INTRODUCTION

The establishment of Afghan rule in Hindustan in the middle of the 15th century was a significant event in the history of the Afghans. For the first time a people wedded to democratic and egalitarian polity were faced with the problem of shouldering the responsibility of governing a country like Hindustan. Used to the tribal polity in which there was no ruler or ruled, the Afghans were now confronted with the problem of the application of the traits of this polity to their rule in Hindustan. In their tribal homeland of Roh, on the north-western frontiers of Hindustan, they were organized on egalitarian basis. The notion of monarchy was alien to them. In the tribal polity of the Afghans, the tribal leader was only one among equals. To each Afghan his autonomy was very dear. No Afghan could reconcile himself to a superior authority. The Afghan society was thus organised in the north-western frontier region on a notion of equality, fraternity and kinship. It was with this notion in mind that Sultan Bahlol Lodi organized his rule in Hindustan. But soon the difficulties cropped up. His successor Sultan Sikandar Lodi realised that it was not possible to rule a vast country like Hindustan with the tribal notions of sovereignty which were functionable in the small hilly tract of the country in the north-west. He, therefore, began to adopt
the time-tested institutions with a view to ruling effectively in Hindustan. He, thus, made a distinction between the ruler and the ruled, the king and the nobility. He began to treat his Afghan brethren as his nobles, not as sharers in the prerogatives of kingship. He, however, moved gradually and cautiously, for he gave full respect to the Afghan nobles. But his successor, Sultan Ibrahim Lodi, precipitated the crisis by maltreating his Afghan brethren, i.e., his nobility whom he regarded merely as his subjects, which was neither palatable nor acceptable to the powerful Afghan chiefs. This resulted in confrontation and consequent intervention of Babur and the overthrow of the Lodi dynasty.

The problem that arises is that how Babur was able to consolidate his authority in Hindustan and what was the shape of Afghan polity under Babur? To what extent Babur was able to crush or accommodate the Afghan chiefs within the Mughal polity or in the Mughal ruling class to be able to rule in Hindustan?

Further, how was it possible that the Afghans emerged as a major power soon after the death of Babur and even succeeded in overthrowing Humayun and re-establishing their rule in Hindustan? It has been generally assumed that the battle of Panipat was a decisive battle which sealed the fate of the Afghans in Hindustan. Had it been so the Afghans would not have succeeded in re-establishing
their rule in Hindustan. The generalizations about Babur's rule in Hindustan have been made without any attempt at careful examination of the position of the Afghans under Babur. The present thesis, therefore, aims at understanding the clan-wise position of the Afghans during the period under review.

In order to assess the position of the Afghans during the phase of transition of power from the Afghans to the Mughals, we have examined the position of each and every chief. Hence, in the present thesis the biography of each and every Afghan chief whom we find active during the period under review has been worked out. In this way the position and the role of each and every Afghan during the reign of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi, as well as, under Babur has been highlighted. Having worked out the biographies of the various chiefs we have grouped them clan-wise. Since in a number of cases many members of a family are found conspicuous by their role, we have further grouped the information family-wise. Information regarding various families belonging to the same clan has been grouped under the heading to which these families belonged.

Since the bulk of the work is an exercise in working out the biographies of various chiefs, the repetition has invariably crept in. The reason for this repetition being that often two or more chiefs are mentione
in our sources acting together. As the biographies of the nobles had to be worked out separately, the information regarding individual chiefs had to be sifted and separated. Thus, the events in which two or more than two chiefs are found acting together had to be repeated in the biography of each noble. This was unavoidable as the omission of the event in the biography of any of the chiefs would have minimized the value of the biography, thus defeating the very purpose of highlighting the role of the individual chiefs. To illustrate this point, Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli, Firoz Khan Sarang Khani, Mahmud Khan Nohani, Qazi Jia were deployed by Babur in the expedition sent to Etawa. Therefore, the reference to Etawa expedition had to be repeated in the biographies of each of the above mentioned four chiefs. Similar repetitions will often be noted elsewhere.

