Chapter 6
THE TRIBES OF KABUL

[Map of Kabul showing various tribes and areas]

[Map includes labels such as "Hindu Kush", "Panjshir", "Kashmir (Chitral)", "Ningmar", "Tirah", "Khyber Pass", and "Ghilzai"]
CHAPTER VI

Tribes In Kabul: Organization, Politics And Culture

1. Tribal Organization:

The Afghans or Pathans (Pashtun) have played an important role in medieval Indian History. The Afghans have known to have subsisted for centuries at the corridor between Iran and the Indian sub-continent, and from the fifteenth century they appear in sources as divided among numerous tribes, with some, such as the Lodi becoming rulers to Northern India (1451-1526). However, it has been difficult to reconstruct the history of the Afghan tribes in their own homeland, where one has to piece it together largely from sundry incidental references in Indo-Persian sources, collated with local tradition.

Looking into the details of the Afghan tribes, we find a clear distinction between those who inhabited plains on the one hand and the highlanders on the other. The former can again be broadly divided into the Western and the Eastern Afghans. Among the Western Afghans, the Abdalis (popularly known as Durrani) were the most important, while among the Eastern Afghan there were ‘Berdooranee’ or Bar Durrani (“upper” Durrani) who were so called by Ahmad Shah Abdali to distinguished them from the Abdali Durrani who remained at Qandahar. There in the middle of 18th century they made themselves
the ruler of the country since came to be known as Afghanistan.\textsuperscript{1} The Eastern Afghans mainly consisted of the Yusufzais and kindred tribes of Peshawar plain and mountain valley to the north of it.\textsuperscript{2}

Towards the close of the sixteenth century, Abul Fazl in his \textit{Ain-i-Akbari} provides a detailed account of the Afghan tribes. He not only gives a number of names of Afghan tribes settled in both Kabul provinces, but is also the first to give the traditional explanation of the rise of the Afghan tribes, in which common ancestry played an important role.\textsuperscript{3}

Abul Fazl tells us that the traditional progenitor of the Afghan race was a person from Bani Israel, called Afghan – who had three sons: Sarban, Gharghasht and Batan. They became the ancestors of the three tribal federations (ulus). Genealogical tradition sought to accommodate the Afghan to a common ancestor named Abdur Rashid alias Qais. The same person was named Afghan as quoted by Abul Fazl.\textsuperscript{4}

From the descendants of Sarban, Gharghasht and Batani arose as sub-divisions various tribe. Abul Fazl goes on to list them all under

\begin{enumerate}
\item[1] Elphinstone, II, p. 2. The term \textit{Ber-Doorani} means upper-Durrani.
\item[4] \textit{Ibid.}; Khwaja Nimatullah, \textit{Tarikh-i-Khanjahani} or \textit{Makhtz-an-i-Afghani}, ed. S.M. Imam Al-Din, Dacca, 1960, II, pp. 548, 650. Qais was the contemporary of the Prophet Muhammad and was 37\textsuperscript{th} in descent from Saul, King of Israel.
\end{enumerate}
each of the three original tribes. The Yusufzais, Mahmands and other eastern Afghan tribes considered Sarban their forefather (Qais’s eldest son); Gharghasht was reckoned to be the ancestor of the Afridi, Khattak and the Kakars dwelling in the area east of Qandahar and in Baluchistan; Batani gave rise to the Ghilzai, Niyazi, Lodi and Sur (1539-1555). Abul Fazl records that the Ghilzai, Lodi and Sarwani were not really descendants of Batan, through agnatic lineage, but were sons of Batan’s daughter born out of an illegitimate union with a Ghor chief Mast Ali called Mati. This tradition is also recorded in the seventeenth century work of Niamatulla entitled *Makhzan-i-Afghani* probably completed about 1613 (Nimatulla was a scribe at the court of the Mughal emperor Jahangir).

Though the lineage and tradition of common descent were carefully preserved, they were divided into several bodies, distinct and separate from one another. They were torn by the feuds of clans against clans and often families against families. Throughout their history they failed to establish any compact nation. The tribe was divided into numerous clans and these again into septs. They all were alike

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5 *Ain*, I, p. 591. Also see *Panjab Castes*, p. 65. The Ghilzai were the most famous of all the Afghan tribes till the rise of the Durrani power, while the Lodi section gave Delhi the Lodi and Sur dynasties. The Sarwani never rose to prominence, and are now hardly known in Afghanistan.

6 N’imatullah, II, pp. 548, 650.
distinguished by the name of a common ancestor by the addition of the word Zai or Khel.\

The word Ulus or clannish commonwealth was applied to a whole tribe or to one of this independent branch. Ulus was divided into several branches, each under its own chief, known as Malik, who was subordinate to the chief of the Ulus, called Khan. He was always chosen from the oldest family of the Ulus and acted as the chief of the whole tribe. He was seldom more than their leader in war and their agent in dealing with others. The Khan possessed influence rather power. The real power belonged to the Jirga or tribal assembly, a democratic council composed of all Maliks.\(^8\) The Khan presided in the principal Jirga and internal government of Ulus was carried by him. At the time of emergency, the Khan acted without consulting the Jirga but in important matters, the sentiments of the whole tribe were ascertained before a decision was taken. Elphinstone observed in 1809 that amongst all the tribes of Afghans the clannish attachment was towards the community as a whole, and not to the chief of the community.\(^9\) The Jirga was essentially an instrument for intertribal consultation and action. A Jirga comprised Khans, Maliks or elders, assisted by

\(^7\) H.W. Bellew, *The Race of Afghanistan*, Delhi, 1980, p. 111. The Suffix Zai, a Persian word meaning 'born of', but Ibbetson writes it is the corruption of the Pashto Zoe meaning 'son'; while Khel is an Arabic word meaning an association or company. *Panjab Castes*, p. 61.

\(^8\) Elphinstone, I, pp. 213-215.

\(^9\) Ibid., p. 217.
Mullahs, who heard judicial cases.\textsuperscript{10} A \textit{jirga} was a sort of primitive aristocracy, not an institution of democracy.

Although they were collectively bound to one another by common descent, the various clans and groups of clans formed distinct communities, governed by separate chiefs, with rival and opposing interests, which developed into continual feuds and jealousies. But in their relations with the foreigners, internal feuds and disturbances would be put aside and the entire community would act together against the perceived common enemy.

\textbf{2. Afghan Tribes:}

Throughout history Kabul has been the abode of a variety of ethnic groups such as Turks, Aimaq, Arabs,\textsuperscript{11} Pashais, Parachi, Tajiks, Barakis and Afghans.\textsuperscript{12} According to Adamec there were few Pashais left, “now obscure and nearly forgotten”. The Parachis mostly lived in Kabul and the Barakis, a tribe of Tajiks inhabited Logar and parts of Butakhak.\textsuperscript{13}

The Hazaras and Nikdari tribes were based in the mountains west of Kabul and in the mountains to the northeast was Kafiristan populated by Kitur

\textsuperscript{10} \textit{Ibid.}, pp. 218, 222.

\textsuperscript{11} \textit{The Baburnama, Memoirs of Babur, Prince and Emperor}, tr. Wheeler M. Thakston, New York, 1996, pp. 172-73. The Turks were Turco-Mongolian tribes and the Arabs of Kabul were brought by Timur. They spoke only Persian and lived chiefly in the Jalalabad district.

\textsuperscript{12} \textit{Baburnama}, I, p. 207.

\textsuperscript{13} Adamec. pp. 91, 635, 647
(Gawar) and the Gibriks. The Pathan or Pashtun traditionally was the Afghan par excellence, ritually distinct from all the other ethnic groups inhabited chiefly in the southern part.

It is significant to note that the first mention of individual tribes in the Afghan homeland is made by Babur. He places all the Afghan tribes to the south of Kabul. Towards the close of the sixteenth century Abul Fazl in his Ain-i-Akbari furnishes a much more detailed account than Babur’s incidental references about Afghan tribes.

The entire north-western frontier region was inhabited by the numerous Afghan and non-Afghan tribes. Amongst the various Afghan tribes of this region, the following were prominent: Dilazak, Yusufzais, Mahmadzai, Afridi, Bangash, Ghilzai, Waziri and Orakzai among others.

H.W. Bellow is of the opinion that though the term Afghan and Pathan are used as synonymous it was not one and the same. In fact they belong to different race and origin. Although Babur specifics so many Pathan tribal names, he nowhere mentions them as Pathan,

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14 Baburnama, I, p. 207. See Thakston’s trans. pp. 172-74. Gibrik is the name Babur gives as one of the Kafir groups. Over time and also because of the “paganism” of the region, ‘Gibar’ could easily have been transformed into ‘Kafir’. Cf Sir George Robertson, The Kafir of the Hindu-Kush, London, 1896, p. 75. In his study of late nineteenth century Robertson says that the Gibriks were also known as Ramgulis, who inhabited the most western part of Kafiristan.
16 H.W. Bellew, pp. 24-25.
Pakhtun or Pashtun. Even among the various languages spoken in Kabul; he mentions Afghani as the language of Afghanistan.\textsuperscript{17}

As for their ‘original home’ our early information about the Afghans put them in an area around southern and south-eastern Afghanistan. They remained in this region since early medieval times, but by the sixteenth century they had expanded considerably into the areas northward. In the 6\textsuperscript{th} and 7\textsuperscript{th} century’s records, the Afghans are mentioned, inhabiting the Sulaiman Mountains east of Ghazni. In Huan Tsang’s account they are referred to as a tribe (A-po-kin) located in the northern part of the Sulaiman Mountain.\textsuperscript{18}

Similarly, the \textit{Hudud-i-Alam} a Persian work on geography describes them as settled in Farmal district which was not far from the Sulaiman Mountain or Takht-i-Sulaiman.\textsuperscript{19} The famous medieval scholar Al-Beruni (d.1050) describes them as the inhabitants of the same mountain range.\textsuperscript{20} Ibn Battuta, the Moroccan traveller, in the 1330s noticed their settlements in Kabul, which was then just a village.

\textsuperscript{17} \textit{Baburnama}, I, p. 207.
\textsuperscript{19} V. Minorsky (tr.), \textit{Hudud-i-Alam, The Regions of the world}, London, 1937, pp. 30, 91, 251-252; Raverty, p. 5. The highest peak of Sulaiman mountain was called Takht-i-Sulaiman which is also called Koh-i-Siyah by the people inhabiting that area.
\textsuperscript{20} Alberuni, \textit{Alberuni’s India an account of the religion, philosophy, literature, geography, chronology, customs, laws, and astrology of India about A.D. 1030}, tr. E.C. Sachau, Delhi, 1964, I, p. 208.
He describes them as “Persians called Afghans”, probably because they spoke Persian, and says that they inhabited the territory between Kabul and the Indus.\textsuperscript{21} On the evidence of Ibn Battuta, Irfan Habib believes that they were based in the mountains west of Sulaiman Range, i.e. Takht-i-Sulaiman on the NWFP-Baluchistan.\textsuperscript{22}

Since the early medieval times, these Afghan tribes remained in and around this territory but by sixteenth century they had also migrated considerably into areas northward. Therefore we find that both Babur and Abul Fazl place the Afghans in the territory eastward from Kabul to the Indus. In 1504 Babur noted that they (Afghans) were well-established in the region of Laghman, Hashtnagar, Swat and Bajaur. The Yusufzais were based in Kohat. Many of these Afghans had occasionally confronted with Babur’s troop.\textsuperscript{23}

The eastward movement of the Afghans seems to have continued throughout Babur’s period and beyond. In 1519, the Afridis were reported as recently having settled around the Khaibar region. At that time the Karlanris, (who would later settle in Bajaur) and the Usman-Khel, (who would later settle at the Peshawar border) were still

