Ghor, between to the north lies Andrab of Badakhshan; the Hindu Koh intervening; on the south by Farmul and Nagar."\(^\text{232}\)

The physical as well as the political boundaries of the sarkar were well defined in the north as Hindu Kush separates Kabul from Balkh, Qunduz and Badakhshan.\(^\text{233}\) On the western side, due to the absence of any significant physical barrier, Bamian although belonging to Amu Darya system, was included in the sarkar of Kabul. Similarly, tumans of Ghazni and Gardez (Zurmut of Babar Name), though belonging to Hilmand-Arghandab river system, were the parts of Kabul region, as there were no physical barriers between Kabul and Ghazni or for that matter between Kabul and Qandahar.\(^\text{234}\) The fact that Ghazni and Qandahar belonged to one physical region did not go unnoticed as Babar himself mentions, "some hold that Qandahar is a part of it (Ghazni).\(^\text{235}\) The inclusion of

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\(^{232}\) *Ain*, II, p. 404.

\(^{233}\) *BN*, p. 204.

\(^{234}\) Babar mentions that the road between Kabul and Qandahar "is quite level without a pass", *BN*, p. 205.

\(^{235}\) *BN*, p. 217.
Ghazni in Kabul region may be attributed, on the one hand, to the other to the strength of the rulers of Kabul who were generally more powerful than the rulers of Qandahar.

The Safed Koh mountain formed the boundary of Kabul region on the south-east during the reign of Babar. In fact Safed Koh is also a water divide, separating the tributaries of the Kurram system. Akbar conquered all these territories and included Nagar, Bangash and Kohat regions in the sarkar of Kabul. However, as compared to Ghazni and Gardez, at least these territories lay in the Indus basin.

The exclusion of the territory lying east of Lamgham is strange, as the Peshawar Valley or Bigram region, which is a significant part of the Kabul Basin with its fertile lands, was not a part of Kabul region during the period of Babar. The reasons for this were possibly political. As noted earlier the tribal movements during the period of Babar were very intensive and this region in particular was much disturbed. Babar noted that this region had been a part of Kabul but he did not mention the name of Peshawar. "Bajaur, Sawad and Hash-nagar may at one time have been dependencies of Kabul, but they now have no resemblance to cultivated countries (wilayat), some lying desolate because of the Afghans, others being now subject to them." Understandably, during the period of Akbar the eastern limit of

236 Ibid., p. 209.
237 Ibid., p. 207.
Kabul sarkar became Indus. The Swat river basin, on the other hand, which is a part of Kabul basin, was made a separate sarkar.

There is hardly any doubt that the Kabul sarkar was basically the Kabul river basin, and only due to certain political and economic compulsions or considerations, certain territories were attached to the sarkar although these were not, geographically speaking, parts of the Kabul river basin. For furthering our understanding of the interrelationship between physical, cultural and political regions it is necessary to take up the tumans of Kabul sarkar as a unit of study. In fact these tumans generally had clear cut natural boundaries and were considered as distinct political units. (See Map 2.6)

Panjshir, the northern most tuman had pronounced natural limits. It lay in the basin of the Panjshir river. On the north, Hindu Kush separated it from Andrab region; on the east and southeast again, snow covered mountains provided a natural boundary. On the west a range of Hindu Kush separated it from Ghorband. Like Panjshir, Ghorband also had well defined physical boundaries. It was bounded on three sides i.e. north, west and east by ranges of the Hindu Kush mountain, while its southern boundary was demarcated by Koh-i-Baba range.

It seems that the tuman of Bamian of Ain, was significantly larger than the Bamian river basin. The Bamian
is a tributary of Surkhab, which after its confluence with Andrab is known as Kunduz. Kabul sarkar during the times of Akbar, as it was not included in the Kabul region of Babar. It seems that, sarkar of Bamian had, in its limits, some regions lying south of Koh-i-Baba range, which otherwise belonged to Hilmand river system. Bamian's physical limits, however, did not coincide with its political boundaries and possibly it provided the King with some reasons to include it in his empire.

Like Bamian, the boundaries of Ghazni were also not geographically well defined. As mentioned earlier, physiographically, it is a part of Hilmand-Arghandab river basin. Ghazni, like Qandahar, lies in the Eastern mountain and foothill region of the Hilmand-Arghandab river system. The altitudes here are higher but slopes are gentle along the Ghazni and other streams of the region. Possibly, this has been responsible for better economic conditions in the Ghazni area but it has also kept the political situation of the region changing. For instance, Qarabagh was a part of the Qandahar sarkar during Akbar's reign, but in the times of Shahjahan it was included in Kabul, being within the district of Ghazni. The Qandahar frontier then began at Muqur.

238 Ain, II, p. 404.
239 Irfan Habib, Atlas, p. 3.
The Tuman of Ghardez also lies outside the Kabul river basin, and, physiographically is a part of Eastern mountains and foothills region of Hilman-Arghandab system. Like Ghazni, Gardez region also lies on higher altitudes (more than 7,000 feet). In comparison to the west, its eastern and south-eastern boundaries, were geographically more defined. It was separated from Nagaz region by high mountain ranges (over 10,000 feet) which also acted as the water divide between Indus river system and Hilmand Arghandab system. The northern boundary follows the high hills, separating perennial streams of Loghar river (a tributary of Kabul river) from the seasonal streams of Jilya, a tributary of Ghazni river.

There were four tumans, viz., Farmul, Nagaz, Bangash and Kohat which lie within Indus basin but physiographically speaking were not parts of the Kabul basin. Out of these four, only Farmul was included in Kabul region during Babar's time. But during the reign of Akbar, all became tumans of sarkar of Kabul.

Tuman of Farmul which lay south of Gardez and west of sarkar of Daur, Bannu and Isakhail, occupied the higher elevated region from which the main tributaries of Tuchi as well as Gomal rivers issue. Its eastern boundary is quite well defined although Margha, a tributary of Tochi issues from the higher hills.

Babar refers to it as Surmut, BN, p. 220.

Ultimately it became the international boundary between Pakistan and Afghanistan.
cut across this boundary. The western boundary follows the water divide between rivers of Indus basin and Hilmand-Arghandab system.

Tuman of Nagaz, which lay between Gardez (on the west) and sarkar of Daur, Bannu and Isakhail (on the east and south) had well defined physical boundaries, at least on three sides. On the west it is bounded by the hills which separate the tributaries of Indus river and Hilmand-Arghandab. The southern boundary had been demarcated by the mountain range, which also forms a water divide between Kaitu and Margh rivers of the Kurram river system. Safed Koh mountain forms its northern boundary. The eastern boundary of tuman of Nagaz as compared to other sides, did not follow any significant barrier. Nagaz included in its limits two rivers, in their upper reaches. In between these two tributaries of Kurram is a mountain range-reaching up to 10,000 feet.

The shape of tuman of Bangash might have been very odd. Its northern boundary was absolutely well defined as it was separated from Nangnihar by Safed Koh. The boundary on the north-east, between Bigram and Bangash, was also demarcated by a fairly high mountain range which separated tributaries of Kabul river and small tributaries of Indus. But Bangash and Kohat look interwoven and it is

242 However, due to its traditional as well as cultural significance it was also recognised as the boundary between Afghanistan and Pakistan.
rather difficult to be sure about their boundaries.

The boundaries of Kohat were well defined on three sides. It was bounded on the north by low ranges which separate tributaries of Bara river from Kohat Toi river. On the east, the Indus demarcated its boundary while small hills separated it from the sarkar of Daur, Bannu and Isakhail. There was, however, no physical basis of its boundary with Bangash.