The chapters have been divided clan-wise. When the information about some clans is found meagre, such clans have been grouped together under one chapter. Thus, the Sarwani, the Sur and the Karrani clans have been discussed under one chapter. Besides, we come across a large number of chiefs whose clan identity could not be ascertained. For the sake of clarity we have grouped such chiefs into two separate chapters. Those of the unidentified chiefs who were found active in the vicinity of Agra have been discussed in the chapter captioned
as "Chiefs of the Vicinity of Agra". The remaining have been grouped under the chapter captioned as "Other Unidentified Chiefs". There were many other chiefs who are identifiable by place names not clan names and are designated as Sharqi, Multani, Bhakkari etc. It being difficult to ascertain whether they had Afghan background or not we have not taken the risk of omitting them from our study and discussed them in a separate chapter under the heading "Chiefs Allied to Afghans". Since we also find a number of Hindustani saints actively participating in the politics of the period under review, we have also treated them as components of the Afghan polity and have included them in our study under a separate chapter captioned as "Saintly Personages", irrespective of their affiliations which could have been Afghan or Saiyyid, etc.

At the end of each chapter we have given a resume analysing the position and role of the various families and chiefs during the period under review. Each resume has been treated into two parts. In the first part we have tried to ascertain the position of the individual chief vis-a-vis Sultan Ibrahim Lodi, i.e. whether a particular chief held an iqtâ under Sultan Ibrahim Lodi or not and what was his relationship with Sultan Ibrahim Lodi. In the second part we have discussed the relationship of the respective chief with Babur, i.e. how he came in contact with Babur, the nature and degree of his loyalty
to Babur, the contribution he made to the expansion and consolidation of Babur's authority by rendering military services, or otherwise, and the revenue assignments, if any, conferred upon him by Babur. The salient points emerging from the resumes of various chapters have been taken up for discussion in a consolidated form in the concluding part of the work. Having briefly examined in the conclusion the position of various clans under Sultan Ibrahim Lodi we have taken up discussion of Babur's relationship with the Afghans. Babur's relationship with Afghans has been treated into two parts pre-Panipat and post-Panipat period. In examining Babur's relationship with the Afghans we have tried to examine the alignment and re-alignments of the Afghans and the changing Afghan coalitions during the period under review. But the thrust of the conclusion centres round the position of the chiefs under Babur which was mainly dependent upon the revenue assignments he conferred upon them. Thus, the position of the Afghans, particularly as a ruling class during the reign of Babur, has been highlighted.

The period we have chosen is from A.D.1519 to 1530, the reason being that this was the period of the formation of the Mughal power in Hindustan. The year 1519 as the starting point of the study has been chosen after a careful consideration. It was in this year that Babur for the first time crossed the Indus
and established a footing in Hindustan. It was in this year that he first came in contact with the Afghan chiefs of Hindustan. It was in this year that Ali Khan Lodi, son of Daulat Khan Lodi, submitted to Babur, and the Afghans were obliged to withdraw from Bhira which was occupied by Babur. From 1519 to the time of the battle of Panipat in 1526 major developments in the Mughal-Afghan relations had already taken place, giving Babur the control of most of those parts of Ibrahim Lodi's Sultanat which lay to the north west of Delhi. The year 1530 as the closing point of the study has been chosen for the consideration of feasibility, thus bringing the study to the time of the death of Babur. Feasibility on two accounts: first, the availability of source material; secondly, in the interest of intensive study and establishing a firm footing on the period of Babur with a view to understanding the resurgence of Afghan power in 1540.

The sources we have studied are the contemporary and the near contemporary works on Babur and on the Afghan rule. To begin with, we have started with an intensive study of Babur's memoir which alone contains substantial information on the subject and which has not been adequately used by the historians who have worked on this period. Among the sources on the Afghans, to mention a few, the
Majist-i Mushtaqi, the Tarikh-i Daudi, the Tarikh-i Shahi, and the Tarikh-i Ser Sahi have been extensively used. Among the Mughal chronicles the Akbarnama, the Humayunama the Tabaqat-i Akbari, the Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh and the Tarikh-i Firishta have been extensively used, as very often these chronicles greatly supplement our information about the Afghans as given in the Baburnama and the Afghan sources.

To begin with, we have consulted the standard English translations of these sources, as well as, the Hindi translations done by S. A. A. Rizvi. The Persian texts have also been consulted with the help of Persian knowing scholars. The works on central Asian history, such as Habib-us Siyar and the Tarikh-i Rashidi have also been consulted, as they also contain useful stray references.

Lastly, a few words may be said about the references. As we have used different editions and translations of the contemporary and near contemporary works, we have avoided abbreviating the titles of these works and have given full particulars of the works in the references. Often, on account of variations in the translations, we have preferred to mention all the editions of the works we have used. However, the abbreviations have been used in the tables and the appendices.
To avoid repetition of references we have, as far as possible, tried not to repeat the references in the resumes of the various chapters unless where a point was deliberately re-emphasised. In the concluding part also we have tried not to repeat the references. However, references for any statement made can be looked for in the biography of the respective chief.