\textsuperscript{21} The Travels of Ibn Battuta, III, p. 590.
\textsuperscript{22} Evolution of the Afghan Tribal System, p. 300.
\textsuperscript{23} Baburnama, I, pp. 207, 217, 221, 230-32.
dwellings further west in the region of Ningnahar.\textsuperscript{24} A tradition of such northward migration can also be seen in respect of the Yusufzais.\textsuperscript{25}

The Mughal historians Abul Fazl and Muhammad Kazim give a fairly cogent account of the migrations of the Yusufzais.\textsuperscript{26}

The original home and the native places of this large tribe of Yusufzais were between Qandahar and Qarabagh i.e. south of Ghazni. From there they migrated to the district of Kabul and became powerful during the middle of the fifteenth century. At that time Kabul was ruled over by Babur’s uncle, Mirza Ulugh Beg (1469-1502). Mirza Ulugh Beg massacred a large number of them and those who survived moved eastward into Lamghan (Laghman) then onward to Kashghar (Chitral), finally settling in Swat river basin and Bajaur (Panjkora valley). In and around this region, where we now find them, these Yusufzais emerged as the dominant class overthrowing the local chief called “Sultan” who claimed an ancient lineage. They retained their speech, their tribal organization and their marauding practices.\textsuperscript{27}

Elphinstone writing in the early decades of the nineteenth century records the tradition that the Yusufzais had been expelled from Gerra and Nushki in the neighbourhood of Qandahar about the end of

\textsuperscript{24} Raverty, pp. 53, 125, 223.
\textsuperscript{25} \textit{Baburnama}, I, pp. 230-231. The Yusufzai tribes of Afghan then inhabited the Kohat territory.
\textsuperscript{26} \textit{Abornama}, III, p. 475; \textit{Alamgirnana}, II, pp. 1039-40.
\textsuperscript{27} \textit{Abornama}, III, p. 475.
the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth century. The Afghan migration to these areas led to the displacement or subjugation of the local population. Soon after they settled in the neighbourhood of Kabul and migrated to their present home in the sixteenth century; there they clashed with the Dilazak (an Indian race) whom they gradually ousted. The Yusufzais slew and deported the Dilazaks in large numbers so that the district was almost cleared of them. Thus by the end of the reign of Jahangir the occupation of this tract by Yusufzais was completed.

During the sixteenth century the Yusufzais also overcame a class of people called Hindkis, whom they treated as a subjugated race.

The Yusufzais proved themselves to be the most formidable enemies of the peace of the country and the safety of the roads. Highway robbery was the hereditary profession of these hardy people.

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28 Elphinstone, II, pp. 9-11; Raverty explains that Nushki is not a place we know today in Baluchistan close to Kalat, but a locality now named Mashaki, some thirty miles south of Ghazni. Thus there can be no doubt that the original seat of Yusufzais towards the beginning of 14th century was in the neighbourhood of Qandahar.

29 Bellew, p. 65.

30 Elphinstone, II, pp. 10-11. The Dilazaks were Karlamis, the progenitor of their tribe being one of the sons Karanalary. They were divided into two great divisions said to be descended from Dilazak two sons – Yaqub and Loraey. According to him, lower part of Bajaur as far as Jhelam belonged to the Afghan tribe of Dilazaks. Jahangir also refers to Dilazaks. Raverty, pp. 220, 383-385.

31 Bellew, p. 67; Adamec, vol., 6, pp. 254-55. Hindkis was the name given to the Hindus who lived in Afghanistan. The Yusufzais converted them to Islam and called them Hindki in contradistinction to Hindus.
The region they lived in yielded too scanty a sustenance for their fast growing numbers and the gains through agriculture were far too modest when compared with the fortune to be led by plundering the rich traders as well as travellers passing through the hills. The Yusufzais dwelt in a very strong mountainous tract of this region, to which access was difficult. Although a part of this region was plain, most of it was studded with hill and defiles. Babur informs us that these areas also contained dasht or steppes plain. The Indus surrounds them on two sides and on the other two sides by the river Kabul and the northern hilly regions. Abul Fazl writes that the length and breadth of this territory was 30 and 15-20 kos respectively.

There have been various estimates of the Yusufzais population. Nimatullah informs us that early in the seventeenth century (1613), they were called nuh lakh or nine lakhs. Elphinstone estimated their numbers including faqirs and dependents as not more than 700,000. He writes that the Afghan reckoned them at 900,000; but more numerous than them were their faqirs ‘villeins’ who were labourers for

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32 Akbarnama, III, p. 475.
33 Baburnama, I, pp. 218, 223.
34 Akbarnama, III, p. 476; Raverty, p. 193.
35 Nimatullah, II, p. 577.
Yusufzais.\textsuperscript{36} Raverty estimated their population at 200,000 families, not far from the estimates of Nimatullah and Elphinstone.\textsuperscript{37}

Besides the Yusufzais, the most numerous and powerful of all the Eastern Afghans, there were other border tribes. The most famous names among them are – Afridi, Khattaks, Ghilzai, Orakzai, Bangash and Waziri etc. Elphinstone records that Karlanri, who was adopted by grandson of Sarban was the traditional ancestor of most of the border tribes such as Usman khel, Orakzai, Khugiani and Waziri.\textsuperscript{38}

The Ghilzais were a race of probably Turkish origin, who were settled in the Siyah-band range of the Ghor mountains where they mixed with the Persian blood. They first rose into prominence during the time of Mahmud of Ghazni, whom they accompanied in his conquest of India. Later on they conquered the area between Jalalabad and Kalat-i-Ghilzai. In the beginning of the 18\textsuperscript{th} century they revolted against their Persian ruler and declared themselves independent under Mir Wais. But a quarter of a century later they were reduced by Nadir Shah. The Lodi Afghans, the Surs the Niyazis and the Nuhanis were all allied to the Ghilzais.\textsuperscript{39} To them belonged almost all the tribes of

\textsuperscript{36} Elphinstone, II, p. 27. \textit{Faqirs} were labourers and shepherds attached to the individual Yusufzai peasants, who were their \textit{Khwand} or master. The \textit{faqirs} were placed outside the tribe and not entitled to participate in the \textit{Jirga} or tribal assembly. They had liberty to move from one master to other.

\textsuperscript{37} Reverty, p. 193.


\textsuperscript{39} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 591.
pastoral traders termed as *Powindas*, who were mainly engaged in carrying the trade between India and Kabul and the northern parts of Central Asia.\(^{40}\)

Prior to the Afghan's migration to the Kabul river valley, the Tajiks had formed the dominant population around Kabul, Lamghan and Ningnahar. Before the advent of the Ghilzais sometimes in the late sixteenth century the Logar valley, located south of Kabul had also been a Tajik stronghold.\(^{41}\) They were remnants of the old Persian inhabitants of Afghanistan.\(^{42}\) The Tajik lived mostly around towns. They constituted the principal part of the population round Kabul city and Ghazni; while in the mountainous parts of Kabul, and in the region of Hazaras, those of the southern Ghilzais and Kakkar, there was scarcely a Tajik to be found.\(^{43}\) They were styled as *Farsiwan* as well as Tajik by the Afghan people. The word is now loosely used to express all Pathans who speak Persian.\(^{44}\)

Babur informs about the existence of the Mahmand tribe of the Afghans in Kabul. They inhabited the area east of Jalalabad along the Kabul River.\(^{45}\) The Bangash Afghan inhabited the upper Bangash. In

\(^{40}\) *Panjab Castes*, pp. 64-65.

\(^{41}\) *Baburnama*, I, p.207; Raverty, pp.100, 682.

\(^{42}\) *Panjab Castes*, p. 64.

\(^{43}\) Elphinstone, I, p. 408.

\(^{44}\) Raverty, p.453; *Panjab Castes*, p. 64.

\(^{45}\) *Baburnama*, I, p. 221; *Khulasat-ut-Twarikh*, p. 85.
the Bangash territory Babur places the Afghan tribes called Khugiani, Khirilchi, Turi and Landar.\(^{46}\) He reports that the Kurani, Kiwi, Sur, Isa Khel and Niyazi tribes cultivated the territory of Bannu.\(^{47}\)

Abul Fazl has noted that the sarkars of Dawar, Bannu and Isa Khel\(^\ast\) were peopled entirely by Afghans, principally by the Shiranis, Karranis and Waziris.\(^{48}\) The Shirani Afghans were settled in the mountains about the Takht-i-Sulaiman. They were by descent Sarbani Afghans. The Tarkalani Afghans had made the territory of Mandrawar their homeland.\(^{49}\)

Apart from these Afghan tribes, there were certain other non-Afghan tribes, among them Kafirs and Hazaras, played an equally important role in the history of this region. The following section deals with the non-Afghan tribes in Kabul.

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\(^{47}\) *Baburnama*, I p. 233 Bannu was a fertile region because of the Bangash or Kurram River.

\(^{\ast}\) Although, Abul Fazl mentions it as a sarkar but they too were Afghan tribe which inhabited the area along the Indus River and found there even during the 19th century.

\(^{48}\) *Ain*, I, pp. 586-87.

\(^{49}\) *Baburnama*, I, p. 341.
3. Non Afghan Tribes:

i) The Kafirs:

Babur informs us that the Kafirs were one of the major ethnic groups in Kabul.\textsuperscript{50} They were very different from the Afghans because of their language and culture.

The Kafiristan or "Land of the Kafirs or Infidels" was bounded on the north by Badakhshan and Qunduz, on the west by Andarab and Khost and the ranges above the Najrao and Panjshir valleys of the Kabul province. On the east it extended towards Chitral proper and Lower Chitral and in the south it was bounded by darra of Kunar, Lamghan and their dependencies.\textsuperscript{51}

There was an extensive region embracing the eastern parts of the Hindu Kush range that was outside the area claimed by the Mughals. A tract within this area was known as Kator or Katur, which was chiefly peopled by Kafirs. It was first mentioned in Sharfuddin Yazdi's Zafarnama. No Muslim conqueror except perhaps Timur ever set his foot on Kator. The author of Zafarnama reports that Timur on his way to India advanced to Parian and then to the Khawak Pass. He attacked the Kafirs of Kator from the latter place. He

\textsuperscript{50} Ibid., p. 207. To the north-eastern mountains were the places of the Kafirs, such as Kitur (Gawar) and Gibrik. Kafir is an Arabic word signifying the infidel. This appellation has been applied to the South African in the same manner as to the people of Kafiristan; Cf. Raverty, p. 132.

\textsuperscript{51} Baburnama, I, p. 207; Vigne, pp. 234-235.
repaired the celebrated fort in Parian and ordered a pillar of marble to be set up and inscribed with the account of this expedition.\textsuperscript{52}

Mirza Haidar Dughlat states that Kator lies in the district of Khost on the northern slopes of Hindu Kush, between south and south-east of Qunduz and was near Kafiristan.\textsuperscript{53}

Babur tells us that the north-eastern mountain of Kabul \textit{suba} was inhabited by the Kafirs. According to him the territory of Kafiristan extended from the vicinity of Panjshir to Chighan Sarai and Kator which he spelt as \textit{Kawar} or \textit{Gawar} was a part of it. He further says that the \textit{tuman} of Alingar of the Kabul province was close to the Kafiristan of Kator and that the Alingar river came down out of that district.\textsuperscript{54} In the mountainous tract of Alasai and Najrao, lying north-east from Kabul and behind it in the same mountains all the inhabitants were Kafirs.\textsuperscript{55}

Abul Fazl tells us that the \textit{sarkars} of Pakli, Swat, Buner and Bajaur touched the border of Kator in the north. It is thus apparent that he considered

\textsuperscript{52} \textit{Zafarnama}, II, ff. 8-19. Since the infidels dwelt in narrow passages and precipices and there was no road to get to them owing to the deep snow, the expedition was not entirely successful; \textit{Akbarnama}, I, p. 283. The Parian fort was later on repaired by Humayun and was given the name of Islamabad, when Humayun was returning to Kabul in 1548 after a campaign in Badakhshan; Cf. Robertson, p. 75.