Tuman of Bigram was in fact the valley of Peshawar with about 22,000 sq. miles (5698 kms.) of low lands. This has been one of the most fertile areas of the whole of the Kabul sarkar. Conditions in this region were generally suitable for good agricultural produce. Culturally speaking this area may be called as "the area of attraction" or "perennial nuclear region". Tuman of Bigram had perfectly defined boundaries on all sides. It was bounded on the north by the hills of Swat region; on the east by Indus; on the south-east by Kohat hills; on the south-west by more extensive though not very high hills; and on the north-west by the low lying ranges of Safed Koh mountains. The major portion of the valley lies south of Kabul river though Hashtnagar, which lies north of Kabul river possibly was the part of Tuman of Bigram. Babar could not include Bigram in the Kabul region possibly due to the problems created by the tribals occupying it. 243

243 BN, p. 207.
To the west of Bigram and towards the east of Kabul lay tumans and buluks of Lamghan. Babar gives a detailed description of Lamghan and writes, "In the east of the country of Kabul is the Lamghan at, 5 tumans and 2 buluks of cultivated lands". Out of these five tumans three viz., Alishang, Alinagar and Mandraur were being considered as Lamghan proper. Tuman of Nangnihar, with its buluk of Kama was the fourth. The last tuman was the Kunar with Nurgal. The two buluks were Nur-Valley and Chaghan-Sarai. But probably out of these, the tuman of Kunar and Nurgal, and buluks of Nur valley and Chaghan Sarai were not a part of Akbar's Kabul sarkar, as they do not appear in the list of tumans in Ain. Moreover while describing the boundary of district of Bajaur of sarkar of Swat, Abul Fazl mentions that "on the west (lie) Kunar (and) Nurkil (Nurgil)."

The tuman of Ningnihar or Nagarahar was the largest of the tumans of Lamghan. The residence of its darogha was in Adinapur during the times of Babar, but it was

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244 Habib's idea that 'Lamghan' applied strictly to the tract north of Kabul river seems to be incorrect, as he considers Kabul as the boundary between Mandraur and Nangnihar (Habib, Atlas, p. 3). In fact the boundary between these two tumans of Lamghan was the Siyah-koh range (BN, p. 209).

245 BN, p. 207.

246 Ain, II, p. 398.

247 BN, p. 207.

248 Ibid.
subsequently shifted to Jalalabad. 249 It was not considered as the proper Lamghan. 250 Ningnahar's boundaries were natural and it was oval in shape. It was bounded on the north-east by the Kabul river, which separated it from the buluk of Kama; on the north-west by Siyah-koh range; and, on the south by the arc like Safed Koh which acted as a natural boundary. Babar mentions that "the Safed Koh runs along the south of Ningnahar, dividing it from, Bangash; no riding road crosses it, nine torrents (tuguzrud) issue from it. It is called Safed-koh because its snow never lessens." 251 The streams which rise from Safed Koh and which are more than nine, may be divided into two groups: the tributaries of Surkhab (a tributary of Kabul river) and the tributaries of river Kabul itself.

To the north of Ningnahar lay buluk of Kama. Babar considered Kama "not a separate district but dependent on Ningnahar." 252 It might have followed natural boundaries. The Kabul river demarcated its eastern and southern boundary because nowhere the river is fordable after receiving Kunar waters. The western boundary was formed by the Kunar river while hills delimited Kama on the north.

On the north-west of Ningnahar lay Mandraur, one of the tumans of Lamghan proper. It was a low lying region

249 Ain, II, p. 409.
251 Ibid., p. 209.
252 Ibid., p. 213.
with fairly defined physical limits, except on the east. On the north it extended nearly up to the point of Alishang-Alishang confluence, while on the west, the mountain ranges separated it from the Badrao and Kabul regions. Siyah Koh was its southern limit.

Above the confluence of Alishang and Alinagar rivers, in their respective basins, lay tumans of the same names. Their northern boundaries are difficult to ascertain, though for Alishang Babar mentions, "to the north of which are fastness-mountains, connecting with Hindu Kush and inhabited by Kafir only". But for this, the whole region is mountainous. Alishang tuman was bounded on the west by a range of northern mountains, running in the north-south direction, separating it from Najrao, Alsai and Badrao. Alinagar tuman was separated from the tuman of Alishang by a fairly high mountain range running in the north-south direction. Kashmand range, possibly was the boundary between Alinagar and Kunar and Nurgal. According to Babar "The part of Kafiristan nearest to it is Gawar (Kawar), out of which its torrent issues." South of Panjshir lay tuman of Najrao. Describing it Babar mentions, "It lies north of Kabul in Kohistan, with mountains behind it inhabited solely by Kafirs, it is a quite sequestered place." This region is still known

254 Ibid.
255 Ibid., p. 213.
as Kohistan. Nijrao was separated by very high mountains from Kafiristan on the east. The boundary on the north followed a high mountain range. The eastern and southern boundaries were not natural and thus uncertain.

Tuman of Alsai was referred to as a buluk of Kabul by Babar.\textsuperscript{256} He further writes, "Ala-sai, is 4 to 6 miles (2-3 shari) east of Nijrao. The direct road into it from Nijrao leads, at a place called Kura, through the quite small pass which in that locality separates the cold and hot climates."\textsuperscript{257} This statement provides some clue to the approximate boundary between Alsai and Nijrao. The pass which was referred to is shown on map and possibly formed boundary between the two tumans. The reference to the hot and cold climates was only relative. The hills and ranges on the east as well as on the west separated it from the tumans of Alishang and Daman-i-Koh respectively.

Tuman of Badrao lay south of Alsai, north-east of the city of Kabul. Babar refers to it as a buluk and mentions that "it runs with Ala-sai, grows no fruit, and for cultivators has corn-growing Kafirs."\textsuperscript{258} As compared to Nijrao or for that matter Alsai, Badrao was relatively low lying with broader river valleys but probably the climate was not suitable for the growth of fruits.

\textsuperscript{256} Ibid., p. 220.

\textsuperscript{257} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{258} Ibid., p. 221.
**Tuman** of Daman-i-Koh is now known as the Koh-Daman. It consisted of the beautiful plains and eastern slopes of Paghman range. Babar gives a detailed description of its fruits, flowers, natural beauty and pleasant climate etc. He was so impressed by these qualities that he mentions, "few villages match Istalif, with vineyards and fine orchards on both sides of its great torrent, with waters needing no ice, cold, and mostly, pure."\(^{259}\) It was bounded by the Paghman (Pamghan) on the west and by another fairly high mountain range on the east. The northern and southern boundaries were not physically well defined.

It is rather difficult to delineate the boundaries of the **tuman** of the city of Kabul. The revenue collected from the **tuman** of the city of Kabul was fairly high to give an impression that under the jurisdiction of the city of Kabul was a fairly large area. Babar refers to the villages depending on Kabul city. At another place he gives an idea of the approximate location of these villages. "It is on the start of one of these ranges (Pamghan) that most of the villages dependent on Kabul lie."\(^{260}\)

The **tuman** of Maidan lay west of Kabul. On the modern maps, Maidan area is shown south-east of Unai Kotal between two mountain ranges, forming two sides of a triangle. The boundary between Bamian and Maidan was demarcated

\(^{259}\) Ibid., p. 216.

\(^{260}\) Ibid.
by the range, which from Unai Kotal runs towards south-east and separates rivers belonging to Indus and Hilmand-Arghandab systems. The boundary between Maidan and Ghazni might have followed the mountain range which forms the water-shed between the above mentioned river systems. Its boundary on the east was, however, not natural, though the boundary between Loghar and Maidan might have followed the range separating the streams of the two tributaries of Loghar river.

Lastly, like Maidan, the tuman of Loghar lay in the Indus basin, while Ghazni and Gardez, which lay south of it belonged to the Hilmand-Arghandab system. Thus, Loghar's boundary with Ghazni and Gardez is natural. High mountain range which lies north-east of Loghar separated it from Nagaz. The boundary between Loghar and Kabul is difficult to ascertain since there is no physical barrier here of any consequence.

Sarkar of Kabul thus provides perhaps the best possible example of how physical factors have been responsible in the making of the political map of a region. Certainly, this more or less perfect inter-dependence of one factor over the other was only possible in hilly regions like Kabul. The role of fertile river valleys and isolated hilly regions too has been very significant in the emergence of relatively permanent political-administrative boundaries. In the sarkar of Kabul all important tumans
lay in the fertile river valleys i.e., the areas of attraction. Inaccessible hilly regions, as discussed earlier were occupied by various tribal groups who maintained their cultural identity and political independence. They were subjugated but temporarily, and paid relatively insignificant revenues.

The regions which we have identified as the areas of attraction were the real important political units i.e. tumans. These regions were occupied by the people belonging to various ethnic groups. The revenue collection from these tumans was significantly higher when compared to the tumans which lay in the hilly terrain.

It seems that in the revenue tables given in Ain for the sarkar of Kabul there are some mistakes. The total revenue, excluding the revenue of the tuman city of Kabul is less than 7 krores, while the total revenue of the sarkar of Kabul is given as 8 krores. The revenue collection from the city of Kabul is less than 13 lakhs, according to Ain, while revenue of Buluk-i-Kamsh has not been recorded. Anyhow, the revenue collection from Daman-i-Koh was the highest i.e., more than one fifth of the total revenue recorded in Ain for the entire sarkar of Kabul. According to Habib the revenue collection from Daman-i-Koh was second only to the tuman city of Kabul.261 This suggests a higher revenue collection from the city of Kabul. In any case, the revenue collection from the Kabul region

was highest as Koh-Daman was a part of Kabul region. The city of Kabul was the capital of the Suba.

The second region which was identified as the area of attraction was Nagarhar region including tumans of Nagarhar and Mandraur. These two tumans were yielding one sixth of the total revenue of the sarkar of Kabul. Its political importance was due to its suitable agricultural land, its location along the main communication line, and its ethnic diversity. Jalalabad was the residence of the governor of Lamghan.

The third area of attraction in the valley of Kabul river was the Peshawar region. Politically, it was known as the tuman of Bigram. The revenue collection from this tuman was third in amount in the whole sarkar of Kabul. It could have been even more but because of the Yusufzai and Tariki revolt it remained a politically disturbed area.262

The last area of attraction, belonging to sarkar of Kabul was the Ghazni region. The city and the region of Ghazni became extremely important during the period of Mahmud in eleventh century. During this period Ghazni was the capital of a large empire but lost its glory after some time. During the period under study, it was not a prosperous region and the revenue collection was not much although it was only next to the tuman of Begram.

262 AN, III, p. 957. Muhammad Quli Turkman was killed in Begram.
2.3.1.2 Sarkar of Swat (Swad)

The region lying north of the valley of Peshawar across the Kabul river was known as Udyana during the ancient period. Hwen Thsang referred to it as U-Chang-na. It was a highly irrigated and fertile country. It probably included all the tributaries of the Swat river. "Udyana would thus have embraced the four modern districts of Panjora, Bijaur, Swat and Buner." During the medieval period this region was known as Swad or Swat.

Swat region, primarily confined to the Swat basin, traditionally had been a dependency of Kabul. But during the times of Babar, it was an independent region, occupied by quite powerful Pathan tribes. For Babar it had not been possible to conquer the area but he suggested economic reasons for this exclusion. "Bajaur, Swad and Hashnagar may at one time have been dependencies of Kabul, but they now have no resemblance to cultivated countries (Wilayat), some lying desolate because of the Afghans, others, being now subject to them." The occupants of this region during the period under study were, Yusufzais, Muhammadzais and the retreating Dilazaks. Among these, Yusufzais were very powerful and perhaps this led Babar to marry a

263 Cunningham, p. 68.
264 Ibid.
265 Ibid., p. 69.
266 BN, p. 207.
Yusufzai lady, Bibi Mubarikah, to pacify them.

During the period of Akbar, Yusufzais had their strongholds in the hill country of Swat and Bajaur but many of them were also living in the plains. During this period, the area was very important as lying along the Delhi-Kabul route. Akbar tried to keep this region under control and so was compelled to send troops again and again to curtail the increasing force of Yusufzais and their allies. In the preceding section, the tribal groups of this region have already been discussed, so here, it will suffice to say that this region was not under the effective rule of the Mughals. Hence, in the revenue column of A'in, no figures were given for this sarkar.

The sarkar of Swat, during Akbar's period was divided into three districts. These three districts according to A'in were, Bimbar, Swat and Bajaur. Bimbar certainly was an error in nomenclature as on all grounds it was Buner. In many ways, Buner was into the Indus the knowledge of Abul Fazl about this region seems to be faulty. He, however, gave some correct informations about the surrounding territories of this district. (See Map 2.7)

267  *AN*, III, p. 717.
268  *A'in*, II, p.
269  As compared to Bajaur and Swat districts, references to Buner are few in the contemporary books still, from the description in *AN* it is clear that east, or rather south-east, of Swat was the territory of Buner.
The district of Buner according to Abul Fazl was 16 kos in length and 12 kos in breadth and was bounded by Pakli on the east, Kator and Kashghar on the north, Atak Benaras on the south and Swat on the west. The boundaries of Buner district were natural. Indus demarcated the boundary between Buner and Pakli. Abul Fazl's knowledge of the northern boundary was incorrect as he mentioned that Kator and Kashghar lay immediately north of Buner. In fact, as mentioned earlier Buner was only 16 kos long and Kator and Kashghar lay too far to the north of this district. Buner's southern boundary once again was demarcated by the Indus. Buner was separated from Swat by a mountain range which acted as the watershed between Chalpani, tributary of Kabul, and tributaries of the Indus river.

In the north and west of Buner lay the long and narrow district of Swat. According to Ain, Swat is, "40 kos in length by 5 to 15 in breadth." The northern half of the Swat region is very rugged and inaccessible and belongs to the Swat valley and mountains. The southern half is relatively plain and is drained by Chalpani river. The boundaries of Swat were more or less natural. To the north of Swat district lay Kator and Kashghar regions, the boundary between these territories consisted perhaps of

270 *Ain*, II, p. 397.
the snow covered mountains of the Kohistan region as shown in the modern maps. To the south-east lay the district of Buner. On the south, it was separated from the Tuman of Bigram by the Kabul river. The western boundary between Swat and Bajaur was demarcated by the hills which separated the tributaries of Panjkura and Swat rivers before the confluence of Panjkura with Swat. In this way, the mountainous region of the district of Swat was in fact the Swat river basin, excluding of course the upper Swat region.