\textsuperscript{53} Dughlat, pp. 103-104.

\textsuperscript{54} \textit{Baburnama}, I, pp. 210-212, 214. He says that the Pech river issued out of Kator the Pech valley produced plenty of grapes.

\textsuperscript{55} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 220. Alasai was 4-6 miles (2 or 3 \textit{shari}) east of Najrao, p.213. The Kafirs of Najrao burnt the \textit{chilghoza} instead of lamps to get light or fire; \textit{Ain}, I, p. 593.
Kator as embracing the region represented by Kafiristan on modern maps.\textsuperscript{56}

Therefore, we find that the area of Kator extended probably also to Chitral or Kashghar (not to be confused with the Kashghar in China) which is mentioned in the \textit{Ain-i-Akbari} as situated in the north of Buner, Swat and Bajaur.\textsuperscript{57}

Though the name of Kator was applied to a tract within Kafiristan, but during the mid sixteenth to about mid-nineteenth century the rulers of Chitral were also called Kator. W. Moorcroft and G. Trebeck also noted that the rulers of Chitral were known to the Afghans as the “Raja of Kator”.\textsuperscript{58}

According to Raverty, the length of Kafiristan from Lamghan to Chitral was over one hundred \textit{kuroh} and from Kunar to the frontier of Badakhshan was about eighty \textit{kuroh} in breadth.\textsuperscript{59} The country of Kafirs was rough and difficult and it had snowy mountains, deep pine forests, and small but fertile valleys, where plenty of grapes were produced.\textsuperscript{60}

\textsuperscript{56} \textit{Ibid.}, pp. 585-592; \textit{Akbarnama}, III, pp. 515, 642-684. In 1581, Akbar, on his way to Hindustan after his campaign against his brother Mirza Hakim, reached Jalalabad. From that place he sent a detachment of troops to penetrate as far as the skirt of the mountains of Kator or the country of the \textit{Kafiran-i-Siyah-posh}. Zain Khan Koka in pursuit of Jalala Raushanai penetrated into the country of the Kafirs lying east of Bajaur. In these operations some of the Kafirs assisted Akbar’s troops.

\textsuperscript{57} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 585; Elphinstone, II, pp 388-89. He mentions Chitral as being a part of Kaushkaur; but now the name is applied to the territory of Chitral exclusively.

\textsuperscript{58} Moorcroft and Trebeck, II, p. 269; \textit{Civilization of Central Asia}, V, p. 237.

\textsuperscript{59} Raverty, p.132; \textit{The Gates of India}, pp. 102-3, 133. He records “all the wild mountain district west of the Kunar are held by Kafirs still….., Laghman and Kunar both spread their plains to the foot of the mountains of Kafiristan”.

\textsuperscript{60} Burnes, I, pp. 200-201; II, pp. 210-211.
The tuman of Panjshir was a thoroughfare for the Kafir highwaymen and they obtained a livelihood from it. On account of being so near, the people of Panjshir paid perquisites to them. In 1526, when Babur advanced towards Hindustan to conquer it, the Kafirs attacked Panjshir and slew a large number of its people.\(^{61}\)

The territory of Chighan Sarai was situated in the mouth of Kafiristan; though its inhabitants were Musalman, they mixed with the Kafirs and followed their custom and practices. That is why they were called neemcha musalman (half bred in custom).\(^{62}\)

Babur says that “the Kafirs are wine-drinkers, never pray and fear neither God nor man. They were heathenish”.\(^{63}\) Alexander Burnes who visited Kabul in the early 1830s reports that the “Kafirs appear to be the most barbarous people, eater of bears and monkey and fighting with arrows and scalping their enemies”. He further describes them as aborigines of Afghanistan and in no way connected with the reputed descendants of Alexander the Great as has been stated by some authors.\(^{64}\) According to G.T. Vigne, they had grey eyes, light brown hair, and quite fair complexion and that they were descendants of the Greeks of the Bactrian dynasty.\(^{65}\) Sir George Scott Robertson, who visited the Kafir’s country towards the close of the

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\(^{61}\) Baburnama I, p. 214.

\(^{62}\) Ibid., See also the footnote.

\(^{63}\) Ibid., I, pp. 210, 212, 213; See also Ain, tr. H.S. Jarrett, Delhi, 2006, p. 410, footnote.

\(^{64}\) Burnes, II, pp. 210-212.

\(^{65}\) Vigne, pp. 236-237.
nineteenth century, found no Greek or Christian affinities beyond as he puts it, a fondness for wine and goats.\(^{66}\)

The Kafirs consisted of two great sects or divisions. Those who were dressed in white garment (or white clad infidels) – called *Safed-posh* in Persian and *Spin Kafiri* in Pashto. The other sect was dressed in black (or black clad infidels) – called *Siyah-posh* in Persian and *Tor Kafiri* in Pashto. It should be kept in mind that they were so called owing to their attire. Otherwise, the Kafirs were celebrated for their beauty and European complexion. One division wore a sort of garment of black goat-skins while the other dressed in white cotton. Mounstuart Elphinstone writing in 1815, reports that the Kafirs were remarkable for fairness and beauty of their complexion.\(^{67}\) On one occasion Alexander Burnes came across a Kafir boy, and describes him thus: “his complexion, hair and features was quite European; his eyes were of bluish colour. Few words of his language were Indian”.\(^{68}\)

The Kafir had no general name for their nation, for they were all divided into tribes, though not according to genealogy, but by geographical position. The *Siyah-Posh* Kafirs, roughly speaking, peopled the northern half and the east of Kafiristan. The *Safed-Posh* Kafirs who occupied the centre and the south-east of the country consisted of three tribes: the Wai, the Presun and Ashkund. The Wai inhabited the south-east of Kafiristan called Waigal. The

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\(^{67}\) Elphinstone, II, pp. 375-376.

\(^{68}\) Burnes, I, pp. 165-166.
Presun inhabited an inaccessible valley at the centre. They were entirely different from the Siyah-posh Kafirs on the one hand and from the Wai and Ashkund on the other. They were known for their peaceful disposition and lack of interest in martial skills. These people could be easily plundered without much difficulty. The Ashkund were found to the south-west of Presun.  

The Kafir rarely inhabited the valleys, but all their dwellings were placed on the mountain side. The Kafirs who were remarkable mountaineers also carried on mixed agricultural and pastoral pursuits. Their country though mountainous was fertile and produced grapes in abundance. Babur informs us that in the district of Badrao Kafirs grew corn. Their flocks and herds were very large. The poor kinsmen tended to look after the herds.

Their society was tribal and oligarchal. Their women were known for their beauty. The Kafir women wore silver ornaments and many cowry shells. Both male and female used ear-ring, rings round the neck and bracelets sometimes of silver and often of brass. The age of marriage was from 20 – 30 for the males and 15 – 16 for the women. Mutamad Khan tells us that in their society monogamy was the norm. They did not have more than one wife,
except when the first wife was barren or the husband be displeased with her or if the wife refused to live with the husband.\textsuperscript{74}

There were in the Kafir tribes, slaves as well. The male and female slaves of this race were exceedingly faithful and well-natured towards their masters. It was a common practice that the powerful men seized the children of weak ones and sold them to \textit{musalman} or kept them for their own use, however, they were not ill-used.\textsuperscript{75}

The Kafirs placed their dead ones in coffin and deposited the coffins in caves and cavities of the mountains. They made neither lamentation nor mourning; indeed they carried their corps to its last abode with great drum beating.\textsuperscript{76} But Elphinstone records that the womenfolk lamented and from time to time the body was kept down and their women used to weep over it.\textsuperscript{77}

The Kafirs were very fond of eating beef. They also ate cheese and fruits but consumed comparatively little bread. Both men and women consumed wine to great excess.\textsuperscript{78} Babur tells us that wine was so commonly used that they kept a leather bag called \textit{khig} at their neck and drank wine instead of water. He

\textsuperscript{75} Vigne, p. 236.
\textsuperscript{76} Raverty, pp. 131-132.
\textsuperscript{77} Elphinstone, II, p. 382.
\textsuperscript{78} Vigne, p. 236.
further informs that the wine of Kafiristan was not of a high quality because they boiled it. Strong wine of Kafiristan was sent to neighbouring areas.\textsuperscript{79}

As far as the religion of Kafirs was concerned they believed in one God, which they called Imra. But there were a large number of secondary deities as well, which according to them represented great men of former days.\textsuperscript{80} Mutamad Khan confirms that these idols were made of stone or wood and always represented men or women.\textsuperscript{81} Their temples were kept well ornamented and their idols were adorned with gold and other ornaments. Benedict Goes states that they never entered their temples unless clothed in black.\textsuperscript{82} The faces of their idols were washed with the urine of a cow and goat when they sought a blessing. Animals were also to be sacrificed to their God.\textsuperscript{83}

Regarding the languages of Kafirs, it was till lately assumed that as there were two main groups of Kafirs, viz. the \textit{Siyah-posh} and the \textit{Safed-posh}, there were, therefore two languages in Kafiristan corresponding to these two groups. But Grierson says that the languages of Kafiristan consisted of four languages

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{79} \textit{Baburnama}, I, pp. 211, 212-213. They drank wine both pure and diluted out of large silver cups; Vigne, pp. 337-338. He states that he tasted the wine of Kafiristan; it was not of bad taste but required clarifying.
\item \textsuperscript{80} Elphinstone, II, p. 377.
\item \textsuperscript{81} \textit{Iqbalnama-i-Jahangir}, pp. 268-269.
\item \textsuperscript{82} C Wessels, p. 15.
\item \textsuperscript{83} Elphinstone, II, pp. 377-379; Raverty, p. 131.
\end{itemize}
such as Bashgali (Kati), Wai-ala, Presun or Wasi-veri and Ashkund.\textsuperscript{84} They belonged to the Indo-Iranic branch of Indo-European languages.\textsuperscript{85}

It appears that the \textit{Siyah-Posh} Kafirs, who, roughly speaking, peopled the northern half and the east of Kafiristan, all employed various dialects of a language, apparently resembling Bashgali (the speech of the people inhabiting the valley of the Bashgal River).\textsuperscript{86} It was also called Kati. It seems that they all were at once able to understand each other and converse fluently or without hesitation.

The Wai and the Presun tribes used different languages which were mutually unintelligible, and both of which were unintelligible to the \textit{Siyah-posh} Kafirs. These tribes were unable to converse with each other without the help of interpreters. The language of Ashkund, which according to George Robertson was the most difficult to understand, was probably allied to the Wai.\textsuperscript{87} Elphinstone reports that all the languages of Kafir country had some connection with Sanskrit.\textsuperscript{88}

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\textsuperscript{84} Grierson, pp. 29-31.

\textsuperscript{85} \textit{Civilization of Central Asia}, p. 724.

\textsuperscript{86} Grierson, pp. 29-31. The centre of the Kati speaker is the village of Kamdesh (Kamgrom), which is located in the Bashgal valley.

\textsuperscript{87} \textit{The Kafirs of the Hindu Kush}, pp. 74-78. He says it was most difficult to get any information of this language; Grierson, pp. 29-31, 68. Regarding Ashkund he writes, we knew nothing about this dialect except the word means 'bare mountain'.

The Kafirs were always at war with their Muslim neighbours. The latter also detested them and frequently attacked their territory. The arms of Kafirs were bows and light arrows of reeds with barbed head which they sometimes poisoned. They wore a dagger of a peculiar shape on the right side and a sharp knife on the left. Their common mode of warfare was surprise attacks and they often undertook remote and difficult expedition. They considered it a matter of glory to slay a *Muselman*.\(^9^9\) The *Siyah-posh* Kafirs were famous for their valour and fearlessness and in a fight with the *Muselman* preferred to die. For them it was an eternal disgrace to return wounded. They considered their chief occupation to be that of carrying on war with races other than own.\(^9^0\) These turbulent people used to hide themselves in their upland villages, amidst their magnificent woods and forests. They often made surprise attacks in the passes and routes and killed traders and travellers.\(^9^1\)

Towards the end of Akbar's reign in 1603, the Jesuit, Benedict Goes started his journey from Lahore to Kashghar. In his account of the journey he writes that in the country of Kafirs no *Muselman* was allowed to enter and if one did get in he was punished with death.\(^9^2\)

\(^9^9\) *Elphinstone*, pp. 385-386; Vigne, p. 235.

\(^9^0\) *Raverty*, pp. 130-131; Vigne, pp. 234-235. Such was the animosity that exists towards the *Muselman*, that when a return from a foray was expected, the young Kafir girls put walnuts and dried fruits into their bosoms and advanced to meet the men returning, who flourished their long knives, with the heads of their victim upon the points. Those who had killed a *Muselman* had then a right to snatch the walnut and fruits from the girl's bosoms.

\(^9^1\) *Ibid*.; Vigne, pp. 234-235.

\(^9^2\) *Jahangir And the Jesuits*, pp. 126-134.
In spite of these characteristics, the Kafirs were in general a harmless, affectionate and kind-hearted people. Even to Musalman they were kind when they admitted them as guests.\textsuperscript{93}

In 1895, the Afghan Amir, Abdur Rahman captured Kafiristan and made it a part of Afghanistan. Many Kafirs were captured and converted to Islam and their country was renamed Nuristan ("Land of Light").\textsuperscript{94} The tribe was not exterminated and survived, but in the process of their continued subjugation, lost their distinct identity and culture.

\textbf{ii) The Hazaras:}

In the Kabul suba, the Afghans and Hazaras were the main groups among the inhabitants.\textsuperscript{95} Amongst the non-Afghan population of Kabul suba, the Hazaras also played an equally important role in the history of this suba.

The Hazarajat* lies mostly to the north-west, west and south of Kabul. Its exact limit cannot be defined but the term appears to be applied to a ‘very extensive area of country, extending from the border of Kabul and Ghazni to those of Herat in one direction and from the vicinity of Qandahar to that of Balkh in the other’.\textsuperscript{96} The north-eastern most boundary of Hazarajat extended towards Bamian and the Ghorband valley including the area around Shibr-tu

\textsuperscript{93} Ibid., p. 387.
\textsuperscript{94} Gates of India, p. 269.
\textsuperscript{95} A\textit{in}, I, p. 591.
\textsuperscript{96} Ibid.; Khulasatu-t Twarikh, p. 87

* Being an Arabic plural of Hazara now often also called Hazaristan.
The south their settlement stretched from the west of Ghazni to the foot of the mountains running along the Ghazni-Qandahar road, to the proximity of Qandahar.

It is quite confirmed by the narratives of Bayazid Bayat, he says that in the winter of 1552-53, Humayun set out from Kabul for Qandahar by way of Charkh and the Kharwar Kotal. It was in this neighbourhood that the Hazara people dwelt here and there. Towards the close of the sixteenth century, the Hazaras of this area helped Akbar in his fight against the Jalala Ansari, the Raushanai, against whom bodies of troops had been constantly sent for the last ten years or more, who had kept Ghazni in a state of constant ferment, and in endeavouring to capture whom, Zain Khan Koka had been for years occupied.

So long as the Mughals held Qandahar, their control over the Kabul-Qandahar route via Ghazni depended upon the loyalty of the Hazaras. Generally the Mughals succeeded in maintaining some kind of authority over

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97 Baburnama, I, pp. 205 see footnote (Shibr-tu), 214 (Ghorband); Masson, II, p. 295. The Hazara district between Kabul and Bamian are collectively called Bisut.

98 Baburnama, I, p. 218 (Ghazni); Ain, I, p. 591. He defines the limits as from Ghazni to Qandahar and from Maidan to the vicinity of Balkh; Lahori, II, p. 401; Cf. Atlas, sheet, 1 A-B. Their area was bounded by the sub-districts of Zamindawar and by the Qandahar districts of Dehrawad and Tirin and by the Nawa-i- Arghandab, a sub-section of Kalat-i-Ghilzai. Some of them were also found towards Aqrubat (spelt Aq Rabat in the Atlas) and around Dandan-i-Shikan Pass.

99 Bayazid Bayat, pp. 128-130; Ain, I, p. 593. Charkh was a village of the tuman of Logar; Cf. Akbarnama, I, p. 242. Dawa Beg Hazara’s clan was in the fort of Tiri, when Humayun arrived there, he brought according to his ability horses and sheep as presents.

100 Akbarnama, III, p. 776.
them. But the fall of Qandahar in 1622, must have weakened the Mughal control over the Ghazni-Qandahar route and also their control over the Hazaras, who lived in the mountainous regions to the west and south of Kabul astride the Uzbek-Mughal frontier. After 1622, the importance of Ghazni-Qandahar route declined, and so also possibly the traffic out of tolls on which the friendship of the Hazaras used to be purchased. In the Hazaras dominated area Ghazni was the most important town which lies about a hundred miles south-west of Kabul. In 1624, Uzbeks under the leading command of Yalingtosh marched onwards Ghazni and started mounting pressure upon the Hazara clans encamped there. The Hazara leaders approached the governor of Kabul, Khanazad Khan who was governing on behalf of his father, Mahabat Khan and sought his protection. Khanazad Khan sent a strong force to help the Hazaras. They defeated the Uzbek army under Yalingtosh. The latter’s nephew was also killed in the battle. This loss on the part of Uzbeks provoked Yalingtosh to attack Kabul. Pelsaert, the Dutch chronicler, has also given a very detailed account of this attack.

Babur tells us that many of the valleys of the tuman of Ghorband were inhabited by the Hazaras. He reports amongst the Hazaras, the most widely

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103 Pelsaert, *A Dutch Chronicle of Mughal India*, tr. and ed. Brij Narain and S.R. Sharma, Calcutta, 1957, pp. 66-67. He believes that the Uzbeks were intending a direct attack on Kabul, and Ghazni was merely on their way; Elphinstone, II, p. 213. Mounstuart Elphinstone also found them inhabiting the plains about Muqur and Qarabagh to the west of Ghazni.
scattered were the Sultan Masudi Hazara. Babur imposed on them a large tribute in horses and sheep as they were refractory and often were reluctant in paying tributes. Babur, "The Hazaras", he says, "down to the time of my arrival in Kabul had been guilty of numerous insolent things and depredations; I therefore, decided to make an expedition against them". This expedition was executed during 1506 in mid-winter and resulted in the slaughter of some of the Hazaras. According to him he collected as many as 4 to 500 sheep and from 20 to 25 horses. (See figure 6.1)

104 *Baburnama*, I, pp. 214 (Ghorband valley), 228.

Abul Fazl furnishes that the mountains of the Badrao and the Maidan districts of Kabul suba were the homes of wild Hazaras.\textsuperscript{106}

Hazara is a Persian word signifying “thousand” the term originally was used to refer to the Mongol military unit of 1,000. The Mongol regiments were

\textsuperscript{106} \textit{Ain}, I, p. 591; \textit{Khulasatu-t Twarikh}, p. 87.
so styled from the number of men they usually contained. It is said that some of those bodies were permanently left to occupy that part of country during first quarter of thirteenth century. In course of time the descendants of these Hazaras became styled by that general term. The tradition declares them to be the offspring of the Mongols. Abul Fazl confirms that the Hazaras were the descendants of the Chaghtai army, sent by Manku Khan, the grandson of Changhiz Khan, for the assistance of Halaku Khan.

The Hazaras as a people differed entirely from the Afghans in appearance language and manners. They were easily distinguished from their neighbours by their Tartar physiognomy. Both men and women had strong Tartar features and were stouter and plumper than their neighbours.

Among all the major ethnic groups of the Kabul suba, the Hazaras were the only members of the Shia sect of Islam. This difference in religious belief naturally contributed to the hostility that existed between the Hazaras and their neighbours. They held the Afghans, Aimaqs and Uzbeks in detestation for following the opposite sect, and they often insulted, if they did not persecute

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107 Elphinstone, II, p. 208; Raverty, pp. 66-67. In Turkish language Ming literally means a thousand. The word Ming is the Turkish equivalent of the Persian word hazar meaning 1000. The Mongol divided their groups into of ten (deh), hundred (sad), and thousand (hazar); H.W. Bellew, p. 114. According to him Mongol soldiers were placed in Central Afghanistan as colonists in detachment of a thousand fighting men by Changhiz Khan in the first quarter of the thirteenth century. It is said that Changhiz Khan left ten such detachments here, nine in the Hazaras of Kabul and the tenth in the Hazaras of Pakli to the east of Indus.

108 Ain, I, p. 591; Khulasatu-i Twarikh, p. 87.

every Sunni who entered their country. All Hazaras were considered heretics by the Afghans who pride themselves on being orthodox ‘Sunni’ musalman.\textsuperscript{110}

The region they lived in was difficult and mountainous throughout and for the most part soil was poor. The rugged mountains and the severity of climate as well as the barren land made husbandry difficult for them. They were hardy and industrious cultivators. The Hazaras possessed horses, sheep and goats. They chiefly depended on the flesh of sheep, oxen, and horses and other products of their flocks such as cheese and ghee.\textsuperscript{111} On the barren mountainsides, the Hazaras pastured their sheep and goats. Abul Fazl informs us that the pasturage of Kabul was in their hand.\textsuperscript{112}

Several Hazara families called \textit{khanwar} and \textit{dadrau} (literally meaning joint family or household) made up a large unit called the \textit{Tol} or \textit{Tolwar}. Every \textit{Tol} had its own chief, known as the \textit{Malik}. Several \textit{Tol} in turn made up a \textit{Tayefa}, a more complex unit than the \textit{Tol}. Every \textit{Tayefa} had a head known as the \textit{Arbab} or \textit{Khan}. The \textit{Arbab} or \textit{Khan} was generally prosperous and enjoyed a high socio-economic status. The highest unit in the social hierarchy of the Hazaras was the \textit{Qaum}, made up of a conglomeration of several \textit{Tayefas}.\textsuperscript{113}

Following is the Socio-ethnic structure of the Hazara society.

\textsuperscript{110} Elphinstone, II, p. 212; \textit{The Races of Afghanistan}, p. 116.
\textsuperscript{111} Elphinstone, p. 208.
\textsuperscript{112} \textit{Ain}, I, p. 591.
\textsuperscript{113} S.A. Mausavi, \textit{The Hazaras of Afghanistan}, Great Britain, 1998, pp. 46-47. \textit{Qaum} an Arabic word is synonymous with ‘nation’, however in Afghanistan it is used to refer to a smaller unit, and the term \textit{millat} is used to mean ‘nation’. Therefore the Hazara \textit{Qaum} should not be confused with it.
Every Hazara Qaum had its own powerful leader known as the Beg, Mir or Sultan. The head of a Qaum was in full control of the socio, economic and political life of his people. His power was absolute in his tribe. Every individual member of the Hazara society was genealogically related to a Tol, Tayefa and Qaum. The Hazaras were divided into tribes (Qaum). The most important of which were the Dai Zangi, Dai Kundi, Dai Mirdad, Jaghuri and Bihsud. It is interesting to note that Hazara Qaums and Tayefas were named either after the area which they inhabited or after one individual such as Dai Chopan or Bihsud, with the consequence that all Hazaras can be traced back to Amir Chopan, (whom they regarded as having first brought their ancestors to the area of Girisk) or Baba Bihsud (the Bihsudis, another major Hazara tribe were named after Behsud/Bisud, one of Changhiz’s relation).\(^{114}\)

Amongst the tribes Dai Kundi occupied the large region bordering the Aimaqs area; Dai Zangi were found to the southwest of Dai Kundi which lies

\(^{114}\) Ibid., p. 25, 54; Elphinstone, II, pp. 211-212.
south of the western part of Koh-i-Baba; Dai Mirdad to the east of Dai Zangi and Dai Chopan to the south of Jaghuri. The latter inhabited the area to the west of Ghazni and Qarabagh. Shaikh Ali Hazaras were found in Bamian and south of Ghorband valley and those of Yak Walang.  