Bajaur, the third sirkat of sarkar of Swat, consisted mainly of the valley of Panjkora river and its tributaries. Its boundaries were clearly demarcated by natural features. According to Ain "on the east lies Swat, on the north Kator and Keshghar, on the south Bigram and the west Kunar and Nurkil." 272 The boundary between Bajaur and Swat has already been discussed. On the south the boundary between Bajaur and Hashtnagar of tuman of Bigram was not a natural one, but its boundary with buluk of Kama, on the south-west was demarcated by a mountain range. Its eastern boundary followed the fairly high range of the Hindu Raj, which separated it from the territory of Kunar and Nurgul which lay in the valley of Kunar. During the period of Akbar, Kunar and Nurgul were independent territories and the territory of Panjkura, lying in the main and upper Panjkura valley, was also not a part of the sarkar of Pakli.

272 Ibid., p. 398.
It is clear now, that there was a strong physical basis for the emergence of Swat as a distinct political-administrative unit - a sarkar. The divisions of the sarkar into three districts was also based on physical features. In fact the physical setting of the region has been responsible for the growth of a distinct socio-economic structure within the sarkar of Swat. For example, Buner, which lay outside the Kabul basin, was also culturally different, at least in the initial stages. During the period of Babar and Akbar, Yusufzai concentration was only limited to Bajaur and to the Swat region and perhaps Buner was more exposed to outside influences. On the other hand, hilly regions of Bajaur and Swat were the real backbone of Yusufzai power due to their inaccessibility.

The Yusufzais, who were settled in the plains of Bajaur and Swat were more exposed to the attacks of the imperial army and so were generally law abiding and paid revenue more regularly. However, at the times of war between Yusufzais and the Mughals, they always supported their clansmen. This in the long run kept them more or less united. As we have discussed earlier, the formation of a political unit usually helps in the growth and development of a distinct culture within it. Possibly this was the case with Buner region as in due course of time the Yusufzais spread over this region also. Hence, in spite of many differences within it the whole Swat region ultima-
tely became Yusufzai land. 273

2.2.1.3 Sarkar of Daur, Bannu and Isakhel

Hwen Thsang's 'Fa-la-na' undoubtedly was the Banu region. 274 Perhaps its original name was Varana, or Barna. This is confirmed by Fa-Hian who called the country by the shorter vernacular name of Po-na, or Bana, which he reached in thirteen days from Nagarabara in going towards the south. Pona also is said to be three days journey to the west of the Indus, which completes the proof of its identity with Banu, or the lower half of the valley of Kurram river. 275 In the times of Fa-Hian the kingdom of Bannu was limited to this small tract, as the upper part of the Kurram valley was a separate district, called Lo-i, or Roh. 276 But in the times of Hwen Thssang, Bannu had a circuit of more than 600 miles.

Sarkar of Daur, Bannu and Isakhel, due to the inclusion of Daur and Isakhel territories in Bannu became obviously larger than Fa-Hian's Banu, but still it was

273 The traditional boundary of Swat region ultimately became an international boundary between Pakistan and Afghanistan.

274 Cunningham, p. 71.

275 Ibid.

276 Ibid., p. 72. It is probable that the Roh region of Fa-Hian became Daur during the medieval period.
smaller than the kingdom of Bannu of Hwen Thsang. Out of
the three districts of this sarkar Babar refers to two viz.,
Bannu and Isakhel. Babar first passed through this to him,
unknown territory in 1505. Though he has described the
physical structure of the areas he visited, it is, however,
difficult to delineate boundaries on the basis of his des­
cription. Still through his description, it is possible
to ascertain at least the respective locations of the sub­
divisions of the sarkar. Passing through Kohat and Bengash
territories Babar reached Til or Thal. That perhaps
was the chief town of the Daur region, though it is nowhere
mentioned. The only reference to suggest this is Babar's
statement that Til is below Bangash. In the nineteenth
century maps, however, Daur region is shown in Upper Kur­
ram valley above the Bannu region. It was the territory
of Roh of Fa Hien. (See Map 2-8)

Babar's description of Bannu region is quite detai­
led. He writes, "The Bannu lands lie, a dead level, imme­
diately outside the Bangash and Naghr hills, these being
to their north. The Bangash torrent (the Kuram) comes
down into Bannu and fertilizes its lands." This is a
correct description of the Bannu lands which are quite
fertile as compared to Daur region, which was a bare and

277 BN, pp. 229-230.
278 Ibid., p. 232.
279 Ibid.
280 Ibid.
stony, unirrigated plain, lying south of Bangash hills. Babar describes the limit of Bannu lands as he mentions, "South (east) of them are Chaupara and the water of Sind; to their east is Din-Kot; (south-) west is the plain (Dasht), known as Bazar and Taq." As mentioned above, although Babar's description of the region he visited is lucid, his knowledge of the directions and the boundaries was faulty. Though he later on mentioned about the Isakhel territory but while describing the Bannu territory he seems to be ignorant of its exact location in relation to Bannu.

Isakhel, the third district of the sarkar, lay east of Bannu. The boundary between these two sub-divisions of the sarkar was nowhere mentioned, but it is possible that Surghar range might have been the boundary between Bannu and Isakhel regions. Surghar range is a watershed between the tributaries of Kurram and tiny tributaries of Indus. If the Surghar was the boundary between Bannu and Isakhel regions, then Isakhel was a small territory. The town of Isakhel lies few miles north of Kurram river which perhaps was the southern boundary of the sub-division. So the boundaries of Isakhel were, possibly, natural.

In this way, the sarkar of Daur, Bannu and Isakhel was bounded by the Bangash hills on the north; tuman of Kohat on the north-east; Indus on the east; Dasht of Bazar

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282 BN, p. 233.
and Taq on the south and high mountain ranges, separating Kabul basin from the Kurram system, on the west. Thus, sarkar of Daur, Bannu and Isakhel, physiographically speaking, was the Kurram river basin, with, of course, a few stray areas lying outside it.

In the preceding section, a part of Bannu region and the whole of Isakhel region, has been identified as an area of relative isolation. Unlike hilly areas lying west of it, in Bannu region people belonging to various ethnic groups were living. This was noted by Babar. "The Bannu lands are cultivated by the Kuram, Kiwi, Sur, Isakhail and Nia-zai of Afghan tribesmen." The fertile lands of the sarkar, suitable for settled agriculture, lying not far away from the nuclear regions attracted these tribal groups. This region was exposed to Hindustan, as Dinkot ferry lay in the Isakhel region. The other important ferry, Chaupara, lay south of Dinkot in Bannu region.

Isakhel was more exposed to the influences of Punjab and Hindustan as it lay east of Bannu. This is evident from the fact that the kingdom of Shershah Suri based at Delhi extended west of Indus only upto Isakhel region.

283 Ibid.
285 Ibid.
286 Caroe, pp. 139, 196.
Incidently most of this region does not belong to the Kurram river basin. 287

2.3.1.4 Sarkar of Pakli

Hwen Thsang places the district of U-La-shi or Urasa between Taxila and Kashmir which by its position, may at once be identified with the Varsa Regio of Ptolemy, and with the modern district of Rash, in Dhantawar, to the west of Muzafarabad. 288 This region corresponds to the sarkar of Pakli of Akbar and Jahangir. According to Ain, it was a sarkar of the suba of Kabul but after the separation of Kashmir and Kabul it was attached to the suba of Kashmir. In fact prior to Mughal rule in this region "the rulers of this district (Pakli) generally paid tribute to Kashmir". 289 (See Map 2.9)

The extent and boundaries of the sarkar of Pakli have been clearly mentioned by both Abul Fazl and Jahangir. "Its length is 35 and its breadth 25 kos. It is bounded on the east by Kashmir, on the north by Kator, on the south by the territory of the Gakhars, and on the west by Atak Benares." 290 The boundary between Kashmir and Pakli

287 The Isakhel region at present is a part of Mianwali district of Pakistani Punjab, while rest of Bannu region became a part of the North West Frontier Provinces.