The Hazaras were often at war with each other, so that there was scarcely a Hazara tribe which was not at war with their neighbour. But two or three sultans united among themselves when it was a foreign war. The Hazaras had a reputation for physical strength endurance and industry in task. They were generally a brave and hardy race and had many of the warlike characteristics of the Gurkhas. They were of fairer complexion.

The Hazara women were very beautiful. The women enjoyed a status not inferior to their husbands and very much consulted in all her husband’s measures. They were never ill-treated. The wife managed the house, cared for the property and had her share of the honours.

As far as their language is concerned, Babur testifies that many of the Hazaras spoke Mongoli up to his time. The Hazaras speak Persian (Farsi) though with their own accent known as Hazargi. The language and dialect of the Hazaras is Hazargi. Hazargi is the mixed dialect of Farsi, Mangoli and

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116 Elphinstone, II, pp. 211-212.
118 Elphinstone, II, p. 209.
119 Baburnama, I, p. 207.
120 Ain, I, p. 591; Percy Sykes, p. 16.
Turkish with its own oral but not written tradition. No books have ever been written in Hazargi. Hazargi is composed of 80% Farsi, 10% Mangoli and 10% other languages. The dialect of Hazara differs greatly from that of other Farsi speakers because of the influence of the Turks and Mongols.\textsuperscript{121}

4. Relations with the Mughal State:

The disturbances created by the wild and turbulent Afghan tribes living all along the border and in most parts of Kabul were a source of great concern to the Mughal state.

The Afghans were a turbulent people, always fighting and intriguing. ‘Never in all their history it was claimed, had the Afghans been subjected to any empire. They fiercely resisted the Mughal emperors and neither Akbar nor his successor really managed to rule over them. The control was nominal and whatever success they had was short lived.\textsuperscript{122} The strong sense of independence was the hallmark of Afghan character. One Afghan had eloquently expressed to Elphinstone, “we are content with discord; we are content with alarm; we are content with blood; but we never will be content with a master”.\textsuperscript{123} The Afghan race failed to establish any large and compact state, or even any enduring confederacy of tribes. Fighting among the Afghan tribes was a common occurrence. The internal feud among various tribes and even members of the

\textsuperscript{121} The Hazaras of Afghanistan, pp. 81-82.
\textsuperscript{122} Sarkar, III, p. 143.
\textsuperscript{123} Quoted in J.A. Robinson, Notes on Nomads Tribes of Eastern Afghanistan, Quetta, 1934, p. 8.
same tribes are due to two important factors of the Afghan code of conduct: revenge (*badal*) and honour (*nang*). Nothing could prevent an Afghan to compromise on these two issues. They were united only under the threat of a common danger and always separated on the death of a successful leader.\(^\text{124}\)

Kabul in 1504, at the time of Babur’s conquest, was infested with numerous Afghan tribes, which enjoyed independence sufficient enough to embarrass any who sought a way to Hindustan from Kabul. Babur on his way from Kabul to Hindustan faced these refractory Afghan tribes. Babur admits that all the tribal area which he specifies as ‘Bajaur, Swat, Parshawar and Hashtnagar’, although they had once been part of the principality of Kabul, had now been entirely occupied by Afghan tribes and was no more the parts of the *suba*.\(^\text{125}\)

Shortly after the capture of Kabul, Babur decided to attack the territories of Kohat, Bangash and Bannu. He reports that the Afghan tribesmen of these areas never paid taxes willingly.\(^\text{126}\) Babur had no time to bring these tribesmen to obedience as he was busy with the conquest of Qandahar, Balkh and Badakhshan. He was anxious to suppress “the Bangash thieves”, once their preoccupations in Qandahar were over.\(^\text{127}\)

\(^\text{124}\) Elphinstone, II, p. 19.

\(^\text{125}\) *Baburnama*, I, p. 207.


\(^\text{127}\) *Ibid.*, p. 220. The Afghan highwaymen such as Khugiani, Khirilchi, Turi and Lander inhabited the *tuman* of Bangash.
Many years were to elapse before Babur could subdue these tribes. He admits that the most prominent and forceful tribes among the eastern Afghans were the Yusufzais, partly for the reason that in their country, he spent more time. During one of his campaigns against the Yusufzais, Babur married the daughter of the powerful Yusufzai chief, possibly hoping that the alliance would win her tribe’s allegiance. The Yusufzai tribe at that time occupied the Swat and Bajaur valleys and the plain (samah) of north Peshawar. This tribe had migrated to this region at the time of Ulugh Beg during 16th century from the Qandahar area and settled there.

The first serious attempt to enforce peace with the border tribes was made by Akbar.

In July 1585 Mirza Hakim died, and so finally enabling Akbar to incorporate Kabul in his dominion. On his way back to Hindustan when Akbar was at Attock a group of chiefs of Afghan tribes and few others petitioned before Akbar complaining against the Yusufzais; they were always molesting and plundering caravans of traders and travellers on the way from Kabul to Hindustan and vice-versa.

Akbar was now determined to bring under his direct rule all these Afghan tribes of the North western region and surrounding

128 Baburnama, I, p. 375; Gulbadan Begam, p. 10. Malik Mansur Yusufzai, the father of Afghan lady Mubarika, came in and paid his respect. His Majesty took his daughter in marriage and allow him to go; Elphinstone, II, p. 11.


130 Akbarnama, III, pp. 485-86.
mountains, which had never admitted allegiance to Babur, Kamran and Mirza Hakim or to any of the government who had ruled whether at Kabul or from Delhi. Abul Fazl informs us that Akbar realized that the backbone of tribal resistance was in the Yusufzai and the Mandar countries and so long as they maintained a defiant attitude, there could be no possibility of unhindered operation in Kabul or in the Uzbek country. He further states that in a short span, the country of Swat, Bajaur and Buner were cleared of the evil doers. A large number were killed and many were sold as slaves in the markets of Central Asia and Persia.\(^{131}\)

In 1585 Akbar appointed Man Singh as \textit{subedar} of Kabul and dispatched Zain Khan Koka (Kokaltash) in that direction with the object of making inroads upon the Yusufzai tribes. Zain Khan began his operation by penetrating in the Yusufzai territory, that had three thousand families there. The difficulties started when he advanced further into the interior, in the region between Peshawar and the Swat river, this region was the home of 40,000 families of the Mandar tribes. Though Zain Khan tried to subdue them, but even by 1585 his success was limited and the district of Buner was still out of the Mughal control.\(^{132}\)

\(^{131}\) \textit{Ibid.}, pp. 485-86.

\(^{132}\) \textit{Ibid.}, pp. 481-82; Raverty, p. 259.
Zain Khan asked for reinforcements. Akbar sent Raja Birbal and Hakim Abul Fath in that direction. The three armies under Zain Khan, Birbal and Hakim Abul Fath joined at Chakdara, a fort built by Zain Khan Koka during his recent operation.\(^{133}\) Dissensions however broke out among the three generals. On February 1586, the three armies marched from Chakdara to Karakar Pass and encamped at Kandak. Next day they advanced further and encamped half a kos away from the defile, their plan being to attack the enemy at the other end of the defile and then to retire. The battle commenced on the third day. A number of tribesmen were captured. Despite the warning of Zain Khan Koka, the imperial army proceeded further through the narrow pass. There was confusion among the imperial forces. On 16\(^{th}\) February 1586, the tribesmen suddenly attacked from all sides. The incautious imperial army suffered losses. These operations against the Yusufzai tribes were a terrible disaster and an army of 8,000 men including Raja Birbal was cut down in a Swat defile. Abul Fazl, taking the official line, says that only 500 men of Akbar’s army perished in the battle.\(^{134}\) But there are other sources which provide a much higher figure for casualties on the imperial side. Badauni records that at least 8,000 men from Akbar’s army lost their lives during that fateful night.\(^{135}\)

\(^{133}\) Akbarnama, III, p. 483.

\(^{134}\) Ibid., pp. 485-86.

\(^{135}\) Badauni, II, pp. 361-62
According to Khafi Khan that number of those killed was approximately 40 to 50,000. He asserts that everyone in Birbal’s force was killed and that Zain Khan and Hakim Abul Fath escaped because they were not there.\textsuperscript{136}

After much difficulty Zain Khan Koka and Hakim Abul Fath succeeded in reaching the imperial camp at Attock Banaras in a sorry plight. Akbar was quite remorseful at the death of Raja Birbal his prime favourite and for two days did not admit Zain Khan Koka and Hakim Abul Fath to his presence.\textsuperscript{137} On the third day news arrived that the Yusufzai were advancing against the Mughals. Akbar sent Prince Murad and also Raja Todar Mal as his councillor and guide, not only to punish the Yusufzais but also to reduce them to complete obedience and submission. Zain Khan and Hakim Abul Fath also received orders to join the Prince’s army. Shortly after, Man Singh too was recalled from Jamrud with his troops to strengthen the battle against the Yusufzais.\textsuperscript{138}

The Emperor finally subdued these turbulent tribesmen by a strict blockade and in 1588 the Afridi’s and the Urakzais agreed to keep the Passes open in return for allowances.\textsuperscript{139} It was at this point of

\textsuperscript{136} Khafi Khan, I, p. 191.

\textsuperscript{137} Badauni, II, pp. 361-362. He writes, “Many grandees were killed in this disaster but his Majesty cared for the death of no grandee more than that of Birbal.

\textsuperscript{138} Akbarnama, III, p. 487.

\textsuperscript{139} Ibid, pp. 640-642.
history that we hear of Khattaks (the later leader of Afghan rebellion). In 1586 Akbar appointed them as the guardians of the king’s highway. This tribe had an interest in warding off the continual forays of the powerful Yusufzais and served well in the operation against them.

The Yusufzais were the hereditary enemy of these large and warlike tribes, as the boundary of these two clans met in the middle of the Peshawar district. The Khattaks occupied the southern part of the Peshawar district and much of Kohat and Bannu. The Yusufzais had also murdered Khushhal Khan’s father. Therefore, Khushhal Khan after his release in 1666 readily accepted Mughal offer to fight in the campaigns against the Yusufzais. In Swat Zain Khan was quite successful. His campaign lasted nearly eight months during which time he gradually built a series of forts from where he could render these mountainous passes safe. Throughout these campaigns Akbar had kept himself at Attock watching keenly the work of his generals in these hilly regions.

In spite of reinforcement sent to these generals and their penetration into the tribal areas, the tribes, chiefly the Yusufzais and the Afridis, could not be completely subdued. The Mughals carried out campaigns up and down Bajaur and Swat for five years from 1587 to

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140 Badauni, II, pp.350-1; Alamgirnama, p.1042 Khushhal Khan Khattak was first an official Mughal army then an implacable foe of Aurangzeb.

141 Akbarnama, III, pp. 529, 533. He caught and imprisoned Kalu, a wicked man of Yusufzai tribe while many of his men were killed.
1592, but without any real, lasting success. Mughal historians claim that the rebels were entirely overcome and compelled to evacuate and in large numbers fell into the hands of the Mughal troops. But we cannot ignore the fact that even in 1593 'the rebel' were strong enough to besiege the Mughal commander in Peshawar, which was only relieved by a special effort on the part of Zain Khan.\textsuperscript{142}

There is other and a clinching evidence that confirms that Swat, Buner, Bajaur and the hill tracts never came under imperial control. In the \textit{Ain-i-Akbari} Abul Fazl includes these areas in the \textit{sarkar} of Swat under Kabul Province.\textsuperscript{143} Raverty says that the Mughal ruler never obtained a permanent footing in these parts and their communications were continually interrupted.\textsuperscript{144}

After Akbar's time no serious endeavour was made by any of his successors to bring Swat or any of the rest of the mountainous regions under administrative subjection, and even in \textit{samah} (\textit{samah} in Pakhtu has much the same significance as \textit{dasht} in Persian – meaning plain country) control remained weak.\textsuperscript{145}

\textsuperscript{142} \textit{Ibid.}, pp. 639-41.
\textsuperscript{143} \textit{Ain}, I, pp. 585-86.
\textsuperscript{144} Raverty, pp. 203-4.
\textsuperscript{145} \textit{Ibid.}, pp. 215, 258. The \textit{Samah} consisted of the entire territory lying between the district of Hashtnagar and the Indus from west to east, and the mountains surrounding Swat and Buner and the River of Kabul.
The problem of the north-west frontier grew worse during the reign of Aurangzeb. In order to keep the north western passes open and safe for traffic Aurangzeb first tried to win over the hillmen by providing them cash stipends, but in vain. The Mughal Emperors paid subsidies to various border chiefs which under Aurangzeb amounted to an annual expenditure of 6,00,000 rupees. During his time the Yusufzais and the Afridis rose in arms against the Mughals in 1667 and in 1672 respectively. The Yusufzais revolted under the influence of a local Mulla Chalak. One of their leaders, Bhagu, a man of obscure origin proclaimed himself as king of the whole tribe with the title of Muhammad Shah and induced the different clans to unite. Uniting under one leadership they decided to establish their independence.

Under the leadership of Mulla Chalak, a body of five thousand Afghans captured the post of Chhachal in the Pakli division. The fort of Chhachal was the seat of Shadman, a local chieftain, who with other Mughal officers was entrusted with the defense of the Attock area. Here the Yusufzais started to levy tax on the peasantry, and their success attracted more of their clansmen and they raised the standard of rebellion. They began to plunder and tribal encroachments on imperial territories near Attock started.

146 Alamgirnama, II, pp. 1041-42; Ma‘asir-i-Alamgiri, p. 41.
147 Alamgirnama, II, p. 1041.
148 Ibid., II, p.1042; Akhbarat, 10th R.Y., sheet, 3, 4.
Aurangzeb took measures of defense and ordered Amir Khan the subedar of Kabul to dispatch a contingent of thirteen thousand men under Shamshir Khan to operate against the rebels from Kabul. Kamil Khan, the faujdar of Attock was ordered to call up all faujdars and jagirdars near the Indus and subdue the Afghans. Muhammad Amin Khan, the Mir Bakhshi, son of Mir Jumla was ordered to go there from the imperial court with ten thousand picked troops and other officers carefully selected by the emperor himself, including 500 royal horsemen (ahadis). But before their arrival Kamil Khan left Attock with Khushhal Khan Khattak and marched towards the ferry of Harum in order to cross the Indus there but Shamshir Khan had already dispersed the rebels. Muhammad Amin Khan then marched towards the Shahbazgarhi (the site of an Ashokan inscription), and sent a force against the tribes of Bajaur. He entered the Swat valley, destroyed the village of Hijaz and returned to Ohind in October 1667. Here he was ordered to return to court. The command was now placed in the hands of Shamshir Khan, who was given an additional mansab of 2000.\(^{149}\)

A well contested battle was fought in which, in spite of their numerical strength; the Afghans lost to the Mughals. The Afghans were defeated with heavy losses of lives. A tower of their heads was raised. They were pushed back to Mansur on the Panjshir river. Three hundred

\(^{149}\) Khafi Khan, II, pp. 237-46.
tribesmen, including several headmen (*maliks*) were captured and imprisoned and many were slain and drowned in the river.\textsuperscript{150}

Five years later in 1672, Afridi rose in rebellion irritated, by the action of the *faujdar* of Jalalabad and induced several other tribes to join hands with them under the leadership of Ajmal Khan.\textsuperscript{151} In 1672, the imperial army under Muhammad Amin Khan, the *subedar* of Kabul marching towards Kabul from Peshawar after passing the winter season there had entrenched at Ali Masjid. At Jamrud they found that the Afghans had blocked the way ahead and cut off the water supply. The Afridis slew and captured over ten thousand Mughals and secured twenty million worth of cash and goods and obtained further big sums as ransom for the captive officers and their families.\textsuperscript{152}

According to Khushhal Khan Khattak, the Afridis had inflicted a loss of forty thousand men on the Mughal armies. Everything was lost, including Muhammad Amin Khan’s own wife, mother, sister and daughter and the families of the nobles and officers serving under him. Later most of the women were ransomed, but Muhammad Amin’s wife, in bitterness of disgrace refused to return and became a recluse.\textsuperscript{153}


\textsuperscript{151} *Ibid.*, II, p. 232; *Ma’asir-ul-Umara*, I, p. 281. The name of Ajmal Khan appears constantly in Khushhal Khan’s poems and other works as the heroes of the Pakhtun of those days.

\textsuperscript{152} Khafi Khan, II, pp. 232-233.

\textsuperscript{153} *Ma’asir-i-Alamgiri*, pp. 117-118. For the detailed description of Khushhal Khan. See Elphinstone, I, p. 196.
The disaster of the Mughal forces encouraged the Khattaks, under their leader Khushhal Khan, who fought for long against Mughals during Aurangzeb time. The Khattaks under him joined the Afridis, and there was a general rising in the entire north-west, which took long to be suppressed.154 Muhammad Amin Khan was replaced by Mahabat Khan, whom Aurangzeb considered fit for the governance of the refractory and dangerous tribes on his frontier.155 Ajmal Khan, the Afridi chief and Khushhal Khan jointly attacked the fort of Nawshera and overthrew the imperial forces at Khapakh. Though Mahabat Khan had sought to prevail on Khushhal’s loyalty as a Khattak vassal, but the latter turned down that offer and went into active opposition. Ultimately, the Emperor himself conducted operations from Hasan Abdal in 1674, and by skillful diplomacy succeeded in bringing the situation well in hand by the end of 1675.156

Aurangzeb’s policy towards the border tribes was to set one tribe against another, and to subsidize their chiefs, into keeping peace on the frontier. He ordered to strengthen the Mughal forts on this line of communication. The tribesmen defied the strength of the Mughals for nearly three years before the Afridis made terms of peace with

154 Alamgirnama, p. 1042; Akhbarat, year 10, sheet, 9.
155 Ma’asir-ul-Umara, III, p. 616, 593. Muhammad Amin Khan was sent off to Gujarat as subedar Mahabat Khan who had been the subedar of Kabul thrice before, was recalled from the Deccan and sent to Kabul as viceroy for the fourth time.
Aurangzeb. He left the North-west frontier in December 1675. Amir Khan, who was appointed the subedar of Kabul in 1677, ruled this suba till his death in 1698, was remarkably successful in maintaining friendly relations with the Afghan Chiefs.\(^{157}\)

By that time Khushhal had left the leadership of his tribe to his eldest son, Ashraf Khushhal who was imprisoned and sent in 1683 as a state prisoner to Bijapur, where he died in 1689.\(^{158}\) Later on, his son Afzal acted as tribal aide to Shah Alam, Prince Muazzam. According to the records of the last ten years of Aurangzeb’s reign, no parts of Kohat and Bannu district were subjected to effective Mughal domination. When in 1707 news of Aurangzeb’s death reached there, Afzal was with Shah Alam at Attock and was left in change of the highway to Peshawar, his family’s long standing responsibility.\(^{159}\) The Mughal could never develop a well-defined and coordinated policy for the suppression of the tribes in the region of Kabul and other places in Central Asia. This was one of the reasons for the ease with which Nadir Shah invaded Northern India in 1739.\(^{160}\)

\(^{157}\) *Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri*, pp. 157, 170, 270, 394; *Akhbarat*, 39\(^{\text{th}}\) R.Y. and 40\(^{\text{th}}\) R.Y.

\(^{158}\) Raverty, p. 435.

\(^{159}\) *Ibid.*, pp. 435-439. Muhammad Afzal Khan, the grandson of Khushhal was the author of the *Tarikh-i-Murassa*.

\(^{160}\) *Seir Mustagherin*, III, p.300.
5. The Raushanai Movement:

In the history of this region, the Raushanai – a popular Islamic revivalist movement occupies an important place. This socio-religious movement of 16th century appears to have attracted the attention of historians a number of times. But in these works focus have been directed on the religious aspect of this movement,\(^{161}\) here an attempt is being made to reconstruct the political aspects of the movement mainly on the basis of Mughal Court chronicles such as – *Akbarnama, Muntakhab-ut Twarikh* (a critical and secret account of Akbar’s reign), *Tabaqat-i-Akbari, Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, Badshahnama, Alamgirnama* and *Ma’asir-ul-Umara* together with the *Halnama* (a work from Bayazid’s pen).\(^{162}\)

Mirza Hakim’s reign of thirty years in Kabul is remembered for the rise of the Raushanai movement of Bayazid Ansari, which diverted the attention of the Mughal Emperors to the north-west frontier region for about half a century.\(^{163}\) It was in fact, the Mughal political interest in the north-west frontier region which brought both the Mughals and the Raushanais face to face. K.A.

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\(^{162}\) *Dabistan*, p. 345. Bayazid Ansari was the son of Shaikh Abdullah. He was born in Jalandhar, just a year after this event, Babur defeated Ibrahim Lodi.

Nizami says that “the Raushanai sect had an apparent religious facade but definite political motivations”.

The Raushanai movement was founded by Bayazid Ansari (1525-1572), who called himself Pir-i-Roshan, the apostle of light, but was by the Mughal chroniclers bitterly referred to as Pir-i-Tariki, the apostle of darkness. In all official Mughal documents they are referred to as Tarikis. He was born at Jalandhar in the Panjab and was brought up in Kanigoram in the heart of Waziristan. His doctrines are embodied in his famous work Khair-ul-Bayan (Goodness of Narration), written in both prose and verse and contains a call to high ethical standards in life. Besides, detailed accounts of Bayazid Ansari’s doctrines and the role of his followers are available in many other works. Most of these works are cited by K.A. Nizami. Among his critics, the works of Abdul Karim, known as Akhund Darweza, particularly Makhzan-ul-Islam (Treasure of Islam), Tazkirat-ul-Abrar Wa’l-Ashrar and Irshad-ut-Talibin

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166 Dabistan, pp. 345-346. Khair-ul-Bayan is in four versions – Arabic, Persian, Hindi and Afghani. His other work is Khurpan. These works were once very famous but on account being heretical, were later on banned by orthodox decree.
furnish information about the public resentments to Bayazid’s doctrines. In his works Akhund Darweza attacked Bayazid’s claim.

According to teachings of Bayazid Ansari the spiritual guide had a divine status and it was obligatory to carry out his orders implicitly. The spiritual guide was to decide what was ‘permitted’ and ‘prohibited’ for his disciple. He thought that the concept of *Imamat* was an effective mean in mobilizing the Afghan tribes. He projected himself as if he was divinely inspired and declared that he reached a stage where he had become one with Almighty.\(^{170}\) He believed in the theory of transmigration of souls. He propagated his teachings and soon attracted a large number of followers. Their number so greatly increased that Akhund Darweza bitterly states that the whole region was overrun by infidelity.\(^{171}\) Bayazid’s doctrine was criticized by the orthodox Muslims.