288 Cunningham, p. 87.

289 Ain, II, p. 397.

290 Ibid. Jahangir also gives more or less the same des-
was near Buliyas or Bulias,\textsuperscript{291} which was located along the Jhelum (Bihat) gorge route. The boundary between these two sarkars in the hilly regions of the north and south is, however, difficult to ascertain. It is still more difficult to delineate the northern boundary between Pakli and Kator. Possibly Indus Kohistan separated these two territories. The western boundary of the sarkar, no doubt followed the Indus river, which separated the sarkars of Swat and Pakli. The boundary on the south was also well defined as it followed a fairly high mountain range.

The sarkar of Pakli had two divisions. The region lying between Bulias and Kishan Ganga was known as Mastang.\textsuperscript{292} Bulias was "the end of the country of Kashmir and the beginning of the territory of Mastang. This name is applied to the country from Bulias to the Kishan Gang."\textsuperscript{293} No further information is available about the territory of Mastang, its lands, people, products and rulers. Most of this region consists of high mountain ranges, with very

\textsuperscript{Cont'd. f.n. \textsuperscript{290}}

cription "The sarkar of Pakli is 35 kos in length and 25 in breadth. On the east, on two sides, is the hill country of Kashmir; on the west, Atak Benaras (Atak); on the north, Kator; and on the south, the Gakkar country." \textit{TJ}, II, p. 126.

\textsuperscript{291} \textit{AN}, III, p. 850; \textit{TJ}, II, pp. 140-141.

\textsuperscript{292} \textit{AN}, III, p. 850. Variant Pushang. I.O. MS. 236 appears to have Hainak.

\textsuperscript{293} \textit{AN}, III, p. 850.
little possibility for human habitation. It might have been practically uninhabited during the period under study.

The region lying west of Kishan Ganga and Bihat (Jhelum) upto Pakli river was known as Shahbang. This part of Pakli sarkar, was under two zamindars. The zamindar of the territory of Pakli, north of Damtaur and in the valley of Sirhan, was Sultan Husain. The territory of Pakli was physically well defined, excepting, perhaps on the north. It was bounded on the west by Indus; on the south-east and east by a range which separates Sirhan valley from Dor valley, and, on the north-east by Kishan Ganga. The northern boundary is difficult to delineate. Dhadial or Dadhal was the principal village of the territory.

To the south of the territory of Pakli was the territory of Damtaur, in the valley of Dor river. It is bounded on the north and north-west by the territory of Pakli; on the south by the Gakkhar territory, and, on the west by Bihat. When Babar visited Kashmir in 1589 the zamindar of Damtaur was Shahrurkh. At the time of Jahangir's visit to Kashmir the zamindar of the territory was Bahadur, son of Shahrurkh.

294 In fact the name mentioned by Abul Fazl in AN, III, p. 850 is once again Mastang, which is not possible, so the variant Shahbang in I.O. MS., p. 236 seems correct.

295 AN, III, p. 851.

296 Ibid.

297 Tt, II, p. 126.
Regarding the origin of the people of Pakli and Damtaur Jahangir mentions, "they say themselves that they are Qarlughs." They came with the troops of Timur and while going back to the capital of Turan "he placed in these regions this body of people." According to Ain, "the language of the country differs from that of Kashmir, Hindustan or Zabulistan." But Jahangir was quite convinced that these people "are pure Lahauris and speak the same language." The zamindars of Pakli and Damtaur were related to each other, but they used to fight over the boundaries of the territory. The territory of Pakli as compared to Damtaur was more fertile and very good for fruit cultivation. The zamindar of Pakli was holding a higher mansab as compared to the zamindar of Damtaur.

It is clear that like other sarkars of suba of Kabul Pakli had a defined region separated by certain significant physical features from the surrounding territories. The physical exclusiveness of the region, "helped in the development of a distinct culture and language. The Mughals, especially Jahangir, considered the linguistic boundary as the boundary of the region. That is how the sarkar of Pakli came into existence.

298 TJ, II, p. 126.
299 Ibid.
300 Ain, II, p. 397.
301 TJ, II, p. 126.
302 Ibid., p. 127.
303 Ibid., p. 141.
2.3.1.5 Sarkar of Kashmir

The kingdom of Kashmir was having well defined physical boundaries since ancient times. But during the times of certain powerful kings, the natural boundaries of the Kashmir were over-looked and the kings of Kashmir extended their empire by conquering surrounding territories. There are various references to this effect in Kalhana's Raja Tarangini, which traced back the dynastic history of the kings of Kashmir. Abul Fazl, with the help of this book provide us with a long list of kings who ruled over the Kashmir for more than four thousand years.

The Chinese pilgrim, Hwen Thsang, who visited Kashmir in seventh century (AD 631-633) describes the land and people of Kashmir in detail. With the help of his account Cunningham was able to delimit the political boundaries of the Kingdom which seems to be extended "from the Indus on the north to the Salt range on the south and from the Indus on the west to Ravi on the east."\(^{304}\) But it seems that so called glorious periods in the political history of the Kashmir were limited and usually the king of Kashmir were the rulers of the valley only.

Mirza Haider, Abul Fazl and Jahangir describes the valley of Kashmir in detail as they were highly impressed by the beauty of the region. From their description of the Kashmir, it is clear that during the period under study the

\(^{304}\) Cunningham, p. 76.
kingdom or sarkar of Kashmir was limited only to the valley of Kashmir. Although the extent of the Kashmir given by Mirza Haider, Abul Fazl and Jahangir varies significantly from one another but this difference was mainly due to the faulty measurement rather than any other reason. 305

According to Ain, the sarkar of Kashmir during the times of Akbar was surrounded on the east by Paistan and the river Chenab: on the south-east Banihal and the Kammu mountains: on the north-east, Great Tibet: on the west, Pakli and Kishan Ganga river: on the south-west, the Gakkar country: on the north-west, little Tibet. It is encompassed on all sides by the Himalayan ranges. Though the above description of the boundaries is not sufficient for delimiting the sarkar of Kashmir but with the help of the description of parganas in the Ain and detail itinaries of Akbar and Jahangir in Kashmir made it possible for us to delimit the political-administrative boundaries of the sarkar.

305 Mirza Haider mentions that Kashmir "is a level expanse of about a hundred Kruh in length. Its width is at some parts, about twenty Kruh, and in a few places ten Kruh". TR, p. 424. The word Kruh or Kuroh is the Persian form for the familiar Kro or Kos of India. According to Abul Fazl, "Its length from Qambar Ver to Kishan Ganga is 120 and its breadth from 10 to 25 kos." Ain, II, p. 351. Jahangir mentions that the figures given by Abul Fazl were mere guess and conjectures and to check it he "appointed a number of trustworthy and intelligent men to measure the length and breadth with ropes (tanab). The result was that what the Shaikh wrote as 120 kos came out as 67." Jahangir further mentions that "the boundary of a country is the place up to which people speak the language of that country, it follows that the boundary of Kashmir is Buliyasa, which is 11 kos on this
In the presence of the detailed study of the sarkar of Kashmir during the times of Akbar and Jahangir it is not necessary to discuss it again. For this study a map showing pargana boundaries has been taken from the Atlas prepared by us. A look at this map gives us a clear idea of the impact of the physical features over the political-administrative boundaries of the sarkar of Kashmir. Pargana boundaries, in the absence of any significant physical barriers, however, were difficult to deliniate. This problem was overcome with the help of the contemporary sources and the account of the European travellers. (See Map 2.10)

2.3.1.6 Sarkar of Qandahar

Politically the Qandahar region had not been a part of the Kabul region. It is hence necessary to know the political developments of the period of early Mughals, which compelled them to capture Qandahar time and again. In the sixteenth century a three cornered fight developed among the Uzbeks, the Safavids and the Mughals. All three powers continually bumped against each other in a line

Cont'd. f.n. 305

side (i.e. east) of the Kishan Ganga. So according to the preceding figures, the length of Kashmir is 56 (67-11) kos. The variation in breadth were found to be not more than 2 kos." \(TJ\), II, p. 141.