The Raushanai had a strong base of support among various Afghan tribes who provided him man power on whose support Bayazid proclaimed himself as the divinely inspired *Mahdi* and exploited them for establishing his political prestige in the Kabul region.\(^{172}\)

Bayazid converted to his faith many of the tribes inhabiting between Peshawar-Khaibar Pass and Kabul. He had many followers in Orakzais, Afridis, Karlanari Afghans, Mahmands in Ningnahar, Mohammadzais and the

\(^{170}\) *Halnama*, MS. 920/37 Subhanullah Collection, M.A. Library, ff. 65 b- 66 a, 276 b, 278 b, 326 a- 333 b.


Yusufzais. But he soon met with an opposition in the latter’s territory where the followers of Pir Baba (Sayyid Ali Shah of Tarmiz strictly orthodox in the straight Hanafi Sunni way) in Buner with his champion Akhund Darweza opposed him. Bayazid then transferred his headquarters to Tirah, where Afridis, Orakzais, Khalils, Mohmands and Bangash flocked to his standard. It was here in Tirah that he started mobilizing the tribes to overthrow Akbar’s authority and issued drafts on the treasury of Mirza Hakim whose decision to suppress the Raushanais was prompted by their continuing attacks on trading caravans passing through Kabul to Hindustan and vice versa. Under the intense pressure from the Kabul government, he was arrested but was later acquitted, really because the Kabul government feared his tribal support.

After Bayazid’s death (he had five sons—Shaikh Umar, Nuruddin, Khairuddin, Kamaluddin and Jalaluddin) his son Jalaluddin continued the movement which took the forum of quasi-nationalist uprising. In 1581 when Akbar was on his way to Hindustan from Kabul, he gave assurance to Jalala, who aged only 14 at that time, and his followers that they had liberty to follow their religion. Farid Bhakkari the author of Zakhirat-ul Khwanin states that

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173 Ma’asir-ul-Umara, II, p. 247. Tira was a hilly area some 32 kos in length and 12 in breadth; Elphinstone, II, p. 401. Teera or Khaibar range commences a little below the fort of Attock from the right bank of the river Indus, on the opposite side from the fort, and runs in a westerly direction till it meets the Soliman ridge, south of Saffaid Koh separately the valleys of Kohat and Peshour.


175 Halnama, p. 332; Monserrate, pp. 141-142. Monserrate states his Majesty cared little that in allowing everyone to follow his own religion he was in reality violating all religion.
even this liberalism by Akbar was not able to calm the Raushanai and Jalala without the imperial permission left the court and marched to Tirah.\textsuperscript{176} He had a band of four hundred followers who had been attracted to him by hope of plunder and revolution.\textsuperscript{177}

Jalala proclaimed himself the king of the Afghans and began to preach violently like his father. He started mobilizing tribes inhabited the areas in and around the Khaibar Pass. His followers blocked up passes between Kabul and Hindustan. They raided and plundered the caravans passing through the Khaibar Pass and openly defied the Mughal authority. They even killed Sayyid Hamid Bokkari, the Mughal \textit{jagirdar} of Peshawar with forty of his relation and besieged the fort in 1585.\textsuperscript{178} Their success over Sayyid Hamid Bokhari emboldened them.

The disturbances created by these heretics around the Khaibar Pass jeopardized Akbar’s political interest in this region, adversely affected commercial activities and encouraged both the Safavids and the Uzbeks in their anti-Mughal designs.\textsuperscript{179}

Akbar sent Zain Khan Koka, Shah Quli Khan Mahram and Shaikh Farid Bakhshi and a large number of other officers to redress this disaster and to


\textsuperscript{177} Monserrate, pp. 141-142.

\textsuperscript{178} Tabaqat-i-Akbari, p. 371; Akbarnama, III, pp. 510-511. He was one of the loyal servants of Akbar, and was posted at Peshawar for crushing and destroying.

\textsuperscript{179} Akbar and Religion, pp. 65-66.
extirpate the Tarikis. Man Singh, who was in charge of the Kabul *suba* after the
death of Mirza Hakim, was ordered to move to the Khaibar from Kabul. There
took place a great tussle between Man Singh and the Tarikis. The Tarikis and
the Afghans appeared in large hordes and carried on a fight. At this time
Madho Singh, the brother of Man Singh, who was with Ismail Quli Khan at the
*thana* of Ohind, arrived with a well-ordered army, to reinforce Man Singh.
After that the Raushanais were defeated and many of them were slain.\(^{180}\)

From 1586 onwards all the experienced generals of the Mughal army
like Man Singh, Zain Khan Koka, Hakim Abul Fath, Abdul Mutlab Khan, Asaf
Beg, Mahabat Khan, Sayyid Khan and Lashkar Khan were sent to suppress the
Raushanais and their Afghan allies.\(^{181}\)

After the recall of Man Singh by Akbar, Mutlab Khan was sent into the
Bangash country in 1587. Zain Khan himself returned to the charge undertook
various campaigns during 1587-1592, but without any real or lasting success.\(^{182}\)

In 1588 Sadiq Khan the new commander reconciled the Afridis and
Orakzais, who agreed to keep the Khaibar pass open. Jalala therefore, lost trust
in these tribes, and went to Turan.\(^{183}\) It appears that Jalala approached Abdullah

\(^{180}\) *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, II, p. 371.


\(^{182}\) Raverty, pp. 257-258, 261.

\(^{183}\) *Akbarnama*, III, pp. 527-528. From Tirah Jalala went into the defiles of the Yusufzais
country and then to Turan. An order was also given to the *faujdars* of Jamrud and Bangash
Khan Uzbek to help him against the Mughals but the latter refused. During 1592-93 Jalala again came to the scene and inspired the tribes to take up arms against the Mughals. Akbar ordered the frontier forces and the subedar of Kabul Qasim Khan and Asad Khan to attack the Raushanais.\footnote{Akbarnama, III, pp. 526, 651-652.}

Jalala fled to Tirah. Qasim Khan was ordered to go back to Kabul. Soon after this he was assassinated and Qulij Khan was appointed as the new subedar of Kabul and dispersed the Raushanai.\footnote{Ibid., p. 654.} Zain Khan, who once again in 1597 was sent to set the affairs of Kabul in order captured Walidad (the son of Khairuddin and Kamal Khatun, the daughter of Bayazid) and other with all the tribesmen.\footnote{Halnama, f. 345 a.} According to the \textit{Halnama}, “Wahdat Ali, Walidad, with some other Raushanais were sent to the fort of Ranthambore by Akbar. Kamaluddin was already there. All the three were put to death at the royal order. Kamal Khatun, with her sons, was given in charge of Qasim Khan, the \textit{Mir Bahr}. Ahdad along with his mother were under the custody of Asaf Khan. Later on Jalala recalled them through Ava Bakr.”\footnote{Ibid., f. 347 b.}

The Mughal succeeded only partially in their attempt to win over these tribes against the Raushanais and were unable to force Jalala to submit who remained a source of constant trouble till his death in 1601. In 1600 Jalala was

\footnote{\textit{Maasir-ul-Umara}, II, pp. 724-29.}
founded at Ghazni, who had gone there to support the Lohani tribes against the
Shadmani Hazaras. But the latter opposed him. He wanted to get out of the city
and fled to Aq Rabat mountain. Murad Beg pursued him and put him to
death.\textsuperscript{188}

Thus by 1601, the position of Akbar in the north-west frontier was quite
strong but next year Ahdad (Shaikh Umar’s son), Jalala’s nephew and son-in-
law once more stirred up strife in Tirah and rallied to his support the tribes such
as Afridis, Orakzais and Bangash.\textsuperscript{189}

Under the leadership of Ahdad the Raushanais defied the imperial
authority and fought a number of battles during the reign of Jahangir. Jahangir
refers to them in his memoirs that they remained a source of danger and
constant threat for the Mughal state. He reports that in 1611 Ahdad attacked on
Kabul in the absence of Khan Dauran, the \textit{subedar} of Kabul.\textsuperscript{190} Muiz-ul Mulk,

\begin{footnotes}
\textsuperscript{188} \textit{Akbarnama}, III, p. 776; \textit{Ma’aasir-ul-Umara}, II, p.246; \textit{Halnama}, f. 440 . The author
reports that hearing the news of Jalala’s death, Ava Bakr was so shocked that he died at
Mednipur, where he was posted as \textit{faujdar}, under Baqar Khan, the \textit{subedar} of Orissa.
\textsuperscript{189} \textit{Halnama}, f. 370. His name was Ahdad but people called him Ahad; \textit{Dabistan}, p. 311;
\textit{Ma’asir-ul Umara}, II, p. 246. The author wrongly puts him as Jalala’s cousin. Ahdad is said
to have some super-natural power and few of them believed that he was divine.
\textsuperscript{190} \textit{Ma’asir-ul Umara}, II, pp. 642-645. In 1607-08 Shah Beg entitled Khan Dauran was
appointed the governor of Kabul (Tirah Kabul, Bangash, Swat and Bajaur). He served there
for a long time.
\end{footnotes}
the commandant of the town resisted the Raushanais in which several of them were captured and killed.\textsuperscript{191}

Khan Dauran was replaced with Qulij Khan. The former, however was sent to Peshawar to check the activities of the Raushanai there.\textsuperscript{192} In 1613, Qulij Khan died, Ahdad finding it a good opportunity attacked Kot Tirah and next year again with a large number of horses and army he attacked and slaughtered several of its people. But Mutaqid Khan together with Khan Dauran successfully routed him and his followers.\textsuperscript{193} In the 10\textsuperscript{th} R.Y. of Jahangir, Ahdad again with the support of his followers created disturbances in Kabul. The Mughal forces under Khan Dauran compelled him to confine to the fortress of Charkh. He however, managed to escape towards Qandahar. Many of his followers were killed and hundred of them were taken prisoners.\textsuperscript{194} In the meantime as a result of the family disputes, Ilahdad, the son of Jalala, migrated to the Mughal court and joined the imperial service.\textsuperscript{195} Ilahdad was honoured

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{191} \textit{Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri}, pp. 96-97. Muiz-ul Mulk displayed measure of activity and the Kabulis and the other inhabitants specially the Qizalbashis (Farmali according to Roger) barricade up the streets and fortified the houses.
  \item \textsuperscript{192} \textit{Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri}, p. 53; \textit{Ma‘asir-ul Umara}, II, pp. 642-645. According to its author, Khan Dauran, as a result of old age lost his physical strength and became incapable of carrying out forced marches—which were essential for a governor of Afghanistan. He was recalled and appointed the governor of Thatta; \textit{Akbarnama}, III, p. 397. It is wrongly put as that he was transferred to Patna.
  \item \textsuperscript{193} \textit{Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri}, pp.128-129. According to it Kot Tirah was 8 kos from Jalalabad but Tirah is farther away. In the Br.Mus. MS. it is referred as \textit{Kotal-i-Tirah} i.e. the Tirah defile.
  \item \textsuperscript{194} \textit{Ibid.}, pp. 152-153.
  \item \textsuperscript{195} \textit{Ma‘asir-ul-Umara}, II, pp. 246-48.
\end{itemize}
by the Emperor and the title of Rashid Khan was conferred upon him.\textsuperscript{196} Shah Beg (Khan Dauran) was ruling the hilly region very well by avoiding a test of strength but the entire scene changed when in 1617 Mahabat Khan was appointed as the \textit{subedar} of Kabul, Raja Kalyan, son of Raja Todar Mal was sent to act as his chief lieutenant in Bangash.\textsuperscript{197} Mahabat Khan demanded Rashid Khan’s dispatch from the court. Jahangir though agreed upon it but his son and brother were kept in the custody as hostages.\textsuperscript{198} The author of the \textit{Halnama} states that Rashid Khan was reluctant to go to that region.\textsuperscript{199} His reluctance was due to the fact that he was deputed against his own relatives. He himself revolted against the Mughals but was pardoned by Jahangir on the request of Itmad-ud Daullah. He rendered valuable services to the Mughal State till his death in 1648.\textsuperscript{200}

Mahabat Khan sent a force under the command of his son Amanullah\textsuperscript{201} to capture Ahdad. Meanwhile towards the close of 1619 or early in 1620, Mahabat Khan came to know that Ahdad’s chief supporters were mainly among the Orakzais of the Daulat zai branch, inhabiting around Kohat. He invited them and after feasting them and getting them to give up arms, under

\textsuperscript{196} Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, p. 193.
\textsuperscript{197} Ibid., p. 196.
\textsuperscript{198} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{199} Halnama, f. 411 a.
\textsuperscript{200} Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, p. 196; Ma’asir-ul Umara, II, pp. 242-250.
\textsuperscript{201} Ibid., I, pp. 740-748. He received the title of Khanazad Khan when he was appointed his father’s deputy in Kabul. During the reign of Shahjahan he received the title of Khan Zaman. Also see vol., III of the same text, pp. 385-409.
the pretence of conferring honorary dresses upon them, killed them to the number of three hundred. After this act of treachery, Mahabat Khan believed that he had broken the backbone of the resistance in Tirah. He ordered, Ghairat Khan along with other officers to march against Ahdad in Tirah by way of Kohat. Ghairat Khan at the head of a large force advanced and on reaching the crest of pass, he was encountered with Panju, a Firoz Khel Orakzai. A fierce fighting took place and both fell rolling one over the other. Panju cried out to his tribesmen, strike, kill me also, but let him not go! Consequently both of them were slain. The disaster on the part of the Mughals was quite large; the Raushanai captured 5000 horses besides other booty. All this led to Mahabat Khan’s recall to the court.