306 \(Ain\), II, p. 351.

307 I worked under the directorship of Prof. Moonis Raza, on a ICHR project "Preparation of An Atlas of Mughal Empire." For this project more than 20 maps have been prepared for Kashmir only.
running from Kabul to Qandahar. 308

The Qandahar region, as mentioned earlier, lay outside the Indus basin i.e. in Hilmand - Arghandab basin. The Safavids and the Mughals seem to have been aware of this. The Hindukush was accepted as the boundary between Kabul, Balkh and Badakhshan both by the Uzbeks and the Mughals. Neither party, however, gave up its claims for Balkh and Badakhshan completely. However, the Mughals ruled over Kabul with little outside threat. The case of Qandahar was somewhat different. It remained a trouble spot between the Safavids and the Mughals. Its possession was claimed by both on strategic and economic grounds. Later on, it became a question of sentiments and a point of prestige to hold it.

Qandahar had been a part of the Timurid empire and was being ruled over by Babar's cousins, the rulers of Herat. They were defeated by Uzbeks in 1507. Babar also held Qandahar briefly. 309 When the Safavids defeated the Uzbek Chief, Shaibani Khan, and captured Herat and the rest of Khurasan, they also claimed Qandahar. For the next fifteen years, however, Qandahar remained in the hands of semi-independent governors who tendered their allegiance to the Mughals or to the Safavids as it suited their convenience. Qandahar came under Babar's control again in

308 Louis Dupree, p. 321.
1522 when the Uzbeks were threatening Khurasan once again. In such a situation the rulers of Persia did not object to it. However, when Humayun sought help and shelter at the court of Shah Tahmasp, the king of Persia agreed to help him provided he transferred Qandahar to Iran after its conquest from Kamran. \(^{310}\) Humayun had no choice, so he agreed. However after its conquest Humayun found excuses to keep it under his control. \(^{311}\) In fact, Qandahar was his base of operation against Kamran in Kabul. Shah Tahmasp captured Qandahar taking advantage of the confusion following Humayun's death. Akbar made no effort to regain it.

Strategically, Qandahar was vital for the defence of Kabul. The fort of Qandahar was amongst the strongest forts of the whole region and was well provided with water. Its location on the Kabul-Herat routes gave the city a position of immense strategic importance. Moreover, the possession of Qandahar made it easier to control the Afghan and Baluch tribes.

The importance of Qandahar for the Mughals increased later basically due to two reasons. Firstly, after the conquest of Sind and parts of Baluchistan, Akbar felt it necessary to annex Qandahar which was strategically located and was a rich and fertile region, and, secondly, the Uzbeks under Abdullah Uzbek posed a renewed threat to Iran.

\(^{310}\) AN, I, pp. 471-472 etc.

\(^{311}\) Ibid., p. 472.
and to the Mughals. The Mughal conquest of Qandahar in 1595 was not a part of an agreement to partition the Persian empire between Akbar and the Uzbeks as some modern historians have argued. It was more to establish a viable defensive line in the north-west against a possible Uzbek invasion, since Khorasan had passed under Uzbek control by that time, and Qandahar was cut off from Persia. 312

Despite the Mughal conquest of Qandahar, the relations between Iran and India continued to be cordial. Shah Abbar I (1588-1629), perhaps the greatest of the Safavid rulers, was keen to maintain good relations with Jahangir. The cordiality of relations came to an abrupt end as Shah Abbas in 1620 sent a polite request for the restoration of Qandahar and made preparation for attacking it. Jahangir was taken by surprise for he was diplomatically isolated and militarily unprepared for it. Qandahar, thus passed into the hands of the Persians in 1622. 313

With this brief account of the political developments of the region it is clear that Qandahar was not considered as an integral part of Kabul, possibly due to physical as well as cultural differences between these two regions. However, due to various economic strategic, and at times emotional considerations it was included in the Mughal empire. The Mughal rule over Qandahar could never be effective, with Delhi/Agra as its base. Moreover,

312 Tripathi, pp. 307-308.
313 Ibid., p. 390.
except for the Qandahar regions (city and adjacent region in the Hilmand basin) and the Pashang-Shal Mas tang - Qalat axis, the rest of the sarkar was more or less unknown to the Mughal administrators. Tribal territories mentioned in Ain are rather difficult to locate. Firstly, because there was very little knowledge of these territories, and secondly, because there were extensive movements of the tribal groups, which made their distribution pattern illusive.

The Qandahar was the largest sarkar in terms of area, not only in the suba of Kabul but also in the total empire. According to Ain, Qandahar's "length from Qalat Banjarah to Ghor and Gharijistan is 300 kos; its breadth from Sind to Farah is 260 kos." The boundaries of this extensive sarkar are difficult to locate in some peripheral areas of Qandahar region which were only marginally known and thinly populated. Abul Fazl, provides

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314 Total area of the sarkar of Qandahar is given as 84,944 sq. miles by Irfan Habib (Atlas, pp. vii-viii).
315 Referred to as Qalat-i-Nichara. Elphinstone referred to it as 'Kalaut-i-Nusser'. Any way Qalat lay south of Mashtang territory.
316 Ghor region was the part of Herat region of Khurasan at that time.
317 Gharijistan was also a part of Herat region. According to Erskine it was in the Upper Valley of the Murghab.
318 Ain, II, p. 199.
sarkar of Qandahar. On the other hand all the territories belonging to various tribal groups and lying south of Daur, Bannu and Isakhail sarkar were included in the sarkar of Qandahar. These hilly regions were, however, mostly unknown to outsiders and so it is rather impossible to imagine that these regions were in any way under the effective rule of the Mughals. The only important territory in this region was Duki.

Territories included in the Qandahar region are not difficult to locate, but their delineation is rather difficult. Away from the Qandahar city, many of the tribal territories are impossible to identify. However, all the important territories, Garmsir, Zamindawar, Kushk Nakhod, Qandahar, Qalat, Dakhah and Tarin lay in the river valleys of the tributaries of Hilmand Arghandab rivers. The territory of Sorawak lay on the southern margin of the southern Sandy Desert region of Afghanistan, west of Rishang-Qalat axis.

2.3.2 Suba of Lahor

Lahor was one of the most prosperous subas of India during the times of Akbar. Its revenue collection of about 56 kror dams\(^\text{322}\) was second only to the suba of Delhi which collected about 60 kror dams. The suba of Lahor, which was appropriately extended from 30° 50' to 34° 10' north

\(^{322}\text{At the time of Ain, one rupee was worth 40 dams.}\)
latitude and 69° 50' to 77° 15' east longitude, was twice as long as it was wide. Its length according to Ain: "from the river Satlaj (Sutlej) to the Sind river is 180 kos. Its breadth from Bhimbar to Chaukhandi, one of the dependencies of Satgarah, is 86 kos."