In the account of the 15th R.Y, Jahangir writes “among the events of this period were the death of the Sayyid Izzat Khan entitled Ghairat Khan. Ghairat Khan who was one of the hottest temperament, and ever ready to rush upon his enemies, did not approve of Jalala Khan the Gakhar’s prudent advice and determined upon attacking the Afghans forthwith. He began the ascent and the

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202 Raverty, p. 391. It appears from Khushhal Khan’s account that Mahabat Khan at the instigation of some Goriah Khel and Karlanari Bangash did this.

203 Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, p. 160. Mahabat Khan never returned to Kabul as its subedar. Jahangir’s description of Mahabat Khan’s recall is more honest than the other Mughal chronicles, who explains that he was recalled for other important reasons, as he was the only capable noble to oppose the prince Khurram, who had put down his father’s order in proceeding to Qandahar in 1622, when the Uzbeks attacked Kabul it was Khanazad Khan who defeated the invaders.
Afrgans like ants and locusts, collecting from different parts, completely surrounded the attacking force ..."204

Six years after this disaster in 1625-26, during the term of office of Khwaja Abul Hasan that Ahdad was besieged in the fort of Nawagarh and killed by the governor’s son Ahsanullah Zafar Khan, who was managing the suba as the deputy of his father. Zafar Khan sent his head, staff and signet to Jahangir and was honored by the emperor with the title of Muzaffar Khan and from the position of deputy was made the subedar of Kabul.205

After the death of Ahdad, the leadership of the Raushanais passed into the hands of Abdul Qadir. A year after this Jahangir died and was succeeded by his son Shahjahan. Lahori states, when Muzaffar Khan was on his way to Kabul from Peshawar, the beast of prey like Orakzais and Afridis occupied the Khaibar road in his front and began to plunder Muzaffar Khan’s force, his baggage and the ladies of the harem fell into the hands of Afghan, but his wife, Buzurg Khanum was saved and ransomed by the efforts of Said Khan, the faujdar of Bangash.206 This attack was organized by Bibi Alai (wife of Ahdad and the daughter of Jalala) and her son Abdul Qadir.

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204 Ibid.
205 Dabistan, p. 310; Ma’asir-ul Umar, II, pp. 246-47.
206 Halnama, pp. 460 a-462 a; Badshahnama, I, p. 125; Amin Qazwini, Badshahnama, transcript of the Riza Library MS (Rampur), in the Department of History, Aligarh, p.1 591.
Lahori states that during the 1st R.Y. of Shahjahan Muzaffar Khan was the subedar of the Kabul suba but the same year, he was removed from that position and Lashkar Khan was appointed.207

Muzaffar Khan’s failure emboldened the Raushanais. All their Afghan allies assembled in great numbers under the leadership of Abdul Qadir and marched towards Peshawar. They entered the city and killed the deputy of the subedar. It was a general rising of all the Afghan tribes round the north-west frontier region with one accord to rise against the Mughal State, only with the exception of these three – the Khalils, Mahmands, the Daudzai round Peshawar; the Khattaks (under Shahbaz Khan, father of Khushhal Khan and grandson of Malik Akoroy) and the Daulatzai.

The Mughal garrison of Peshawar had to throw themselves into the citadel and the city was completely invested. Said Khan the faujdar of Bangash prepared to march to relief of the garrison.208 At first Abdul Qadir and his force undertook the investment alone, but when a large number of other Afghan tribes assembled to aid him, they became jealous and suspicious of him. Abdul Qadir, himself became suspicious of their intentions and thought that they

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207 Lahori, I, p. 213, II, pp. 190-191, Shahjahan discovered that Muzaffar Khan was strongly advised by the most experienced person not to proceed to Kabul but he did not pay heed to them. The Afghan tribes who were ever ready to plunder and molest, occupied the road in his front and began to plunder the baggage of his force. As he left no experienced officer to guide his rear, a deal of property was carried of and he did nothing to remedy this disaster and did not turn back to aid them. On this account Lashkar Khan was sent as the new subedar with a force of 15,000.

208 Qazwini, p, 131 b.
would in probability intrigue with the Mughals and would hand over him to the Mughals. Such being the case, he retreated to Tirah and the tribes were dispersed.\(^{209}\) Said Khan had by now arrived at the scene along with the forces and attacked the Afghans that had remained and slew a large number. In this affair a great number of Yusufzais and Gagianis were also killed. Shahjahan was so pleased with Said Khan that he made him the *subedar* of Kabul and was promoted to the rank of 5000 *sawar*.\(^{210}\) Khushhal reports that after this affair, “the Mughal authority began again to be recognized in the province of Kabul”.\(^{211}\) Subsequently, Said Khan with his usual tactics was able to bring to terms Abdul Qadir and Bibi Alai. *Halnama* informs that “Said Khan accompanied Abdul Qadir to the emperor, who gave him a horse and robe of honor and asked him to join Mughal service offering him the rank of 3000; and if he wished to leave Kabul the rank was to be 2000.”\(^{212}\)

Said Khan asked the emperor to leave for Kabul as he had promised to Bibi Alai to bring Abdul Qadir back to Kabul. Consequently he was deputed to

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\(^{209}\) *Halnama*, f. 463 a. Thus, “with their usual stupidity and wrong headedness of Pashtun (Afghans) they became jealous of him, whom they came to support, thinking that he will take all the credit to himself”; Raverty, p. 394.

\(^{210}\) Lahori, I, p. 400; Qazwini, p. 238 a; *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, II, p. 435.


\(^{212}\) *Halnama*, f. 4676; *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, II, pp. 246-247. He received the rank of 1000 and services at Kabul in 1633-34; *Amal-i-Salih*, III, p. 466. His rank, according to him was 1000/600.
Kabul along with Said Khan. They arrived at Peshawar but soon after that Abdul Qadir died a natural death.\(^{213}\)

Meanwhile some of the tribes around Naghz recalled Karimdad (s/o Jalala) who was living in the Lohani territory with his disciples and followers. He raised the standard of revolt and brought Bangash territory under his control.\(^{214}\) Said Khan sent a force against them and some of them came to the terms with the Mughals. Karimdad who had taken shelter in a valley was spared, while his brother was put to death.\(^{215}\) The royal troops entered the territory of Naghz, captured them and destroyed their property. Karimdad with all his family surrendered to the Mughal and was to put to death.\(^{216}\)

His mother Alai, with one of her brothers, Rashid Khan, and a number of Raushanais appeared before Shahjahahan in Delhi. He treated them kindly and they were sent with honour and ranks to the Deccan provinces. Bibi Alai received *farrukhi* and a Doshala; other ladies accompanying her also received shawls. Rest of them were treated well and joined State services.\(^{217}\)

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\(^{213}\) *Dabistan*, p. 311

\(^{214}\) *Badshahnama*, II, p. 12; *Amal-i-Salih*, II, p. 267; *Halnama*, p. 482 a. Karimdad (s/o Jalala) was the uncle of Ahdad. His mother's name was Bibi Begum.

\(^{215}\) Raverty, p. 397. The brother of blind Karimdad who was creating sedition and rebellion in that quarter (Naghz) at the instigation of Yalingtosh on behalf of the Nazr Muhammad, the ruler of Balkh.

\(^{216}\) *Dabistan*, p. 311.

\(^{217}\) *Badshahnama*, II, p. 34; *Halnama*, ff. 480 b, 483 a; *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, II, p. 248; *Dabistan*, p. 311.
Rashid Khan governed Telengana and was made subedar of Nandair during the late years of his life. He died in 1648.\textsuperscript{218} Even after his death his younger sister Bibi Nur Khatun was well treated by the emperor. After the death of Rashid Khan she requested the king for \textit{Madad-i-Maash} grant for her maintenance and increments in the allowances of the \textit{jagir} of his son and her request was granted.\textsuperscript{219}

The Shamsabad documents refer to some land grants conferred upon the family of Rashid Khan by the Mughals. The Document No. 39 informs that Rashid Khan's wife wanted to transfer her property to her daughter, Bibi Khair Khatun, "my entire possession, a village of 180 \textit{bigha} and Bagh-i-Shamsabad which according to the \textit{Farman-i-Shahjahani} is in my name, including all household articles, cash and kind will be hers, as I have none except her; the other sons of Nawab Sahib will not be entitled to this."\textsuperscript{220} Another document shows that the Bangash Afghans had killed Bibi Khair Khatun's (d/o Rashid Khan) son Abdul Baqi, when this news reached Ilhamullah (son of Rashid Khan), who was an imperial servant, he issued orders to hand over Abdul Baqi's property to her mother.\textsuperscript{221}

The author of \textit{Ma'asir-ul-Umara} informs that after the death of Rashid Khan his sons Ilhamullah and Asadullah and his brother Hadidad continued in

\textsuperscript{218} \textit{Ma'asir-ul-Umara}, II, p. 250.
\textsuperscript{219} \textit{Halnama}, p. 485 b.
\textsuperscript{220} \textit{Shamsabad and Bilhor Documents}, No. 39, p. 54. A transcript is in the Department of History, AMU, Aligarh.
\textsuperscript{221} \textit{Shamsabad and Bilhor Documents}, No. 54, p. 70 a.
Mughal services. In the 28th year of Shahjahan’s reign, Asadullah was made the thanedar of Chandor and increased his rank to 1500/1000 horses. After the death of Hadidad Khan in 1657 his fief was granted to Ilhamullah who was promoted to the rank of 15000/15000. In the war of succession Ilhamullah sided with Aurangzeb. After the battle of Dharmat, Aurangzeb honoured him with a dress and a flag and his rank was raised to 3000/3000. The emperor also conferred upon him the title of his father “Rashid Khan”. All through his life he remained the recipient of Royal favours and rendered valuable service to the Mughal state.

Thus under Aurangzeb and his successor, the descendents of the Pir-i-Raushan received special favour and from then onwards we hear no more of the Raushanais.

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222 Ma’asir-ul-Umara, II, pp. 250, 303-305.

223 Alamgirnama, p. 76. Out of 3000 sawars, 500 were do-aspa and se-aspa; Ma’asir-ul-Umara, II, p. 304.

224 Alamgirnama, pp. 44. 150. In the 5th year of Aurangzeb’s reign he was appointed as the faujdar of the sarkar of Kamrup and then as the subedar of Orissa. During 1676-77 he was appointed to the Deccan campaigns.