The suba of Lahor, as compared to the suba of Kabul was compact and well defined. The extent and boundaries of the suba on the north and west were more or less defined by physical features. The Indus river formed the boundary between the subas of Lahor and Kabul, the only exceptions being the two parganas of Below and Dhankot, which although located on the west of Indus were included in the sarkars of Birun-i-Panjnad and Sindh Sargar Doab of the suba. According to Ain, Kashmir borders Lahor in the north.

This is, however, not correct as between these two territories lie the independent states of Rajauri and Punch.

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323 In this regard it is better to mention that due to the absence of any map of the subas or empire Abul Fazl was not in a position to locate the farthest points of reference. Invariably he refers to the more famous points than the farthest ones to describe the extent and boundaries of subas and sarkars.

324 Ain, II, p. 315.

325 Possibly, it was due to the fact that the control of the officials over the tribal territories lying west of Indus was marginal and so to keep the important ferrys at both places under control these two parganas were included in the suba of Lahor.

326 Ain, II, p. 315.

327 It is perplexing how, Habib in the Kashmir sheet (3 A) has included both, Punch and Rajauri within the boundaries of Kashmir, when he has shown the bounda-
with suzerainty chiefs the boundaries of which are not difficult to identify as they lie in the hilly areas.

The southern boundary of the suba of Lahor is physically undefined and so the boundary between Lahor and Multan was less permanent and difficult to delineate. However, the boundary between Lahor and Multan subas has been delineated with the help of Ain's list of parganas. The boundary between Lahor and Delhi was demarcated by the river Sutlej.

The interrelationship between physical and political-administrative boundaries is best apparent in the suba of Lahor. The five doabs of upper Punjab, became the five sarkars of the subas. In this case, rivers became the natural and obvious boundaries of the sarkars, although they were in no way the physical and cultural barriers. In fact, in certain cases pargana headquarters lie on one side of the river, while lands attached to them, lie on the other side of the river.

The five well defined sarkars are as follows:

2.3.2.1 Sarkar of the Bet Jalandhar Doab

The Bet Jalandhar or Bist Doab, was significantly larger in area during the times of Akbar that it is today. As mentioned earlier, during the period under study, Beas...

Cont'd. f.n. 327

ries as they were in 1595. In the contemporary sources nowhere are they referred to as a part of Kashmir.
was still pouring its water directly into the river Chenab. Only the northern portion of this long doab was included in the suba of Lahor. But is is interesting to note here that the boundary between Lahor and Multan in this doab was at the present meeting point of the Beas and Sutlej rivers.

2.3.2.2 Sarkar of the Bari Doab

The Bari doab was considerably smaller in size during the period under study. But the size of the sarkar of Bari doab of Lahor was the same, as the river Beas was forming the boundary between subas of Lahor and Multan. Thus, the river Beas formed the boundary of the sarkar of the Bari doab of Lahor on the east and south. River Ravi formed the boundary of the sarkar on the west. The northern portion of this strip-like doab is hilly and was ruled over by some semi-independent rulers.

2.3.2.3 Sarkar of the Rachna Doab

Most of the Rachna doab was included in the suba of Lahor. In fact, only five out of sixty-two mahals of this doab were included in the sarkar of Rachna doab of Multan. It is rather impossible to provide any geographical explanation for the exclusion of these five mahals from the suba of Lahor. It may be noted here that nearly all the identified mahals of the sarkar are located either along the
rivers or are in the northern hills. Boundaries of the sarkar were more or less well formed by the rivers, with the only exception of the south, where the boundary between Lahor and Multan possibly ran parallel to the north of the river Ravi.

2.3.2.3. Sarkar of the Chenhat Doab

In case of the Chenhat doab there is no problem of delineation of the boundary between subas of Lahor and Multan, as the whole doab lies in the sarkar of the Chenhat doab of Lahor. The boundaries of the sarkar are well marked by the rivers of Chenab and Behat (Jhelum). In the mountainous north of the doab lay the territories of Punch and Rajouri.

2.3.2.4 Sarkar of the Sindh Sagar Doab

The Sindh Sagar doab, was the largest but the least productive sarkar of the suba of Lahor. More than three-fourths of the doab is still a desert or semi-desert and without proper irrigational facilities agricultural production here has been insignificant. The Potwar Plateau and the Salt Range lie in the northern sub-montane Indus region and was the home land of the Ghakkar. The territory of Ghakkars was well-defined and it seems that they were suzerain to the Mughal Kings. However, in the Ain, the
mahals in which they were dominant are entered in the sarkar of Sindh Sagar Doab. The boundaries of this sarkar are physically well defined, except in the south.

2.3.2.5 Birun-i-Panjnad (beyond the Five Rivers)

It is difficult to call it a sarkar. The mahals which were included in it were at the extreme ends of the suba. For example, Belot and Kahlor mahals are located in the extreme west and extreme east of the suba. The whole suba, with its five sarkars, lies in between. This proves our point once again that political boundaries were strictly formed on the basis of geographical location of the places. Thus, the regions lying outside the five doabs were included in this category of Birun-i-Panjnad.

2.3.3 Suba of Multan

The traditional suba of Multan, like suba of Lahor, lay in the Upper Punjab plains. But during the later years of Akbar's reign, due to various socio-political considerations, Bhakkar and Thatta, which were till then independent states conquered by the Mughals, were kept under the suba of Multan. This was an ad hoc decision but was followed due to some political consideration for a considerable period. This will be discussed later. Here it will suffice to say that Multan and Thatta regions were signifi-
cantly different from one another physically, culturally and politically.

The *suba* of Multan, however, after the inclusion of Thatta, extended approximately from 23° 55' to 31° 25' north latitude and 66° 40' to 75° 15' east longitude. According to *Ain* it was bounded on the east by the sarkar of Sirhind, on the north by the pargana of Shor (of Rachna Doab of Lahor *Suba*); on the south by the *suba* of Ajmer and on the west by Khach 328 and Mekran. 329 It is obvious that the *suba* of Multan of *Ain* was not historically or traditionally one region but was separated from the surrounding territories by natural barriers.

Akbar's *suba* of Multan had quite well defined physical boundaries but, at places, due to certain political or socio-economic considerations, political and physical boundaries did not coincide. It has already been mentioned that the boundary between subas of Multan and Lahor had no physical basis and emerged due to historical imperatives. The Thar desert on the east must have been more or less a permanent boundary between the subas of Multan and Ajmer, although few parganas of *suba* Multan were located within the adjoining desert. The Arabian sea provided a permanent southern boundary to the Thatta region. Kirthar range de-

328 This spelling of the word has also been maintained by Habib (Atlas Sheet 5A) and has nothing to do with the Cutch region of present Gujarat.

marcated the western boundary of the Thatta region while in the north-west, hills of the sub-montane Indus region separated it from the sarkar of Qandahar of the suba of Kabul.

Suba of Multan, before the annexation of Thatta, was divided into three sarkars and "its length from Firozpur and Sewistan was 403 kos and its breadth from Khatpur to Jaisalmer, 108 kos." Two, out of its three sarkars, viz. Multan and Dipalpur, lay mostly in doabs of Upper Indus plain like sarkars of suba of Lahor. The third sarkar of the suba Bhakkar was situated in the Lower Indus plains and had traditionally not been a part of Multan.

For a better understanding of the space relations within the region, it is necessary to discuss the extent and boundaries of the sarkars of the suba of Multan separately.

2.3.3.1 Sarkar of Multan

It is difficult to provide any physical justification of the boundaries of the sarkar, as unlike in the suba of Lahor, the sarkar boundary cut across doabs in Multan. However, the sarkar of Multan was surrounded by the sarkars of Sind Sagar and Rachna doabs of Lahor in the north, sarkar of Dipalpur in the east; sarkar of Bikaner on the south-

330 Ibid.
east, sarkar of Bhakkar on the south-west and sarkar of Qandahar on the west.

The sarkar of Multan, was sub-divided into four doabs. This division of the sarkar into doabs was obviously based on physical consideration and can be easily understood. The remaining mahals of the sarkar belong to Biruni-Panjnad. The boundary between sarkars of Multan and Dipalpur was quite unusual and cannot be explained as it cut across doabs in a complicated way. The boundary between sarkars of Multan and Bhakkar more or less coincided with the boundary between Upper and Lower Indus plains.

2.3.3.2 Sarkar of Dipalpur

The sarkar of Dipalpur lay in the north-east of the suba of Multan. There was hardly any physical barrier except the desert in the south which separated it from the other sarkars and subas. It was surrounded by the sarkars of south-east; sarkar of Bikaner of the suba of Ajmer on the south; sarkar of Multan on the west and sarkars of Rachna, Bari and Bet Jalandhar doabs of the suba of Lahor on the north. The sarkar of Dipalpur, like Multan, was sub-divided into doabs of Bet Jalandhar, Bari, Rachna and Biruni-Panjnad.

2.3.3.3 Sarkar of Bhakkar

It has been mentioned earlier that the sarkar of
Bhakkar lay in the lower Indus plain. Interestingly it has never been included in the Multan region. Before the conquest of Bhakkar by Akbar, it was ruled by Sultan Muhmud, who had friendly relations and matrimonial alliance with the king. But in due course, Bhakkar became a prey to power politics of Imperial officers who captured most of its territory while the fort itself was surrendered after the death of the invalid ruler. As Bhakkar could not be constituted into a separate unit in itself, it was included in the suba of Multan and became the third sarkar—an arrangement which was initially dictated by historical development but became permanent and continued till the end of the Mughal rule. For a brief period, i.e., till the conquest of Thatta, it enjoyed the status of an important military out post of the empire.

2.3.3.4 **Sarkar of Thatta**

It seems that in the beginning the Mughals were not really interested in the conquest of Thatta, as this semi-arid region with an unattractive income was being ruled by their Timurid cousins – Arghuns and Tarkhans. Some of the factors which influenced Akbar's decision to include Thatta or lower Sind in the empire were as follows. Jani

331 Khan, *History and Culture of Sind*, p. 68.
332 Ibid.
Beg, the ruler of Thatta, issued coins in his own name contradicting his promises of allegiance. Extraneous political happenings also forced the emperor to change his policy towards Thatta. During the 1580's serious problems arose on the north-western frontier of the empire. The Uzbegs, the old foes of the Mughals had occupied Badkhshan and were threatening Khursan, Kabul and Kashmir. Hakim Mirza, Akbar's step-brother and ruler of Kabul was behaving in a turbulent manner. The tribal groups, Afridis, Urakzai etc. were restive and threatened to severe communication with Kabul.

Strategically, Kabul, Qandahar and Kashmir formed the first line of defence of Akbar's empire. There defence needed full control over all the routes of access to the empire and over north-west India. In this connection possession of Siwistan was necessary for controlling the region adjoining the Bolan pass. The possession of Thatta sought to neutralize possible Safavid designs. The effective control of the entire frontier region, leading to the annexation of Kashmir and Thatta, was bound to effectively demonstrate and strengthen Akbar's claims of paramount suzerainty. The fear of a possible intervention from them did not allow him to leave any political or military vacuum, or, a weak state in any sector of the western frontier.333

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333 Ibid., p. 52.
The territory of Thatta, although included in the suba of Multan, enjoyed a unique status. This status was determined by several factors like, the Imperial decree, the geo-political conditions and historical traditions. The Mughal empire was divided into the provinces and the vassal states, but Thatta occupied an undefined position. In some respects it resembled a province, and in others, a vassal state.334

Akbar wanted to make Thatta a regular province of the empire, but later he decided to restore Thatta, excluding Siwistan and Bander Lahri to Jani Beg. Thus the position of the Tarkhans as the traditional rulers of the region remained undisturbed. However, they had neither any abstract legal title to their sovereignty, nor could they claim any freedom in their internal affairs. They enjoyed internal autonomy to the extent to which the imperial government allowed.

Thatta remained grouped with Multan for administrative purposes and was regarded as its fourth sarkar. But in fact it was a restored vassal state enjoying freedom in its internal affairs. The arrangement continued till Jahangir added Qandahar to Thatta and handed it over to Mirza Ghazi.335 This shows a change in the political status of Thatta. After the death of Mirza, Jahangir sent

334 Ibid., p. 103.
335 TJ, I, p. 224.
"Abdur-Razzaq, the bakhshi of the palace to settle the country of Thatta until a Sardar should be appointed..."  

It is not clear whether Thatta was given the status of a suba by Jahangir but it is quite definite that its status was higher than that of a mere sarkar. "It appears as a suba in its own right first in the Rayaz-i-Khwushbui belonging to the early years of Shahjahan's reign."  

In the Ain itself, a separate section is devoted to Thatta and this so called sarkar of Thatta is divided into five sarkars. It is better to treat Thatta or lower Punjab plain (minus Bhakkar) as a separate region as it has more or less well defined physical boundaries. According to Ain the length of the sarkar of Thatta "from Bhakkar to Kach and Mekran is 257 kos, its breadth from the town of Budin to Bandar Lahari, 100 kos; and again from the town of Chando, one of the dependencies of Bhakkar, to Bikaner is 60 kos." It is apparent, once again, that Abul Fazl was not in a position to indicate the real extent of Thatta as the choice of places he referred to was not correct. 

Sarkar/suba of Thatta had fairly well defined physical boundaries and also had a significantly different political, social and economic history as compared to the surrounding regions. Kirthar range delimited its boundary

336 Ibid., p. 225.
338 Ain, II, p. 338.
on the west, Arabian sea and Rann of Cutch on the south and Thar desert on the east. The boundary in the north, between Thatta and Bhakkar, had no physical basis and emerged due to adjustments arising out of the changing political scene. The Thatta region, or lower Sind, was the southernmost portion of the Indus basin.

It is difficult, however, to provide any physical basis for the division of Thatta into five sarkars e.g. Thatta, Chachgan, Sasarpur, Siwistan and Chakarhala. As mentioned earlier, there is hardly any physical barrier within the region excepting the Indus river. It is, however, interesting to note that apart from the sarkar of Nasarpur and Chachgan all the other sarkars were located on both sides of the river Indus.

2.4 CONCLUSIONS

On the basis of the detailed study of the physical, cultural and political-administrative regions of the North West India attempted in this chapter, it is possible to draw the following conclusions:

1) NorthWest India, apart from the Qandahar 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 social 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 Gandahar and Ghazni regions were the areas with suitable physical conditions for agriculture and fruit production, the other areas were either hilly or desertic.

ii) 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 condi-
tions, easy accessability, 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 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 Tarnak 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.

iii) 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 reason 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 *sarkar* headquarter. The other *sarkar* headquarters of the *suba* of Kabul were also important towns in their respective 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.
iv) 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 ultimate analysis were responsible in the emergence of the political-administrative divisions. The reverse process has been found to be true. Because of political imperatures 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.